

**The Tournament and its Role in the Court Culture of
Emperor Maximilian I (1459-1519)**

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The candidate confirms that the work submitted is her own and that appropriate credit has been given where reference has been made to the work of others.

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Act 1988.

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Abstract

This thesis is an extensive and interdisciplinary study of the tournaments of Holy Roman Emperor Maximilian I (1459-1519). It draws upon material, literary, narrative, and visual sources to create a holistic view of what the late medieval German tournament looked like in the court of Maximilian. Its scope includes the types of tournaments held, historical context and influences, the network of participants, the environment, the practicalities, and the symbolism. It also investigates Maximilian's influence on the tournament at this time, and its role in shaping his legacy.

At its heart, by examining various narrative sources, this thesis presents a chronological study of the primary tournaments in which Maximilian was involved during his lifetime. Using this study, the thesis explores the various styles of joust practiced at the tournament under Maximilian, and the arms and armour, as well as decorative elements, employed in each. Finally, it explores the role of the tournament specifically as it pertained to Maximilian's courtly culture.

This thesis makes use of an unprecedented range of sources in presenting its findings. By drawing upon extant Maximilian-related tournament arms and armour, as well as visual depictions of his tournaments, alongside both fictional and real-life accounts of these events, new information may be gathered which brings to light previously unexplored findings and draws connections which have not before been made.

This research demonstrates the central role which tournaments played during Maximilian's reign. It attempts to categorise and catalogue the numerous styles of joust which the emperor promoted by analysing their distinct features. Further, it reveals his influence upon them and, in turn, theirs upon him, through the crafting of his memory in the form of public spectacle and various literary and artistic works.

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A Note on Spellings

In this thesis, the often various Early New High German (subsequently ENHG) spellings of the names of the nobles of Maximilian's court have been updated to their modern German versions. Additionally, all titles, where possible, will be rendered in their common English translations, as will place names. The German name 'Friedrich' is used when describing all people of that name except for Holy Roman Emperor Frederick III, as this is how he is universally known in English scholarship.

Introduction

0.1 Research Aims

We should then talk of another pursuit at which many men-at-arms aim to make their reputation: that is at deeds of arms at tournaments. And indeed, they earn men praise and esteem for they require a great deal of wealth, equipment and expenditure, physical hardship, crushing and wounding, and sometimes danger of death. For this kind of practice of arms, there are some whose physical strength, skill, and agility enable them to perform so well that they achieve in this activity such great renown for their fine exploits; and because they often engage in it, their renown and their fame increases in their own territory and that of their neighbours; thus they want to continue this kind of pursuit of arms because of the success God has granted them in it. They content themselves with this particular practice of arms because of the acclaim they have already won and still expect to win from it. Indeed they are worthy of praise; nevertheless he who does more is of greater worth.¹

The medieval tournament and the mental images which it inspires – armoured knights on horseback, dramatically splintering lances, ladies bestowing favours from the sidelines – are central to the modern conception of the Middle Ages. It is a cultural touchstone, familiar to both its original audiences and its contemporary mythologisers, and it encapsulates the often contradictory combination of lofty chivalric ideals and martial violence which helped to define the era. One figure who bridged the gap between the medieval and modern ideal of the tournament was Holy Roman Emperor Maximilian I (1459-1519). Maximilian's reputation, in his own lifetime and beyond, was built in many ways around the tournament. The aim of this thesis is to examine the significance of the tournament during the lifetime of Maximilian I

¹ Geoffroi de Charny, *The Book of Chivalry of Geoffroi de Charny: Text, Context, and Translation*, ed. by Richard Kaeuper and Elspeth Kennedy (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1996), p. 48.

and his reign as king of the Romans and, later, as Holy Roman emperor.² It will analyse the tournament's role in his court, its place in the representation of his rule, and its practical reality while also investigating the tournament as a form of entertainment, military display, and public promotion. The study of tournaments is a well-established field, and the life and political interests of Emperor Maximilian have also been examined in several different contexts. Yet, while many aspects of Maximilian's reign have been comprehensively researched, little effort has been made to investigate the place of tournaments in his life and political career.

In the above passage, the French knight and noted author on chivalry Geoffroi de Charny (c. 1300-1356) articulated both the risk and the appeal of the tournament which gripped men throughout the Middle Ages. At the tournament, men had the chance to win fame and renown, as well as financial rewards, while also immersing themselves in the chivalric ethos of the time.³ The tournament space, whether it was wide-ranging open fields or narrow, enclosed lists, was a distinct environment in which men could act out the motions of warfare without (normally) the consequences of it.

In Maximilian's Holy Roman Empire, the joust on horseback with lance as a competition of skill between two individuals had risen in prominence and popularity, as it had across much of Europe. However, the *mêlée*-style competition, known as a tourney in English, in which two groups of competitors fought against each other, either as individuals or in

² It should here be noted that this thesis will focus primarily on the joust and its role in Maximilian's tournaments. Although Maximilian also participated in and promoted foot combat in the tournament, and passing reference to this form of combat will be included here, this is largely outside the scope of this thesis. The addition of the subject of Maximilian's foot combats could easily supply enough material to double the size of the current study.

³ For more on the development of the tournament in medieval Germany and its transition from military practice to recreational pursuit, see Josef Fleckenstein, 'Das Turnier als höfisches Fest im hochmittelalterlichen Deutschland' in *Das ritterliche Turnier im Mittelalter*, ed. by Josef Fleckenstein (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1986), pp. 229-56.

teams, was still popular in several forms.⁴ Yet this form undeniably lacked the glamour and prestige that came with the joust, as the joust allowed two individual competitors to show off their martial skills in a one-on-one setting rather than getting lost in the crowd of a tourney. In the medieval German-speaking territories, different forms of the joust, itself just one possible style of competition found at a tournament, were given specific names, and each had their own rules and their own style of armour. The joust itself existed in two main forms: the *Gesteck* and the *Rennen*.⁵

An insight into the world of the German tournament at the time of Maximilian may be gained through an understanding of its ideal and its practical reality, as this thesis will explore. During this time, for example, there was ‘a considerable overlap between concepts of chivalry in peace and war’, and the tournament was where one could attain reputation and honour outside the battlefield. Success when linked with gentlemanly conduct brought respect, and Larry Silver points out that, in the literature that remains detailing Maximilian’s exploits, military victory often overlapped with tournament victory in this respect (i.e. victory in one arena was as worthy of renown as victory in the other).⁶ Beyond literature, this attitude further carried over into the realm of arms and armour, which were produced in plenty for Maximilian, and were sometimes made to be interchangeable between tournament and

⁴ For the purposes of this thesis, I shall refer to the group competitions on horseback as ‘tourneys’ (plural), or ‘tourney’ (singular). *Mêlée*, being a French term, was never used by any German sources contemporary to Maximilian to describe group combat at a tournament. Rather, some form of the noun *Turnier* was most frequently used (often in a compound form). Although the most common English translation of this word is ‘tournament’, Stanley Appelbaum, in his edition of the *Triumphzug*, uses ‘tourneyers’ to describe the knights depicted as taking part in group combat, and I believe this is the most useful translation: *The Triumph of Maximilian: 137 Woodcuts by Hans Burgkmair and Others*, ed. and trans. by Stanley Appelbaum (New York: Dover Publications, 1964), p. 7.

⁵ Each of these three broad forms of tournament competition – the tourney, the *Gesteck*, and the *Rennen* – and their various sub-forms, will be considered in-depth in Chapter 3.

⁶ Larry Silver, *Marketing Maximilian: The Visual Ideology of a Holy Roman Emperor*, pp. 147-58 (p. 147). Silver further adds that, ‘The interplay between serious play within tournaments and life-and-death combats in battle thus renders the value of jousting [...] more essential’ (p. 148).

battlefield, but more and more were designed exclusively for the joust. When not at war, after all, tournaments were (along with hunting) Maximilian's chief leisure activity. Given this close connection Maximilian had to tournaments in both his daily life and his literary activity, it is perhaps little surprise that the *Rennen* and the *Gesteck* which emerged in Germany should be worthy of closer investigation.⁷

Thus Maximilian found himself at this interesting crossroads of the tournament, and those with which he was involved, as will be shown, perfectly demonstrate this. In many ways, his tournaments embody the most lavish forms of spectacle which could be found in such late medieval events. The influence of Burgundy, in particular, may clearly be seen in these elements – a theme which will be explored. Yet Maximilian's tournaments managed to do this while retaining some of the intensity and violence of the competitions of earlier centuries. Certainly, with regard to the above de Charny quote, Maximilian could safely be called 'he who does more'.

The present study will fill in a critical research gap regarding Maximilian's lifetime and the study of tournaments by exploring the ways in which he used the tournament in his own court, where it held as much weight as any of his other political and cultural achievements. It is meant to show how often Maximilian, even as one of the most powerful rulers of Europe, risked his safety participating in such events – and he did suffer injuries – and his noted skill in doing so; to show the role he also might play as a spectator and how he utilised the tournament as not just a festive occasion but a political tool; to give an idea of the most common reasons for which and times of year at which Maximilian would hold tournaments, as

⁷ Of course, at this time, Germany did not exist as a country. For the purposes of this thesis, however, 'German' may be used as an adjective to describe the tournament customs and regulations unique to Maximilian's court as a way to denote its cultural distinctness.

well as illustrate their frequency; to shed light on some of the technical details involved in such occasions and emphasise some of those who competed alongside Maximilian; finally, to highlight the other elements which came alongside a tournament and the events which most often accompanied them.

0.2 Historiography

Both the study of Maximilian I and of medieval tournaments are ones which have been conducted in various and thorough ways by numerous scholars over the years, yet the two have never been sufficiently brought together. Indeed, as will be discussed, Maximilian's reign and court culture has been analysed through several different lenses, yet a comprehensive study of the tournaments of his court has not been conducted. The tournament is often mentioned – or plays a small role – in studies of Maximilian, but it has not received the full attention which it deserves. Not only does an examination of the tournament and Maximilian add substantially to our understanding of Maximilian as a ruler, but, at the same time, it also contributes greatly to overall scholarship on the medieval tournament.

When it comes to Maximilian, this late medieval ruler has, compared to some of his contemporaries, been the subject of relatively few straightforward biographies. Instead, scholars have often preferred to focus on one aspect of his reign or to study another cultural phenomenon as it was reflected by Maximilian. The most comprehensive biography of the emperor is undoubtedly Hermann Wiesflecker's five-volume opus, which covers the entirety of Maximilian's life in great detail.⁸ An earlier, nineteenth century biography by Heinrich Ulmann,

⁸ Hermann Wiesflecker, *Kaiser Maximilian I.: Das Reich, Österreich und Europa an der Wende zur Neuzeit*, 5 vols (Munich: R. Oldenbourg, 1971-1986). A later work by Wiesflecker, *Maximilian I.: Die Fundamente des habsburgischen Weltreiches* (Vienna: Verlag für Geschichte und Politik, 1991), presents essentially the same biographical information but condensed into a single volume.

while not as exhaustive and more dated, is also very thorough.⁹ Maximilian's youth has been the subject of a partial biography by Heinrich Fichtenau, which covers Maximilian's life until 1482.¹⁰ Other more recent and fairly simplistic biographical studies include works by Ernst Wies, Manfred Hollegger, and Sigrid-Maria Gröbning.¹¹

As this range of literature demonstrates, most scholarship on Maximilian has been published in German. Even fewer biographies of him exist in English. Indeed, the closest to a modern biography of Maximilian is probably Gerhard Benecke's *Maximilian I (1459-1519): An Analytical Biography*, which does not follow the emperor's life chronologically, but rather jumps around thematically in an often confusing manner and is fairly slight, especially compared to the scope of Wiesflecker.¹² Prior to this, R.W. Seton-Watson published an English language biography of Maximilian in 1902.¹³ Beyond Benecke, probably the most useful general portrait of Maximilian may be found in Glen Waas' study of his character.¹⁴ Although, like Benecke, this is not a straightforward biography but a survey of how Maximilian was viewed in contemporary literature, it still contains much useful information on the emperor.

⁹ Heinrich Ulmann, *Kaiser Maximilian I: Auf urkundlicher Grundlage dargestellt*, 2 vols (Stuttgart: J.G. Cotta, 1884-1891).

¹⁰ Heinrich Fichtenau, *Der Junge Maximilian (1459-1482)* (Vienna: Verlag für Geschichte und Politik, 1959). Fichtenau covers Maximilian's childhood and education in Wiener Neustadt, his marriage to Mary of Burgundy, and his time in the Netherlands.

¹¹ Sigrid-Maria Gröbning, *Maximilian I.: Kaiser, Künstler, Kämpfer* (Vienna: Amalthea Signum Verlag, 2002); Manfred Hollegger, *Maximilian I. (1459-1519): Herrscher und Mensch einer Zeitemvnde* (Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer GmbH, 2005); Ernst W. Wies, *Kaiser Maximilian I.: Ein Charakterbild* (Munich: Bechtle Verlag, 2003). Gröbning's work is a thorough but simple biography of Maximilian, with rather sensationalist chapter titles such as 'Kurzer schöner Traum in Burgund' and 'Bianca Maria Sforza – die arme reiche Braut'. Hollegger and Wies offer more academic but brief summaries of Maximilian's life, with Wies making particularly good use of letters.

¹² Gerhard Benecke, *Maximilian I (1459-1519): An Analytical Biography* (London: Routledge, 1982).

¹³ R.W. Seton-Watson, *Maximilian I, Holy Roman Emperor* (London: Archibald Constable & Co. Ltd, 1902).

¹⁴ Glenn Elwood Waas, *The Legendary Character of Kaiser Maximilian* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1941).

Rather than as the subject of a direct biographical study, Maximilian's life has often been examined in terms of what it reveals about larger historical trends. Sometimes these may touch on tournaments, but not to any great extent. Music at Maximilian's court, for instance, has been the subject of select studies. Louise Cuyler, among others, has focused her work on the music of Maximilian's court, which would also have played a role at tournaments, yet Cuyler does not expand upon this connection.¹⁵ In terms of courtly culture, tournaments are of equal importance to both art and music, being another outlet for displaying power and wealth. Indeed, the three are interconnected in many ways, as music would have been featured at tournaments and art used to chronicle them. Yet the tournament has not received equal attention to the other two. This project will expand upon current scholarship relating to both tournaments and Maximilian's reign, while combining the two in a way which has not previously been done.

Studies of Maximilian's court culture in general, and his connection with specific cities, especially Innsbruck, have also been conducted.¹⁶ The recent collected volume *Kaiser Maximilian I. (1459-1519) und die Hofkultur seiner Zeit* (2009) was entirely devoted to approaching the topic a variety of ways.¹⁷ Additionally, Maximilian's love of hunting – his other favoured

¹⁵ Louise Cuyler, *The Emperor Maximilian I and Music* (London: Oxford University Press, 1973). Other examples include Walter Salmen, ed., *Musik und Tanz zur Zeit Kaiser Maximilian I* (Innsbruck: Edition Helbling, 1992), and Helen Green, 'Meetings of City and Court: Music and Ceremony in the Imperial Cities of Maximilian I', in *Kaiser Maximilian I. (1459-1519) und die Hofkultur seiner Zeit*, ed. by Sieglinde Hartmann and others (Wiesbaden: Reichert Verlag, 2009), *Jahrbuch der Oswald von Wolkenstein-Gesellschaft* 17 for 2008-2009, pp. 261-74.

¹⁶ Nicole Riegel, 'Bausteine eines Residenzprojekts. Kaiser Maximilian I. in Innsbruck', in *The Habsburgs and their Courts in Europe, 1400-1700: Between Cosmopolitan and Regionalism*, ed. by Herbert Karner, Ingrid Ciulisová, and Bernardo J. García García (Palatium e-Publication: www.courtresidences.eu, 2014), pp. 28-45 and Inge Wiesflecker-Friedhuber, 'Kaiser Maximilian I. und die Stadt Innsbruck', in *Der Innsbrucker Hof: Residenz und höfische Gesellschaft in Tirol vom 15. bis 19. Jahrhundert*, ed. by Heinz Noflatscher and Jan Paul Niederkorn (Vienna: Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2005), pp. 125-58.

¹⁷ Hartmann, ed., *Kaiser Maximilian I. (1459-1519) und die Hofkultur seiner Zeit*. Topics explored include art, religion, memorialisation, the Habsburg dynasty, and Maximilian's marriages.

recreational pastime next to tournaments – has been explored.¹⁸ Darin Hayton has even examined the role astrology played in Maximilian’s court.¹⁹ However, the foremost authority on the subject of Maximilian’s court life is most likely Jan-Dirk Müller, who still continues to contribute valuable scholarship in this area. His 1982 monograph, *Gedechtnus: Literatur und Hofgesellschaft um Maximilian I.*, is a comprehensive and excellent examination of Maximilian’s court and the power of literature within it.²⁰

Probably the most frequently studied aspect of Maximilian’s reign is his art and literary patronage, which have been the subject of multiple monographs, chapters, and articles. Larry Silver, in particular, has studied Maximilian’s visual ideology through his art patronage, yet he has not connected this to the powerful visual impact of the tournament and its reflection on Maximilian as a monarch.²¹ Indeed, it is perhaps Maximilian’s impressive literary output and close ties to famed artists such as Albrecht Dürer for which he is best remembered today, and the topic has been thoroughly and admirably explored by a wide range of scholars.²² The most

¹⁸ Erwin Koller, ‘Jagdszenen aus Tirol: Maximilian I. auf Pirsch im Schmirn und anderswo’, in *Literatur und Sprachkultur in Tirol*, ed. by Johann Jolzner, Oskar Putzer, and Max Siller (Innsbruck: Inst. für Germanistik, 1997), pp. 265-72.

¹⁹ Darin Hayton, *The Crown and the Cosmos: Astrology and the Politics of Maximilian I* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2015).

²⁰ Jan-Dirk Müller, *Gedechtnus: Literatur und Hofgesellschaft um Maximilian I.* (Munich: Wilhelm Fink Verlag, 1982). Other valuable contributions by Müller include ‘The Court of Emperor Maximilian I’, in *Princes and Princely Culture: 1450-1650*, ed. by Martin Gosman and others (Leiden: Brill, 2003), vol. 1, pp. 295-311; ‘Funktionswandel ritterlicher Epik am Ausgang des Mittelalter’, in *Gesellschaftliche Sinnangebote mittelalterlicher Literatur*, ed. by Gert Kaiser (Munich: Wilhelm Fink, 1980), pp. 11-35; and the recent collected volume, co-edited with Hans-Joachim Ziegeler, *Maximilians Ruhmeswerke: Künste und Wissenschaften im Umkreis Kaiser Maximilians I.* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2015).

²¹ Larry Silver, *Marketing Maximilian: The Visual Ideology of a Holy Roman Emperor*, Larry Silver, ‘Shining Armor: Maximilian I as Holy Roman Emperor’, in *Art Institute of Chicago Museum Studies*, 12 (1985), 8-29.

²² Other useful studies include Paul van Dyke, ‘The Literary Activity of the Emperor Maximilian I’, *American Historical Review*, 11 (1905), 16-28; Dagmar Eichberger, ‘Official Portraits and Regional Identities: The Case of Emperor Maximilian I (1459-1519)’, in *The Habsburgs and their Courts in Europe, 1400-1700: Between Cosmopolitan and Regionalism*, ed. by Herbert Karner, Ingrid Ciulisová, and Bernardo J. García García (Palatium e-Publication: www.courtresidences.eu, 2014), pp. 100-114; Joseph Strobl, *Studien über die literarische Tätigkeit Kaiser Maximilian I.* (Berlin: Georg Reimer, 1913); Gerhild S. Williams,

recent work to examine Maximilian's literary and artistic patronage and his attempts to become the prototypical 'Renaissance man' is the volume *Maximilians Ruhmeswerk: Künste und Wissenschaften im Umkreis Kaiser Maximilians I.*²³ Yet the close ties between Maximilian's self-fashioning and the critical role of the tournament within it are again overlooked here. Such works, however, have laid an admirable groundwork upon which this current research has been able to build.

Finally, far more research has been done on the medieval tournament than can be adequately described here. It has been analysed based on time period, geographic setting, or famous figures associated with it. In recent years, names such as Anglo, Barber, Crouch, Keen, Muhlberger, and Vale have contributed in valuable ways to the field.²⁴ Geographically oriented studies of tournaments have skirted around Maximilian and his court without focusing fully on it, which is surprising. Mario Damen has written engagingly on the tournament in Brussels and the Low Countries.²⁵ The tournaments of Maximilian's inherited duchy of Burgundy have also

²³ 'The Arthurian Model in Emperor Maximilian's Autobiographic Writings *Weisskunig* and *Theuerdank*', *The Sixteenth Century Journal*, 11 (1980), 3-22.

²³ *Maximilians Ruhmeswerk: Künste und Wissenschaften im Umkreis Kaiser Maximilians I.*, ed. by Jan-Dirk Müller and Hans-Joachim Ziegler (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2015).

²⁴ For useful general background on the history of the tournament, see: Sydney Anglo, *The Martial Arts of Renaissance Europe* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000); Richard Barber, *The Knight and Chivalry*, Revised Edition (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1995); David Crouch, *Tournament* (London: Hambledon and London, 2005); Maurice Keen, *Chivalry* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1984). Additionally, Richard Barber and Juliet Barker, *Tournaments: Jousts, Chivalry and Pageants in the Middle Ages* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1989) is an oft-cited but simplistic history of the tournament. An older and slightly romanticised but still thorough history is Coltman Clephan, *The Tournament: Its Periods and Phases* (London: Methuen & Co. Ltd, 1919).

²⁵ See, for example, Mario Damen, 'Tournament Culture in the Low Countries and England', in *Contact in Exchange in Later Medieval Europe. Essays in Honour of Malcolm Vale*, ed. by Hannah Skoda and others (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2012), pp. 247-66; 'The Town as a Stage? Urban Space and Tournaments in Late Medieval Brussels' *Urban History* (February 2015), 1-25; and 'The Town, the Duke, his Courtiers, and their Tournament. A Spectacle in Brussels, 4-7 May 1439', in *Staging the Court of Burgundy: Proceedings of the Conference 'The Splendour of Burgundy'*, ed. by Wim Blockmans and others (London: Harvey Miller Publishers, 2013), pp. 85-95.

been the subject of much study.²⁶ It should also be noted that Noel Fallows' superb recent monograph on the tournament in medieval and Renaissance Iberia in fact drew heavily upon German forms of the tournament within its research, despite the fact that this was not the focus of his work.²⁷ The same avoidance of the topic of Maximilian's tournaments has also occurred in the chronological scope of several studies. Helen Watanabe-O'Kelly, for example, has produced a wide-ranging study of German tournaments in the early modern era, yet her period of investigation (1560-1730) begins after Maximilian's reign, thus cutting out his substantial contribution.²⁸

The area where the study of tournaments and of Maximilian intersect is relatively small, both in quantity and in the extent of the outputs, which have been largely limited to articles and chapters. No stand-alone monograph on the subject has been produced, thus the focus has tended to be narrow, focusing on one area of the tournament alone. Dirk H. Breiding and others have investigated admirably the arms and armour of Maximilian's tournaments.²⁹

²⁶ See, for example, *The Ideology of Burgundy: The Promotion of National Consciousness, 1364-1565*, ed. by D'Arcy Jonathan Dacre Boulton and Jan R. Veenstra (Leiden: Brill, 2006); Sébastien Nadot, *Le Spectacle des joutes: Sport et courtoisie à la fin du Moyen Âge* (Rennes: Presses Universitaires de Rennes, 2013); and *Staging the Court of Burgundy: Proceedings of the Conference 'The Splendour of Burgundy'*, ed. by Wim Blockmans and others.

²⁷ Noel Fallows, *Jousting in Medieval and Renaissance Iberia* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2010).

²⁸ Helen Watanabe-O'Kelly, *Triumphall Shens: Tournaments and German-speaking Courts in their European Context 1560-1730* (Berlin: Gebr. Mann Verlag, 1992). In a similar vein is Braden Frieder, *Chivalry and the Perfect Prince: Tournaments, Art, and Armor at the Spanish Habsburg Court* (Kirksville, MO: Truman State University Press, 2008).

²⁹ Dirk Breiding, 'Rennen, Stechen und Turnier zur Zeit Kaiser Maximilians I.', in "*Vor Halbttausend Jahren...*" – *Festschrift zur Erinnerung an den Besuch des Kaisers Maximilian I. in St. Wendel* (St. Wendel: Stadtmuseum, 2012), pp. 53-84. See also Ortwin Gamber, 'Der Turnierharnisch zur Zeit König Maximilians I. und das Thunsche Skizzenbuch', *Jahrbuch des kunsthistorischen Sammlungen in Wien*, 53 (1957), 33-70; Helmut Nickel, with Dirk H. Breiding, 'A Book of Tournaments and Parades from Nuremberg?', *Metropolitan Museum Journal*, 45 (2010), 125-86; Pierre Terjanian, 'The Art of the Armorer in Late Medieval and Renaissance Augsburg: The Rediscovery of the *Thun Sketchbooks*', *Jahrbuch des Kunsthistorischen Museums Wien* 13/14 (2011/2012), pp. 299-321; Alan Williams, David Edge, Tobias Capwell, and Stefanie Tschegg, 'A Technical Note on the Armour and Equipment for Jousting,' *Gladius: Estudios sobre armas antiguas, arte militar y vida cultural en oriente y occidente*, 32 (2012), 139-84.

Matthias Pfaffenbichler, one of the current foremost authorities on Maximilian's tournaments, has focused, among other topics, on their role in Habsburg politics.³⁰ William H. Jackson has also looked briefly at German tournaments during Maximilian's lifetime. Yet, with a focus primarily on the tourneying societies of the German *bourgeois* elite and not the ruling nobility, Jackson's brief studies left many facets still unexplored.³¹ The collected volume *Das ritterliche Turnier im Mittelalter* contains some of the most relevant modern scholarship on German tournaments, yet none of the chapters are devoted solely to the topic of Maximilian's tournaments.³² Other works are only summaries of the essential facts.³³

It must be said that the best and most extensive studies of the tournaments of Maximilian's court have actually come in the form of various museum exhibitions and their accompanying catalogues.³⁴ Such catalogues and their accompanying essays (many with contributions from Pfaffenbichler) admirably begin to bring together the literature and arms and armour in a constructive comparison to create an overall picture of these events. Yet these

³⁰ Matthias Pfaffenbichler, 'Das Turnier als Instrument der Habsburgischen Politik', in *Waffen und Kostümkunde, Zeitschrift für Waffen- und Kleidungs-geschichte* 34/1-2 (1992), pp. 13-36.

³¹ William H. Jackson, 'The Tournament and Chivalry in German Tournament Books of the Sixteenth Century and in the Literary Works of Emperor Maximilian I', in *The Ideals and Practice of Medieval Knighthood: Papers from the First and Second Strawberry Hill Conferences*, ed. by Christopher Harper-Bill and Ruth Harvey (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1986), pp. 49-73, and 'Tournaments and the German Chivalric *renovatio*: Tournament Discipline and the Myth of Origins', in *Chivalry in the Renaissance*, ed. by Sydney Anglo (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1990), pp. 77-91.

³² *Das ritterliche Turnier im Mittelalter*, ed. by Josef Fleckenstein (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1986).

³³ Such as Peter Krenn, 'Kaiser Maximilian I und das Turnierwesen seiner Zeit' *Mitteilungen des Steirischen Burgenvereines*, 13 (1971), 5-18.

³⁴ Recent examples include *Emperor Maximilian I and the Age of Dürer*, ed. by Eva Michel and Maria Luise Sternath (Munich: Prestel, 2012); *Kaiser Maximilian I: Der letzte Ritter und das höfische Turnier*, ed. by Sabine Haag, Alfred Wiczorek, Matthias Pfaffenbichler, and Hans-Jürgen Buderer (Regensburg: Schnell & Steiner, 2014); *Maximilian I: Der Aufstieg eines Kaisers, von seiner Geburt bis zur Alleinherrschaft 1459-1493*, ed. by Norbert Koppens-teiner and others (Wiener Neustadt: Stadtmuseum, 2000); *Ritterturnier: Geschichte einer Festkultur*, ed. by Peter Jezler, Peter Niederhäuser, and Elke Jezler (Luzern: Quaternio, 2014); *Ritterwelten im Spätmittelalter: Höfisch-ritterliche Kultur der Reichen Herzöge von Bayern-Landshut*, ed. by Franz Niehoff (Landshut: Museen der Stadt Landshut, 2009).

also present only an outline. The full interdisciplinary scope of this subject has not been taken advantage of – the printed, manuscript, artistic, and material sources have never yet been brought together as they ought. That is what the present study will accomplish. By examining a wide variety of primary sources, this thesis will endeavour to accomplish what prior studies have not: to create a comprehensive picture of Maximilian's tournaments while illuminating their wider significance within his court and reign.

0.3 Research Questions and Thesis Outline

This thesis attempts to answer the questions: How frequently was Maximilian personally involved in tournaments and in what capacity? What did the tournament look like in Maximilian's court? What forms did it take and how was it conducted? What did the arms and armour used in the tournament look like and how was it uniquely suited to the event, as well as what role did decorative elements such as textiles play? What role did the tournament play in Maximilian's court and what overall significance did it take on in the context of his reign? How did Maximilian's direct involvement in the tournament as a participant set him apart as a ruler? Finally, what place does the tournament have in his legacy?

There is also the dilemma of terminology and determining what counts as a 'tournament'. The definition which best serves the purpose of this thesis delineates the tournament as the overarching event, within which various forms of jousts – between individuals or large groups and using lances, swords, or clubs – as well as foot combat may take place. However, as was often the case, numerous different jousts might take place over a series of weeks, or even months, in the same location, and even all be centred on the same event. During this time, Maximilian might participate frequently while also being a spectator at other times. There is an often frustrating fluidity in the organisation and occurrence of

'tournaments' and the 'jousts' within them. If multiple jousts took place over several days as part of a wedding celebration, did this make them all one tournament? The sources are unclear on this and make no attempt to neatly delineate such events. The vocabulary used might label one encounter a 'tournament' and one a 'joust' interchangeably. The language of the sources also plays a significant role in the sort of terminology used. However, a concept of formally defining what constituted a tournament never seemed to have bothered any of the writers who chronicled them.

The first chapter of this thesis provides an overview and an analysis of the primary sources used in the preparation of the current study. These are the sources for tournament culture in the time of Maximilian I, and they are divided into four main categories: narrative, visual, Maximilian's personal works (that is, ones which he commissioned himself), and extant material culture. The examination of narrative sources also take a closer look at how Maximilian was viewed through the eyes of his contemporaries as a useful way of introducing the sources, but, furthermore, these descriptions of the emperor by those who had firsthand knowledge of him paint a picture of his character which, in turn, may inform the more narrow investigation of solely his tournaments. The wide range of these sources, taken together, will be used throughout this thesis to examine Maximilian's tournaments from every angle.

The second chapter presents an in-depth study of how tournaments were interwoven throughout Maximilian's lifetime. It first examines Maximilian's Burgundian inheritance and likely influences before proceeding chronologically through the emperor's life, combining biographical details with details of the tournaments in which he was involved in some way. This includes those tournaments which he organised, those in which he was a participant (i.e. combatant), and those which he attended. Evidence for and descriptions of such tournaments were found using various narrative, archival, and chronicle sources in an attempt to show the

wide range – chronologically, geographically, and stylistically – of tournaments with which Maximilian was associated, for some of which there is extensive detail and for some barely a passing mention. This chapter is divided by various periods of significance during Maximilian's life.

The third chapter provides an analysis of the specific types of joust named and memorialised in various forms by Maximilian. It begins with a discussion of the tournament terminology unique to Maximilian's court and of some of the difficulties of translation when writing about a uniquely German topic in English. It goes on to examine each style of joust prevalent in Maximilian's court by looking at how it was practiced in reality, as well as its idealised form. The first of these is the tourney, or *mêlée*-style joust fought among a group of men on horseback, the primary form of which practiced at Maximilian's court was the *Kolbenturnier*. The second form is the *Gestech*, which may be further divided into the sub-categories of *Deutschgestech*, *Welschgestech*, *Hobenzuggestech*, and *Gestech im Beinbarnisch*. Finally, there is the *Rennen*, which include the sub-categories of *Welschbrennen*, *Geschißrennen*, *Scheibenrennen*, *Schweifrennen*, *Bundrennen*, *Feldrennen*, *Wulstrennen*, and *Pfannenrennen*.

The fourth chapter is closely tied with the fifth, the two of which make up a study of the equipment required for a tournament in Maximilian's court. The fourth chapter analyses the practical equipment, i.e. the arms and armour. It does so by investigating what differentiates the armour for the *Rennen* and the *Gestech* and inspecting the essential parts of each: the lance and vamplate, the shield, the helmet, and the harness. Finally, it also discusses the equestrian armour customary in the German tournament. Closely connected with this is the fifth chapter, which presents a study of the decorative equipment used in Maximilian's tournaments: mainly, the ways in which textiles were utilised and their symbolism and

significance. The elements examined include the caparison, the lance, the shield, the crest, as well as the forms of decoration found in the lists.

Finally, chapter six is an in-depth analysis of the role of the tournament in Maximilian's court which attempts to bring together the elements, themes, works, and events discussed in previous chapters to create an all-encompassing picture of how the tournament affected Maximilian's reign. It does so by examining the primary occasions on which a tournament might be held: namely, the *Fastnacht* period before Easter, as well as celebratory, political, or recreational purposes. It also looks at some of the accompaniments of the tournament, such as the plethora of courtly festivities surrounding them, as well some of the unintended, dangerous consequences. Finally, it analyses Maximilian and his tournament network. This includes Maximilian's presence as a competitor in his own tournaments, the men most often to be found competing alongside him, and his use of tournaments in fictional works in order to increase his chivalric reputation.

This thesis also includes three appendices. The first is a collection of all the relevant images referenced in this thesis. Notes indicating which image is being described will be included in the body of each chapter. The second is a glossary of recurrent tournament-related terms, both German and English, which appear in this thesis. The third is a catalogue of extant tournament armour believed to have belonged to Maximilian.

Chapter 1: Sources for Tournament Culture in the Time of Maximilian I

1.1 Introduction

A wide variety of sources of many different types have been examined in the preparation of this current study. As the subject is highly interdisciplinary in nature, an effort has been made to closely examine each of the forms of evidence which survive relating to Maximilian's tournaments and to compare and synthesise them in a way which has not previously been done. These sources may be generally divided into four categories: narrative, visual (both print and manuscript), Maximilian's own personal works, and extant material culture. An explanation of each of the central primary sources utilised in the present study will here be presented so that, when they are referenced throughout this thesis, no further description will be needed and to justify their relevance to this research. By comparing and contrasting this variety of sources, a fuller, more complete understanding of Maximilian's tournaments may be achieved than has previously been possible through the study of one or two of these categories of sources alone.

1.2 Narrative Sources

Paula Fichtner has pointed out that 'scholars only study and comment on Maximilian's many images; the person who created and realized them in written and graphic form was the imaginative Habsburg himself'.¹ More light may be shed on this 'imaginative Habsburg'

¹ Paula Fichtner, *The Habsburgs: Dynasty, Culture and Politics* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2014), p. 31.

through a study of the first category of sources utilised in the preparation of this thesis: narratives. These also come in several sub-categories.

When it comes to locating descriptions of daily life at Maximilian's court and the tournaments which took place there, the most useful sources are the various collections of documents which have been compiled and preserved in several series, many printed in the nineteenth century. These may be geographically focused ones, such as the *Urkunden zur Geschichte des Schwäbischen Bundes*, the *Monumenta Wormatiensia*, or the excellently thorough *Chroniken der deutschen Städte*.² There are also collections specifically focused on Maximilian, such as the *Urkunden, Briefe und Actenstücke zur Geschichte Maximilians I. und Seiner Zeit* and the *Deutsche Reichstagakten unter Maximilian I.*³ Another useful record for the Habsburgs in general is the *Monumenta Habsburgica*.⁴ While such collections do not always offer the expansive, narrative sweep to be found in chronicles, or even diaries or letters, their brief snapshots can provide unexpected specific details as well as simply giving an idea of the frequency with which tournaments occurred.

² *Urkunden zur Geschichte des Schwäbischen Bundes (1488-1533)*, 2 vols, ed. by Karl A. Klüpfel (Stuttgart: Literarischen Verein, 1846-53). These are documents relating to the Swabian League, formed in 1488 at the instigation of Frederick III. *Monumenta Wormatiensia: Annalen und Chroniken*, ed. by Heinrich Boos (Berlin: Weidmann, 1893). This is part of a series on *Quellen zur Geschichte der Stadt Worms*, this work includes a few fifteenth-century sources, most particularly the diary of Reinhart Noltz, *Burgermeister* of Worms. *Die Chroniken der deutschen Städte: vom 14. bis ins 16. Jahrhundert*, 31 vols (Leipzig: Verlag von G. Hirzel/Göttingen: Vandehoeck & Ruprecht, 1862-1968). These are divided into chronicles of the Frankish, Bavarian, Swabian, Westphalian, Lower Saxon, and Upper, Middle, and Lower Rheinish cities. Not all encompass the correct dates or include references to Maximilian, but some, particularly the volumes focused on Augsburg, are relevant.

³ *Urkunden, Briefe und Actenstücke zur Geschichte Maximilians I. und Seiner Zeit*, ed. by Joseph Chmel (Stuttgart: Literarischen Verein, 1845). *Deutsche Reichstagakten unter Maximilian I.*, vols 1-6 (Göttingen: Vandehoeck & Ruprecht, 1972-). These six volumes (part of a larger series of the *Reichstagakten*) contain full and partial extracts of documents relating to the various imperial diets held under Maximilian, including some references to tournaments.

⁴ *Monumenta Habsburgica: Sammlung von Actenstücken und Briefen zur Geschichte des Hauses Habsburg in dem Zeitraume von 1473 bis 1576*, 3 vols: *Das Zeitalter Maximilians I.* (Vienna: Kaiserlich-königlichen Hof- und Staatsdruckerei, 1854-58).

Next, chronicles and memoirs are an excellent source of more in-depth narrative detail on Maximilian. Several include revealing information on the Habsburg monarch or references to his tournaments, although, in each case, regional bias must be considered. Some of the most well-known and easily accessible of these tend to be from French or Burgundian authors, such as those of Jean Molinet (1435-1507), Olivier de la Marche (1425-1502), or Philippe de Commines (1447-1511), each of whom crossed paths with the Habsburgs, due to the intertwining of the Habsburg and Burgundian courts, and whose writings continue to be published in modern editions.⁵ On the other hand, the writings of Maximilian's own court chroniclers, such as Joseph Grünpeck (1473-1532), provide an interesting alternative to Burgundian perspectives.⁶

In the same vein, diaries or collections of letters are of use as well. In many ways, these are a more valuable resource when it comes to tournaments, as they present a more immediate and (presumably) factual record of day-to-day occurrences at court, as tournaments often were. Also, in this format, German or Italian sources come more to the fore, such as in the collected writings of the German academics Conrad Celtis (1459-1508), Georg Spalatin (1484-1545), or Johannes Cuspinianus (1473-1529), for example.⁷ The Italian historian Marino Sanuto (1466-

⁵ Olivier de la Marche, *Mémoires d'Olivier de la Marche*, ed. by Henri Beaune and J. D'Arbaumont, 4 vols (Paris: Librairie Renouard, 1883-88); Jean Molinet, *Chroniques*, ed. by Georges Doutrepont and Omer Jodogne, 3 vols (Brussels: Palais des Académies, 1935-37); Philippe de Commines, *Memoirs*, ed. by Samuel Kinsler, trans. by Isabelle Cazeaux, 2 vols (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1973).

⁶ Joseph Grünpeck, *Die Geschichte Friedrichs III und Maximilians I*, trans. by Theodor Ilgen (Leipzig: Verlag der Deutschen Buchhandlung, 1899). For a study solely of the images which appear in this work, see *Die Historia Friderici et Maximiliani*, ed. by Otto Bensch and Edwin M. Auer (Berlin: Deutscher Verein für Kunstwissenschaft, 1957).

⁷ *Der Briefwechsel des Konrad Celtis*, ed. by Hans Rupprich (Munich: C.H. Beck'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1934). This is a collection of letters (in Latin) to and from German humanist Conrad Celtis, who was often at Maximilian's court and which describe tournaments on several occasions. *Georg Spalatin's historischer Nachlaß und Briefe*, ed. by Christian Gotthold Neudecker (Jena: Mauke, 1851). These are the collected writings and letters of German humanist Georg Spalatin, who served Friedrich III, Elector of Saxony, a frequent attendee at Maximilian's court, and thus contain

1536) also left extensive records in his diary which have proved useful for this research.⁸ The benefit of such chronicles, memoirs or diaries, and letters is that they often offer, in addition to reference to tournaments, extensive insight into Maximilian's public image in his own lifetime.⁹ A brief examination of this trend will help to establish Maximilian's perceived characteristics while also introducing these sources and their authors in a more thorough manner.

1.2.a Maximilian through the Eyes of His Contemporaries

Louise Cuyler has called Maximilian the 'most legendary and perhaps best-loved of German monarchs'.¹⁰ His reputation into the modern era has certainly grown to almost mythic proportions. This is largely due to the fact that Maximilian's reign is one which has left to modern scholars a vast visual record, many items of which Maximilian himself had a hand in producing. Yet Cuyler points to the inherent questionability of these sources when she says, 'Probably no hero of the German people is so celebrated in legend and deeply enshrined in the affections of his countrymen as the Emperor Maximilian. So intertwined, indeed, are historical facts and cherished folk tales that a true picture of this Habsburg prince is difficult to ascertain'.¹¹ While these artefacts – paintings, drawings, woodcuts, engravings, illustrated manuscripts – are the most attention-grabbing and often the most closely studied remnants of his lifetime, the emperor also features in numerous narrative sources of the time. And he did

many references to Maximilian's courtly activities. Johannes Cuspinianus, *De Caesaribus atque imperatoribus Romanis* (Basil: 1561), Munich, BSB, 2 Germ.g. 14 t, and 'Tagebuch Johannes Cuspinian's: 1502-1527', ed. by Th. G. von Karajan, *Fontes Rerum Austriacarum* 1/1 (1855), 397-416. For more on Cuspinianus, see Section 1.2.a.

⁸ Marino Sanuto, *I Diarii di Marino Sanuto*, 58 vols (Venice: 1879-1903).

⁹ Also fascinating are the letters he exchanged with his daughter, Margaret of Austria, preserved in *Correspondance de l'empereur Maximilian Ier et de Marguerite d'Autriche*, ed. by André Joseph Ghislain le Glay, ed., 2 vols (Paris: Société de l'Histoire de France, 1839).

¹⁰ Cuyler, *The Emperor Maximilian I and Music*, p. v.

¹¹ Cuyler, *The Emperor Maximilian I and Music*, p. 7.

not always have control over each of these in the same way. One excellent survey of these sources may be found in Glenn Waas' 1941 historiographical work, *The Legendary Character of Kaiser Maximilian*.¹² Still, Waas claims that 'only a relatively small group of contemporary historians and political writers contribute materially to form the picture of Maximilian'.¹³ Yet when even just a sample of these sources is examined, a wealth of (often contradictory) information is revealed which help to paint a new picture of the emperor and offer insight into his character.

Maximilian's father, the Holy Roman emperor Frederick III (1415-1493/ruled 1452-1493), is often viewed by history as largely inept as a monarch, his reign marked by hesitancy, apathy, and fiscal difficulties (interestingly, all problems which would later plague Maximilian, although his reputation has generally subsequently escaped such labels). This was a reputation which began in Frederick's own lifetime. Maximilian's childhood also corresponded with his father's lowest fortunes. In the second half of the fifteenth century, the empire had disintegrated into a loose conglomeration of individual political units, spread out across a vast geographic area. More loyalty was given to local ruling sovereigns than to whoever happened to claim the title of Holy Roman emperor.¹⁴ Growing up in such an environment, it is little wonder that Maximilian was so interested in building up a positive and lasting reputation for himself.

¹² Waas' chapter in this work, 'Maximilian Viewed by His Contemporaries' (pp. 23-72) is a thorough study of these viewpoints.

¹³ Waas, *The Legendary Character of Kaiser Maximilian*, p. 23.

¹⁴ Cuyler, *The Emperor Maximilian I and Music*, pp. 1-18. Despite his largely negative reputation, Frederick III's imperial coronation was in fact the last to be held in Rome – the tradition begun by Charlemagne. By Frederick's lifetime, few claimants made it to Rome for their anointing, often due to tenuous claims to the throne in the first place. In Frederick's day, Rome had recently undergone extensive revitalisation, funded by Pope Nicholas V, and Frederick hoped that his anointing there would demonstrate renewed imperial glory while displaying union with the Church. Maximilian, despite his best efforts, would not make it to Rome for his own coronation.

In order to do this, Maximilian surrounded himself with men of letters who would unquestioningly assist him in his cause. Manfred Holleger, one of Maximilian's modern biographers, cites figures like court secretaries Joseph Grünpeck and Marx Treitsauerwein (who assisted in producing some of the most well-known works of Maximilian: *Weißkunig* and *Theuerdank*) as the primary contemporary biographers of Maximilian.¹⁵ Although, of course, it is difficult to establish how much truth may be found in these works, as Maximilian himself had a heavy hand in supervising and editing the texts. This makes these depictions of Maximilian of particular interest when studying the emperor, as they represent a hybrid of the author's voice and Maximilian's own input. This is due to the fact that Maximilian took a keen interest in what went into these biographies, and, while it was not his hand that held the pen, he took on a supervisory role that went beyond the normal level of involvement. This included highlighting those traits he wanted emphasised and cutting out those which he did not, which was done by annotation and direct marking on the manuscripts.¹⁶ It is fascinating to examine the picture of the emperor which emerges from these accounts. And it is unsurprising that accomplishments of the physical variety are frequently highlighted, as becomes evident below.

Joseph Grünpeck, for example, is perhaps the most frequently cited in any discussion of Maximilian's biographers. A humanist and biographer of both Maximilian and his father, Frederick III, Grünpeck's most famous work is his *Die Historia Friderici et Maximiliani* (c. 1515). Grünpeck served Maximilian from 1497 to 1501, and his *Historia* is highly favourable to his lord and patron, who oversaw its production. The work divides Maximilian's life into three

¹⁵ Holleger, *Maximilian I. (1459-1519): Herrscher und Mensch einer Zeitenwende*, p. 244.

¹⁶ An example of this may be seen in one of Grünpeck's images showing Maximilian consulting his astrologers while a fantastic array of symbols, including a sword, crosses, a comet, and even two jousting knights, are spread out across the heavens. Maximilian has emphatically expressed his dislike of the image by means of a large X through the centre: Bensch and Auer, eds, *Die Historia Friderici et Maximiliani*, fol. 85/p. 127.

stages: his childhood, his life actively campaigning as a young man and his military exploits, and, finally, his years as an elder statesman and patron of the arts.¹⁷

In his writings, Grünpeck highlights several of the key attributes of Maximilian's personality which many other chroniclers also addressed, but which would divide them into opposing schools of thought. Grünpeck's account takes a positive outlook on all aspects of his employer's character. In describing Maximilian's childhood, Grünpeck portrays him as the perfect student in every respect. He relates how Maximilian excelled in all games, lessons, orations, and particularly memorisation.¹⁸ He also writes of the young ruler's famously boundless energy in all pursuits. Maximilian apparently saw to every department of his household, inspected his stables, and would then sacrifice sleep to pursue hunting and hawking, another well-known passion of his.¹⁹ Grünpeck says that, as a child, Maximilian would chase barnyard fowl around the castle courtyard, much to his father's annoyance. As a man, Maximilian hunted at all times of year and in all weather, always wishing to make the final kill unassisted.²⁰

Given this portrayal, it is little surprise that the emperor is also described as highly physically fit and powerfully built as a result of his training in knightly exercises – something pursued since his childhood. The young Maximilian even apparently used to hide from his teachers in order to play at jousting, and Grünpeck describes him as growing up adept at all tournament-related games. In general, Grünpeck seems to focus far more on the physical training elements of Maximilian's childhood rather than his academic pursuits. His strength and athletic prowess are the qualities used to denote him as a noble man and one destined to

¹⁷ Benecke, *Maximilian I (1459-1519): An Analytical Biography*, pp. 7-16.

¹⁸ Grünpeck, *Die Geschichte Friedrichs III und Maximilians I.*, p. 33.

¹⁹ Grünpeck, *Die Geschichte Friedrichs III und Maximilians I.*, p. 63.

²⁰ Grünpeck, *Die Geschichte Friedrichs III und Maximilians I.*, p. 55.

become a great ruler. Apparently Maximilian was such a powerfully built man of such great physical strength that he could lift a lance of ten ells' (approximately the length of a man's arm from his elbow to the tip of his middle finger) length with one outstretched hand and carry it that way.²¹ Descriptions such as these provide readers with a glimpse of Maximilian's chivalric and knightly powers and paint a picture of him as an almost superhuman exemplar of such qualities.

Maximilian's knightly qualities were matched, according to Grünpeck, by his military prowess (an issue to be much debated by other chroniclers); Maximilian reportedly was both popular with and beloved by his soldiers due to his personal bravery and his kindness.²² However, as mentioned above, it is important to note that this work was written with Maximilian's close involvement, making it an undeniably partial account. Yet, at the same time, it deserves to be given a large amount of credence, as Grünpeck's close association and frequent interaction with Maximilian give his work an immediacy and realism.

Another chronicler in Maximilian's employ was Johannes Cuspinianus. Although Cuspinianus also worked for Maximilian, his account of the emperor's character is more practical and less sycophantic than Grünpeck's. Cuspinianus was a humanist scholar who spent some time in the employ of the emperor, although his writings about Maximilian were not published until after the emperor's death, allowing Cuspinianus slightly more literary freedom. Thus Cuspinianus, unlike Grünpeck but as many others were subsequently to do, gives an account of Maximilian not as a child prodigy but as a rather poor student. It was Cuspinianus who perpetuated the myth about the young emperor that he could not speak until he was almost fully grown. Cuspinianus even relates an anecdote telling how, at Maximilian's

²¹ Grünpeck, *Die Geschichte Friedrichs III und Maximilians I.*, p. 40.

²² Grünpeck, *Die Geschichte Friedrichs III und Maximilians I.*, p. 51.

coronation as king of the Romans in 1486, Frederick III announced to all present (rather unpaternally) that Maximilian could not speak even at twelve years old, and his father feared he would remain dumb forever. Yet such an unflattering portrait makes a drastic turnaround, as Cuspinianus then claims that Maximilian went on to become highly proficient in Latin, French, and Italian.²³

Maximilian also manages to make up for his lack of intellectual power by means of a strong physical presence and charismatic character. Like Grünpeck, Cuspinianus also praises Maximilian's affable personality and ability to endear himself to others. In the chivalrous vein, he also paints Maximilian as an emotionally sensitive man, ever courteous to women. After Mary of Burgundy died unexpectedly in 1482, Maximilian reportedly never got over his grief and could not even mention his first wife without sighs and tears.²⁴ And his love for hunting, again emphasised by Cuspinianus as by Grünpeck, was described as a noble exercise far to be preferred to that other common princely pastime, pursuing women, and that this should excuse its cost and consumption of time.²⁵

Cuspinianus also excuses Maximilian's frequently cited inconsistency of character by pointing to his lack of money, another fault frequently picked out by chroniclers – thus one fault is excused by another. This Cuspinianus in turn excuses by saying that Maximilian might have dipped into the large Habsburg family treasure reserves at any time, thus alleviating his financial worries, yet he refused, as he wanted to leave it all to his grandsons.²⁶ In this way Maximilian's perpetual financial insecurity is exempted by giving him the positive qualities of frugality and love of family.

²³ Cuspinianus, *De Caesaribus atque imperatoribus Romanis*, p. 602

²⁴ Cuspinianus, *De Caesaribus atque imperatoribus Romanis*, pp. 604, 612.

²⁵ Cuspinianus, *De Caesaribus atque imperatoribus Romanis*, p. 614.

²⁶ Cuspinianus, *De Caesaribus atque imperatoribus Romanis*, p. 613.

Unsurprisingly, given his connection by marriage to that land, Maximilian also features in numerous Burgundian chronicles. In these, his depiction is not always so flattering as that of the German accounts, although, following his marriage to Mary of Burgundy, many of these authors came under his employ as well. One of these Burgundian writers was Jean Molinet. This Burgundian poet and chronicler recorded several events of Maximilian's reign, and the emperor features largely in his *Chroniques*. As Molinet later served as official court chronicler and historian to Maximilian, his account is also skewed in favour of the joint Habsburg-Burgundian court. One instance of Maximilian's appearance in Molinet's chronicles is when he writes about the betrothal and marriage of Maximilian to Mary of Burgundy, an event which figures in several other Burgundian sources, and which is framed as a desirable event with highly religious overtones, where Mary's union with Maximilian will produce a child destined to rule the Burgundian people. Maximilian is set up as the favourable alternative to the son of King Louis XI of France, another contender for Mary's hand.²⁷ References to tournaments and jousts may be found in Molinet's work as well, such as those held to celebrate the reunion of Maximilian with his father, Frederick III, in Cologne (where he refers to *joustes, banquetz et festoyemens*), followed by his coronation as king of the Romans.²⁸

Another Burgundian chronicler to write about Maximilian, and one who bridges the gap between Burgundian and French perspectives, was Philippe de Commynes, a Burgundian nobleman who later went on to serve King Louis XI of France, the monarch whom Molinet disapproved of as a choice for Mary's husband. Like Molinet, in his memoirs de Commynes does provide an account of the young Maximilian's betrothal and marriage to Mary of

²⁷ Molinet, *Chroniques*, vol. 2, pp. 156-62.

²⁸ Molinet, *Chroniques*, vol. 1, p. 505.

Burgundy.²⁹ Unlike Molinet, however, de Commynes takes a more antagonistic approach, reflecting his French alliances. In his account, much is made of Maximilian's lack of funds, another thread which was to run through a variety of narrative sources. As de Commynes describes it, when Mary's servants went to meet the young archduke of Austria 'they found him with very few funds, and they brought him money, for his father [Frederick III] was a perfectly stingy man – more so than any prince or other person who lived in our time', thus getting in a subtle insult at both Maximilian and his father.³⁰

Indeed, from the beginning, according to de Commynes, the marriage brought no benefit to Burgundy; it brought no wealth, and, instead, the Burgundian subjects had to supply Maximilian with money. De Commynes makes very clear his belief in the superiority of the Burgundian over the Habsburg court when he says that, 'the furnishings of his [Maximilian's] men did not please the subjects of the house of Burgundy, for they had been raised under rich princes who gave them good situations and maintained a household with honor and pomp, with respect both to furniture and also to table service and apparel for themselves and their servants'.³¹ Here the reader is provided with a glimpse of the splendour of the Burgundian court as well as how a young Maximilian might be inspired by and wish to emulate such a lavish court culture. It also makes evident de Commynes' disdain for Maximilian's apparently less than respectable lifestyle.

De Commynes makes no secret of his own opinion of the Holy Roman Empire and its subjects at that point in time either. 'The Germans,' he says, 'are very different [from the Burgundians], for they are rude people and they live rudely'.³² The chronicler also backs the

²⁹ de Commynes, *Memoirs*, vol. 2, pp. 379-85.

³⁰ de Commynes, *Memoirs*, vol. 2, p. 382.

³¹ de Commynes, *Memoirs*, vol. 2, p. 382.

³² de Commynes, *Memoirs*, vol. 2, p. 382.

opinion originally put forth by Cuspinanus that Maximilian ‘had been rather badly educated’, and that he lacked knowledge of great affairs (although he does at least partly attribute this to his youth and coming to live in a land strange to him – i.e. Burgundy).³³ In general, de Commynes portrays Maximilian as incompetent, with never enough men or wise advisers in his service, and, following the death of Mary, unable to fully command or hold the hearts of the Burgundians.³⁴ Gone is the flattering portrait of Grünpeck or Cuspinianus, or even the moderately approving one of Molinet.

Another Burgundian chronicler and courtier who served the dukes of that land was Olivier de la Marche. His own *Mémoires* feature Maximilian, in whose household he held the post of *grand et premier maître d’hôtel*.³⁵ La Marche is of particular interest as a narrative source, as he was highly involved in both Valois and Habsburg court life, but also the world of the tournament. Indeed, he spent his early years as a page in the household of Anthoine de Croy, a knight in the household of the Burgundian duke Philip the Good and a member of the Order of the Golden Fleece. There la Marche would have learned weaponry, horsemanship, and hawking as part of his education, giving him an intimate familiarity with the chivalric lifestyle of the nobleman, something which would be reflected in many of his later writings.³⁶

La Marche also wrote a treatise entitled *État de la maison du duc Charles de Bourgogne*, which was essentially a guide for the running of a princely household based on that of Charles

³³ de Commynes, *Mémoires*, vol. 2, p. 383.

³⁴ de Commynes, *Mémoires*, vol. 2, p. 411.

³⁵ Alistair Miller, ‘Olivier de la Marche and the Court of Burgundy, c.1425-1502’ (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Edinburgh, 1996), p. 43. La Marche would go on to hold this same title in the household of Maximilian’s oldest son, Philip.

³⁶ Miller, ‘Olivier de la Marche and the Court of Burgundy, c.1425-1502’, pp. 14-16. La Marche was also exposed to numerous tournaments as a young man, and he would, in turn, later write about many himself. For example, in 1470 he wrote an account of a *pas d’armes* of famous Burgundian tournament fighter Claude de Vauldrey, who would later fight Maximilian in 1495: the *Traictie d’un Toumoy tenu a Gand par Claude de Vauldrey seigneur de l’Aigle l’an 1469* [o.s.].

the Bold of Burgundy, the father of Mary. La Marche wrote a second, shorter treatise in 1500 entitled *Advis des grans officers que doit avoir ung Roy et de leur pouvoir et entreprise*, which was addressed specifically to Maximilian and which provided an analysis of all the principal officers which a king should employ. These two treatises reflect Maximilian's desire to emulate the Burgundian court lifestyle and illustrate ways in which he could have done so. If some chroniclers, like de Commynes, held a low opinion of the Holy Roman emperor and the Germanic court, then these writings would have offered Maximilian a way to elevate his household and, by extension, his reputation.³⁷

In addition, Maximilian features in other, more unexpected contemporary sources. He is even mentioned in Niccolò Machiavelli's (1469-1527) famous work, *The Prince*. Unfortunately for the emperor, Machiavelli is critical of Maximilian and features him as an example of how a ruler should not behave. The Italian describes him as too secretive and unwilling to take advice, as well as too easily diverted:

Because the Emperor is a secretive man, he communicates his plans to no one, nor does he take their advice. However, when he is carrying out his plans and they begin to be recognized and uncovered, they begin to be criticized by those around him; and he, just as if it were a simple matter, lets himself be diverted. From this results the fact that those things he does one day, he undoes the next; and that no one ever understands what he wants or what plans he is making, and that no one can rely on his decisions.³⁸

Again, the theme of Maximilian's indecisiveness and susceptibility to diversion is brought to the fore, a complaint fairly common throughout the sources. Such a description harks back to complaints about Frederick III. Yet still, incredibly, Maximilian found a way to escape this reputation, largely through the aid of his tournament culture, as will be seen.

³⁷ Miller, 'Olivier de la Marche and the Court of Burgundy, c.1425-1502', pp. 59-65.

³⁸ Niccolò Machiavelli, *The Prince*, trans. and ed. by Peter Bondanella (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), p. 81.

Maximilian also appears in English sources and a comparison of two English diplomats' opinions of him encapsulates the contradictory emotions which the emperor could evoke. The first of these is Richard Pace (1482-1536). Pace was an English diplomat who was engaged in negotiations with Maximilian on behalf of Henry VIII regarding the emperor's wars with the French in northern Italy. Like Machiavelli and some of the Burgundian chroniclers, Pace offers readers a critical view of Maximilian, accusing him of extravagance. According to one of his biographers Jervis Wegg, Pace regarded Maximilian as a 'needy adventurer' and, from his early years in Italy, developed a lifelong dislike of the emperor.³⁹ Pace, again, makes no secret of his low opinion of Maximilian's financial dealings, saying, 'Whenever the King's [Henry VIII] money passed where the Emperor was he would always get some portion of it by force or false promises of restitution'.⁴⁰ Pace also shares the opinion of others that Maximilian was indecisive, saying that he 'doth as often times change his mind as the weathercock doth change his turn'.⁴¹

In contrast to such disparaging remarks is the view of English diplomat Robert Wingfield (1464-1539). Although, despite his more positive view, Wingfield does still lend credence to Maximilian's reputation as a man constantly short of money when he reported that 'Maximilian has lately mortgaged a great portion of his lands'.⁴² Still, Wingfield thought very

³⁹ Jervis Wegg, *Richard Pace: A Tudor Diplomatist* (London: Methuen & Co. Ltd, 1932), p. 7. For a more recent study of Pace, see the works of Cathy Curtis.

⁴⁰ *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, Henry VIII*, ed. by J.S. Brewer, vols 1-2 (London: 1864-1920), vol. 2, p. 517.

⁴¹ *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, Henry VIII*, vol. 2, p. 602.

⁴² *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, Henry VIII*, vol. 2, p. 989. For more on the relationship between Wingfield and Maximilian, see Michael Chisholm, 'Robert Wingfield: English Ambassador to the Holy Roman Empire (1510-1517)', in *Maximilian I. (1459-1519): Wahrnehmung – Übersetzungen – Gender*, ed. by Heinz Noflascher, Michael Chisholm, and Bertrand Schnerb, Innsbrucker Historische Studien, 27 (Innsbruck: Studienverlag, 2011), pp. 71-84.

well of Maximilian, to the disdain of Richard Pace, who wrote that Wingfield took Maximilian ‘for a god, and thinks that all his deeds and thoughts proceed *ex Spiritu Sancto*’.⁴³

Maximilian also found his way into the writings of famed humanist and theologian Desiderius Erasmus of Rotterdam (c. 1466-1536). Unlike his prominent contemporary Machiavelli, however, Erasmus again presents a contradictory picture by praising the emperor as a leader to be admired. Writing in regards to Maximilian’s rulership of the city of Strasbourg, for example, Erasmus said that in Maximilian it had ‘the mildest of princes, whose power it never feels except when it receives some benefit from his wisdom and generosity. And here we have a noble quality, worthy only of a truly great emperor, [...] so the noblest empire is the one which protects instead of oppressing the liberty of its citizens, which fosters instead of driving away its people’s wealth, and makes all things flourish’.⁴⁴ In Erasmus’ eyes, Maximilian was the ideal Renaissance ruler: wise and generous and a man who loves his subjects and takes an interest in their lives.

Erasmus saw rulers such as Maximilian, Francis I of France, and Henry VIII of England as ‘the greatest princes of the world’; they were men who were turning away from war and toward the promotion of the humanities and liberal arts. Because of this, said Erasmus in a 1517 letter to the theologian Wolfgang Faber Capito of Hagenau, ‘I perceive we may shortly behold the rise of a new golden age’, because of the ‘heaven-sent change we see in the minds of princes, who bend all their powers to the pursuit of peace and concord’. Contrary to earlier writings about Maximilian as a young man, where his flaws might come to the fore, Erasmus is writing about the older and presumably wiser Maximilian. This is the Maximilian ‘who in his

⁴³ *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, Henry VIII*, vol. 2, p. 517.

⁴⁴ *Collected Works of Erasmus*, trans. by R.A.B. Mynors and D.F.S. Thomson, vols 1-86 (1974-1993), (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1977), vol. 3, p. 27.

old age, wearied by so many wars, has decided to relax in the arts of peace, which will prove both more appropriate to his time of life and more beneficial to the Christian world'.⁴⁵

As is evident, the overall views are in these narrative sources are conflicting. For every chronicle that says Maximilian was well-educated and intelligent, there is one that claims his learning was stunted and that he was slow to grasp even his native language. They also often criticise his secretiveness and inability to keep his finances organised. His perpetual lack of funds is a common theme throughout many narrative sources. Yet many declare that he was an excellent soldier and leader, while just as many point to his indecisiveness and slowness to act in critical situations. However, even while debating his skill as a campaigner and leader of armies, what many do seem to agree upon, however, is his excellence as a knight. His strength and physical skill come across in his love of tournaments and hunting, even though this might occasionally come at the expense of his attention to his duties as a monarch. Still, the image of Maximilian as a powerful tournament fighter and pursuer of a chivalric lifestyle is often just as vivid in narrative form as it is in the pictorial representations of his reign. Interestingly, it is descriptions like these which eventually led to Maximilian receiving the rather romantic title *Der letzte Ritter*, or 'the last knight' – the epithet which has stuck most persistently to him. Yet this was only bestowed in a nineteenth-century account of his life by Count Anton Alexander von Auersperg.⁴⁶ Out of all these contemporary writers' varied viewpoints, it was a Victorian count who, with a simple phrase, crafted the most enduring image of Maximilian.

⁴⁵ *Collected Works of Erasmus*, vol. 4, p. 261-63.

⁴⁶ Waas, *The Legendary Character of Kaiser Maximilian*, p. 181.

1.3 Visual Sources

The second category of sources utilised at great length in the present study are visual sources, of which a wealth survive relating to Maximilian's reign or to late medieval German tournaments. As will be seen, Maximilian himself had a hand in producing many of them.⁴⁷ At least one thousand pictures of Maximilian survive, many accompanied by entirely uncritical texts.⁴⁸ Many of these also relate to tournaments. The foremost category of illustrated primary source which was of immense value for this thesis is the German tournament book, or *Turnierbuch*. The tournament books produced around the time of Maximilian's reign reveal much about the place of the tournament in the wider Holy Roman Empire. Produced for many different audiences and patrons, they were, for some, a mark of social standing, while others were a historical record, while still others were elaborate exemplars of the idealised tournament.

There are some particularly interesting examples of the *Turnierbuch* which may be examined in this context. One which could be considered the most comprehensive of all German *Turnierbücher* is that by Georg Ruxner (first edition: 1530).⁴⁹ While it relies far more on text than imagery, it still warrants the title 'tournament book' based upon its content. Ruxner's work is a largely fictionalised and glorified chronicle of the most famous tournaments (some

⁴⁷ An excellent catalogue of these may be found in Franz Unterkircher, *Maximilian I.: Ein kaiserlicher Auftraggeber illustrierter Handschriften* (Hamburg: Maximilian-Gesellschaft, 1983). This is a comprehensive survey of the illustrated literary works created for or commissioned by Maximilian in his lifetime, from his childhood *lehrbücher* to his hunting and fishing books to his genealogical works to the eponymous *Freydal*, etc. Unterkircher lists where they can be found in their originals and also subsequently printed editions.

⁴⁸ Fichtner, *The Habsburgs: Dynasty, Culture and Politics*, p. 31.

⁴⁹ Ruxner, Georg, *TurnierBuch Von Anfang, ursprung, und herkommen, der Thurnier im heyligen Römischen Reich Teutscher Nation...* (Frankfurt am Main: Feyerabend & Hüter, 1566), Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek (hereafter referred to as BSB), 4 Mil.g 223 p#Beibd.2. For more on Ruxner, see Klaus Graf, 'Herold mit vielen Namen: Neues zu Georg Ruxner alias Rugen alias Jerusalem alias Brandenburg alias...', in *Ritterwelten im Spätmittelalter: Höfisch-ritterliche Kultur der Reichen Herzöge von Bayern-Landsbut*, pp. 115-26.

real, some not) held since its advent in German-speaking courts, and it places the tournament in a prominent position in the German cultural mind-set. The printed work is enhanced by a series of handsome woodcuts depicting these tournaments, and, taken together, the text and the images create a glimpse into how the tournament was viewed at the time, not just as a military exercise, but as a historical legacy.

The most common type of *Turnierbücher*, however, were those produced for an individual in order to chronicle their singular accomplishments at tournaments which, unlike many of those recorded in the work of Ruxner, actually took place. These *Turnierbücher* are the ones which provide the closest thing to a snapshot of fifteenth- and sixteenth-century German tournaments. Although they vary greatly in their content, artistic quality, and portrayal of the tournament, they offer insight into the tournament which no narrative source alone can. Their individual quality is largely dependent on the person for which the book was produced. In general, the *Turnierbücher* tend to be large manuscripts, which would often have been on display in the subject's home for his guests to admire. One knight, Gasper Lamberger (see below), and his descendents collected signatures of famous guests in his *Turnierbuch*, for example. They follow a similar formula as well: each consists of a series of images depicting a frozen moment of combat, almost always from the joust. Accompanying text is normally minimal, but individual competitors are frequently, but not always, labelled. Many *Turnierbücher* were produced during or shortly after Maximilian's reign, and six especially have been of particular use for this thesis.

The first of these is the *Turnierbuch* produced for Elector Johann of Saxony (1468-1532).⁵⁰ Johann was part of a long-standing noble German family, being the son of Elector

⁵⁰ The prince-electors (*Kurfürsten*) were members of the electoral college of the Holy Roman Empire and were responsible for electing the king of the Romans as well as the Holy Roman emperor.

Ernst of Saxony (who was present in 1486 at Maximilian's coronation as king of the Romans) and Elisabeth, daughter of Duke Albrecht III of Bavaria, as well as the brother to Friedrich III of Saxony, who also took part in Maximilian's tournaments. Known as *der Beständige* ('the constant'), Johann became elector following the death of his childless brother, Friedrich.⁵¹ He served Maximilian in several campaigns in the 1490s. A keen tournament participant, Johann's accomplishment as a competitor in the joust are commemorated in a *Turnierbuch*, produced in the late sixteenth century (c. 1585). Johann's *Turnierbuch* is the first chronologically in a series produced by the electors of Saxony, which collectively cover the period 1487-1566. In the work, Johann is depicted taking part in an impressive 125 jousts from 1487 until 1527. In each image, the viewer is presented with a snapshot of an individual joust between Johann and his opponent, each of whom are labelled and who also include Maximilian. The date and location of each encounter is also normally provided.⁵²

Another *Turnierbuch* produced for an associate of Maximilian was that of Gasper Lamberger (c. 1463-c. 1515).⁵³ Lamberger was from modern Slovenia, but he spent most of his life outside of his homeland, travelling with Maximilian's court and serving as a military commander in his armies. Lamberger's *Turnierbuch* was created c. 1504-1507 and includes eighty-seven images of jousts which took place between 1480 and 1504. It is similar in style to that of Johann of Saxony, although the quality and detail of the drawings are perhaps not quite as fine. Each page shows Lamberger competing in a joust against an opponent, who is also

During Maximilian's lifetime there were four secular electorates: the kingdom of Bohemia, the county palatine of the Rhine, the duchy of Saxony, and the margraviate of Brandenburg.

⁵¹ He often appears across sources as Hans von Saxon.

⁵² *Der Sächsischen Kurfürsten Turnierbücher*, ed. by Erich Haenel (Frankfurt: Verlag von Heinrich Keller, 1910).

⁵³ Lamberger's name also appears as Caspar von Lamberg or Gašper Lamberger.

named. These tend to be other famous knights of the time and, also like Johann's *Turnierbuch*, include Maximilian himself as a competitor.⁵⁴

One man who was not a titled noble, but who moved in courtly society and produced his own *Turnierbuch*, was Ludwig VI von Eyb (1450-1521). Von Eyb 'the Younger', as he was known, to differentiate him from his father, Ludwig von Eyb 'the Elder', was a court official and military leader. He served as *Hofmeister* to several high-ranking nobles of the Holy Roman Empire and, at the end of his life, he was able to retire to his own castle of Hartenstein. He was knighted in 1476, was well educated, and was a member of the tournament society the Order of the Unicorn. His *Turnierbuch*, produced c. 1525, contains images of ten separate tournaments. It is drastically different in style, however, from Johann of Saxony or Gasper Lamberger's in its content and quality. Its focus is solely on mounted group combat, rather than the individual joust preferred by the above knights. There is also less detail and realism to be found in the images. It reflects more the competitions held by tournament societies of this period, but its depictions of tournament settings and the style of combat illustrated make it a useful resource.⁵⁵

There is also the *Turnierbuch* of Duke Wilhelm IV of Bavaria (1493-1550), produced c. 1544 and depicting tournaments in which the duke part from 1510 to 1518. Wilhelm was the son of Maximilian's sister Kunigunde and was thus Maximilian's nephew. Although he was too young to have competed against Maximilian in tournaments, his *Turnierbuch* follows closely in

⁵⁴ *The Tournament Book of Gasper Lamberger / Das Turnierbuch des Caspar von Lamberg*, ed. by Dušan Kos, ed., Codex A 2290, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Wien, Hofjagd- und Rüstkammer, (Ljubljana: Viharnik, d.o.o., 1997).

⁵⁵ Munich, BSB, Cgm 961, *Das Turnierbuch des Ludwig von Eyb*. In addition to producing his *Turnierbuch*, von Eyb was a writer whose biography of German military leader Wilwolt von Schaumburg has also been of use to this thesis: Ludwig von Eyb, *Die Geschichten und Taten Wilwolts von Schaumburg*, ed. by Adelbert von Keller (Stuttgart: Literarischen Vereins, 1859).

the mould of those produced by Maximilian and his contemporaries; each image depicts only Wilhelm and his opponent in a joust, with minimal necessary textual information and an emphasis on the grandeur of the event through highly detailed armour and textiles. Because of this, its high quality and masterful illustrations still make it a valuable contributor to this research.⁵⁶

These *Turnierbücher* were not just for the elite, however. Another which has been of use to this thesis for its images of the late medieval German tournament is that of wealthy Augsburg merchant, Marx Walther (1456-1511). Walther was the fifteenth of twenty-two children born to Augsburg master builder Ulrich Walther. Thanks to his own commercial prosperity and his marriage to Afra Meuting, the daughter of another affluent Augsburg family, Walther was able to devote a substantial amount of his time to competing in the tournaments which took place during civic celebrations held in Augsburg, and his reputation as a skilled competitor enticed several nobles to come compete against him, many of whom feature in Walther's *Turnierbuch* alongside the non-titled citizens of the city. Walther's manuscript is believed to have been created c. 1506-1511; it spans the years 1477-89 and records nineteen separate tournaments. The work offers a vivid depiction of the customs of the smaller tournaments which took place during this time. Its quality, depiction of combat forms, and illustrations of both armour and textiles make it a useful resource, as does its efforts to imitate other noble *Turnierbücher* of the period and its frequent crossover in competitors. Like

⁵⁶ *Turnierbuch Herzogs Wilhelm des Vierten von Bayern, von 1510 bis 1545*, ed. by F. Schlichtegroll. (Munich: 1817). Although Wilhelm was much younger than Maximilian, there is an overlap between the two generations, as Wilhelm appears in a *Turnierbuch* featuring Maximilian, discussed below, at a tournament in Heidelberg in 1511. The two were present at the same tournament, although they did not compete against each other (although, as will be seen later, it is likely that Maximilian was still competing in tournaments at this point in his life; perhaps he did not want to take on such a young opponent): Munich, BSB, Cod.icon 398, *Turnierbuch. Ritterspiele gehalten von Kaiser Friedrich III. und Kaiser Maximilian I. in den Jahren 1489 – 1511*, plate 59.

Lamberger's dual-purpose collecting of signatures in his *Turnierbuch*, Walther also included in his a *Familienchronik*.⁵⁷

Men like Johann of Saxony and Gasper Lamberger were part of Maximilian's immediate tournament network, and their *Turnierbücher* demonstrate an interconnectedness in their participants and in the tournament styles depicted. By producing their own *Turnierbücher*, they were showing themselves to be members of an elite club and were also portraying themselves as equal, in many ways, to Maximilian. Men like Wilhelm IV were later interested in carrying on and upholding this tradition in their own *Turnierbücher*. For men like Walther, this was a chance to emulate the nobility. His own *Turnierbuch* may be seen as aspirational, rather than, like the others, validation of an established social standing.

The *Turnierbuch* which has probably proved most useful to this thesis is one which is believed to have been produced in the mid-sixteenth century in Augsburg (a centre of printing at the time).⁵⁸ The work contains a record of five tournaments, spanning the years 1489-1511. The first of these tournaments took place in Linz at the end of 1489, lasting into the beginning of 1490. The second tournament in the manuscript was held in Innsbruck in 1497, as was the third in 1498. The fourth tournament in the book falls out of chronological sequence, having been held in Nuremberg in 1491. The final tournament took place much later, in 1511, in Heidelberg. The manuscript displays a wide range of styles of joust, including both unique forms of individual and group combat. Also of note is the fact that Maximilian is a competitor in the first four of these tournaments, and the other combatants are some of the most frequent tournament participants in his court (see Table 1).

⁵⁷ Munich, BSB, Cgm 1930, Marx Walther, *Turnierbuch und Familienchronik*.

⁵⁸ Munich, BSB, Cod.icon. 398.

Tournament	Combatants	
Linz, 1489-90	Herzog Erich von Braunschweig	Schennkh Cristoff von Lunburg
	Holzsattel	Hanns Wallenfels
	Herr Gaspar von Lamberg	Herr Anthoni von Yffan
	Herr Anndres von Liechtenstain	Graf Haug von Muntfort
	Wilhalm von Pfirt	Herr Gaspar von Lamberg
	Romischer Kunig Maximilian	Herr Anthoni von Yffan
	Herr Anndreas von Lichtenstain	Herzog Erich von Braunschweig
	Graf Jorg von Pastel	Albrecht von Veilstain
	Romischer Kunig Maximilian	Herr Anthoni von Yffan
	Herr Hanns von Stain	Herr Enngelhart Rorer
	Graf Jorg von Passtel	Albrecht von Veilstain
	Herr Anthoni von Yffan	Herr Christoff Flaischberger
Nuremberg, 1491	Herr Schenk Cristoff von Lunenburg	Romischer Kunig Maximilian
	Desr Margraven diener	Margraf Fridrich von Brandenburg
	Herr Anthoni von Yffan	Herr Christof von Welsperg
	Two tourneys with unnamed participants	
Innsbruck, 1497	Romischer Kunig Maximilian	Herzog Friderich von Saxen Churfurst
	Herr Sigmund von Welsperg	Romischer Kunig Maximilian
Innsbruck, 1498	Romischer Kunig Maximilian	Herzog Hanns von Saxen
	Romischer Kunig Maximilian	Graf Hanns von Montfort
Heidelberg, 1511	Herr Bernhart Beller	Herr Adolff von Biber
	Graf von Ortenburg	Graf von Schellenberg
	Herzog Wilhalm von Bairn	Herr Egloss Stainer
	Herr Steffan von Schmian	Graf von Muntfort
	Graf von Eilberg	Graf Wilhalm von Nassaw
	Herr Jorg von Hirnhaim	Margraf Philip von Baden
	Herr von Woszbach	Graf von Cronberg

	Herr Wolff von Mila		Herr Krafft	
	Der Lung	Der von Habarn	Fransziscus von Sikhingen	Graf von Bitsch
	Herr von Flekhenstain		Herr Hainsz Druchsesz	
	Herr von Schwarzenberg		Gaspar Erelshait	

Table 1: Combatants in Munich, BSB, Cod.icon 398⁵⁹

1.3 Maximilian's Personal Works

The third category of sources may be grouped together as those commissioned and produced by Maximilian personally during his lifetime, all of which also have a strong visual component. These include perhaps the most famous *Turnierbuch* associated with Maximilian: *Freydal*.⁶⁰ The emperor is the undisputed star of this work, as it was one of several books commissioned by him to commemorate his reign. It is slightly different in its concept, however, from the above-mentioned *Turnierbücher*, not in the least because it was intended to be produced as a printed book rather than a single manuscript, although it never made it to print in Maximilian's lifetime.

Freydal uses a fictional setup in which Maximilian (i.e. the valiant young knight Freydal) competes in a series of tournaments in several courts, watched and judged by several noble maidens, in order to eventually reach the court of his intended bride (i.e. Mary of Burgundy). This minimal plot, however, only serves as a framework, allowing Maximilian to be depicted fighting against actual historic figures and members of his court (many of whom also appear in

⁵⁹ Names in this table have been presented in their original ENHG spellings as they appear in the manuscript.

⁶⁰ The original manuscript of *Freydal* (c. 1512-15) is held in the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna (Inv.-Nr. 5073). For the purposes of this thesis, I have relied on *Freydal: des Kaisers Maximilian I turniere und mummereien*, ed. by Quirin von Leitner (Vienna: Adolf Hozhausen, 1880-1882).

BSB, Cod.icon 398). *Freydal* is a unique combination of fiction and reality.⁶¹ In its blurring of real life and chivalric fantasy, *Freydal* is similar in many ways to the common Burgundian tournament format. However, as Heinrich Fichtenau has pointed out, *Freydal* is also very different from any pre-existing Burgundian models. Although Maximilian appears in these illustrations lavishly decked out in Burgundian-style opulence, and could be seen as presenting himself as a true Burgundian duke, the format is far more clinical than traditional Burgundian tournament accounts. More so than any literature detailing the exploits of a Burgundian *bon chevalier* (such as the deeds of Jacques de Lalaing), which often featured detailed descriptions of the extraneous performances and courtly speeches, *Freydal* was a substantial reduction of this presentation, showing that Maximilian's true interest was solely in the tournament itself.⁶²

Freydal consists of 255 plates lavishly illustrating this series of tournament combats. Included are thirty-three iterations of the *Gestech* (including twenty-eight *Welschgestech*), sixty-three iterations of the *Rennen*, two combinations of the *Rennen* and *Gestech*, in which one competitor is equipped for each, and one mounted combat with swords.⁶³ It also includes sixty-four instances of foot combat and sixty-four masked dances, or *mummerei*. These always proceed in a set sequence of two jousts, one foot combat, and one *mummerei*. Differing hands of varying skill levels are obvious throughout the work. Some are closer to the rounded, cartoonish figures like those found in the von Eyb *Turnierbuch*, while some are crisper and more detailed, similar to the quality of the Saxony *Turnierbuch*.

⁶¹ Stefan Krause, 'die ritterspiel als ritter Freydalb hat gethon aus ritterlichem gmute« - Das Turnierbuch *Freydal* Kaiser Maximilians I.', in *Kaiser Maximilian I.: Der letzte Ritter und das böfische Turnier*, pp. 167-80.

⁶² Fichtenau, *Der Junge Maximilian (1459-1482)*, p. 46.

⁶³ Explanation of each of these styles of joust will follow in Chapter 3.

Another work commissioned by Maximilian offers a very different type of tournament record: Maximilian's *Triumphzug*, or his triumphal procession. The *Triumphzug* is a sequence of 137 woodcuts produced at Maximilian's behest, the plan for which was dictated by the emperor to his secretary, Marx Treitsaurwein, in 1512. The architect and designer Jörg Kölderer prepared the original sketches, which were then drawn in full by a collection of noted artists of the time, most particularly Hans Burgkmair (the Elder), although Albrecht Altdorfer, Hans Springinklee, Leonhard Beck, Hans Schäufelein, and Wolf Huber have been credited with contributions as well, and Albrecht Dürer is responsible for at least two of the sheets. Although the first edition of the *Triumphzug* was not printed until 1526, seven years after Maximilian's death (and, even then, it was still incomplete), the original text does echo the voice of the emperor himself. The *Triumphzug* depicts a triumphal procession of all the glories of Maximilian's court. It features musicians, huntsmen, fools, soldiers, nobles, and knights at tournament in various forms and was meant to be viewed and admired by the public.⁶⁴ The concept behind the artwork – that of the triumphal procession of a victorious ruler making a grand entrance into a city – was already part of a strong medieval tradition, and lavish, idealised illustrations of these events were growing in popularity in the fifteenth century, making Maximilian's commission of the work not at all unusual for his time.

Maximilian's *Triumphzug* is uniquely personal to his reign, however.⁶⁵ In it Maximilian gives centre stage to his love of hunting, featuring five differently equipped groups of hunters,

⁶⁴ Eva Michel, "zu ainer gedochtnuß hie auf Erden". Albrecht Altdorfers Triumphzug für Kaiser Maximilian, in *Maximilians Ruhmeswerk: Künste und Wissenschaften im Umkreis Kaiser Maximilians I.*, pp. 381-94.

⁶⁵ For the purposes of this thesis, I have relied upon *The Triumph of Maximilian: 137 Woodcuts by Hans Burgkmair and Others*, ed. and trans. by Stanley Applebaum. The specific tournament-related prints may also be found in *Turnierzug Hans Burgkmair des Älteren*, ed. by Dr Hans Stöcklein (Munich: Verlag für Historische Waffenskunde, 1924). The original prints may be found in the Albertina and the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vienna. Hans Burgkmair the Younger subsequently re-issued the

including falconry and boar or bear hunting. He pays homage to various events he considered central to his legacy, such as his marriage to his first wife Mary of Burgundy (along with accompanying representatives of his acquired Burgundian territories) as well as that of his son Philip the Fair to Juana of Spain (no section, interestingly, is dedicated to Maximilian's second marriage to Bianca Maria Sforza of Milan). Illustrations are included of the Holy Roman Empire's most famous princes, counts, barons, and knights, and the various wars and battles in which Maximilian participated are commemorated. What is critical to note about the *Triumphzug*, however, is that it is not a tournament book. The tournament images do not chronicle specific tournaments, or any real-life event, but portray idealised versions of knights participating in various forms of combat. Like Ruxner's *Turnierbuch*, the value of this work comes not from its depiction of actual historical events, but rather from their representation of a specific, carefully-constructed image of the tournament.

For the purposes of this study, the *Triumphzug* is one of the most useful works produced under Maximilian when it comes to understanding the different forms of joust which he favoured in his court. In this work, the styles of joust to be found in Maximilian's court are specifically labelled, each with an individual name and different forms of equipment and decoration. The *Triumphzug* clearly divides the participants of the *Gestech* and the *Rennen* into two separate categories. The *Gestech* is further subdivided into four varieties, while the *Rennen* is more impressively presented in twelve different forms. The *Triumphzug* played a critical role in memorialising German tournament culture by acting as a survey of each form of joust

tournament prints of the *Triumphzug* with only slight alterations – mainly changes to the dress of the figures. These images have also played a role in this thesis from these sources: *Hans Burgkmair des Jüngerens: Turnierbuch von 1529*, ed. by Dr Heinrich Pallmann (Leipzig: Karl W. Hiersemann, 1910); *Hans Burgkmaiers Turnier-Buch*, ed. by Heinrich Jakob von Hefner, (Frankfurt am Main: Sigmund Schmerber, 1853); and Munich, BSB, Cod.icon. 403, *Turnierbuch - Kopie nach dem Original von Hans Burgkmair*.

favoured by Maximilian in which each image clearly demonstrates what defines the various forms as a *Rennen* or a *Gesteck* and the equipment needed. Hans Stöcklein, in his introduction to a re-printing of the tournament prints alone, says that,

Kaiser Maximilian I. war betanntlich ein begeisterter Freund des, seinem ritterlichen Gefuehl besonders zusagenden, Turniers. Er hat, wie der Freydal beweist, selbst jede Gelegenheit benuetzt, sich auf dem Turnierplatze im Stechen und Rennen zu ueben, hat so manchen Gegner zu Boden gestrecht, ist auch selbst zuweilen abgerannt worden und hat sich in Erfindung neuer Arten des Turniers sowie der Verbesserung der Ruestung eifrig betaetigt. So ist es ganz natuerlich, dass die Darstellung des Turniers in seinem Triumphzuge eine bedeutende Rolle spielen musste.⁶⁶

It must also, however, be clearly stated that none of the images in this work reflect historical tournaments which took place in actuality; they are entirely figurative images in a fictional parade. In other words, the images do not attempt to recreate what an actual moment of combat from the depicted form might look like, as a *Turnierbuch* would. Rather, they are purely a symbol, emblematic of what the ideal competitors in each might look like. The men parade, in groups of five, in a straight line, looking ahead and holding their lances aloft in neat rows, taking their place in the train of sometimes realistic, sometimes fanciful, people, places, and things of Maximilian's realm. Nor are the figures themselves, apart from two exceptions, to be discussed later, intended to be real people of Maximilian's court.⁶⁷ They are generic,

⁶⁶ 'Emperor Maximilian I was, of course, an enthusiastic friend of the tournament, which was particularly suited to his chivalrous feeling. He himself, as *Freydal* proves, took every opportunity to practice the *Gesteck and Rennen* in the lists; he knocked so many opponents to the ground, and he was also sometimes defeated, and he eagerly engaged in the invention of new kinds of the tournament as well as improvement of the armaments. So it is quite natural that the presentation of the tournament had to play an important role in his *Triumphzug*,' Stöcklein, ed. *Turnierzug Hans Burgkmair des Älteren*, p. 9.

⁶⁷ Other sections of the *Triumph* do feature a selection of the actual princes, counts, and knights of Maximilian's court, many of whom did indeed compete in his tournaments, but who, in this work, are not associated with the tournament sections.

occasionally faceless male figures, forming part of the idealised image of one style of joust in its most uniform, refined form.

There is also the question of how believable the *Triumphzug* is as a guide to varieties of the joust. Some forms, as shall be seen in Chapter 3, can be found to have been conducted on a regular basis in Maximilian's court, while some represent more fanciful, imaginative incarnations of the joust. Taken as a whole, these illustrations are elevated above what a real-life occurrence of one of these competitions may have looked like, with all the accompanying inconsistencies and varying factors which might come into play in a real-world situation. They are instead a perfected, streamlined portrayal of how Maximilian, approaching old age, wished his tournaments to be remembered. Apart from the artistic restrictions and limitations of such a work, this lack of acted-out combat in the images suggests a basic understanding on the part of its intended audience of what the names of each specified form meant and the rules which it implied. It expects the viewer to be able to recognise each style and to imagine for themselves the competition which would result from each; it is a celebratory and not a didactic work.

Two other primary sources produced by Maximilian himself have been of use as both illustrated and narrative resources, and these are the printed works *Weißkunig* and *Theuerdank*. These two books are often grouped with *Freydal* in discussions of Maximilian, as the three represent Maximilian's efforts to produce printed works in book form to commemorate his reign in various ways. When combined, these three in particular represent a complete cycle of the emperor's life - although admittedly highly fictionalised - and with Maximilian featuring in each as the allegorical, titular hero. *Weißkunig* tells the story of Maximilian's (the young 'White King') youth and education as he takes over power from his father (the old 'White King') and

goes on to become successful ruler.⁶⁸ Featuring 251 woodcuts, many of which were, once again, the work of Hans Burgkmair, and other thinly disguised historical figures, such as the kings of France and Hungary (the Blue King and the Green King), *Weißkunig*, like *Freydal*, remained incomplete and was not printed during Maximilian's lifetime.⁶⁹

Theuerdank, on the other hand, tells the story of just one event in Maximilian's life: his courtship of Mary of Burgundy. It is an entirely fictional account of how Maximilian/Theuerdank must undertake a dangerous quest to reach his intended bride, performing feats of bravery along the way. *Theuerdank* is the only one of this trilogy to have been published during Maximilian's lifetime, in 1517.⁷⁰ Tournaments play a role in both of these works in vital ways: in *Weißkunig*, we see some of the practicalities of training a noble youth for tournaments, while in *Theuerdank*, we see the most glorified version of the tournament in a chivalric literary setting.⁷¹ Both ideals will play a role in this thesis.

⁶⁸ Editions used for this thesis include *Der Weißkunig: Eine Erzählung von den Thaten Kaiser Maximilian des Ersten* (Vienna: Kurzböck, 1775); *Der Weisskunig: Nach den Dictaten und Eigenhandigen Aufzeichnungen Kaiser Maximilian I*, ed. by Alwin Schultz, reprinted from *Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen des Allerhochsten Kaiserhauses* 6 (1891); *Weiss Kunig: tableau des principaux evenemens de la vie et du regne de l'empereur Maximilian I* (Vienna: Chez I. Alberti, 1799).

⁶⁹ Elke Anna Werner 'Kaiser Maximilians Weißkunig. Einige Beobachtungen zur Werkgenese der Illustrationen', in *Maximilians Ruhmeswerk: Künste und Wissenschaften im Umkreis Kaiser Maximilians I*, pp. 349-80.

⁷⁰ Editions used for this thesis include: *Die Geferlicheiten und geschichten des löblichen streytbaren unnd hochberieympten Helden und Ritters Teüerdancks* (Augsburg: Stainer, 1537), Munich, BSB, Rar. 2195; and *Theuerdank: The Adventures and a Portion of the Story of the Praiseworthy, Valiant, and High-Renowned Hero and Knight, Lord Tewrdannckh*, ed. by W. Harry Rylands (London: Holbein Society, 1884).

⁷¹ Rabea Kohnen, "Das mer gebeert zuo eim Ritter auserkorn". Überlegungen zum Theuerdank', in *Maximilians Ruhmeswerk: Künste und Wissenschaften im Umkreis Kaiser Maximilians I*, pp. 255-80; Hans-Joachim Ziegeler, 'Beobachtungen zur Entstehungsgeschichte von Kaiser Maximilians Theuerdank', in *Maximilians Ruhmeswerk: Künste und Wissenschaften im Umkreis Kaiser Maximilians I*, pp. 211-54.

1.5 Material Culture

Finally, in order to complete the most thorough study of Maximilian's tournaments possible, an examination of the extant material sources is also necessary. These include tournament armour for various varieties of joust, including torso, leg, arms, and head protection, along with lances, and also equestrian equipment. While visual sources such as the *Turnierbücher* prove their worth through their depictions of more ephemeral items, such as textiles, hardly any of which have survived to the present day, the arms and armour which can be studied in person represent the three-dimensional, physical artefacts of Maximilian's time; many of which were touched by his own hand. Details can be discovered here which might not be preserved on paper. Further, these items offer valuable comparative material. Relating surviving tournament arms and armour to those artistic depictions of the same allow us to know how reliable and accurate those images are. For the purposes of this thesis, two collections in particular have been of great use: that of the Royal Armouries, Leeds, and the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna.⁷²

1.6 Conclusions

As this range of primary sources makes evident, the examination of tournaments during Maximilian's lifetime undertaken in the present study is a highly interdisciplinary one which offers a multifaceted look into the social, political, and popular culture of the Middle Ages. Furthermore, it can also, in particular, offer new insight into Maximilian's reign and individual personality. The research for this thesis was conducted by taking a comparative look at these sources in order to build an all-inclusive picture. Whenever possible, the textual sources have

⁷² For a comprehensive list of surviving tournament armour specifically affiliated with Maximilian and its provenance, see Appendix 3.

been studied in their original ENHG. Many of the above-mentioned *Turnierbücher* are available in high-quality digitised copies online through the various libraries which hold them, although, where possible, they have also been viewed in person. The same is true for images of the arms and armour in certain collections, although the critical collections in Leeds and Vienna have been studied in person. Image-focused print sources such as *Freydal*, *Weißkunig*, and *Theuerdank* are available in modern editions, as are all of the chronicles, letter collections, and documents consulted. For sources not yet available in print, the *Regesta Imperii* has been highly valuable, and its summaries of and quotes from certain archival sources have been used in this thesis when the originals have been inaccessible. The many volumes of the *Regesta Imperii* relating to Maximilian's lifetime provide useful descriptions of archival sources, such as letters, which are not yet available in any published form.⁷³

⁷³ J. F. Böhmer, *Regesta Imperii XIV: Ausgewählte Regesten des Kaiserreiches unter Maximilian I. 1493-1519*, 4 vols (Cologne: Böhlau, 1990-2004).

Chapter 2: Tournaments in the Life and Career of Maximilian

2.1 Introduction

Throughout his lifetime (1459-1519), Maximilian hosted, witnessed, and participated in a large number of tournaments – those meetings of athletic competition focused around the joust or foot combat and normally involving some element of spectacle. In various ways, tournaments became an integral part of his life. This chapter will present a study of those which have been compiled over the course of this research, serving as a wide-ranging and thorough representation of the various types of tournaments and the occasions for them in which Maximilian was involved, either as an organiser, a participant, or a spectator.¹ The tournaments span many years, giving us a picture of the way Maximilian kept tournaments a part of his life throughout his reigns as archduke of Austria, king of the Romans, and Holy Roman emperor.² This chapter will also provide an integrated discussion of how tournaments featured in the course of Maximilian's life and reign alongside the other key events of his lifetime.

This collection of tournaments was brought together using a variety of primarily written but also pictorial sources. The starting point for locating this information was the *Regesta Imperii* (see Chapter 1, Section 1.6).³ This was a particularly valuable resource when the

¹ There is, it should be noted, a degree of difficulty in defining what constitutes 'a tournament'. A tournament could last over a period of months; numerous jousts normally took place over these long stretches of time, and the sources are not normally specific on the exact number. This raises another difficulty: it is often impossible to know if Maximilian was a participant or merely a spectator, although there are, luckily, many instances where he is specifically described as taking part, and his opponent is often named as well. This frequency of participation would lead one to believe that when there is simply a passing reference to a tournament taking place, it is more likely than not that Maximilian was directly involved as a competitor, even when it is impossible to say for sure.

² For a map of Maximilian's Holy Roman Empire, see Appendix 1, Figure 1.

³ A search in the *Regesta Imperii* of the volumes relating to Maximilian's lifetime (RI XIV Maximilian I: 1486/1493-1519) yields 71 results for *turnier*, 110 for *rennen*, and 67 for *stechen*.

original source was not easily available or accessible. For the most part, however, descriptions of tournaments have been located across a broad range of source material and from a variety of cultural perspectives. These are mainly the edited collections of letters, *Urkunden*, and *Akten* described in the introduction, as well as several chronicles, and, in some cases, the illustrated *Turnierbücher*.

This chapter will be divided by periods of Maximilian's life. It will also include an examination of his Burgundian inheritance, as an understanding of Maximilian must begin with an understanding of Burgundian culture and history. For a list of the dates, places, and purposes of the primary tournaments in which Maximilian was involved, including his role in them, see Table 2 at the end of this chapter. This list encompasses those tournaments which have been identified thus far. However, there are a variety of caveats that come along with this undertaking. For one, it is almost certain that those recorded represent only a selective sample of the total number of tournaments in which Maximilian was involved during his life. Indeed, it is likely impossible to put forth a specific number of how many tournaments, in total, Maximilian was involved with during his lifetime. One reason for this is that it is likely many casual jousts occurred on a frequent basis which were not worthy of mention and simply did not make their way into any chronicle or official letter which was then archived and preserved. Many of the jousts which are recorded in reference to Maximilian, as this chapter will show, sound quite spontaneous, as if they were thrown together on a whim. This means there could have been countless such jousts organised at the last minute by Maximilian with his companions who were at hand. These may have been informal occurrences, with little attached splendour or spectacle, which were simply part of an afternoon's amusement. There are, as will be shown in this chapter, several passing references to tournaments like this in various sources. It is probable that there were just as many which were held but never written about, as they

would have been considered insignificant or were not attached to a larger, more noteworthy event.

2.2 The Burgundian Inheritance and Influences

In 1473 Maximilian travelled to Trier with his father to engage in negotiations with Charles the Bold over the prospect the marriage of Maximilian and Charles' daughter Mary. There as a young man Maximilian met Charles the Bold and experienced Burgundian court culture for the first time (to which he was much more open than the reserved Frederick).⁴ Fichtenau speculates that in this lavish court he saw the world of his beloved mother, Eleanor of Portugal, which he had never before truly experienced. He saw it *nicht als Nachklang der Vergangenheit, sondern als Vorspiel einer reichen und großartigen Zukunft*.⁵ His love of tournaments and of lavish court culture were steadily growing.

Four years later, in 1477 the eighteen year old Maximilian married the twenty-one year old Mary of Burgundy, sole heiress to her father's lands.⁶ Because of this Mary was the most eligible woman in Europe and had several suitors competing for her hand, the most prominent rival to Maximilian being Charles, son of Louis XI of France.⁷ Later, Juan Luis Vives, a Valencian scholar, and author of the sixteenth century manual *The Education of a Christian*

⁴ Wiesflecker, *Kaiser Maximilian I.: Das Reich, Österreich und Europa an der Wende zur Neuzeit*, vol. 1, pp. 96-104.

⁵ 'not as an echo of the past, but as a prelude to a rich and great future'; Fichtenau, *Der Junge Maximilian*, p. 18.

⁶ Mary was the daughter of Charles and his second wife, Isabella of Bourgon. For more on Mary, see Olga Karaskova, "'Unq dessoir de cinq degrez': Mary of Burgundy and the Construction of the Image of the Female Ruler", in *Authority and Gender in Medieval and Renaissance Chronicles*, ed. by Juliana Dresvina and Nicholas Sparks (Cambridge: Cambridge Scholars, 2012), pp. 319-44.

⁷ Wiesflecker, *Kaiser Maximilian I.: Das Reich, Österreich und Europa an der Wende zur Neuzeit*, vol. 1, pp. 122-36.

Woman used Mary of Burgundy (1457-1482) and Maximilian I as a positive example of a good, healthy marriage:

Mary the wyfe of Maximilian the emperour / whiche had by her father of inheritance all Flanders and Pycatdye / and the people set nought by the symple and softe disposition of Maximilian / and sewed for all theyr matters vnto Mary his wyfe / yet wolde she neuer determyne nothyng without her husbandes aduise / whose will she rekened euer for a lawe / though she myght well inough haue ruled and ordened all as she lyst / with his good wyll: whiche vsed to suffer of his mylde stomacke any thing yet she lyst / vnto his good and prudent wyfe / & that in her owne goodes. So Mary by obeynge her husbände / and regardyng hym so well / brought hym in to great auctorite / and made the people more obedient vnto them both / as though their powers were increased and ayded either by other.⁸

In this picture Maximilian is once again (as seen in Chapter 1, Section 1.2a), although subtly, portrayed as not quite up to the task of taking on the rulership of the duchy of Burgundy. It is to Mary, rather, that the Burgundians look for guidance, and it is only because of her humble deference to her husband that he is tacitly allowed to assume authority. By working together, however, Maximilian and Mary strengthen each other, and the picture painted of their marriage is one of a bond of teamwork and mutual respect. Indeed, Maximilian owed much to Mary, as the wealth and land brought by her to their marriage in 1477 informed, in many ways, the ruler he became.

The ritual of the Valois Burgundian court ‘was to be the principal legacy of Burgundy to early modern Europe’.⁹ And Maximilian certainly wished to uphold, among all the customs, the tradition of tournaments, and all the accompanying pageantry involved, during his reign. Although these tournaments would go on to become something quite different from what was

⁸ Juan Luis Vives, *The Education of a Christian Woman* (London: 1529), Early English Books Online: from a copy in the Folger Shakespeare Library, Washington, DC, pp. 103-04.

⁹ Boulton, *The Knights of the Crown*, p. 359.

seen in the Burgundian court, Maximilian was undoubtedly influenced by his wife's homeland and would continue to manifest this influence throughout his reign.

As a young man, gaining Mary's hand was an unqualified triumph for Maximilian, for it meant that he was to become the next duke of Burgundy, inheriting the vast and culturally rich lands which Mary held. The court culture of Burgundy, in particular, was known for its lavishness. And a central part of that culture was tournaments. The Englishman John Paston, describing the *Pas de l'Arbre d'Or* (the 'pas of the golden tree'), a tournament held to celebrate the marriage of Margaret of York, sister to King Edward IV of England, to Charles the Bold in 1468, wrote that 'as for the Dwkys coort, as of lords, ladys and gentylwomen, knyts, sqwyers, and gentylnen, I hert never of non lyk to it, save King Artourys cort.'¹⁰ A similar impression was surely made upon the young Maximilian.

The medieval duchy and the free county of Burgundy – two separate entities – are most frequently associated with their Valois rulers of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Yet these notably opulent sovereigns and their sumptuous court culture, famous both now and in its own time, were hardly a long-lasting dynasty. In fact, in total there were only four Valois dukes of Burgundy: Philip the Bold (1342-1404), John the Fearless (1371-1419), Philip the Good (1396-1467), and, finally, Charles the Bold (1433-1477). In just over a century, these four rulers helped Burgundy to become one of the most powerful European states, while striving to gradually sever their ties to France and become a fully independent power.

The history of Valois-ruled Burgundy begins during the Hundred Years War. In 1356, when he was only fourteen years old, a young Philip, fourth son of King John the Good of France, earned a reputation for bravery at the Battle of Poitiers when he stood steadfastly

¹⁰ Quoted in Alan Young, *Tudor and Jacobean Tournaments* (London: George Philip, 1987), p. 22.

beside his father in the face of the enemy (it was probably on this occasion that he received the title 'the Bold'). Although Philip was the youngest son of the king, for his valour he was granted the duchy of Burgundy. Through marriage Philip became master of Flanders, one of the richest and most valuable lands in Europe, as well as the county of Burgundy (distinct from the duchy).¹¹ However, as duke of Burgundy, powerful as he was, Philip was still under the rule of the French crown. Yet Philip continued to expand his power as a ruler in his own right. From its northernmost to its southernmost extremities, Philip's domain was about 500 miles; at its widest point, it was about 250 miles. Yet its north-south boundaries were never contiguous; over the reigns of the four dukes the gap splitting the two halves ranged from thirty to 185 miles. The northern group was made up of the Low Countries, while the southern group was concentrated in Burgundy. There were furthermore two Burgundies, the duchy, which was in France, and the county, which was in the Holy Roman Empire. The people in these principalities spoke a mix of Romance and Germanic languages.¹²

It is the third Valois duke of Burgundy, Philip the Good, who is often considered the paradigm of the Burgundian dukes. Handsome, well-dressed, and skilled at popular chivalric pursuits like hunting, fencing, dancing, and jousting, Philip the Good was praised by his contemporaries and well-liked by his subjects. Additionally, he is perhaps most famous for founding the Order of the Golden Fleece. In 1435, Philip signed the Treaty of Arras with King Charles VII of France, which established peace between Burgundy and France while also essentially recognising Burgundy as an independent state. Philip was now freed from feudal obligation to the French king, although the dukes of Burgundy still held no crown for

¹¹ Richard Vaughan, *Valois Burgundy* (London: Allen Lane, 1975), pp. 14-18.

¹² Vaughan, *Valois Burgundy*, pp. 22-24; D'Arcy Jonathan Dacre Boulton, 'The Order of the Golden Fleece and the Creation of Burgundian National Identity', in *The Ideology of Burgundy: The Promotion of National Consciousness, 1364-1565*, pp. 25-27.

themselves. A crown and the title of 'king' would offer some semblance of unity to the geographically and culturally diverse Burgundian lands. Burgundy could now stand comfortably alongside any European kingdom, but it was still a disorganised assembly of various regions. In pursuit of a crown for himself, Philip entered into negotiations with Maximilian's father, Holy Roman Emperor Frederick III, concerning the creation of a distinct Burgundian kingdom. These negotiations came to nothing, though, and Philip remained, to his dismay, technically a vassal of both France and the Empire.¹³

Philip's son, Charles the Bold, continued this quest for a crown during his own reign. Charles ascended to power in 1467 and continued the efforts of his forbearers to unify Burgundy. Above all, Charles was a military man, and he had grand imperial ambitions. He was constantly at war with France, seeking to escape from subordination to the French king.¹⁴ In November 1473 Charles met with Frederick III at Trier. The ever-ambitious Charles wished to be more than just a duke and, technically, vassal to the king of France, and he was hoping to secure a crown and title of 'king' for himself, as his father had striven to do before him. It is possible that he wished to be king of the Romans and even to ascend eventually to the imperial throne. These were both non-hereditary titles, although it seems highly unlikely that Frederick, with his own son Maximilian soon entering adulthood, would have granted them to Charles. And Frederick indeed backed out of negotiations eventually, unwilling to share power with Charles.¹⁵

¹³ Otto Cartellieri, *The Court of Burgundy*, trans. by Malcolm Letts (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co., Ltd, 1929), pp. 9-15.

¹⁴ *Charles the Bold: Splendour of Burgundy*, ed. by Susan Marti, Till-Holger Borchert, and Gabriele Keck (Belgium: Mercatorfonds, 2009), pp. 39-44; Vaughan, *Valois Burgundy*, pp. 80-82; Cartellieri, *The Court of Burgundy*, pp. 20-23.

¹⁵ Graeme Small, 'Of Burgundian Dukes, Counts, Saints and Kings (14 C.E. – c. 1500)' in *The Ideology of Burgundy: The Promotion of National Consciousness, 1364-1565*, pp. 174-75; Vaughan, *Valois Burgundy*, pp. 28-30.

Charles' now infamous death came just four years later, on 5 January 1477. He had lain siege to the city of Nancy, capital of the duchy of Lorraine, in the hopes of uniting his northern and southern territories. The duke's armies were leaving their camps when they were unexpectedly attacked by French forces, and, somewhere in the retreat, Charles was slain. In an instant, the direct male line of Valois succession to the Burgundian lands, established just over a century earlier by Charles' great-grandfather, was broken.¹⁶

While Charles never attained a crown of his own through the aid of Frederick III, there was to be a link between the Valois and the Habsburgs in the form of the 1473 negotiations between Frederick and Charles over the possible marriage of their children. When Charles was killed in 1477, there had been no definitive declaration of Mary's betrothal to any European prince, although there were many men of note seeking her hand. As Charles' only child, and thus heiress to Burgundy, Mary was a much sought-after bride.¹⁷ However, Charles had apparently wished for Mary to choose Maximilian, and in the end Mary was faithful to her father's wishes. She married Maximilian just months after Charles' death.¹⁸

Of the four dukes of Burgundy, although they would have had a cumulative influence on Maximilian, it is Charles the Bold who is the most significant. It was Charles whom Maximilian would have known personally, whose court Maximilian would have been witness to, and whose daughter, Mary, he would wed. Through this union, a bond was created between

¹⁶ Miller, *Olivier de la Marche and the Court of Burgundy, c.1425-1502*, pp. 174-73.

¹⁷ Mary seems to have been Charles' only child, either legitimate or illegitimate. Unlike his father Philip the Good, who was rumoured to have fathered a multitude of illegitimate children from at least thirty-four mistresses, including twenty-six recognised bastards – a common practice in Burgundy – Charles apparently had no mistresses and no children outside of marriage, making Mary's hand in marriage a great prize indeed: *Charles the Bold: Splendour of Burgundy*, p. 42.

¹⁸ Matthias Pfaffenbichler, 'Maximilian und Burgund', in *Maximilian I: Der Aufstieg eines Kaisers, von seiner Geburt bis zur Alleinherrschaft 1459-1493*, pp. 49-51.

the houses of Burgundy and Habsburg, and Maximilian inherited a state and, what is more, a courtly culture, which would influence his own reign.

In his study of the princely culture of Valois Burgundy, Arjo Vanderjagt divides the primary roles of the court into two broad areas: activities associated with the Order of the Golden Fleece and ‘the ideological and political justification of ducal rule as that of a sovereign prince’.¹⁹ Through a display of extravagance at court, the dukes of Burgundy could assert themselves as equals on the European stage of power, not just through military might but also through demonstrations of cultural sophistication, artistic patronage, and, when necessary, over-the-top luxury. Although, as Alistair Miller points out, ‘[t]he use of spectacle and pageantry was not of course uncommon during the later medieval period’, the Burgundians, as he puts it, introduced a ‘new sense of exhibitionism and scale’.²⁰ These were lessons which Maximilian would take to heart.

It was during the reign of the third Valois duke, Philip the Good, that this scale of Burgundian courtly opulence began to rapidly increase. This is perhaps best exemplified by one of the most famous events of his reign, the Feast of the Pheasant, staged by Philip in 1454 at Lille to publicise his desire to launch a crusade against the Turks (a cause Maximilian himself would later take up). The festivities began with a joust in the marketplace, after which attendees proceeded to the banquet. The hall was draped in tapestries, and luxurious fabrics and materials decorated the room. A particularly unusual aspect of the décor were the *entremets*, or table entertainments. These could be as simple and as easy to interpret as a cross with a sounding bell, representing the call to crusade, or as bizarre and indecipherable as a troupe of

¹⁹ Arjo Vanderjagt, ‘The Princely Culture of the Valois Dukes of Burgundy’, in *Princes and Princely Culture: 1450-1650*, vol. 1, p. 54.

²⁰ Miller, *Olivier de la Marche and the Court of Burgundy, c.1425-1502*, p. 100.

musicians seated in a giant pasty, or a magpie seated upon a windmill while people fired arrows at it. Also on display was a barrel containing good and bad wine, which people could try at their discretion, and a fabulous fountain of lead and glass which flowed with rosewater and in the centre of which stood Saint Andrew, the patron saint of Burgundy. Litters bearing the food were let down from the roof of the hall by cranes, and the feasting was interrupted by numerous interludes during which musicians played, short plays were performed, and increasingly elaborate vignettes acted out. The main entertainment of the evening involved a fearsome giant, representing a Saracen, and female figure, representing the Church, in a tower on the back of an elephant, lamenting her state. The feast culminated with Philip being presented with a live pheasant, and he and those other nobles present promising oaths to take up the call to crusade.²¹

More similarities to Maximilian's own rule may be found in these ostentatious displays. In the view of that eminent historian Johan Huizinga, the Feast of the Pheasant was no more than an out-of-touch, nostalgic revival of a dying medieval tradition. It should be seen as no more than an extravagant indulgence in an old form of ritual not to be taken seriously, even by those involved; the superficial pomp was simply a way for the aristocracy to play-act and laugh at themselves.²² Yet the reasons behind Philip the Good's famous feast are likely far more canny and rational. The purpose of this feast was publicity, pure and simple. It was a way for Philip to promote the desired crusade to the nobles present and, critically, to the public who witnessed it from a viewing gallery. These observers could then spread tales of what they saw to others and circulate the much-desired crusader message. The pageantry involved was not

²¹ Cartellieri, *The Court of Burgundy*, pp. 140-50; Miller, *Olivier de la Marche and the Court of Burgundy, c.1425-1502*, pp. 76-78.

²² Johan Huizinga, *The Waning of the Middle Ages* (London: Edward Arnold & Co., 1924), pp. 80-81.

just for the amusement of the participants, or a chance to show off Burgundian wealth, but was serving a carefully calculated purpose. It was a means of conveying a message, for Philip did not have the resources to launch such a campaign on his own.²³ Thus, as they did with many other things, the Valois dukes used their extravagant courtly displays as a tool to serve a specific purpose, whether it was political manoeuvring or encouraging unification or promoting a crusade. This was a method which, in later years, Maximilian himself would take up.

The dukes' propagandistic efforts and their generations-long development of courtly ritual and cultural extravagance culminated under Charles the Bold. For ducal festivities, numerous short-term works were commissioned by Charles; *entremets* continued to enjoy popularity, and one could also find fountains which flowed with wine, architecture constructed temporarily for certain events, and decorations and costumes which were made to be used only once. Yet Charles patronised numerous long-term projects as well. Court artists were commissioned to produce paintings and portraits, tapestries were designed, as well as gold and silverware objects. Items like clocks, automata, chandeliers, and mirrors were also commissioned by Charles for the benefit of the Burgundian dynasty. As duke, he strove to foster an image of both artistic and literary patron. The epics and romances which he had translated and with which he filled the ducal library were often ones which provided ideal chivalric models and inspiration to members of the court. Upon his marriage Maximilian inherited the library of the Burgundian dukes, which contained not only histories of the house of Valois but chivalric tales as well, like the legends of Arthur, popular mythology, and stories of Alexander, Hannibal, and Caesar, as well as books on hunting.²⁴ This collection may have

²³ Miller, *Olivier de la Marche and the Court of Burgundy, c.1425-1502*, pp. 65-70.

²⁴ Fichtenau, *Der Junge Maximilian (1459-1482)*, pp. 44-45.

had an influence on the sorts of works Maximilian was later interested in producing to commemorate his own reign – yet another way Burgundy influenced the ruler. Each of these elements was part of a careful choreography of power executed by Charles. There was deliberate reasoning behind each one. Objects such as paintings and tapestries often commemorated Valois ancestors, both real and legendary.²⁵ Again, this was a technique which Maximilian would later adopt enthusiastically in commissioning his own genealogy.

The Burgundian court became an example for other rulers and was either directly copied by other European princes or at least influenced them in some way. It was an archetype for King Edward IV of England, for one, who requested a treatise from Burgundian chronicler Olivier de la Marche on the running of the court. This manuscript, titled *État de la maison du duc Charles de Bourgogne*, details the structure and organisation of the ducal household, as well as its ceremonial functions. Essentially, it was a guidebook for a king who wished to raise the profile of his court. And Edward IV was not the only one to make use of this treatise.²⁶ Significantly, Maximilian also possessed a copy, which served as a manual for both him and his son, Philip the Fair. In this way, '[t]he Burgundian princely court thus became something of a model for rituals of the representation of political power and for cultural tastes'.²⁷ Critically, the court managed to combine both the impression of strong rulership with the distinctions of refinement and good taste.

Finally, one further crucial element of Burgundian courtly culture was the Order of the Golden Fleece.²⁸ Monarchical orders, made up of knights and nobles and dedicated to

²⁵ *Charles the Bold: Splendour of Burgundy*, pp. 51-61.

²⁶ Miller, *Olivier de la Marche and the Court of Burgundy, c.1425-1502*, pp. 59-63

²⁷ Vanderjagt, 'The Princely Culture of the Valois Dukes of Burgundy', p. 64.

²⁸ A collection of the heraldry associated with members of the Order has been preserved in the lavishly illustrated manuscript in Paris, Bibliothèque National, Ms. Arsenal 479, *Le Grand Armorial de la Toison d'Or*.

promoting the ideals of chivalry were popular in many princely courts. However, these unique societies had, according to D'Arcy Boulton, largely fallen out of favour by 1390, with relatively few being maintained due to the commitment and expense required.²⁹ Yet this would all change in 1430, as the Valois dukes made their own foray into the realm of knightly orders with the foundation of the *Ordre de la Thoison d'Or*, or the Order of the Golden Fleece.³⁰ The Order was founded by the third Valois duke of Burgundy, Philip the Good. This action was just another way to elevate Burgundy to the same level as England and France, who each had their own well-established knightly orders.³¹ The proclamation of Philip's intention to form his own order was announced amidst a series of lavish festivities, including feasting and tournaments.³²

Burgundian dukes faced a difficulty which Maximilian himself would later face as emperor: ruling lands which were spread out over a wide geographical area and encompassed people of different cultures and languages. The Order of the Golden Fleece was used by the dukes as a tool in these circumstances. It could be used to promote loyalty to the Valois dynasty and serve as a symbol of their power. Not only were symbols of the Order incorporated into the heraldic arms of many of its members, but they were also often displayed

²⁹ D'Arcy Jonathan Dacre Boulton, *The Knights of the Crown: The Monarchical Orders of Knighthood in Later Medieval Europe, 1325-1520* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1987), pp. 103, 356-58.

³⁰ The fleece after which the Order was named could refer to two different tales. The most well-known was the golden fleece of Colchis, taken by Jason and the Argonauts of classical Greek legend. This heroic story was an apt one for the chivalric principles promoted by the Order; however, Jason was a pagan hero and not infallible. So, instead, a new 'fleece' was found, and the Order's name was declared instead to refer to the fleece of the humble biblical hero Gideon. This connection was tenuous, as this fleece was not golden, nor was it a trophy for brave actions, but the story was deemed more suitable for the Order. Still later, other fleeces would be invoked to represent the Order. Huizinga, *The Waning of the Middle Ages*, pp. 76-77, Boulton, *The Knights of the Crown*, pp. 367-69.

³¹ England's the Order of the Garter and the France's the Company of the Star, founded by Philip the Good's own great-grandfather, King John the Good of France. Philip was, in fact, elected to membership in England's Order of the Garter in 1422, an offer which he did not accept, possibly in order not to tie himself too closely to England. Boulton, *The Knights of the Crown*, p. 358.

³² Boulton, *The Knights of the Crown*, pp. 360-62.

in public places and cities.³³ In this way, even when not physically present, the dukes could remind citizens of their authority and continue to assert their dominance through the power of imagery. The creation of the Order was part of Valois efforts to create a sense of Burgundian nationality.³⁴

By endowing the Order with such prestige, Philip was at the same time making the position of sovereign of the Order of the Golden Fleece one of significant power. It conveyed prestige and status to its holder, elevating him above other ordinary dukes and giving them an aura of kingship.³⁵ Philip maintained the Order until his death on 15 June 1467, at which time Charles the Bold took over as sovereign. Although Charles' reign was often turbulent, he upheld the Order until his untimely death in 1477, after which Maximilian became the third sovereign of the Order upon his marriage to Mary, just as he assumed the title of duke of Burgundy. By assuming this role as sovereign, Maximilian was laying claim to the preeminent symbol of the Burgundian dukes.

A question which has been much debated is whether the death of Charles the Bold at Nancy in 1477 and the marriage of his daughter Mary to Maximilian of Austria represents the collapse of Burgundy. How much continuity may be found between the Valois and the Habsburg ruled Burgundy? Charles had no sons, legitimate or otherwise, to carry on the Valois

³³ Vanderjagt, 'The Princely Culture of the Valois Dukes of Burgundy', p. 59.

³⁴ The insignia of the Order was a representation of Burgundian unity in itself and was a combination of several Burgundian elements. The collar of the Order incorporated the cross of Saint Andrew with the secular badge of the dukes – the flaming flint and steel, or *fusil* – and the pelt of the much-debated golden fleece. The chain of the collar was formed of interlocking *fusils* in the shape of B's. Maximilian can be seen wearing this collar in several of his own portraits. Boulton, 'The Order of the Golden Fleece and the Creation of Burgundian National Identity', pp. 27, 33-35.

³⁵ Boulton, 'The Order of the Golden Fleece and the Creation of Burgundian National Identity', pp. 28.

legacy, and his only daughter's marriage to the son of the Holy Roman Empire meant that another dynasty was bringing Burgundy into their fold.

Richard Vaughan has stated explicitly, 'Burgundy fell with Charles the Bold on the battlefield of Nancy on 5 January 1477.'³⁶ He further claims that there was political decline within the territories prior to and during Charles' reign, leading to a slow degradation of Burgundy, with Charles' death as the final straw. When Maximilian married Mary, he had no experience of Burgundian administration, and he was not welcomed with open arms by all Burgundian citizens, as the above quote from Vives shows. Within weeks of the Battle of Nancy, Louis XI had retaken the duchy of Burgundy, the original heart of the dukes' power. The new Burgundy, over which Maximilian ruled, was structurally different and took on a new, distinctly Habsburg significance, soon to be, Vaughan argues, completely overwhelmed by the Renaissance and early modern era.³⁷

However, arguments have been made more recently that this is not the case, and that the death of Charles the Bold did not necessarily equate to the death of Burgundy. Graeme Small disagrees with the idea that the entity of Burgundy disappeared with Charles.³⁸ The idea that a complex political entity, built up for over a century, would simply collapse in a moment following the Battle of Nancy does not seem logical. There is more continuity to be found between the two reigns than not. Many courtiers, such as the chronicler Olivier de la Marche,

³⁶ Vaughan, *Valois Burgundy*, p. 194.

³⁷ Vaughan, *Valois Burgundy*, p. 194.

³⁸ Small, 'Of Burgundian Dukes, Counts, Saints and Kings (14 C.E. – c. 1500),' p. 178. This idea is largely based on the assumption that, with Charles' death, the Burgundian territories were divided between the Holy Roman Empire and the kingdom of France. And Maximilian's ascendancy to Burgundian power did also, admittedly, coincide with a period of strife for the territories, as they were facing dual threats from both France and the Flemish cities. The old duchy of Burgundy was also lost to the French crown later in 1477.

who had served the Valois dukes went on to serve Maximilian and his successors, a sign that there still existed the concept of a 'Burgundy' to serve.

The continuation of the Order of the Golden Fleece can be seen as another indicator of continuity. There were initial fears that France's Louis XI might take possession of the Order, but Maximilian revived it and became sovereign himself, holding his first meeting in 1478. The Order was a major icon of Burgundy, and by taking it up and, in turn, passing it on to his own son, was a strategically clever move for Maximilian, as it lent further credence to his rule. He was able to claim four powerful foreign monarchs as members of the Order – Edward IV of England, John of Aragon and Navarre, Ferdinand of Naples, and Ferdinand of Castile – illustrating his international prestige.³⁹ Indeed, it was the magnificence of the court, the trademark of the Valois dukes, which Maximilian endeavoured to preserve and maintain, although it would continue to evolve in new directions under his rule. It remained a centre of cultural patronage and a site of elaborate festivals and displays of pageantry. Maximilian would adopt this ethos and perpetuate it, attempting to assume the mantle of Valois extravagance.

The personality of Maximilian, his inheritance of Burgundian lands, and the prevalent tournament culture of the time all came together in a perfect concordance, allowing Maximilian to build a court which presented tournaments unlike any seen before. Maximilian was undoubtedly influenced by Burgundy, which was the leading example at the time in Europe of elevated courtly culture for those in the neighboring Habsburg territories. In Burgundy, Maximilian would have witnessed new art and culture, luxurious court life, fabulous hunts and tournaments, as well as dances and celebrations, with Charles the Bold reigning over

³⁹ Miller, *Olivier de la Marche and the Court of Burgundy, c.1425-1502*, pp. 178-88; 203-209.

all as the ultimate example of knightly success.⁴⁰ Following his marriage to Mary, Maximilian's time in the Burgundian court in Ghent pleased him greatly, and there he experienced tournaments and banquets and dances in the Burgundian style.⁴¹ Such a scenario does support the idea put forth by Wiesflecker that Maximilian's time in Netherlands immediately after his marriage was the time of his longest and most influential exposure to Burgundian court life, as well as his happiest period. It opened him up to new possibilities. Most significantly, placed in great prominence in the Burgundian court as a requisite activity for a young man, following war and the hunt, was the tournament.⁴²

Still, in many ways, Maximilian was far removed from his natural environment as a duke of Burgundy, as it was far removed from the culture he had been born into. In such an environment, the only place he could present himself as an unquestioned equal to the Burgundian elite society around him was in hunting or in the tournament. And he always was trying to prove himself. Previous Valois dukes of Burgundy would never have attempted to write or commission books on the immense variety of subjects which Maximilian hoped to produce.⁴³ Maximilian was a planner on a grand scale. He found new and innovative ways to use the tournament, both during his own lifetime in the activities of his court, and in the works he produced commemorating his reign. Fichtenau admirably compares the approaches of Maximilian and the Valois dukes when he says,

⁴⁰ Klaus Brandstätter, 'Aspekte der Festkultur unter Maximilian', in *Maximilian I. (1459-1519): Wahrnehmung – Übersetzungen – Gender*, p. 159.

⁴¹ Gröbning, *Maximilian I.: Kaiser, Künstler, Kämpfer*, pp. 70-71. Gröbning paints a romantic picture of Mary watching Maximilian prove himself as a skilful tournament competitor and growing his reputation while she and her ladies, all elaborately dressed, look on.

⁴² Wiesflecker, *Maximilian I.: Die Fundamente des habsburgischen Weltreiches*, pp. 62-63.

⁴³ Maximilian produced or wanted to produce hunting and fishing books, armoury books, genealogies, tournament books, commemorative works of art; his elaborately designed tomb in Innsbruck (even though he does not actually rest there) is also another example of this. Fichtenau, *Der Junge Maximilian*, pp. 43-44.

Seine [Maximilian's] Leistung sollte ihn von den anderen unterscheiden, nicht in steifes Zeremoniell ihn über die adelige Gesellschaft emporheben. Er hat die Ritterspiele sozusagen 'privatisiert': Was in Burgund mit Wappenschau, Aufzug, Preisverteilung und ähnlichem verbunden war, wurde zur sportlichen Übung, die mit den gerade anwesenden Gästen vor dem Abendessen betrieben werden mochte.⁴⁴

2.3 Archduke of Austria and King of the Romans

Maximilian was born 22 March 1459 in Wiener Neustadt, Austria, the son of Holy Roman Emperor Frederick III and Eleanor of Portugal (1434-1467). As a young man, he held the title of archduke of Austria, as the Habsburg family had been the dominant rulers in that area for centuries.⁴⁵ Yet Maximilian's childhood was not marked by great prosperity or glamour. According to Heinrich Fichtenau, war and hunger would have been Maximilian's first childhood impressions growing up in the court of his father, Frederick III, which was not an affluent one.⁴⁶ This is rather unlike the glorious images of princely education presented in later works produced by Maximilian, like *Weißkunig*. Still, in his childhood home of Wiener Neustadt, Maximilian did begin to receive the requisite princely training in the mental as well as the physical arts which were to appear later in that more glorified version. At this time, while he was still a child in reality and before he could go back and reconstruct his childhood as he may have preferred it, Maximilian was already indicating a fascination with the tournament. This is perfectly demonstrated in a childhood doodle preserved in one of Maximilian's

⁴⁴ 'His [Maximilian's] accomplishment should distinguish him from others, not elevate him in stiff ritual above noble society. He 'privatised', so to speak, the tournament: What was connected in Burgundy with heraldry, elevation [in society], distribution of prizes, and the like became a sporting exercise, which would be conducted with the guests present before dinner'; Fichtenau, *Der Junge Maximilian*, p. 46.

⁴⁵ Wiesflecker, *Kaiser Maximilian I.: Das Reich, Österreich und Europa an der Wende zur Neuzeit*, vol. 1, pp. 65-87.

⁴⁶ Fichtenau, *Der Junge Maximilian*, pp. 11-12.

Lehrbücher.⁴⁷ In the margins, like any bored schoolchild, a youthful Maximilian has sketched a picture of himself as a knight on horseback holding a lance.⁴⁸

This fascination is later illustrated retrospectively in *Weißkunig*.⁴⁹ In one image from Maximilian's pseudo-biography, Maximilian, identifiable by his long hair and crown of laurels, is pictured training in all physical skills required of a young prince, including wrestling and archery with both a longbow and crossbow. He is also seen playing with toys representing jousting knights on horseback.⁵⁰ As an adult Maximilian no longer had to be content with drawing the jousting knight; he could instead grant his younger self in retrospect elaborate toys with which to play.

As mentioned above, following his marriage to Mary of Burgundy Maximilian lived many happy years of his youth in the Netherlands, a principal cultural centre of late medieval Europe, where he was exposed to music and art and cultural exchange. Such a life stood in contrast to one which might have been lived in the traditional capitals of the Habsburg emperors, such as Wiener Neustadt, Graz, and Vienna, which were isolated on the eastern edges of the Empire.⁵¹ It also stood in contrast to life in his father, Frederick III's court (despite the impression later highly romanticised accounts in *Weißkunig* might try to give).⁵²

⁴⁷ See Appendix 1, Figure 2.

⁴⁸ Heinrich Fichtenau, ed., *Die Lehrbücher Maximilians I. und die Anfänge der Frakturschrift* (Hamburg: Maximilian Gesellschaft, 1961), plate 43. The *Lehrbücher* of Maximilian are a fascinating study in their decoration, academic exercises, and what they reveal about princely education. See also *Ein Lehrbuch für Maximilian I.* (Codex Ser.n. 2617, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vienna) (Salzburg: Andreas & Andreas, 1981).

⁴⁹ See Appendix 1, Figure 3.

⁵⁰ *Der Weißkunig: Eine Erzählung von den Thaten Kaiser Maximilian des Ersten* (Vienna: Kurzböck, 1775), plate 15. Such toys existed in real life. Two examples are preserved in the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna: Inv.-Nr. P 81, P 92.

⁵¹ Cuyler, *The Emperor Maximilian I and Music*, p. 18.

⁵² For more on the court life of Frederick III, see Paul-Joachim Heinig, 'Reich und Adel in der Epoche Kaiser Friedrichs III.', in *König, Fürsten und Reich im 15. Jahrhundert*, ed. by Franz Fuchs, Paul-Joachim Heinig, and Jörg Schwarz (Cologne: Böhlau, 2009) pp. 193-211.

Soon, however, Maximilian was forced to become an active leader and to defend his new Burgundian territorial acquisitions from the king of France, Louis XI. In this he was successful, defeating the French at the Battle of Guinegate in 1479 – the first major battle of the young archduke’s life. Maximilian’s victory was due, in large part, to his revolutionising of his military forces, which began around this time. Inspired by the fighting techniques of Swiss mercenary pikemen, Maximilian began to utilise infantry forces and staff weapons against cavalry in ways never done before. These specialised troops became known as the *Landesknechte*; they have become a central part of Maximilian’s legacy and are a further indication of his passion for innovation in forms of combat, whether military (as in the *Landesknechte*) or chivalric (as in tournaments).⁵³

Sadly, Mary and Maximilian’s marriage was short-lived. Mary died in 1482 following a fall from her horse while she was out hunting. By all accounts, their match had been a truly romantic one, and Maximilian was devastated by her loss. Mary and Maximilian had two children who survived to adulthood: Philip (‘the Fair’) (1478-1506) and Margaret of Austria (1480-1530).⁵⁴ Maximilian was now in the precarious position of having to hold together his own German and Austrian lands with his Burgundian territories without the help of his Burgundian wife. Maximilian was forced to sign the Treaty of Arras in 1482, which returned

⁵³ Wiesflecker, *Kaiser Maximilian I.: Das Reich, Österreich und Europa an der Wende zur Neuzeit*, vol. 1, pp. 144-54.

⁵⁴ Wiesflecker, *Kaiser Maximilian I.: Das Reich, Österreich und Europa an der Wende zur Neuzeit*, vol. 1, pp. 160-64. Philip would go on to become Duke of Burgundy under Maximilian’s guardianship following his mother’s death. He married Juana of Castille (1479-1555), sometimes known as ‘Juana the Mad’, and their son, Charles V, became Holy Roman emperor after Maximilian’s death. Margaret was married twice, and, after the death of both her husbands, she went on to become a successful ruler in her own right, serving as governor of the Netherlands after her brother’s death and as guardian to his son Charles.

sovereignty of several territories to the French king while agreeing to the betrothal of young Margaret to Charles VIII of France.⁵⁵

In 1485, however, Maximilian's star was on the rise again, as his father elected him to be king of the Romans. This was a much needed boost to Maximilian's profile on the European stage at this time, and, as such, it was to be marked as an occasion of great importance.⁵⁶ On 8 March 1486, Frederick, Maximilian, and other princes, counts, and nobles arrived in Frankfurt to crown Maximilian. The title of 'king of the Romans' was the closest equivalent to a German king. It was often held as a preliminary royal title by those likely to become Holy Roman emperor, and it was commonly used to secure the title in the future for a chosen heir, in this case Maximilian by Frederick III. Roman kings, however, were crowned in Germany, while Holy Roman emperors were anointed in Rome.⁵⁷

On 31 March the party travelled to Cologne, where Maximilian was crowned by the archbishop of that city.⁵⁸ Present in positions of prominence were many high ranking nobles of the empire, including respected elder statesmen Count Palatine of the Rhine Philip (1448-1508), Duke Ernst of Saxony (1441-1486), and, of especial note, Duke Adolf of Cleves.⁵⁹

⁵⁵ Wiesflecker, *Kaiser Maximilian I.: Das Reich, Österreich und Europa an der Wende zur Neuzeit*, vol. 1, pp. 165-67.

⁵⁶ Wiesflecker, *Kaiser Maximilian I.: Das Reich, Österreich und Europa an der Wende zur Neuzeit*, vol. 1, pp. 182-94.

⁵⁷ Cuyler, *The Emperor Maximilian I and Music*, pp. 1-2, 33. Neither title was hereditary.

⁵⁸ Several German sources exist which recount this event, including *Krönung Erzherzog Maximilians zu einem römischen König* (Augsburg: Anton Sorg, 15th century), Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Ink. 18.C.19; Eugen Schneider, 'Johan Reuchlins Berichte über die Krönung Maximilians I. in Jahre 1486', *Zeitschrift für die Geschichte des Oberrheins*, 52 (1898), 547-559; and *Coronatio Maximiliani* (Mainz: Peter Schoeffer, 15th century) Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Ink. 2.H.111 and *Coronatio Maximiliani I., archiducis Austriae, in regem Romanorum* (Hanover: 1613), Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Ink. 28.V.30 – two editions of the same account.

⁵⁹ Duke Adolf of Cleves (1425-1492), lord of Ravenstein and Winnendahl, was the nephew of Duke Philip the Good of Burgundy and was raised in his court. He belonged to Burgundian courtly nobility and was a leading captain in the Burgundian military. His second wife, Anna, was the daughter of Philip the Good. He was also one Burgundy's most celebrated tournament heroes and a knight of the Golden Fleece (since 1456). He appeared as the 'Knight of the Swan' at the Tournament of the

Before Maximilian's coronation in February 1486 in Frankfurt, father and son filled their time with an endless round of feasts and festivities which included, in a prominent role, tournaments.⁶⁰ One account, written in Latin, mentions *bastiludia* (tournaments) being held on the final Saturday of the festivities amongst all the German nobles and princes remaining there before they returned to their homelands.⁶¹ Maximilian himself took part in the jousting.⁶²

A reference to these events may also be found in the writings of the French chronicler Jean Molinet. During this time of merriment, *joustes* were often recorded as being one of the standard expressions of celebration, along with dances and banquets to honour the *très victorieux et très illustre prince l'archiduc Maximilian*.⁶³ For example, to pass the time, a joust was held between two knights *à la mode d'Alemaigne* ('in the German style').⁶⁴ In his writing, Molinet continuously refers to these events using the terms *joustes* (noun – plural) or *joustérent* (verb – plural). No explicit, literal phrase for 'tournament' is featured.

Swan (1454), hosted by Philip the Good. At the wedding of Margaret of York to Charles the Bold of Burgundy (1468) he jousted against the Baron of Scales, brother-in-law to King Edward IV of England. He acted as governor of the Netherlands by appointment of Duke Charles in his absence during the Lorraine campaign (1475). Upon the death of Charles, Mary of Burgundy named him governor of Hainault (1477-82). Both he and his brother campaigned for their sons to wed Mary, but Maximilian's ascension did not change his standing in court. He was also the one who made Maximilian a knight of the Golden Fleece, and he was godfather to his son, the young archduke Philip. After the death of Mary, he was responsible for the guardianship and education of the young prince, which took place primarily in Mechlin, along with the assistance of Olivier de la Marche.

⁶⁰ There are also the jousts in which the young archduke of Austria, Maximilian, may have participated in as a teenager, before he came into the spotlight when he married the high profile Mary of Burgundy, or when was crowned king of the Romans, as well as the mounted jousts or foot combats which may have qualified as a form of knightly training for the young Maximilian, although whether or not he could be said to be truly 'competing' in such an environment is debatable. Such possible events are well-documented in works like *Weiskönig*, but these are not historically verifiable sources.

⁶¹ *Coronatio Maximiliani I., archiducis Austriae, in regem Romanorum*, p. 22: *Sic per dies quatuordecim magna consilia habuerunt. Quid conclusum est, expectemus cum patientia. Etiam Principes bastiludia fecerunt inter se; & post multa consilia Principes separate sunt, quilibet ad terram suam.*

⁶² *Krönung Erzherzog Maximilians zu einem römischen König*, p. 17.

⁶³ Molinet, *Chroniques*, vol. 1, p. 469. Mentioned by Molinet are: *cerimonies, entrées, receptions, joustes, banquetz, festoyemens, nouvelletéz, singularitéz, honneurs et magnificences que nous appellons triumphes.*

⁶⁴ Molinet, *Chroniques*, vol. 1, p. 471. The German-style is an oft-used descriptive term in the language used at this time relating to tournaments. More on the meaning and significance of these terms will follow in a later chapter.

After Maximilian's coronation as king of the Romans, however, he still continued to be beset by troubles, including continued war with France over his Burgundian territories, and he also faced uprisings in the Netherlands. In 1488, he was even held captive for over three months by the citizens of Bruges in a conflict over taxation.⁶⁵ It became vital that the young ruler prove himself capable, and tournaments began to come to the fore as a way of putting on a show of strength.

One well-recorded tournament involving the now king of the Romans occurred over the Christmas and New Year period of 1489-90, beginning on the day before All Saints' Day (1 November). Like the tournaments which accompanied Maximilian's 1486 coronation, these individual jousts were part of a long, festive period, and not the isolated events of a single day. This tournament was documented visually in the mid-sixteenth century *Turnierbuch*, BSB, Cod.icon 398.⁶⁶ This particular tournament was held in Linz and was hosted jointly by Frederick III and Maximilian, together with Matthias Corvinus, king of Hungary. Mathias I, Corvinus (1443-1490), was at war with Frederick III frequently throughout his reign. This tournament was held not long after the two rulers reached peace terms, and shortly before Mathias' death in April 1490, presumably as a display of peace and concordance.⁶⁷

⁶⁵ Wiesflecker, *Kaiser Maximilian I.: Das Reich, Österreich und Europa an der Wende zur Neuzeit*, vol. 1, pp. 207-216.

⁶⁶ Munich, BSB, Cod.icon 398, plate 13: *Der Allerdurchleüchtigist Großmechtigist un übermindlichist Kaiser Friderich mit sampt seinem geliebten sün Maximilian Romischer Kunig im vierzehnhundert und neun unnd achtzigigsten Jar hielten am tag zue Linz mit dem Konig von Ungern da haben dise nachgeschribnen herren dises Ritterlich spil gehalten wie hernach volgt* ('The most royal, most powerful, and most eminent Emperor Frederick, together with his beloved son Maximilian, king of the Romans, in 1489 met on the same day in Linz with the king of Hungary; there these aforesaid lords held these knightly games, as hereafter follows')

⁶⁷ Wiesflecker, *Kaiser Maximilian I.: Das Reich, Österreich und Europa an der Wende zur Neuzeit*, vol. 1, pp. 288-96.

Again Maximilian appeared as a participant in the mounted jousts. He jousted twice, both times against Anthony von Yfan.⁶⁸ The first occasion was on Saint Barbara's Day (4 December), and the second on the first Saturday (4 January) of the new year, 1490. This second joust was explicitly described as a *Scheiben Rennen*. This is a critical detail, as it applies a descriptive label to a certain style of joust. Otherwise, the phrase most commonly used to describe the act of jousting in this manuscript is the verb phrase *haben [...] gerennt*, meaning simply, 'they ran'. The noun *Rennen*, derived from this verb *rennen* ('to run'), is also a proper name for a specific style of German joust, as will be explained in Chapter 3. The origin of this connection may be seen in this wording.

This manuscript only illustrates twelve individual competitions of mounted joust. These are likely, however, to only be a selection of the entire number of jousts which took place over this time. Those twelve illustrated may represent the most famous of the combatants.

Maximilian's fortunes continued to fluctuate. In 1490, Maximilian has a stroke of good luck when he inherited the region of Tyrol from his cousin, the archduke Sigismund of Austria. This inheritance included the city of Innsbruck, which was to become one of Maximilian's most favoured residences.⁶⁹ Also in 1490, however, Maximilian married the young heiress Anne of Brittany (1477-1514) by proxy. This marriage failed spectacularly when Anne repudiated the unconsummated marriage and instead married the *dauphin* of France, Charles VIII, who had until then been betrothed to Maximilian's own daughter, Margaret. Thus both Maximilian and Margaret were deprived of their intended spouses, and Maximilian

⁶⁸ Anthony von Yfan was a figure of some significance – a frequent competitor in the jousts of Maximilian's highly mobile court. For more on von Yfan, see Chapter 6, Section 6.4.b.

⁶⁹ Wiesflecker, *Kaiser Maximilian I.: Das Reich, Österreich und Europa an der Wende zur Neuzeit*, vol. 1, pp. 248-50.

subsequently did all in his power to ensure that marriages arranged for his descendents were designed to keep power out of French hands.⁷⁰

The *Turnierbuch* BSB, Cod.icon 398 provides a record of another tournament held the next year, in June 1491.⁷¹ This tournament took place in Nuremberg. Maximilian was again among the participants, in this case jousting against Christoph Schenk von Limpurg.⁷² Again, the joust is given a particular label: a *Schwaiff*. In an extraordinary overlap, this tournament was also documented in another *Turnierbuch*, that of Johann of Saxony, who was also among the participants.⁷³ This documentation in a second source is significant in that it lends veracity to the first.

Johann of Saxony's *Turnierbuch* includes another tournament in which Maximilian was involved; this one was held in Innsbruck in 1492 (month unspecified). Maximilian is illustrated once in the manuscript, jousting against Johann. The elector himself is depicted competing in seven different jousts against various nobles at this tournament.⁷⁴

⁷⁰ Wiesflecker, *Kaiser Maximilian I.: Das Reich, Österreich und Europa an der Wende zur Neuzeit*, vol. 1, pp. 323-26.

⁷¹ Munich, BSB, Cod.icon. 398, plate 47: *Der hochgeboren Romischer Kunig Maximilian rit zue Norenburg auf die ban im vierzehnhundert unnd im ain und neunzigisten jar das geschach darnach auf dem Rathaus bey nacht vil der freuden spil wurden gehalten bey jungen edelleuten undalte. Am Montag vor S. Baptista tag das mancher edler zue der erden lag, wa man noch solche Ritterliche spil thet treiben wurden vil unrath und zwitteracht dahin den blieben* ("The highborn Roman King rode to Nuremberg along the road in the year 1491, there took place at the town hall in the night many of the joyful games were held by nobles young and old. On the Monday before Saint Baptista's Day, when many a knight lay on the earth, where yet such knightly games were taking place amid much restlessness and conflict.")

⁷² Christoph Schenk von Limpurg, Christoph (c. 1468-c. 1515) was the son of Albrecht II and part of a noble Swabian family. The name comes from ownership of Limpurg castle at Schwäbisch Hall. He was a leading military captain in the Austrian territories and an ally of Maximilian. He often participated in Maximilian's tournaments and travelled with Maximilian's court. The title *Schenk* could come from *schenken* and refer to the medieval profession of wine-server or cup-bearer, possibly from a historic role in the coronations of German kings and emperors. 'Schenk von Limpurg' appears to have become a complete last name unit associated with this family.

⁷³ *Der Sächsischen Kurfürsten Turnierbücher*, plates 38, 39, 41, 44, 45-48.

⁷⁴ *Der Sächsischen Kurfürsten Turnierbücher*, plates 50-52, 54, 90-92. Unfortunately, none of these encounters are included in this reprinted edition.

2.4 Maximilian as Emperor and the Establishment of Tournaments in his Court

In 1493 Frederick III died, leaving Maximilian as his widely acknowledged successor as Holy Roman emperor (although he would not actually be officially crowned until many years later).⁷⁵ As he became a powerful ruler in his own right, Maximilian began to, more and more, place tournaments in a critical role in his court. This dominant role of the tournament in a royal court, however, was built on a long-standing medieval tradition. For hundreds of years, the tournament, in one form or another, had featured in noble courts as a form of military training, athletic competition, and entertainment. It served several purposes during these centuries.

In its earliest form, as stated above, the tournament was primarily a martial exercise, allowing knights to hone and perfect skills which would be crucial to them on the battlefield. This iteration of the tournament also allowed knights to show off their athleticism and equestrian abilities in a chivalric setting, both to each other and to the growing contingent of spectators which came to witness the events. Alongside this, there was also the opportunity for wealth and renown to be gained on the tournament scene. Later, there was also the obvious role of the tournament in providing courtly entertainment and as a pastime not just for knights but for audiences as well. These same factors also influenced the tournament's prevalence in German-speaking courts and formed part of the tradition of which Maximilian's own court was the natural continuation.⁷⁶

⁷⁵ Wiesflecker, *Kaiser Maximilian I.: Das Reich, Österreich und Europa an der Wende zur Neuzeit*, vol. 1, pp. 351-55.

⁷⁶ The tournaments which took place in noble courts like Maximilian's and which are the subject of this thesis are distinctly different from those held by the German tournament societies, or *Turniergesellschaften*, which were also popular around this time (the *Turnierbuch* of Marx Walther is as much of an overlap as will be found in this present study). Not much has been written about the

When he at last (although unofficially) became Holy Roman emperor, Maximilian's court was a unique entity, made so by several factors. Firstly, its makeup was unusual. This was due to the nature of the territories which Maximilian ruled. As a monarch, Maximilian held many titles at different times in his life: first as archduke of Austria and king of the Romans, then Holy Roman emperor, as well as duke of Burgundy following his inheritances from Mary of Burgundy. Combined, each of these titles brought Maximilian a wealth of land but also a highly disparate collection of cultures and languages (not all of which always welcomed Maximilian as a ruler) across a wide, often unmanageable, geographic spread. As a result, the members of Maximilian's court were drawn from a broad range of homelands. On top of this, as Holy Roman emperor, Maximilian ruled a large number of princes – rulers and large landholders in their own rights. These men's support and loyalty were critical to Maximilian. All of this would have placed great responsibility on Maximilian, as one of the pre-eminent European monarchs, to run his court smoothly, as well as to make it a centre of unquestionable power for the emperor.⁷⁷ Tournaments would continue to aid him in this mission.

In addition, in order to bring further stability to his rule, in 1494 Maximilian married again. This time it proved more successful than his thwarted marriage to Anne of Brittany. Maximilian chose for his second wife Bianca Maria Sforza of Milan (1472-1510). Bianca Maria

Turniergesellschaften of the late Middle Ages as a separate entity from the knightly societies, or *Rittergesellschaften* (although the two often intertwined). Piccolruaz Alexander, 'Turniere und Turniergesellschaften des Spätmittelalters' (unpublished master's thesis, Leopold-Franzens-Universität, Innsbruck, 1993), pp. 97-99 provides a list of the main tournaments held by these societies in the latter half of the fifteenth century and their winners. See also: Andreas Ranft, *Adelsgesellschaften: Gruppenbildung und Genossenschaft im spätmittelalterlichen Reich* (Sigmaringen: Jan Thorbecke Verlag, 1994) and Werner Meyer, 'Turniergesellschaften. Bemerkungen zur sozialgeschichtlichen Bedeutung der Turniere im Spätmittelalter' in *Das ritterliche Turnier im Mittelalter*, pp. 500-12.

⁷⁷ For a further discussion of Maximilian's court, see Paula S. Fichtner, *The Habsburgs: Dynasty, Culture and Politics*; Fichtner, 'The Politics of Honor: Renaissance Chivalry and Habsburg Dynasticism', in *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance*, 29 (1967), 567-80; Franz Fuchs, Paul-Joachim Heinig, and Jörg Schwarz, eds, *König, Fürsten und Reich im 15. Jahrhundert* (Köln: Böhlau Verlag, 2009).

was the daughter of Duke Galeazzo Sforza and niece to Ludovico Sforza, who became duke of Milan after his brother was assassinated. The Sforzas were a powerful and wealthy family, and Bianca Maria brought a considerable dowry with her to the union. Unlike Maximilian's first marriage, however, this marriage was never a happy one. Maximilian and Bianca Maria never had any children, and, after a short while, they largely kept separate courts and rarely saw each other.⁷⁸

Still, the wedding itself was cause for celebration, and there are records of several tournaments taking place in 1494 around the time of the marriage. The first was held in January in one of Maximilian's most favoured cities, Innsbruck, and was part of the celebrations organised by the archduchess Katharina of Austria in honour of the arrival of Maximilian's second wife, Bianca Maria Sforza, in the city.⁷⁹ These events were documented in the letters of the Italian envoy Guido Manfredi as well as the Milanese noblewoman Barbara Crivelli Stampi on 15 and 24 January. They described tournaments being held on a daily basis with great pomp, along with dancing and stag hunts in the mountains (all this in spite of a fire breaking out in the ducal palace). Although it was not specifically stated, Maximilian would very likely have participated in these tournaments, and he certainly would have taken part in the hunting.⁸⁰

⁷⁸ Wiesflecker, *Kaiser Maximilian I.: Das Reich, Österreich und Europa an der Wende zur Neuzeit*, vol. 1, pp. 363-72. Not a great deal has been written on Bianca Maria. One source is Sabine Weiss, *Die Vergessene Kaiserin: Bianca Maria Sforza, Kaiser Maximilians Zweite Gemahlin* (Innsbruck: Tyrolia Verlag 2010).

⁷⁹ Katharina of Saxony, archduchess of Austria (1468-1524) and daughter of Duke Albrecht III of Saxony, was at this time the second wife of Archduke Sigismund of Austria, who, in 1490, handed over the rulership of Tyrol to Maximilian. After Sigismund died, Katharina married Duke Erich of Brunswick, a frequent competitor in Maximilian's tournaments.

⁸⁰ *Regesta Imperii*, Maximilian I., RI XIV, n. 2899, n. 2907. Original source: Modena, Archivio di Stato, Estero, Dispacci degli ambasciatori della Germania, busta 1.

In August 1494 a tournament was held to celebrate Bianca Maria Sforza's entry into the Flemish city of Mechlin. This occasion was again recorded in the writings of Jean Molinet, who described the rich Italian fashions of Bianca Maria and her ladies as being new and novel to the Flemings. The company received an honourable reception in the city, with which Molinet stated Maximilian had a good relationship, and tournaments and bonfires took place. This time, the tournaments were stated to be in the presence of Maximilian, thus seemingly ruling him out as a participant on this occasion.⁸¹ There was also a triumphal march of the new royal couple through the streets of the city.⁸²

These tournaments continued during Maximilian's residence in the city. On 8 September 1494 there is a description by the German humanist Georg Spalatin (a pseudonym for Georg Burkhardt, 1484-1545) of a tournament, executed in a very casual-sounding way, taking place in the market square. There Maximilian and some of his knights held a tournament in the *welsch* style in their *Drabharnisch*, or field armour.⁸³ Maximilian, it is perhaps little surprise to hear, did the best.⁸⁴

Later that month, a tournament on a grand scale was held in Mechlin to celebrate the wedding of Wolfgang von Polheim to Johanna von Borselen of the Netherlands on 18

⁸¹ Molinet, *Chroniques*, vol. 2, *Et, à sa très noble advenue, furent faites joustes, esbatemens et fues de joye, en presence du roy, son mary, de monseigneur l'archiduc son filz, et plusieurs chevaliers estranges*, p. 394.

⁸² *Regesta Imperii*, Maximilian I., RI XIV, 1 n. 3097; Molinet, *Chroniques*, vol. II, pp. 393-95.

⁸³ *Welsch* was a term for non-German speaking people and a designator of a very specific type of joust, as will be explained in Chapter 3.

⁸⁴ *Georg Spalatin's historischer Nachlaß und Briefe*, p. 230. *Am Freitag nach Nativitatis Marie ist der König wie der gein Mecheln kommen, hat von viel Kürissern und andern einen schönen gerüsten Zeug und köstlichen Inzog gehabt. Sind alle in einer Ordnung und Geschick um den Markt gezogen. Da hat sein kö. Mt. mit etlichen den seinen im Drabharnisch auf welsch gestochen. Das hat wol anderthalb Stund gewähret, bis sie die Rächt abtreib. Der König that das Best.*

September 1494.⁸⁵ Alongside Anthony von Yfan, Wolfgang von Polheim was one of the most prominent tournament participants in Maximilian's court, and he appears in multiple sources.

Given this context, it is little surprise that a large tournament should have featured heavily in the celebrations of von Polheim's marriage. Indeed, weddings feature prominently in Maximilian's circle as one of the most common reasons for holding a tournament. The festivities were chronicled in detail in *Das Leben and die Zeitgeschichte Friedrichs des Weisen*, by Georg Spalatin. Spalatin recorded this multi-day tournament in fascinating detail.

On the first day, the day of the wedding itself, he stated that those knights in attendance jousted in the presence of Maximilian, along with his son from his first marriage, Philip the Fair, and his new wife, Bianca Maria Sforza (again, presumably ruling out Maximilian as a participant on this occasion).⁸⁶ The individual combats are each described over the course of this tournament, making this a particularly valuable narrative record of a tournament. As an example, the contestants on the first day were as follows:

1. Elector Friedrich III of Saxony and Sebastian von Mistelbach, who are described as both unhorsed.⁸⁷

2. Wolfgang von Polheim (the groom) and a man who known simply by the name 'Raunacher' also competed.⁸⁸ They jousted twice, both times missing their opponent. On the

⁸⁵ *Regesta Imperii*, Maximilian I., RI XIV, 1 n. 1014. Johanna (c. 1476-1509) was the daughter of the marshal of France, Wolfhart VI of Borsselen, who was a knight of the Order of the Golden Fleece.

⁸⁶ These jousts are described with the verb phrase *gerannt und gestochen*; again, making a pointed differentiation between the *Rennen* and the *Gesteck*.

⁸⁷ With the verb phrase *haben gerannt*, which is used predominantly throughout the following descriptions, although *haben gerent* is sometimes used as well. Sebastian von Mistelbach (1460-1519) came from the Franconian nobility of Mistelbach and was for some time in the service of Duke Otto of Bavaria. In 1494 he took over the function of bailiff of Grimma, in Saxony. He went on to serve Elector Friedrich of Saxony (his opponent in this match), and in 1516 he became a *Kurfürstlichen Hofmarschall*.

⁸⁸ Possibly a member of the Austrian family of Kalhamer von Raunach auf Liechtenthau.

third try, however, von Polheim overturned both ‘Raunacher’ and his horse – an impressive blow.

3. Anthony von ‘Lefou’ and Gasper Lamberger in a *Rennen* in which both fell.⁸⁹

4. An un-named nobleman of Hainault and Count Hans von Montfort in a *Rennen*, in which both fell.

5. Sir Weikhard von Polheim (Wolfgang’s brother) and a nobleman from ‘Orttemberg’ (presumably Württemberg), in which the latter fell.

6. Christoph Schenk von Limpurg and Count Haug von Montfort, in which both fell.

7. Wolf Jorge and Hans von Stein, in which both fell.

8. Hans von Augsburg and Franz Schenck (*gestochen* is used here) jousted three times; both fell twice and Schenck alone once.

9. Adam von Friendsberg and man known only as ‘Geuman’ ran a *Gestech* three times; Friendsberg fell once, along with his horse, and ‘Geuman’ fell twice.⁹⁰

Finally, several un-named *Walen und Niederländer* (‘Walloons and Netherlanders’) ran a *welshgestech* over a barrier (*Schranken*), or tilt. They struck each with hard blows and broke many spears, according to Spalatin. The eyes and ears of several horses were reportedly injured as well, as the barrier was too low. Anthony von Yfan was considered to have won the day. He broke the most lances and had the best *Treffen*, or encounters.⁹¹

The following days are narrated in a similar pattern to this, with the individual competitors being named, as well as who was the winner (if there was one – a phrase for ‘X won’ is never actually used, an indicator of who was unhorsed and how many times being used

⁸⁹ Lefou is certainly an alternative spelling of ‘Yfan’.

⁹⁰ Probably a member of the noble Austrian Geumann (also known as Geymann) family, possibly Johann Geumann (ca. 1467-1533).

⁹¹ *Georg Spalatin's historischer Nachlaß und Briefe*, pp. 230-31.

instead) of each encounter. Many names of competitors appear more than once. The practice of referring to certain knights only by a title or place of residence is also common. Other examples include *der Myndorffer* (most likely the knight Balthasar Myndorffer of Kunšperk, in modern Slovenia) and *der von Tschernabo* (likely Dietrich, Lord of ‘Tschernaho’, or Černá Hora, in the modern Czech Republic, and one of Maximilian’s stewards).⁹²

One constant throughout Maximilian’s reign was his attendance at the imperial diets, when all the princes and rulers of the empire came together to enact political reform.⁹³ In addition, one of the most famous – certainly one of the most well-recorded – tournaments in which Maximilian was involved took place at the imperial diet, or *Reichstag*, of Worms over the period of August-September 1495. Even at these politically charged events, where the legislation and governance of the empire was debated, Maximilian found reason and occasion to hold tournaments. Indeed, it was the perfect opportunity to do so, as there, in one place, were conveniently collected all the greatest nobles of the Empire – many of whom were Maximilian’s contemporaries and his favoured tournament companions.

Yet this is not to say that Maximilian spent all his time in Worms engaged in play. And this is what makes these diets particularly interesting when it comes to a study of Maximilian and his tournaments. They were the pre-eminent political gatherings of their day – a time when powerful leaders of the empire came together to create laws and discuss current issues. During the meeting in 1495, Maximilian sought to strengthen his empire. He managed to pass the Law of the Common Penny; a form of taxation similar to an income tax, in which ‘Princes spiritual

⁹² This collection of names featured at this wedding celebration and tournament represents some of the most frequent tournament competitors at Maximilian’s court; together, they make up a tournament network, which will be discussed in Chapter 6.

⁹³ For more on the role of imperial diets as an occasion for tournaments, see Chapter 6, Section 6.2c.

and temporal, prelates, counts, barons, and communes shall pay more or less according to their status and condition, as is just'. He also enacted the Perpetual Public Peace; a progressive attempt to outlaw robbing and feuding within the empire.⁹⁴

Alongside these political manoeuvrings, indeed in many instances inextricably intertwined with them, was the pageantry and physical skill of the tournament which Maximilian so loved. These political gatherings proved a popular time for knights to engage in physical as well as mental games, and Maximilian frequently held tournaments both as a form of entertainment at the diet and as a form of escape from the same.

It was at the diet of Worms that Maximilian engaged in what would become one of his most legendary tournament encounters. While there, Maximilian competed in a series of combats against the famous Burgundian knight Claude de Vaudrey, chamberlain of Burgundy.⁹⁵ De Vaudrey was the son of a great tourneyer, and he himself had taken part in some of the most famous Burgundian *pas d'armes*, that favoured format for feats of arms in the Burgundian court in which one fighter formally challenged one or many others.⁹⁶ Those in which Vaudrey was involved included the *pas* of the Golden Tree in Bruges in 1468, where he was a challenger to the Great Bastard Anthony of Burgundy, half-brother to Charles the Bold. In 1470 in Ghent, over the course of eight days, de Vaudrey received sixteen challengers at the *pas* of the Wild Lady.⁹⁷

⁹⁴ Wiesflecker, *Kaiser Maximilian I.: Das Reich, Österreich und Europa an der Wende zur Neuzeit*, vol. 2, pp. 217-49.

⁹⁵ Many alternative spellings are given in various sources of Claude de Vaudrey's name, i.e. Claude de Barre, Claude de Vaudre, Claudio von Batre, and even Glade de Wadria, but, unless quoting a primary source, I shall use this spelling.

⁹⁶ De Vaudrey's father, Anthoine, took place in several famous Burgundian *pas d'armes*, including acting as a ward at the *pas* of Charlemagne's Tree (1443). Eric Bousmar, 'Jousting at the Court of Burgundy. The "Pas d'armes": Shifts in Scenario, Location and Recruitment' in *Staging the Court of Burgundy: Proceedings of the Conference 'The Splendour of Burgundy'*, pp. 79-84.

⁹⁷ Bousmar, 'Jousting at the Court of Burgundy', pp. 82-83.

The Burgundian was praised by Jean Molinet as ‘highly renowned in arms for the very noble exploits in war and tournaments, jousts, duels, and passages of arms which he had done’.⁹⁸ Ludwig von Eyb in his writings described him as a *schön stark man* – a ‘fine, strong man’.⁹⁹ Indeed, across multiple sources both in French and in German there is a sense of universal respect for de Vauldrey’s prowess as a knight and his skill in the tournament.

The origins of this encounter between Maximilian and de Vauldrey came on All Saint’s Day (1 November) of the year before the diet, 1494. Molinet provides us with the most thorough account. He recorded that de Vauldrey encountered Maximilian in Antwerp, and there he, the Burgundian knight, sent a herald to the emperor (or king of the Romans, as he was still most commonly referred to) with a formal request to be allowed the privilege of competing against him. The two exchanged letters, carried on de Vauldrey’s behalf by a herald and, on Maximilian’s behalf, a clerk of the Order of the Golden Fleece. In true Burgundian fashion, de Vauldrey sent Maximilian *chapters*, or a formal outline of the desired forms of combat and the rules to be followed.¹⁰⁰ This particular *chapitre* consisted of seven parts in which the rules and order of the tournament were specifically laid out. De Vauldrey requested a ‘course of the lance’ as well as foot combat with swords. The result of this encounter, according to the *chapitre*, would be to attain the honour of being the *meilleur chevalier du monde*, or the ‘best knight in the world’.¹⁰¹

⁹⁸ Molinet, *Chroniques*, vol 2. p. 399: *très renommé en armes par les très nobles exploits de guerre et les tournois, joustes, champiages et pas d’armes qu’il avoit fait.*

⁹⁹ von Eyb, *Die Geschichten und Taten Wilvolts von Schaumburg*, p. 157.

¹⁰⁰ This is the only occasion which I have found where *chapters* were issued for a contest in which Maximilian was involved, this being a much more common practice by the French and Burgundians than by the Germans in their tournaments.

¹⁰¹ Molinet, *Chroniques*, vol. 2. pp. 399-403.

This whole decidedly formal approach was a trademark of the Burgundian style of conducting a tournament, and *chapitres* were normally issued prior to a *pas d'armes*. Furthermore, in Burgundy, tournament spectacle was often taken to an entirely new level, with costumes and props and role-playing being common, preceded by a formal announcement of the date, location, and rules of the tournament, as issued in the *chapitres*. Although Maximilian did not favour this style of holding tournaments, he would undoubtedly have been familiar with it through his marriage to his first wife, Mary of Burgundy, and his inheritance of her lands. In this instance, the older de Vauldrey was bringing Maximilian into this Burgundian tradition; he was requesting for a tournament to be held on his terms.

De Vauldrey was reportedly fifty years old at this time – an impressively advanced although not unheard of age for a man to still be competing in tournaments – while Maximilian was thirty-six, still relatively young. Yet a Venetian legate to Maximilian's court wrote that de Vauldrey apparently had a vision that he must fight with the most powerful ruler in the world in the arena. Indeed, such was his enthusiasm that when Maximilian postponed the encounter until the summer of 1495 de Vauldrey constantly beset him with messages until he finally agreed to set a date for the tournament.¹⁰²

Over the course of the diet at Worms, Maximilian participated in several tournaments against his fellow German knights. Yet the competition with de Vauldrey was the one which received by far the most attention. It was eventually set for 31 August, although it ended up being postponed until 3 September. It was to take place in the town's central marketplace – the most common location for tournaments which took place in cities. Maximilian himself

¹⁰² *Deutsche Reichstagsakten unter Maximilian I.*, vol. 5, p. 1803.

announced that he would prepare the field of competition, showing his keen interest in being personally involved in the preparations.¹⁰³

On that day, according the writings of Ludwig von Eyb (the existence of whose own tournament book makes his descriptions the most credible), barriers were erected to enclose the two fighters.¹⁰⁴ Von Eyb built up a wonderful sense of suspense and anticipation as he described the two men preparing themselves in separate, lavish pavilions which they erected outside of the newly constructed stands. Noltz wrote that each hung their shield and helmet outside their separate tents. Both he and von Eyb listed numerous other knights who were in attendance, the names of which included some of the most prominent German nobles of Maximilian's court; his closest allies and frequent participants in his tournaments.¹⁰⁵ These men showed up to this particular contest armed and apparently ready to take part themselves at a moment's notice. Next, a herald rode out from the emperor's tent and demanded that the audience remain silent; that they not irritate the fighters or shout, wave, or point, but simply let them fight each other. Anyone who broke this rule, no matter who they were, it was declared, would have their head struck off without mercy.¹⁰⁶

De Vauldrey emerged from his tent first and entered the barriers with his lance resting across his saddle. Then came Maximilian, also with his lance and wearing his *kempfbarnisch*, his tournament armour. As soon as the trumpeters sounded their horns the two men *strichen sie mit dem Spießen zusammen* – 'struck together with their lances'. Both competitors' lances were broken – a skilful result – and *die helden* or 'the heroes', as von Eyb called them, took up their swords

¹⁰³ *Deutsche Reichstagsakten unter Maximilian I.*, vol. 5, pp. 1803-10.

¹⁰⁴ [A]lle mit gülden tüchern und köstlichen tapecerein behangen, von Eyb, *Die Geschichten und Taten Wilwolts von Schaumburg*, pp. 156-57.

¹⁰⁵ von Eyb, *Die Geschichten und Taten Wilwolts von Schaumburg*, pp. 156-57. *Monumenta Wormatensia: Annalen und Chroniken*, pp. 396-97. Noltz also refers to Vauldrey as a *Walen*, or Walloon.

¹⁰⁶ von Eyb, *Die Geschichten und Taten Wilwolts von Schaumburg*, p. 157.

and continued the combat.¹⁰⁷ The two exchanged numerous heroic blows. But here, at last, Maximilian proved too swift and powerful for his opponent, and the two were separated by the judges.¹⁰⁸

After the central combat between Maximilian and de Vauldrey, von Eyb describes a mass foot combat which ensued between all the other nobles there present, using, as different sources name, both swords, knives, and staff weapons. The swords are described as being sharpened on both sides, so not blunted for a more benign form of tourney.¹⁰⁹ As von Eyb describes the event, it is hard to tell if this was planned, or if it was a spontaneous outbreak of tournament fervour.¹¹⁰ The whole thing was described by Noltz as *schön und lustig* [...] *zu sehen*, or ‘beautiful and joyful [...] to see’.¹¹¹ When things started to get a bit too belligerent, this combat was broken up as well. After this, the entire group retired to the evening’s banquet and dancing, at which all hard feelings seem to have been forgotten.¹¹²

However Maximilian’s much-publicised competition with de Vauldrey was not the only occurrence of a tournament at this diet – or, indeed, other diets which Maximilian attended, as seen later in this chapter. After Maximilian and de Vauldrey’s series of combats, there were other tournaments in the following days. Maximilian twice fought Elector Friedrich III of Saxony. This was again followed by the ‘struggles’ of many other lords, which could refer to individual jousts or group combats.¹¹³

¹⁰⁷ A suit of armour designed for tournament foot combat, and possibly the very one worn by de Vauldrey in this encounter, may be seen today in the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna (Inv.-Nr. B 33).

¹⁰⁸ von Eyb, *Die Geschichten und Taten Wilvolts von Schaumburg*, pp. 157-58.

¹⁰⁹ von Eyb, *Die Geschichten und Taten Wilvolts von Schaumburg*, p. 157. *Monumenta Wormatiensia*, p. 397. Von Eyb refers to *lange breite schwert zu beiden seiten schneident*, while Noltz refers to *messern und stangen*.

¹¹⁰ von Eyb, *Die Geschichten und Taten Wilvolts von Schaumburg*, p. 157.

¹¹¹ *Monumenta Wormatiensia*, p. 397.

¹¹² von Eyb, *Die Geschichten und Taten Wilvolts von Schaumburg*, p. 158.

¹¹³ *Monumenta Wormatiensia*, p. 397.

The next year, in February 1496, a brief reference may be found to another tournament or tournaments held in Innsbruck. This was during *Fastnacht*, the carnival period leading up to Lent, which often proved a popular time for holding tournaments and other festive events (see Chapter 6). This tournament is only mentioned elliptically though, through a 23 February letter of the Tyrolean nobleman Sebastian von Mandach.¹¹⁴

This trend continues with another brief reference to a tournament again held during the same period in Innsbruck in January of the following year, 1497. The ambassador of the duke of Ferrara, Pandolfo Collenuccio, wrote about a tournament and masked dance which happened on 8 January in which Maximilian was involved.¹¹⁵

The next month, February, marked the occasion of yet more *Fastnacht* tournaments, which spanned several weeks. The same ambassador, Pandolfo Collenuccio, described Maximilian jousting on 6 February against Elector Friedrich III of Saxony (whom he also fought in Worms). This was described in the letter as being fought with lances with blunted tips (*a frezi amolati*) – presumably then a form of *Gestech*. He also wrote that Maximilian went masked to a dance that evening and that another masked dance or mummerei was taking place that day.¹¹⁶ Then on 14 February Collenuccio wrote that in recent days Maximilian had met Sigmund III von Welsperg in a tournament.¹¹⁷ This encounter was interestingly described by Collenuccio as an un-kingly game, or a game not worthy of a king (*giogo veramente non da re*).¹¹⁸

¹¹⁴ *Regesta Imperii*, Österreich, Reich und Europa, RI XIV, 2 n. 6864. Original source: Innsbruck, Tiroler Landesarchiv, Maximiliana-Akten, IVa, fol. 175.

¹¹⁵ *Regesta Imperii*, Maximilian I., RI XIV, 2 n. 4618. Original source: Modena, Archivio di Stato; *Dispacci degli ambasciatori della Germania*, busta 1, Pandolfo Collenuccio an Hg Ercole d'Este (1497).

¹¹⁶ *Regesta Imperii*, Maximilian I., RI XIV, 2 n., 4667. Original source: Modena, Archivio di Stato; *Dispacci degli ambasciatori della Germania*, busta 1.

¹¹⁷ Sigmund von Welsperg (died c.1503) served Maximilian as chamberlain, councillor, and *Oberstfeldhauptmann* of Tyrol. He was also *Obersthofmeister* to Maximilian's second wife, Bianca Maria Sforza.

¹¹⁸ *Regesta Imperii*, Maximilian I., RI XIV, 2 n., 4685. Original source: Modena, Archivio di Stato; *Dispacci degli ambasciatori della Germania*, busta 1.

These encounters are also corroborated by additional sources: two separate tournament books. These are the same two already mentioned above, BSB, Cod.icon. 398 and the *Turnierbuch* of Elector Johann of Saxony. In the former, the joust against Friedrich III of Saxony is named a *Rennen*, although this would seem to contradict the Italian description of the joust being run with lances with blunted tips, as the *Rennen* customarily involved pointed lances. What it could be, however, is an illustration of yet another, separate encounter between the two, as they certainly may have competed more than once, even on the same day. The joust against Sigmund III von Welsperg is also illustrated and is given the label of *Schwaiff*, a distinctive variety of the *Rennen*.¹¹⁹ In the latter, this tournament is documented yet again, showing Johann of Saxony taking on eight opponents, although, according to these two manuscripts, the elector and the king of the Romans did not cross lances.¹²⁰

1497 was also the year of the diet of Freiburg, which lasted roughly from September 1497 to September 1498. The primary purpose of this gathering of German nobles was to further discuss reforms implemented at the previous diet of Worms. Maximilian, however, was largely absent from the assembly.¹²¹ In a letter from September 1497, the papal legate Leonello Chierigati wrote to Pope Alexander VI that Maximilian, travelling from Hall (in Austria) to Freiburg, had left before daybreak for Innsbruck (on 26 September) in order to compete there in a tournament against Duke Georg of Bavaria.¹²² In this instance, Chierigati used the more

¹¹⁹ Munich, BSB, Cod.icon. 398, plates 26-28.

¹²⁰ *Der Sächsischen Kurfürsten Turnierbücher*, plates 57-61, 107, 108, 110.

¹²¹ Wiesflecker, *Kaiser Maximilian I.: Das Reich, Österreich und Europa an der Wende zur Neuzeit*, vol. 2, pp. 279-301.

¹²² Georg of Bavaria (1455-1503) was the son of Duke Ludwig *der Reiche* ('the rich') of Bavaria and Amalie, the daughter of Elector Friedrich II of Saxony. Georg married Hedwig Jagiellon, the daughter of King Kasimir IV of Poland. Although he had no surviving sons, his daughter Elisabeth married Ruprecht of the Palatinate (son of Philip, Count Palatine). Also known as *der Reiche* ('the rich') of the house of Wittelsbach, Georg was the last duke of Bavaria-Landshut. His wedding in 1475 to Hedwig Jagiellon was one of the largest celebrations of the time. Georg was connected to the Habsburg court from early in his life. In 1480 he travelled to Vienna to petition Emperor Frederick III

antiquated term *bastilusurus* to refer to the tournament.¹²³ Unlike many previous examples, this tournament seemed to be a casual affair fitted into a rushed schedule. It was but one day, yet Maximilian went out of his way to travel to Innsbruck to compete against this Bavarian nobleman.¹²⁴

January 1498 provides another interesting example of how a tournament might have come about in Maximilian's court. The diary of the Venetian historian Marino Sanuto records how Maximilian, while resident in Innsbruck, wrote to the Italian knight Gaspare de Sanseverino (1458-1519) (known colourfully as *frachasso*, or 'fracas') in Milan requesting that the knight come to him and bring his armour and his horses for jousting (*cavalli di giostra*), as the emperor desired to joust with the Italian (whose honorific implies martial prowess).¹²⁵ This was followed up by a letter from the Milanese legate Erasmus Brascha, who, writing to Bianca Maria's uncle Duke Ludovico Sforza of Milan, stressed again that Maximilian hoped the duke would soon send Sanseverino to him so that he might joust with him in the Italian style (*per giostara alla italiana*).¹²⁶ Maximilian here demonstrated how he used his influence as Holy Roman emperor to facilitate his love of jousting. He did not hesitate to summon someone from a distant court with whom he believed he would enjoy competing and against whom he wished to test his skill.

for peace with King Matthias Corvinus of Hungary. At one time, he was even the possible inheritor of lands of Duke Sigismund of Tyrol, which eventually fell to Maximilian. Later, he became a strong ally of the emperor and supporter of his campaigns in Swabia, Switzerland, Geldern, and Hungary. There was a possibility of his daughter Elisabeth marrying Maximilian's son, Philip, although it never came to pass. When he died, a large part of his lands passed to Maximilian and were united with Tyrol.

¹²³ *Regesta Imperii*, Maximilian I., RI XIV, 2 n. 5322. Original source: Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, MSS Latini, Classe XIV/Nr 99, coll 4278, fol. 94.

¹²⁴ This letter shows the ruler going to extra trouble for the joy of the activity, while not partaking in or needing the context of any larger festivities or holidays, a theme which will be explored further in Chapter 6.

¹²⁵ Sanuto, *I Diarii*, vol 1, p. 860.

¹²⁶ *Regesta Imperii*, Maximilian I., RI XIV, 2, n. 5757. Original source: Milan, Archivio di Stato; Archivio Sforzesco; Potenze estere (Alemagna etc), cart 586/1, fol. 47 f.

Later that January, a brief record of a tournament in Innsbruck which Maximilian attended may be found in the letters of Erasmus Brascha to the duke of Milan. Brascha wrote that, in the middle of financial negotiations with Maximilian regarding money owed the emperor by the Milanese duke, their conversation was interrupted when the emperor was summoned to watch a tournament in which Elector Johann of Saxony was participating.¹²⁷ This abrupt disruption gives the appearance of placing the viewing of a tournament high in Maximilian's priorities. He was willing to cut off diplomatic discussion for the pleasure of going to watch the entertainment.¹²⁸

Most interestingly, by now the Italian knight Gaspare de Sanseverino had arrived to compete alongside the German nobles and against Maximilian as well, as he had earlier desired, in the Italian style. The Italian arrived in Innsbruck on 15 February, one day earlier than expected, in order to watch another tournament scheduled for that day. He was accompanied by thirty-three other knights. Sanseverino was warmly greeted by the emperor and several of his knights on the tournament grounds, where the Italian also witnessed a joust between Andreas von Liechtenstein and a nobleman in the service of an unnamed duke of Mecklenburg.¹²⁹

Maximilian organised two separate locations for tournaments to be held on this occasion – one for the Italian style and one for the German style.¹³⁰ The tournament to take

¹²⁷ As mentioned above, Johann of Saxony, clearly a tournament enthusiast, has his own *Turnierbuch*. He may be the host of this particular tournament, not just one of the participants, as he is described as the 'possessor' of it in Brascha's letter.

¹²⁸ *Regesta Imperii*, Maximilian I., RI XIV, 2 n., 5818. Original source: Milan, Archivio di Stato; Archivio Sforzesco; Potenze estere (Alemagna etc), cart 586/1, fol. 54 ff.

¹²⁹ *Regesta Imperii*, Maximilian I., RI XIV, 2 n. 5881, 5884. Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, MSS lat XIV/99 (4278), fol. 143-146 and Milan, Archivio di Stato; Archivio Sforzesco; Potenze estere (Alemagna etc), cart 586/1, fol. 82 ff.

¹³⁰ The references to 'Italian' and 'German' styles most likely denotes a *Welschgestech* and a *Deutschgestech*. The reason for the two separate locations may be as one area needed a barrier, or tilt, and one did not. This marked separation of the two forms is a critical development.

place between Maximilian and Sanseverino was scheduled for 6 March, after which Maximilian was meant to at last travel to Freiburg to attend the imperial diet.¹³¹ First, on 23 February, the Italian jousted (with Maximilian's permission) against his armourer, a man known only as Zurla, with the goal of breaking four lances in the presence of Maximilian and several of his nobles. The armourer was subsequently injured in the joust.¹³²

Maximilian himself later sustained an injury to the head which caused a delay and a necessitated a rescheduling of some of the Italian-style tournaments.¹³³ Before his scheduled encounter with Sanseverino on 6 March (having seen that the Italian was amply capable in his previous joust against his armourer), Maximilian fought a visiting Neapolitan ambassador once in the Italian style, as well as taking part in several other jousts in the German style. On 3 March however, Maximilian injured his foot in a fall from his horse in a joust and, after all his efforts, never had the chance to compete against Sanseverino. On 4 March, Sanseverino jousted against the same unnamed Neapolitan ambassador and conducted himself admirably, although he then had to return to Duke Ludovico in Milan.¹³⁴ Leonello Chierigati in his letters also substantiates the constant runnings of these German and Italian jousts in which Maximilian excelled and stood out. He portrays Maximilian's foot injury as more serious, though, and wrote that, after his fall, Maximilian suspended all Italian jousts.¹³⁵

¹³¹ *Deutsche Reichstagakten*, vol. 5, pp.543-44.

¹³² *Regesta Imperii*, Maximilian I., RI XIV,2 n. 5910. Original source: Milan, Archivio di Stato; Archivio Sforzesco; Potenze estere (Alemagna etc), cart 586/1, fol. 95 ff.

¹³³ *Regesta Imperii*, Maximilian I., RI XIV,2 n. 5934. Original source: Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, MSS lat XIV/99 (4278), fol. 147 f.

¹³⁴ *Regesta Imperii*, Maximilian I., RI XIV,2 n. 5966. Original source: Milan, Archivio di Stato; Archivio Sforzesco; Potenze estere (Alemagna etc), cart 586/1, fol. 113 f.

¹³⁵ *Regest Imperii*, Maximilian I., RI XIV,2 n. 5983. Original source: Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, MSS lat XIV/99 (4278), fol. 149.

These tournaments again feature in pictorial sources as well written ones. Maximilian's joust against Elector Johann of Saxony and Hans von Montfort (described as a *Schwaifff*) are illustrated in the *Turnierbuch* BSB, Cod.icon. 398.¹³⁶ Maximilian's joust against Johann of Saxony, along with one other competition, also appears in the elector's own *Turnierbuch*.¹³⁷ This instance of the same encounter being illustrated in two separate sources allows for a valuable comparison of the veracity of both.

Eventually Maximilian was forced to write and explain his delayed arrival in Freiburg. Maximilian also found time to write to Duke Ludovico Sforza of Milan and thank him for sending Sanseverino to Innsbruck, even though the two never got to face each other in the lists.¹³⁸ More tournaments and jousting, meanwhile, continued in Innsbruck, as recorded by the papal legate Leonello Chiericati, who complained that such games were impeding Maximilian and the other nobles' progress on toward Freiburg.¹³⁹

The end of the fifteenth century brought other troubles for Maximilian. He engaged in a war against the Swiss Confederation, a group of territories who wanted independence from the Holy Roman Empire. Maximilian was eventually forced to grant it with the signing of the Peace of Basel.¹⁴⁰ The French also seized Milan, forcing Maximilian to come to the aid of his wife Bianca Maria Sforza's family and embroiling him in a prolonged conflict which became known as the Italian Wars.¹⁴¹ His reign as Holy Roman emperor was not a smooth one so far.

¹³⁶ Munich, BSB, Cod.icon. 398, plates 30-32.

¹³⁷ *Der Sächsischen Kurfürsten Turnierbücher*, plates 111, 112.

¹³⁸ *Regesta Imperii*, Maximilian I., RI XIV,2 n. 5994. Original source: Milan, Archivio di Stato; Archivio Sforzesco; Potenze estere (Alemagna etc), cart 586/1, fol. 119.

¹³⁹ *Regesta Imperii*, Maximilian I., RI XIV,2 n. 5934. Original source: Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, MSS lat XIV/99 (4278), fol. 147 f.

¹⁴⁰ Wiesflecker, *Kaiser Maximilian I.: Das Reich, Österreich und Europa an der Wende zur Neuzeit*, vol. 2, pp. 330-36.

¹⁴¹ Wiesflecker, *Kaiser Maximilian I.: Das Reich, Österreich und Europa an der Wende zur Neuzeit*, vol. 2, pp. 358-63.

2.5 A New Century and Consolidation of Power

January 1500 again found Maximilian in his beloved Innsbruck. There he received various Italian and German noblemen, including his wife's uncle, Duke Ludovico Sforza of Milan, as well as ambassadors from Spain and Naples. Over the course of one afternoon, c. 19 January, a tournament was held in Innsbruck, undoubtedly to entertain his guests. It is unclear whether Maximilian took part, although it is certainly not out of the question.¹⁴²

A later letter of 26 January to Duke Ludovico Sforza contained the smallest of passing references to a tournament – not unusual in these sources – which simply stated that ‘after the tournament’ Maximilian had dinner with the Bishop of Brixen.¹⁴³ Yet this would seem to refer to a different occasion and tournament than the one described on the 19th, as in that instance Maximilian was said to have dined with Duke Ludovico himself, with no mention of the bishop. So this could well be another tournament of just a day or afternoon, which Maximilian was certainly either a witness to or participant in.

In March of 1500 Maximilian was attending the imperial diet of Augsburg. During these meetings the imperial princes attempted to take power away from Maximilian, and more power was given to the *Reichsregiment* council.¹⁴⁴ Despite (or perhaps because of) this environment of political unease, numerous instances of jousting and tournaments took place over the course of this diet involving Maximilian and other knights. Some examples of this are as follows: On 22 March Maximilian left Augsburg and rode to Munich to hold a tournament

¹⁴² *Regesta Imperii*, Maximilian I., RI XIV, 3, 1 n. 9722, n. 9723. Original source: Milan, Archivio di Stato; Archivio Sforzesco; Potenze estere (Alemagna etc), cart 587.

¹⁴³ Prince-Bishop Melchior von Meckau (1440-1509).

¹⁴⁴ Wiesflecker, *Kaiser Maximilian I.: Das Reich, Österreich und Europa an der Wende zur Neuzeit*, vol. 3, pp. 301-05, 401.

and to also go hunting, returning to Augsburg on the 26th. Thomas Krull, a dean of Brandenburg, writing to Elector Joachim I of Brandenburg, described how when he, Krull, arrived in Augsburg, Maximilian was not there, as he had undertaken the aforementioned journey to Munich, accompanied by Duke Georg of Bavaria, among others, and eighty horses. They were all reportedly dressed in their *Turnierkleidung*, or ‘tournament clothing’. In Munich the nobles apparently *gerent und gestoeben* in the *welsche* style.¹⁴⁵

Again, here is an example of Maximilian using the imperial diet as an opportunity to engage in tournament sport with the other knights and nobleman who had also gathered there. Yet at the same time he was not fully committed to his political duties; he chose the pleasure of the joust over giving his full attention to the diet. Krull seemed to be expecting to meet Maximilian in Augsburg, yet he found the emperor to be absent, as anticipated; rather, Maximilian had escaped to Munich temporarily and had taken his companions with him. This could be Maximilian shirking his political duties, or it could also be a statement – a way for Maximilian to pointedly place himself above the other attendees by choosing when he wished to come and go from the diet.¹⁴⁶

As the diet continued, Maximilian persisted in finding ways to involve tournaments in the proceedings. Wilhelm Peuscher, a canon of Augsburg, in a letter written in July 1500, gave the impression that little was being accomplished by Maximilian and the other nobles and princes at the diet. He mused that it was difficult to tell what had truly been achieved as those

¹⁴⁵ As mentioned above, *welsch* appears to be interchangeable with *italianisch* in many of the sources. It is also of interest that both basic categories – *gerent* and *gestoeben* – of joust are conducted in this Italian style.

¹⁴⁶ *Regesta Imperii*, Maximilian I., RI XIV, 3, 1 n. 10022, n. 10036. Original source: Merseburg, Deutsches Zentralarchiv; Geheimes Staatsarchiv, Repositur X, Nummer ZY (Planetenzeichen), Faszikel 2 K, fol. 12 f.; Vienna, Hofkammerarchiv, Gedenkbücher 7, fol. 72=70; fol. 72v f.=70v f.; fol. 73v f.=71v f.

present devoted so much of their time to their customary tournaments and other festivities. In this *militari ludo* ('military game'), as he termed it, the knights mutually bloody each other's ears and heads with their 'noisy' lances.¹⁴⁷

Die Chroniken der schwäbischen Städte for the city of Augsburg also contains descriptions of Maximilian and his knights passing their time in friendly competition. On 6 July, Maximilian jousted with his favoured tournament companion Friedrich III of Saxony, among others, in the town's wine market.¹⁴⁸

The tournaments in Augsburg continued into the next month of August. However, on this occasion there was a ceremonial circumstance providing a legitimate reason for such an event. This was the investiture of the above-mentioned Joachim I as elector of Brandenburg, on 12 August. After a lengthy description of the elaborate ceremony, during which Maximilian apparently wore the robes of Charlemagne, a tournament was held while the queen, Bianca Maria Sforza, was described as watching with her women. Unfortunately, after a lengthy description of which nobles performed which roles in the ceremony and what robes they wore, there is only a brief reference at the end to the jousting itself.¹⁴⁹ In his diary on 15 August, Marino Sanuto wrote that Maximilian was organising tournaments and festivities, and that he was personally involved in the joust (*e il re à corso*).¹⁵⁰

¹⁴⁷ *De rebus autem per Regiam Maiestatem, principes ac nobiles, quorum magna copia est in hic dieta sive synodo, actis conclusisve nihil dicere certo scio; necdum eorum, quae nunc conclusa, quempiam scire existimo, qui consilio regni interfuisse perhibentur. Reliquum est, ut principes ac nobiles militari ludo ac aliis triumphis suo more incumbentes crebrius hastarum, lancearum et armorum congressu ac strepitibus sibi mutuo, ut fit, et caput et aures obtundunt et corpus quoque feriunt, Der Briefwechsel des Conrad Celtis, p. 445.*

¹⁴⁸ *Die Chroniken der deutschen Städte*, vol. 4, p. 89.

¹⁴⁹ *Die Chroniken der deutschen Städte*, vol. 4, pp. 90-92: *Darnach hat man angefangen zu rennen und stechen*, p. 92.

¹⁵⁰ Sanuto, *I Diarii*, vol. 3, p. 638.

Maximilian continued to use tournaments to convey a sense of prosperity in his court. The beginning of 1502 marked another instance where tournaments accompanied a ceremonial occasion: the marriage of Balthasar Wolf von Wolfsthal, Maximilian's *Hofkammermeister* in Innsbruck. This wedding coincided with the traditionally tournament-filled carnival period of *Fastnacht*, which made for a lengthy period of numerous jousts at Maximilian's Innsbruck court. The Venetian ambassador Zaccaria Contarini described how, beginning 12 January and lasting throughout the carnival period, many tournaments in the German and Italian styles were held.¹⁵¹ Maximilian reportedly fought against his own steward (unnamed), in an unspecified style of joust. There were also banquets and balls held in the evenings, unsurprisingly. Maximilian was so wrapped up in these tournaments, in fact, that he sent substitutes to meetings with Contarini, as he was distracted by his knightly games.¹⁵²

Again Maximilian is portrayed as unmindful of ongoing political negotiations, because he was focused on his tournaments. He was even unable to meet with people because he was participating in jousts or attending parties. While he was seemingly sometimes able to balance his love of tournaments with his political duties, especially when combining the two, there are numerous other instances where Maximilian appears to have shirked his ruling responsibilities for the enjoyment and escapism of athletic competition.

Marino Sanuto substantiated this in his writing on 24 January. He described Maximilian jousting in the Italian style (*a la Italiana*) against Count Wolfgang of Fürstenberg, during which time they fought with sharpened weapons (making it, in all likelihood, a *Welschbrennen*). That

¹⁵¹ *Regesta Imperii*, Maximilian I., RI XIV, 4, 1, n. 15899. Original source: Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, MSS ital, class VII, Nr 990, colloc 9582, fol. 122 f.

¹⁵² *Regesta Imperii*, Maximilian I., RI XIV, 4, 1 n. 15936. Original source: Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, MSS ital, class VII, Nr 990, colloc 9582, fol. 124v ff.

evening, there was music and dancing, and the same schedule was then repeated on the 26 January.¹⁵³

But at the same time, while they often appear to be a distraction, these jousts also often acted as a useful setting for political negotiations and discussions. On 29 January Contarini wrote that the Spanish ambassador to the court (a man named Juan Manuel) took part in a tournament (*spettaculo de questi astiludij*) which Maximilian organised. Perhaps this was at the ambassador's request, as a chance for him to show off his skill to the emperor. Or perhaps Maximilian wished him to take part in a joust in a German court, as a hopefully impressive representation of his courtly culture. At this same tournament Maximilian seized the chance to discuss the possible crusade against the Turks with Contarini (who finally obtained his meeting with the elusive emperor – in the setting of the very thing which had thwarted meetings previously).¹⁵⁴ As often as tournaments kept Maximilian from attending to his political duties, they also helped him to accomplish them as a means to an end.

Still within this *Fastnacht* period, in February 1502, Maximilian travelled the short distance from Innsbruck to Hall, where he had arranged for another tournament to be held, according to Contarini. On 4 February Contarini wrote that Maximilian was about to depart the city and should be gone for three days. It was also implied that Maximilian would be meeting with French, Burgundian, and Spanish ambassadors while away, casting this as yet another tournament arranged as a convenient setting for political dialogue.¹⁵⁵

¹⁵³ Sanuto, *I Diarii*, vol. 4, p. 216.

¹⁵⁴ *Regesta Imperii*, Maximilian I., RI XIV,4,1 n. 15976. Original source: Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, MSS ital, class VII, Nr 990, colloc 9582, fol. 131 ff.

¹⁵⁵ *Regesta Imperii*, Maximilian I., RI XIV,4,1 n. 16016. Original source: Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, MSS ital, class VII, Nr 990, colloc 9582, fol. 137v ff.

Marino Sanuto also kept an account of this tournament, although he described the events as happening on 3 February (unless, as is very possible, Maximilian travelled to Hall to watch a tournament on both days). A joust was again held in the Italian style, which appears to be highly favoured by Maximilian around this time. There were eight men competing in this tournament, including, Sanuto pointed out, Maximilian himself (*et con questi era la cesarea maestà*), and it lasted for one and a half hours. This must be a description of a tourney as the description of eight competitors implies a group rather than individual confrontations, and a specific time length is given. After dinner, at which the Spanish and Burgundian, although not the Venetian, ambassadors were present, the dancing commenced.¹⁵⁶

This tournament in Hall also provides another example of some of the hazards these events could present, and not just to the participants. On this occasion, a wooden scaffolding serving as temporary stands for the spectators collapsed. No one was killed, although many suffered broken limbs.¹⁵⁷

Upon Maximilian's return to Innsbruck that February another tournament was held on the thirteenth in the town square in front of the famous *Goldenes Dachl* ('Golden Roof'), completed in 1500 in honour of Maximilian's marriage to Bianca Maria Sforza. Invited to attend was the French ambassador Charles Geoffroy.¹⁵⁸ For the occasion the town square was temporarily covered over with planks of wood and strewn with sand, necessary technical preparations for a tournament. A temporary stand was also erected for the judges, who included, among others, an unnamed Burgundian nobleman and the herald of the king of France. Maximilian appeared on a handsome white horse accompanied by eight fellow

¹⁵⁶ Sanuto, *I Diarii*, vol. 4, p. 217.

¹⁵⁷ Sanuto, *I Diarii*, vol. 4, p. 217.

¹⁵⁸ *Regesta Imperii*, Maximilian I., RI XIV,4,1 n. 16055. Original source: Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, MSS ital, class VII, Nr 990, colloc 9582, fol. 144v f..

combatants, each armed and with lances and bards in the Italian style. The emperor was wearing a siren for a crest. These men were followed by a magnificent parade of squires, each bearing coats of arms of the various foreign fighters. Entering the lists to the sound of trumpets, this group was presented to the judges. These mounted nobles present are described as monitoring the combat, which included a *Scharfrennen*, as well as a fight with swords (it is not specified whether this was on horseback or on foot) and a ‘mass fight’ which would most likely mean a tourney on horseback. They fought simply until they were tired. There was a dance afterward, which lasted until midnight.¹⁵⁹

Just a week later, on 20 February, Maximilian invited the French ambassador for dinner at *Schloss Ambras*, outside Innsbruck. Afterward a tournament was organised by Maximilian in the ambassador’s honour at the castle, although no detail is given on who took part. That same evening, they returned to Hall.¹⁶⁰

In November of 1502 Maximilian travelled from Augsburg to the Bavarian city of Mindelheim to meet with his wife, Bianca Maria. Several days of tournaments and festivities were planned in the couple’s honour, which Maximilian would no doubt have attended with pleasure, if not, despite the progression of time, taken part in himself.¹⁶¹ Marino Sanuto noted that wooden barriers (*stechade*) were built for the purpose of the tournaments; wooden barriers, or tilts, were a trademark of the *welsch* style of jousting.¹⁶²

The next year, 1503, feasts and tournaments were held at the beginning of October in Innsbruck. These appear to centre on the celebration of the marriage of Count Julian of

¹⁵⁹ Sanuto, *I Diarii*, vol. 4, pp. 217-18.

¹⁶⁰ *Regesta Imperii*, Maximilian I., RI XIV,4,1 n. 16094. Original source: Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, MSS ital, class VII, Nr 990, colloc 9582, fol. 148 ff.

¹⁶¹ *Regesta Imperii*, Maximilian I., RI XIV,4,1 n. 17084. Original source: Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, MSS ital, class VII, Nr 990, colloc 9582, fol. 279v ff.

¹⁶² *E si fa stechade; si dice per far zostre*, Sanuto, *I Diarii*, vol. 4, pp. 508-09.

Lodron (1475-1519) and Apollonia Lang (1480-?).¹⁶³ They also marked an occasion upon which Maximilian was reunited with his son by Mary of Burgundy, Philip the Fair. Anthoine de Lalaing, a Hainault nobleman and chamberlain to Philip the Fair, wrote that on the first of the month Maximilian and his son heard mass in the Innsbruck *Hauptkirche* – both splendidly dressed – and afterward met a group of German noblemen in front of the *Hofburg* to hold a tournament in the German style (*à la mode d'Allemagne*). Various types of weapons were used in this affair, including lances and daggers.¹⁶⁴ That day and the next, Marino Sanuto wrote, more tournaments were held.¹⁶⁵ After dinner on the first there was also reportedly dancing in the French and Swiss styles. On 2 October the marriage itself took place, and, after the wedding dinner and four hours of dancing, more jousts were conducted among the *grands maistres et gentilshomes de la maison du roy* which were *à la mode d'Allemagne*.¹⁶⁶

In 1504, on 31 January, a brief reference to a tournament was included in a letter of Francesco Peschiera to Marquis Francesco Gonzaga of Mantua. On this occasion Maximilian met with his sister, Kunigunde, and her husband, Duke Albrecht IV of Bavaria, in Augsburg, as well as with two Spanish and one Venetian ambassadors.¹⁶⁷ After the customary festal tournament there was dancing, during which Maximilian reportedly danced with ‘the most

¹⁶³ Apollonia was the sister of Matthias Lang, archbishop of Salzburg.

¹⁶⁴ *Collection des voyages des souverains des Pays-Bas*, ed. by Louis Prosper Gachard (Brussels: F. Hayez, 1876), p. 319: ‘A l'après-disner aulcuns gentilshomes allemans de la maison du roy se trouvèrent sur la place devant le roy, la royne et Monsigneur et aultres grands maistres, pour courre à la jousté à la mode d'Allemagne. Aulcunis courrurent à rochet, aultres à fers esmoulus; et les lances estoient si grosses que nulles ne rompirent, mais à chescun cop s'entre-abatoient de leurs chevauls jus à la terre.’

¹⁶⁵ *E tut oil di è stà fato feste e zoztre*. Sanuto, *I Diarii*, vol. 5, p. 152.

¹⁶⁶ *Collection des voyages des souverains des Pays-Bas*, pp. 322-23.

¹⁶⁷ Duke Albrecht IV of Bavaria (1447-1508) (also count palatine of the Rhine) was married to Kunigunde, Maximilian's sister, and was the father of Duke Wilhelm IV, duke of Bavaria, who produced his own *Turnierbuch*. Known as *der Weise* (‘the wise’), Albrecht married Kunigunde without her father, Emperor Fredrick III's consent, after illegally seizing control of several imperial fiefs. War was prevented through mediation by Maximilian, and many of Albrecht's territorial acquisitions were later returned to the emperor.

important women of the city'.¹⁶⁸ The German author Hans Ungelter (1487-1536) described Maximilian partaking in a *Welschgestech* as well as a combat on foot before the ladies of the court, followed by a costly mummeri.¹⁶⁹ This occasion marks the continuing tradition of the *Fastnacht* tournaments. On 10 February the Venetian ambassador Alvise Mocenigo was singled out by Maximilian to attend a festival at which the emperor jousted with Ruprecht, count palatine of the Rhine (1481-1504).¹⁷⁰

On 17 February Hans Ungelter once again described how Maximilian jousted and danced and held expensive banquets in the *welsch* style.¹⁷¹ On 26 February Marino Sanuto reported how the Venetian ambassador Alvise Mocenigo lamented that the emperor was continually occupied with festivals and tournaments (*Come il re è stato continue [his emphasis] in feste e in zopstre*).¹⁷² The implied disapproval here seems to say that Maximilian's time might have been better invested elsewhere, and that he was not accomplishing as much as he should be.

In 1508 Maximilian's long-time claim to the title of Holy Roman emperor was validated when he was crowned emperor elect with the consent of Pope Julius II. However, he was never in fact to officially become emperor, as he was prevented from travelling to Rome, where the imperial coronation was traditionally held, by his conflicts with the Venetians. With the Venetians blocking his path, Maximilian had to be satisfied with a symbolic coronation in Trent.¹⁷³

¹⁶⁸ *Regesta Imperii*, Maximilian I., RI XIV,4,1 n. 18184. Original source: Mantua, Archivio di Stato; Archivio Gonzaga, 3: Cargeggio di inviati e diversi (E/IV/3), busta 522, Nr 90.

¹⁶⁹ *Urkunden zur Geschichte des Schwäbischen Bundes (1488-1533)*, vol. 1, p. 497.

¹⁷⁰ Sanuto, *I Diarii*, vol. 5, p. 883. 'Count palatine' (*Pfalzgraf* in German) was a non-hereditary noble title derived from the Latin *comes* ('count') and *palatium* ('palace').

¹⁷¹ *Urkunden zur Geschichte des Schwäbischen Bundes (1488-1533)*, vol. 1, p. 498. Maximilian is *frülich und rent und sticht und tanzt und hat köstlich welsch tentz und bancket*.

¹⁷² Sanuto, *I Diarii*, vol. 5, p. 953.

¹⁷³ Wiesflecker, *Kaiser Maximilian I.: Das Reich, Österreich und Europa an der Wende zur Neuzeit*, vol. 4, pp. 6-15. Also in 1508, Maximilian had entered the League of Cambrai with France, Spain, and the

Maximilian's career continued its often uneven path at the imperial diet of Augsburg in 1510. His proposed plans for the permanent maintenance of 50,000 infantrymen and 10,000 cavalry was not accepted. A few courtly festivities were held at this diet, including a large tournament held by Maximilian and Elector Friederich III of Saxony, but few people reportedly attended, which must have been a blow to the emperor.¹⁷⁴

Some final descriptions of tournaments appear during the *Fastnacht* period of 1511, when Maximilian was in his fifty-second year. Yet he was still holding tournaments at this time, again in the city of Augsburg. And he may have still been participating, as incredible as it is. In one of the artist Hans Burgkmair's tournament prints, there is an image of Maximilian running a *Welschestech* over a tilt against Count Palatine of the Rhine Friedrich II (1482-1556) with the caption: *Im 1511 Jarr Ranntten zum augspurg an der herren fassnacht über das dill auff dem weinmarkt, dise hernach benanntenn herrenn wie bie umb verzeichnnet ist.*¹⁷⁵ If this was indeed the case, then Maximilian was still competing in tournaments at an unusually advanced age.

This exceptionality is compounded by Maximilian's status as one of the pre-eminent rulers of Europe. In such a position, one would not expect him to be putting himself at risk at this age. Although, as seen above, Claude de Vauldrey was fifty at the time of his famed tournament with Maximilian at the diet of Worms in 1495, in which context he would have been an aged knight facing a much younger man; so such events were not unprecedented. And, indeed, it would be of little surprise for Maximilian to still be holding tournaments over this carnival period, as their importance in his political and personal life has been clearly

pope in the hopes of partitioning the Republic of Venice. Maximilian, however, was unable to provide sufficient funds and troops to the league.

¹⁷⁴ Wiesflecker, *Kaiser Maximilian I.: Das Reich, Österreich und Europa an der Wende zur Neuzeit*, vol. 4, pp. 264-69; Wiesflecker, *Maximilian I.: Die Fundamente des habsburgischen Weltreiches*, p. 275.

¹⁷⁵ von Hefner, ed., *Hans Burgkmaiers Turnier-Buch*, plates 25-26. 'In 1511, in Augsburg, at *Fastnacht*, these hereafter named lords as are here recorded jousted over the tilt in the wine market.'

established. And it would certainly not be out of the question for him to yet desire to prove his athletic skill and to fight for as long as possible to take part in an activity which had given him so much pleasure throughout his life.

Another tournament which took place during this same *Fastnacht* period of 1511 was held in Heidelberg. This is again documented in the *Turnierbuch* BSB, Cod. icon 398, which had previously featured Maximilian most frequently as a competitor.¹⁷⁶ The occasion for this tournament was the wedding of Count Palatine Ludwig V (1478-1544) to Sibille (1489-1519), daughter of Duke Albrecht IV of Bavaria and Maximilian's niece, on 23 February. Maximilian is not depicted as competing in this particular tournament, but its inclusion alongside the other tournaments featured in this manuscript implies his attendance, if not his participation. Maximilian, as shown throughout this chapter, frequently attended the weddings of the most prominent nobles of his empire, and the close family connection enhances this likelihood. The fact that he is not illustrated as competing would seem to lend doubt to the idea that he did, as the manuscript in depicting other events always makes a point of illustrating Maximilian. However, as he apparently was competing in tournaments in Augsburg during this same time, it is not out of the question that he did on this occasion as well.

In the final years of his life Maximilian turned his attention to guaranteeing his grandson Charles' (the future Holy Roman Emperor Charles V) ascension to the imperial throne upon his death. With the financial aid of the wealthy German banking family the Fuggers Maximilian attempted to use monetary enticements to persuade the other princes to

¹⁷⁶ Munich, BSB, plate 59: *Disr nachbeschriben Rennen unnd Stechen seind geschehen zue Eeren dem hochgebornnen fursten und Herren herren Ludwig Pfalzgraf bey Rhein und der hochloblichen Edlen furstin aus Bairen seinem geliebten gemabel unnd Braut zue Haidelberg in dem Tausent funffhundert unnd aiffsten Jar wie hernach folgt* ('These *Rennen* and *Stechen* described hereafter were done to honour the highborn prince and lord, the lord Ludwig, Palatine of the Rhine, and the highly laudable, noble princess of Bavaria, his beloved wife and bride at Heidelberg in the year 1511, as hereafter follows').

select his grandson. His efforts left a legacy of Habsburg debt and yet more evidence of Maximilian's chronic mismanagement of money, but Charles did indeed become Holy Roman emperor.¹⁷⁷

Maximilian died in Wels, Austria, in 1519. Extravagant in everything he did, Maximilian dictated that after his death he wished for his teeth to be knocked out and his head shaved to show piety and penance. This humbling of his corporal form, however, had not prevented Maximilian from planning an elaborate tomb for himself in his favourite city, Innsbruck. It was not completed in time, and Maximilian instead rests permanently in a more modest grave in Wiener Neustadt.¹⁷⁸

2.6 Conclusions

Through these examples we may follow in the footsteps of Maximilian, tracing a lifetime of tournaments, and in doing so we witness the illustrious career of a skilled athlete emerge, alongside his path as a great ruler. There are some critical trends and patterns which begin to emerge from a study of these tournaments. Notably, we may see that the height of Maximilian's tournament career came in the 1490s, when the young monarch was transitioning from king of the Romans to the responsibility of being Holy Roman emperor and was attempting to assert his authority over his domains. We may also see a trend in locations. Although ruler of a vast domain and almost always on the move, Maximilian had his favourite cities in which to base his highly mobile court during certain times, notably *Fastnacht* season.

¹⁷⁷ Wiesflecker, *Kaiser Maximilian I.: Das Reich, Österreich und Europa an der Wende zur Neuzeit*, vol. 4, pp. 404-15.

¹⁷⁸ Wiesflecker, *Kaiser Maximilian I.: Das Reich, Österreich und Europa an der Wende zur Neuzeit*, vol. 4, pp. 420-38. Maximilian's tomb in Innsbruck was eventually completed, and it stands today as a monument to the emperor and the grand scale of his imagination.

These were also his favoured cities in which to hold tournaments, and this is where Innsbruck and Augsburg in particular stand out. The corresponding locations of his most famous armouries likely have something to do with this. There are also certain settings which present themselves as concurrent with tournaments. Weddings and other celebratory events are notable among these. Although political occasions such as the diets are no less utilised. These grander settings are a separate category from the more casual, intimate competitions which Maximilian appeared to often organise at a moment's notice.¹⁷⁹

This connects to the idea of what makes these tournaments uniquely German and the ways in which these sources display that. Their often casual nature, with little formality (or as little as may be connected with an event involving the Holy Roman emperor), is a defining feature of this. There were never any Burgundian-style *chapitres* issued in a German context. This is a far more Burgundian trait of tournament organisation, and the one time it plays a role is in the Burgundian nobleman Claude de Vauldrey's highly formal request to compete with Maximilian. Otherwise, as is evident across these sources, the Maximilian tournaments usually involved the same core group of participants – mostly high ranking German nobles and princes from across his empire. These are the men who travelled with Maximilian's mobile court, or were never far away, and were at his call at all times to throw together a tournament. It is these men, with Maximilian at their head, who helped to create a unique German tournament culture.

Within the sources, unsurprisingly, there are different perspectives and different elements emphasised based on who was recording the events. The Italian, German, French, and Burgundian sources all focus on different aspects of the tournament and the events

¹⁷⁹ More on significance of these times, locations, and occasions will be discussed in Chapter 6.

surrounding it. The Italian and the French, to speak in broad terms, were more likely to provide descriptions of the clothing or of the evening's dances, while the German sources often give more detail of the combats themselves. And this is not yet factoring in the illustrated sources, whose pictorial representations obviously present a whole different form of analysis. And, of course, once again we are faced with the difficulty of defining 'tournament' across these sources, a word which has a plethora of counterparts in other languages and which is presented as a highly malleable concept. It appears that Maximilian and his contemporaries were not restricted by any self-imposed definition of the word, and felt free to hold tournaments of all sizes and lengths and levels without adhering to a certain idea.

Date	Location	Occasion	Maximilian's Role
December-April 1485-86	Cologne/Frankfurt	Maximilian's coronation as King of the Romans	Participant
November-January 1489-90	Linz	Event co-hosted by Frederick III and King Matthias Corvinus of Hungary	Participant
June 1491	Nuremberg	Recreation	Participant
1492	Innsbruck	Recreation	Participant
January 1494	Innsbruck	For the honour of Bianca Maria Sforza	Unknown
August 1494	Mechlin	Bianca Maria Sforza's arrival	Spectator
September 1494	Mechlin	Recreation	Participant
September 1494	Mechlin	Wedding of Wolfgang von Polheim	Spectator
August-September 1495	Worms	Diet of Worms	Participant

February 1496	Innsbruck	<i>Fastnacht</i>	Unknown
January 1497	Innsbruck	<i>Fastnacht</i>	Unknown
February 1497	Innsbruck	<i>Fastnacht</i>	Participant
September 1497	Innsbruck	Recreation	Participant
January 1498	Innsbruck	Recreation	Spectator
February-March 1498	Innsbruck	<i>Fastnacht</i>	Participant
January 1500	Innsbruck	Diplomatic relations	Unknown
January 1500	Innsbruck	<i>Fastnacht</i>	Unknown
March-July 1500	Augsburg	Diet of Augsburg	Participant
August 1500	Augsburg	Investiture of Joachim I of Brandenburg	Participant
January 1502	Innsbruck	Wedding of Balthasar Wolf von Wolfsthal	Unknown
January-February 1502	Innsbruck	<i>Fastnacht</i>	Participant
February 1502	Hall in Tyrol	<i>Fastnacht</i>	Unknown
November 1502	Mindelheim	Recreation	Unknown
October 1503	Innsbruck	Wedding of Count Julian of Lodron	Unknown
January 1504	Augsburg	Diplomatic relations	Unknown
February 1504	Augsburg	<i>Fastnacht</i>	Participant
February 1511	Augsburg	<i>Fastnacht</i>	Participant
February 1511	Heidelberg	Wedding of Count Palatine Ludwig V	Unknown

Table 2: Maximilian's Tournaments Chronology¹⁸⁰

¹⁸⁰ This table represents the various periods over which Maximilian held tournaments, where the primary sources have provided substantial evidence or description of such. Within each of these spans of time, multiple encounters of mounted joust, tourney, or foot combat have taken place. This table is meant to provide a picture of the broad time periods over which Maximilian was involved in some way in a tournament or series of tournaments.

Chapter 3: The Language of the Tournament and Varieties of the Joust

3.1 Introduction

By the time of Maximilian's birth in 1459, the tournament had long been a popular pastime in princely courts across Europe, enjoying rises and dips in popularity (thanks in part to frequent censure by the Church), changes in form and function, and a widening of geographically related variances. During Maximilian's lifetime, and thanks in no small part to his influence, the German tournament was to become a unique entity, with its own distinctive characteristics. For, while it was already set apart from its European counterparts in many ways, it is the German tournament as preserved through the efforts of Maximilian that modern scholars are most familiar with and which has served as the foundation on which studies of the subject have been built. His influence on creating the image of the medieval German tournament as it is known today cannot be overstated. One of the ways in which Maximilian accomplished this feat will be explored in this chapter through an analysis of the language and categorisation involved.

This chapter will examine two subjects central to the German tournament under Maximilian. While looking at the styles of tournament combat (specifically, in this instance, the joust) practiced or promoted by Maximilian, a study of the language involved will also be undertaken.¹ It will focus on the defining elements of the German tournament in Maximilian's time, specifically those involved in the *Rennen* and the *Gesteck* (discussed below), their key traits and characteristics. Along with this must come an analysis of their etymology and the language

¹ This chapter will focus solely on the joust (both as an individual and group competition). As previously mentioned in the Introduction, while Maximilian often included various forms of foot combat in his tournaments, these other numerous forms of combat are outside the scope of this chapter and thesis.

used to describe medieval tournaments in German-speaking regions, as well as some of the difficulties which must be considered by modern scholars when dealing with ENHG tournament terminology and translation. This necessary analysis will make up the first part of this chapter. Using these headings of *Gesteck* and *Rennen*, this chapter will then turn to an in-depth study of the explicitly named styles of mounted joust representative of Maximilian's court, either in reality or in literary form only. This will be done using primary sources which demonstrate the evolution of these styles of joust, as well as pointing to some of their real-life occurrences. It will also be supplemented with purely representational images, such as those found in Maximilian's *Triumphzug*, as examples of the idealised presentation of the final forms, real or imagined, of Maximilian's sponsored jousting styles.

3.2 Tournament Terminology and the Difficulties of Translation

Terminology is a sticking point which troubles the study of tournaments as a whole, no matter on what region or period the focus lies. Defining the various elements of the tournament is challenging, as they often changed in meaning over time and as new words were developed – in multiple languages – to describe new objects or events even as they were still taking shape, and a certain amount of cross-linguistic exchange took place as well. Different modern scholars, such as Joachim Bumke, Juliet Vale, and Noel Fallows, among others, have touched upon this subject, delving into it to varying degrees. However, in the context of this research, it deserves a brief examination and explanation, for, as Juliet Vale has rightly pointed out, “Terminology is fluid and variable; evidence often scrappy and sporadic, from different periods

and contexts. Inference and hypothesis inevitably have a contentious role.² It is important to keep this in mind when examining the language of tournaments under Maximilian.

This language had evolved to a more varied and elevated place by Maximilian's day, allowing for a greater in-depth description of the events of the tournament using a wide ranging vocabulary (the most basic level of which can be seen in the distinction between *Gesteck* and *Rennen*).³ In older German sources, the beginnings of this tournament-specific language may be seen to be much more basic. In Wolfram von Eschenbach's thirteenth-century romance *Parzival*, for example, which features several instances of tournaments, the Middle High German (MHG) noun *turnei* appears to describe the event of a tournament itself, along with the accompanying verb *turnieren*. A more common phrase which appears, though, to describe the action of taking part in a mounted competition with lances, is *tjoste* or *tjostieren*.⁴ Another example may be found in Ulrich von Liechtenstein's supposedly autobiographical thirteenth-century work *Frauendienst*, which focuses extensively on the hero's exploits in tournaments and where similar language is used. *Tyostiren* and *tyost* are often used in *Frauendienst* to describe the act of jousting.⁵ The phonetic similarity to the English word joust is clearly evident, although, at this time, both MHG and English were borrowing heavily from French chivalrous terminology to describe the world of tournaments as it existed in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, lifting and adapting words such as *joute* (noun), *jouter* (verb) and *tournoi*.

² Juliet Vale, 'Violence and the Tournament' in *Violence in Medieval Society*, ed. by Richard Kaeuper (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2000), p. 145.

³ For a basic discussion of the earliest German tournament terminology and its evolution, see Joachim Bumke, *Courty Culture: Literature and Society in the High Middle Ages*, trans. by Thomas Dunlap (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991), pp. 247-64. Bumke touches on German's early borrowing from both English and French vocabulary to describe the tournament.

⁴ Wolfram von Eschenbach, *Parzival*, ed. by Joachim Bumke (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer Verlag, 2008). Examples include 2880, 2871, 14815, and 14836.

⁵ Ulrich von Liechtenstein, *Frauendienst*, ed. by Franz Viktor Spechtler (Göppingen, 2003). Ulrich's tournament in Friesach (177.1-315.8) offers numerous instances of tournament terminology. The 'j' and the 'y' are often interchangeable in Middle High German.

Over time, and moving into the ENHG-speaking world of the fifteenth century, the German language would develop its own complex vocabulary with which to talk about tournaments. Out of this developed the German-specific concept of the *Gestech* and the *Rennen*. Due to the distinctly different set of rules and styles of armour utilised by each of these two separate styles of joust, they have often been labelled by modern scholars as ‘jousts of war’ (the *Rennen*) and ‘jousts of peace’ (the *Gestech*) (see below). These terms have frequently been incorrectly applied, largely because of the difficulties faced by scholars when writing about a uniquely German phenomenon in English, another complex problem which must be further considered.

While much of modern scholarship on tournaments of this time has tended to stop at this basic distinction of *Rennen* and *Gestech* without delving into deeper analysis, these are in fact quite broad terms which have a good deal of flexibility within them. They should really be seen as category headings, which may be further divided into a fantastic array of different styles of joust. Indeed, this is how they would have been understood in Maximilian’s day. It is certainly how he depicted them in the fictional tournaments of his *Triumphzug*, a distinction which is further reinforced by various primary sources describing actual tournaments. For within these two broad categories of *Rennen* and *Gestech* exist several specific sub-varieties of mounted joust, many of which were practiced and/or commemorated by Maximilian during his lifetime.

3.2.a The Etymology of *Gestech* and *Rennen*

Along with any study of medieval German tournaments must come a study of the unique vocabulary used to describe such events. Such an undertaking is necessary to lend a more holistic understanding to this research. First, an examination of the roots of the two German words must be made, in order to a) fully appreciate their context in Maximilian’s world, and b)

better understand how they ought to be studied today.⁶ This is particularly important as the terms have no direct English translations and must retain their German form when being discussed in non-German scholarship. Both are nouns formed from German verbs. *Gesteck* comes from the verb *stechen*, meaning ‘to stab’, ‘to stick’ or even literally ‘to lance’. *Rennen* is a direct verb-to-noun transformation of the verb *rennen*, ‘to run’ or ‘to race’.

Already some of the implicit meaning behind these words as nouns is evident through their etymology, and the evolution of both words makes sense given the meaning of their root verbs. It must also be acknowledged here that there is a grammatical difference in the structure of these two forms. *Gesteck* could also be rendered as *Stechen*, making it a noun formed from the infinitive form of the corresponding verb, as is the case with *Rennen*, rather than *Gesteck*, which uses the ‘ge’ prefix to form a noun from the verb. Indeed, some scholars have opted to use the term *Stechen*, perhaps from a desire to create a pleasing uniformity and symmetry between the two closely connected words.⁷ However, this thesis will retain the form *Gesteck*, as it is the more commonly utilised in modern scholarship and, most significantly, the form which most frequently appears in the primary sources describing this style of joust (for examples, see below).

Additionally, while these two terms – *Gesteck* and *Rennen* – have no direct English translation, a possible direct linguistic connection may be seen in the rules of the respective styles of joust to the English meanings of their root verbs. For example, in the varying forms

⁶ For a basic German definition and discussion of *Gesteck* and *Rennen*, see *Deutsches Wörterbuch von Jacob und Wilhelm Grimm* (Leipzig: 1854-1961), vol. 5, col. 4208 and vol. 14, col. 812. (Subsequently DWB.)

⁷ For example, see Stefan Krause, “‘They call it royal for good reason’: The Tournaments of the Late Middle Ages and the Renaissance”, in *Habsburg Splendour: Masterpieces from Vienna’s Imperial Collections at the Kunsthistorisches Museum*, ed. by Monica Kurzel-Runtscheiner (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2015), p. 46.

of the *Gestech* the primary goal of the competition was often to shatter a lance on one's opponent. In the *Rennen*, on the other hand, the objective was most often to unhorse one's opponent. Thus verb *stechen* ('to stab'), as the root of *Gestech*, appropriately implies intense or violent impact of some sort, while the verb *rennen* ('to run') implies speed as the primary focus. The different emphases of the two verbs may be reflected in the conduct of the two jousts, which, by Maximilian's time, had become highly specialised.

3.2.b The Trouble with 'Joust of War' and 'Joust of Peace'

Running parallel – and often intertwining – with the modern academic study of the *Rennen* and the *Gestech* is the study of the so-called 'joust of war' and 'joust of peace'. Often, in fact, these two sets of terms have become mistakenly correlated. An examination of why they should not be will now be considered. Scholars have often equated the *Rennen* with the 'joust of war' and the *Gestech* with the 'joust of peace', using one as a synonym for the other. The 'joust of war' has been defined as one using sharp lances, with an objective of more closely simulating real warfare and thus being more violent or dangerous. The 'joust of peace' allegedly employed blunted lances and armour which was better designed to protect its wearer in the context of a joust, thus providing more safety.⁸ The beginnings of this coming-together of the German and English terms may be seen in Coltman R. Clephan's 1919 work, *The Tournament: Its Periods and Phases*.⁹ It was later established perhaps most decisively by Barber and Barker in their 1989 all-

⁸ One of the seeds of this concept and evidence of its perpetuation through translation and transmission is found in Froissart's *Chronicles* and his description of the tournament at Saint-Inglevert (1390), where French knights hung a 'shield of peace' and a 'shield of war' outside their tents which corresponded to a matching style of joust. An exact definition of what 'peace' and 'war' mean, however, is not offered by Froissart. Jean Froissart, *Chronicles*, ed. and trans. by Geoffrey Brereton (London: Penguin, 1978).

⁹ Clephan, *The Tournament: Its Periods and Phases*, p. 9.

encompassing study of tournaments.¹⁰ It continues to be perpetuated in modern scholarship by authors such as Larry Silver in his study of Maximilian's artistic and literary output, and Helen Watanabe-O'Kelly in her work devoted to early modern German tournaments.¹¹ It has even endured up to 2015.¹² However, in a study of German tournaments, these English terms have no place.¹³

The primary difficulty with describing the *Rennen* as a 'joust of war' and the *Gestech* as a 'joust of peace' is that, obvious though it may seem, these are English and not German terms. At the most basic level, as seen above, the original German words *Rennen* and *Gestech* have no relevance in their respective translations to the supposedly connected English phrases, and no German primary source ever utilises a German phrase which could be translated into these modern English phrases (a further discussion of primary source terminology may be found below). There is also a certain risk in applying English terms to German words which do not have a clear modern translation. These words, and their accompanying compound noun formations in German used to describe their numerous variations (discussed below), ought to be exclusively studied and written about in their original language. The need to apply an

¹⁰ Barber and Barker, *Tournaments: Jousts, Chivalry and Pageants in the Middle Ages*, pp. 34, 158-60.

¹¹ Silver, *Marketing Maximilian: The Visual Ideology of a Holy Roman Emperor*, p. 149; Helen Watanabe-O'Kelly, *Triumphall Shews: Tournaments at German-speaking Courts in their European Context 1560-1730*, p. 33.

¹² 'The *Rennen* developed out of the joust of war, in which mounted contestants in imitation of real battles fought against one another with pointed lances. The *Stechen* [*Gestech*] had its origins in the joust of peace [...] and was conducted with blunted lances, or lances having three or four prongs', Krause, "'They call it royal for good reason': The Tournaments of the Late Middle Ages and the Renaissance", p. 46.

¹³ This debate has a French parallel, where jousts described as *à plaisance* and *à oultrance* have also been discussed using the English equivalents 'joust of peace' and 'joust of war', respectively. (See, for example, Keen, *Chivalry*, p. 86 and 205.) An attempt to refute this and to bring some nuance to these definitions, as this chapter is trying to do with the German lexicon, has been undertaken by Will McLean in 'Oultrance and Plaisance', *Journal of Medieval Military History*, 8 (2010), pp. 155-70.

English label to them is essentially non-existent when sufficient terminology already exists which better describes the event.

Most importantly however, ‘joust of war’ and ‘joust of peace’ represent an oversimplification and reduction of myriad forms of combat into two unrelated terms. They serve as a generalisation of two German-specific styles of joust (*Rennen* and *Gestech*) which represent broad categories and, critically, which have little to do with the concepts of ‘war’ or ‘peace’. The *Rennen* in all its varieties may consistently make use of non-coronel tipped lances and a certain (very general) style of armour, yet it in no way simulates realistic warfare. The equipment for this joust would be just as useless on the battlefield as that for the *Gestech*, which, despite its normal use of coronel tipped lances, is not necessarily more ‘peaceful’ in its conduct than the *Rennen*.

Progress is being made on this debate, although it is still far from resolved.¹⁴ In a recent article focused on German jousting armour, the authors described the *Rennen* and the *Gestech* in this way: ‘The two most popular forms were the *gestech*, the most common form of joust of peace in Germany, and the *rennen* a new form of the game that has been misleadingly referred to as a type of joust of war. The *rennen* was not a joust of war because the armour it employed was just as specialised and just as unlike war harness as was armour for the *gestech*.’¹⁵ While still drawing the false equivalency between the *Gestech* and the joust of peace, here a clear effort is made to separate the *Rennen* from the idea of the joust of war. An awareness of the discord between these English and German terms must be maintained when examining both secondary and, as will now be discussed, primary sources.

¹⁴ The article by Will McLean, cited above, is a good example of this progress.

¹⁵ Alan Williams, David Edge, Tobias Capwell, and Stefanie Tschegg, ‘A Technical Note on the Armour and Equipment for Jousting,’ in *Gladius: Estudios sobre armas antiguas, arte militar y vida cultural en oriente y occidente*, 32 (2012), p. 140.

3.2.c Primary Source Variation

Finally, a brief discussion of how German tournament terminology appears in and varies across primary sources must be undertaken. For, even as this lexicon expanded, there still remained a difficulty in agreeing on terms and descriptive language not only within the German-speaking realm but across different varieties of sources and authorial voices. There are several reasons for this which must be kept in mind when examining these sources. One reason had to do with an absence of communication within the so-called tournament community or network. This was due in part to both a lack of access to any sort of regularised lexicon and also to a lack of drive (or necessity) to establish any concrete definitions. Indeed, as Noel Fallows states, ‘despite the wonders of the printing press, the early writers did not have easy access to each other’s work, nor did they have a unified technical vocabulary, nor did they even define much of their own unique terminology’.¹⁶ There was not so much active disagreement on how tournament vocabulary should be defined, as a lack of communication or interest in creating a cohesive, mutually agreed upon framework. Maximilian, in his commissioning of works such as the *Triumphzug* (to be discussed later in this chapter) could be said to be attempting to create just such a thing – a dictionary of the tournament, in essence – which would in turn go on to become the lexical basis for other, later works commemorating the German tournament.

With regard to the works crafted by those familiar with the tournament, Fallows also points out the difficulties faced by those who first began to write texts solely devoted to the art of the tournament, and specifically jousting. Unlike military manuals of the time, whose

¹⁶ Fallows, *Jousting in Medieval and Renaissance Iberia*, p. 24. While Fallows is discussing jousting in an Iberian context, his argument may easily be applied to German-speaking areas as well.

authors could draw upon classical Roman or Greek texts for the ‘original’ sources of their military terminology, jousting ‘manuals’ had no such precedent to look to for inspiration and so often had to make up their own terms, which could be entirely different from what another author might use. It was these writers’ ‘arduous task [...] to create from scratch the discipline-specific terminology that would define both the practice and study of jousting’.¹⁷ For modern scholars attempting to decipher this language of tournaments, another obstacle arises from the fact that those writing about tournaments in the fifteenth or sixteenth centuries would most likely be assuming some sort of inherent knowledge of tournament basics from the reader. Thus they do not always explicitly describe each and every detail involved, as it was not considered necessary for the intended audience.

This is clearly exemplified in one of the tournament books relating to Maximilian’s reign, BSB, Cod.icon 398. From the very beginning, in the earliest tournament featured in the book, that held in Linz in 1489-90, the ENHG phrase *Ritterlich spil*, or ‘knightly games’, is used as a descriptor.¹⁸ This is a phrase which appears frequently in reference to Maximilian-era tournaments. While the actual word ‘tournament’ is never used, this alternative expression neatly encompasses the idea that the activity is limited to a certain class of participant, and is thus noble and chivalrous, and also that it is just that, a game, and a venue for sportsmanship and skill. Also at Linz the verb formation *haben gerennt* is used to recount the individual jousts. Meaning simply ‘they [the competitors] ran’, the term refers to the two knights who are ‘running’ or, more specifically, ‘jousting’. There is a lack of detail in these sparse phrases accompanying the illustrations, but a clear knowledge of the event by the author is implied in the minimal text.

¹⁷ Fallows, *Jousting in Medieval and Renaissance Iberia*, pp. 24-25.

¹⁸ Munich, BSB, Cod.icon. 398, plate 13.

And even within these relatively negligible narratives, secondary as they are to the imagery, there is still variety of terminology to be found in the descriptions. Interestingly, there is a marked change over time in how the jousts are described at each tournament featured in BSB, Cod.icon 398. Later in the manuscript the narrative passage preceding a tournament held at Nuremberg in 1491 also uses *Ritterspiele* ('knightly games') to describe the subsequent competitions.¹⁹ New language, however, is used to describe the individual jousts. Specific nouns are now used to label each joust rather than just the competitors' names along with a verb. One noun used is *Treffen*, or 'encounter', a fairly general catchword. Yet also at Nuremberg the term *Rennen* appears as a noun rather than a verb. Here the first mention of a *Gestech* may be found as well.²⁰ And again, later, at a tournament in Innsbruck in 1497, the word *Rennen* appears as a noun rather than a verb.²¹ Finally, at a tournament in Heidelberg in 1511, the nouns *Rennen* and *Stechen* (rather than *Gestech*, although this is the subsequent form used) both appear in the brief introductory text rather than the previously more popular *Ritterspiele*, the more specific names for two types of joust replacing the general 'knightly games'.²²

The appearance first of the terms *Rennen* and then *Gestech* offers a more explicit description of these different *Ritterspiele* in the *Turnierbuch*. Each joust thereafter in Heidelberg (1511) is clearly labelled as either a *Rennen* or a *Gestech*, and the two types are more equally presented than in any previous tournament featured in the manuscript. This change over time could be a mark of Maximilian's influence on the tournament and of a regulation of the

¹⁹ Munich, BSB, Cod.icon. 398, plate 47.

²⁰ Munich, BSB, Cod.icon. 398, plates 55-57.

²¹ Munich, BSB, Cod.icon. 398, plate 39: *Dass Rennen geschach Zue Innspruckh Am gailen Montag im Vierzehnbundert und im 97 Jare*

²² Munich, BSB, Cod.icon. 398, plate 59.

terminology. The distinct evolution of a language of tournaments begins to become clear and is perfectly represented through this manuscript.

On the other hand, there is often less assumed knowledge present in those references to tournaments which appear in letters relating to other subjects and in which the tournament might be incidental, or by authors not familiar with the world and specific language of tournaments. Although some may still follow the same formulaic procedure seen above in BSB, Cod. icon 398. For example, the German humanist Georg Spalatin, writing about a tournament held in Mechlin in 1494, resorts to a basic list when describing the various mounted jousts. The language to describe these games over the several days they take place is also fairly consistent. The phrase *haben gerannt und gestochen* is used to encompass the actions of the entire group of knights who take part in a day's combats.²³ In describing the individual combats, *haben gerannt* or *haben gereut* is used most often, although *haben gestochen* appears occasionally as well, presumably depending upon the type of mounted joust undertaken, although this is not clarified.

This narrative formula does, however, at least draw a linguistic distinction between different forms of joust. Additionally, in the short phrases used to describe each encounter, no one knight is ever explicitly singled out by Spalatin as the 'winner'; rather the end result is implied by who was unhorsed or fell. The most common result by far in these encounters is the mutual unhorsing of both combatants, expressed by the phrase *sind beid gefallen* ('both fell'). Occasionally two knights appear to compete against each other more than once, which is expressed by the phrase *sind beid zweimal gefallen* ('both fell twice'). This mutual defeat is seen frequently, except when the combatants miss each other entirely, as when two knights *nie*

²³ Unusual and/or inconsistent variations on the verbs *rennen* and *stechen* are not at all uncommon in the ENHG spellings, which have been maintained throughout.

getroffen ('never met'). When one knight is described as being the only one who fell (*allein gefallen*), this is the closest Spalatin comes to clearly stating the winner of a joust.²⁴

Other primary sources, however, follow a more narrative, prose fashion in describing a joust; there is a distinction between formulaic descriptions versus narrative ones. This is most often seen when little focus is placed on the actual tournament, and it is merely an incidental aside, taking up only a sentence or so. For example, in March of 1500, when Maximilian was attending the imperial diet of Augsburg, he travelled to Munich to hold a tournament and to go hunting. Thomas Krull, dean of Brandenburg, writing to Elector Joachim I of Brandenburg, described in passing how the nobles apparently *gerent und gestoehen* in the *welsche* style when in fact they ought to be in Augsburg.²⁵

As seen above, the matter of talking about tournaments, even (or perhaps particularly) when restricted to roughly Maximilian's lifetime (i.e. the late fifteenth to early sixteenth centuries) involves great depth and breadth of consideration of language, etymology, translation, terminology, and sources. It is impossible to write about the topic in English without giving full deference to the source language, and it cannot be simply boiled down into two words: *Gestech* and *Rennen* (as will be discussed in the next section). Table 3 gives an idea of the diversity of words, both verbs and nouns, which were used at this time when writing about tournaments in German as they have been located across a variety of primary sources, before even taking into consideration the highly specific forms which will now be examined in the next section of this chapter.

²⁴ *Georg Spalatin's historischer Nachlaß und Briefe*, pp. 230-32.

²⁵ *Regesta Imperii*, Maximilian I., RI XIV, 3, 1 n. 10022, n. 10036. Original source: Merseburg, Deutsches Zentralarchiv; Geheimes Staatsarchiv, Repositur X, Nummer ZY (Planetenzeichen), Faszikel 2 K, fol. 12 f.; Vienna, Hofkammerarchiv, Gedenkbücher 7, fol. 72=70; fol. 72v f.=70v f.; fol. 73v f.=71v f.

Verbs	Nouns	Group combat	Foot/unspecified forms of combat
<i>rennen</i>	<i>Rennen</i>	<i>Massenkampf</i>	<i>Turnier zu Fuß</i>
<i>stechen</i>	<i>Gestech</i>	<i>Massenturnier</i>	<i>Schwertkämpfe</i>
<i>turnieren</i>	<i>Turnier(e)</i>	<i>Turney</i>	<i>Waffenübungen</i>
<i>treffen</i>	<i>Treffen</i>		<i>Waffenspielen</i>
<i>kämpfen</i>	<i>Ritterspiel(e)</i>		
<i>reuten</i>	<i>Kriegspiel(e)</i>		
	<i>Ritt</i>		
	<i>Deutsch-, Französisch-, Italienisch-, Welsch Art</i>		

Table 3: A Selection of Tournament Terminology

3.3. The Tourney

Before the individual-focused, one-on-one combat format of the joust became popular, the tourney was the most common form of tournament competition. The group combat characteristic of the tourney was already one of the oldest and most well-established forms of competition by Maximilian's day. And although it had largely been supplanted in popularity by the one-on-one joust, tourneys were still held in Maximilian's court. No mention in textual or illustrated sources of Maximilian taking part in these group combats is to be found, however. (Although he must have, at least as a young man, as surviving armour would seem to attest to the fact.) This is logical, as there would have been little chance for Maximilian to stand out in such a competition, which also lacked the visual impact of the one-on-one joust. Instead the

tourney at Maximilian's court seems to have served as a supplement to the main competition and not as the focal point itself, as seen in Maximilian's 1495 combat with Claude de Vauldrey. After their encounter – the undeniable main attraction – a tourney took place between the other German noblemen there present.²⁶ It was a chance for others present to partake in the excitement of the day's events but without taking too much attention away from Maximilian.

In its idealised form illustrated in the *Triumphzug*, one set of five tourneyers on foot, (although equipped for mounted combat) and one set of five on horseback are represented.²⁷ Their equipment more closely resembles that used in numerous forms of the *Rennen* rather than the *Gesteck*. The lances are pointed, with small, circular vamplates, and the shield integrates a bevor which protects the lower face.²⁸ The primary difference in armour is the helmet. The tourneyers wear close-helms with visors, unlike the sallets found in most forms of the *Rennen*. The visors are distinctly pointed, with the lower edge of the vision slit slightly protruding to better protect the eyes; ventilation holes for ease of breathing are visible on the riders' right sides. The tourneyers wear the most elaborate crests – large plumes of feathers – of all those seen in the *Gesteck* and the *Rennen*. The horses wear shaffrons (not blind), crinnets, and bards covered with rich textiles (the laces affixing the textiles are clearly visible). Of particular interest in the *Triumphzug* is the fact that the tourneyers in are led by an individual figure, Anthony von Yfan, who is named as *Turniermeister* ('tournament master'). Such a position of honour created by Maximilian, and the presence of the tourney alongside other more elaborate

²⁶ von Eyb, *Die Geschichten und Taten Wilwolts vom Schaumberg*, p. 157.

²⁷ See Appendix 1, Figure 4.

²⁸ For a detailed definition and discussion of the armour and equipment used in the various forms of joust described in this chapter, see Chapter 4. Alternatively, see Appendix 2: Glossary.

and complex forms of individual joust, is a sign of Maximilian's favour of this form of combat.²⁹

3.3.a The *Kolbenturnier*

There are also, it should be pointed out, omissions from Maximilian's carefully curated collection of styles of joust found in the *Triumphzug*. And just as the varieties which the emperor chose to honour and highlight are significant and reveal the Maximilian's personal preferences to his audience, both medieval and modern, so too do the ones he chose to omit. An excellent, and the most notable, example of this is the *Kolbenturnier* ('baton tournament'). This combat on horseback was normally fought by groups of competitors, rather than one-on-one, and instead of lances the men would use blunted swords or clubs in an attempt to knock the crests off of their opponents' helmets, which were characterised by their distinctive large metal grilles across the face allowing for a wide range of vision. By Maximilian's day this form was largely going out of fashion.³⁰

The *Kolbenturnier* was not, however, completely extinct by this time. Indeed, the *Turnierbuch* of Maximilian's contemporary, the German nobleman Ludwig von Eyb, is made up entirely of images exclusively of the *Kolbenturnier*.³¹ Of its ten images of combat, all are of the *Kolbenturnier*. In each of the fairly rudimentally drawn images, knights in a small, enclosed arena use blunt swords or clubs to try to knock the prominent crests off their opponents' helms.³²

²⁹ Appelbaum, ed., *The Triumph of Maximilian*, plate 43.

³⁰ Helmut Nickel, 'The Tournament: An Historical Sketch', in *The Study of Chivalry: Resources and Approaches*, ed. by Howell Chickering and Thomas H. Seiler (Kalamazoo: Medieval Institute Publications, 1988), p. 227; Jackson, 'Tournaments and the German Chivalric *renovatio*: Tournament Discipline and the Myth of Origins', pp. 80-81.

³¹ Munich, BSB, Cgm 961, plates 16, 18, 20, 22, 24, 26, 28, 30, 32, and 34.

³² See Appendix 1, Figure 5.

A variation of the *Kolbenturnier* also appears in the *Turnierbuch* of patrician tournament fighter Marx Walther in which the riders are minimally equipped and bearing what look like straw/wicker shields and helms in the traditional *Kolbenturnier* style while riding bareback.³³ They carry lances shorter than those used in the joust and with flared, trumpet-like ends which the men appear to use to either knock their opponents' crests from their helms, although knocking each other from their horses seems acceptable as well based on the image.³⁴ A virtually identical depiction of this style of *Kolbenturnier* appears in BSB, Cod.icon 398 at a tournament in Nuremberg in 1491 which Maximilian hosted and took part in (although not in this particular combat).³⁵

Thus, despite its absence from the *Triumphzug*, the *Kolbenturnier* was still practiced during Maximilian's reign, both by his contemporaries and at tournaments in which he was personally involved. Furthermore, Maximilian himself did, at some point, participate in the *Kolbenturnier*, as evidenced by a *Kolbenturnierhelm* attributed to him and currently held in Vienna.³⁶ Its estimated time of creation, however, dates to Maximilian's younger years, before he became Holy Roman emperor or possibly even *Römischer König*, when he was still a young knight building his reputation in the tournament but not shaping its legacy. This could explain why, although the armour survives, no textual source from Maximilian's reign describes him taking part in any sort of tourney, since, as a ruler in his own right, it may have been considered beneath him at that point. The same goes for his lack of appearance in this form of combat in any of the *Turnierbücher* representing historical tournaments. Tied with this, the *Kolbenturnier's* later exclusion from commemorative works the *Triumphzug* or *Freydal* is a sign of

³³ See Appendix 1, Figure 6.

³⁴ Munich, BSB, Cgm 1930, plates 17-18.

³⁵ See Appendix 1, Figure 7.

³⁶ See Appendix 3, numbers 28 and 29.

Maximilian's lack of interest in the form and his clear preference for the mounted joust, even in group combat (i.e. the tourney), to play a greater role in his memory.

3.4 The *Gestech*

At the most fundamental level, the difference between the *Gestech* and the *Rennen* may be defined by the former's use of coronel tipped lances and the latter's of hooked or pointed lances. In the *Gestech* the object was to either unhorse one's opponent or, ideally, to splinter a lance on him, while in the *Rennen* unhorsing was the primary aim.³⁷ However, along with this basic division come numerous and wide-ranging variations in arms, armour, and rules of conduct for these two courses, which will be expanded upon below. These many forms represent the tournament as it was practised in Maximilian's court, and, as will be seen, in his time the line between the *Rennen* and *Gestech* was not always clear, but rather was often blurred as the two forms occasionally intermingled and evolved.

There are four sub-categories of the *Gestech* which can be analysed independently. Not as many forms of the *Gestech* exist as do of the *Rennen*, where Maximilian's tournaments fully embraced a creative range of joust forms.

3.4.a The *Deutschgestech*

The so-called *Deutschgestech*, as it is labelled in the *Triumphzug*, is the apparently definitive version of the standard *Gestech* as practiced in Maximilian's court.³⁸ In sources which mention a

³⁷ The evidence for these differing goals is best found in the equipment used in the *Gestech* and the *Rennen*, discussed in Chapter 4.

³⁸ For the purposes of consistency throughout this thesis, the spellings of these forms of joust will be presented as compound nouns (*Deutschgestech*), rather than a noun phrase (*Deutsch Gestech*).

Gestech at Maximilian's court, it is likely this form of the joust to which they are referring.³⁹ This could be a way of distinguishing this style of joust featuring blunted lances and frog-mouth helmets, a common enough form of joust throughout Europe at this time, as the unique German version of such. The lack of a *Deutsch-* preposition for a *Rennen* would seem to mark the *Rennen* in general as such a distinctly German form of joust that it did not need to be specified as such.

The numerous examples given in Chapter 2 attest to the popularity of this joust in Maximilian's court. In the *Triumphzug*, the knights of the *Deutschgestech* are shown with frog-mouth helmets, which is the standard style of helm across all versions of the *Gestech*.⁴⁰ They also wear full vambraces, with reinforcing plates around the neck. They carry a small, concave shield. A queue to hold the lance is visible on the knights' backs. The vamplate is small and the lance tipped with three-pronged coronels. The lances are also noticeably thicker than those used in the other forms of *Gestech*. The knights each wear a distinctive crest featuring physical objects, such as antlers, wings, and an owl. The horses wear full caparisons which also cover their eyes, as well as rings of bells around their necks. Around their necks they also wear *Stechkissen*, large padded bumpers which protect their chests as well as the legs of the riders, eliminating the knights' need for leg armour.⁴¹

3.4.b The *Welschgestech*

The *Welschgestech* (and its corresponding form the *Welschbrennen*) is one of the most unique and distinctive forms of mounted joust practiced at Maximilian's court. This joust represents one

³⁹ There is, it should be noted, no corresponding *Deutschbrennen*. The equivalent is more likely to be the term occasionally used, *Scharfbrennen*, to refer to a standard German *Rennen*.

⁴⁰ See Appendix 1, Figure 8.

⁴¹ Appelbaum, ed., *The Triumph of Maximilian*, plate 46.

of the most significant evolutions of the tournament to be popularised by Maximilian: the use of the tilt. The tilt was a wooden barrier which separated the competing knights, allowing them to approach each other without colliding.⁴² The tilt was revolutionary in the tournament world in that it would have minimised risk both to the horses and their riders while increasing the likelihood of the knights successfully striking each other with their lances (missing being an all too common result in many jousts).

When and where exactly the tilt first came into use is an issue of much contention. William Henry Jackson claims the tilt originated in Italy in the early fifteenth century, coming into use in Germany under Maximilian in the early sixteenth century.⁴³ Helen Watanabe-O’Kelly believes it was introduced around 1420 (although she gives no reason for the specificity of that date).⁴⁴ According to Barber and Barker, the tilt was a Spanish or Portuguese invention dating from the early fifteenth century and comes from the Spanish word for cloth, *tela*, indicating that it was originally a cloth suspended from a rope running down the centre of the lists (although they do not follow on and explain how it developed into a wooden barrier).⁴⁵ These are just a few examples of the conflicting opinions on the origins of this piece of tournament equipment.

The German name for the joust with a tilt offers no clues, as *welsch* was a general ENHG term for speakers of Romance languages. It could often refer specifically to Italians, but also was applied to other European groups, such as the Burgundians or the French. This frequent connection of *welsch* to the Italians lends credence to the idea that the tilt was often

⁴² The noun ‘tilt’ was also subsequently turned into a verb, ‘tilting’, which became a synonym for jousting itself in English.

⁴³ William Henry Jackson, ‘The Tournament and Chivalry in German Tournament Books’, p. 59.

⁴⁴ Watanabe-O’Kelly, *Triumphball Shews: Tournaments at German-speaking Courts in their European Context 1560-1730*, p. 14.

⁴⁵ Barber and Barker, *Tournaments: Jousts, Chivalry and Pageants in the Middle Ages*, pp. 194-96.

used in Italian jousts and that Maximilian might have come to particularly enjoy and appreciate this form following his second marriage to Bianca Maria Sforza of Milan in 1494. Each time a contemporary chronicle or letter describes Maximilian taking part in an ‘Italian-style’ joust (*Italienisch*), it is tempting to imagine that this is a reference to a *Welschgestech* or *–rennen*. However, the tilt also appears regularly in earlier fifteenth century depictions of Burgundian tournaments.⁴⁶ Maximilian’s adoption of this joust as one of his favourites could thus be more closely related to his first marriage to Mary of Burgundy and the influence of that tournament culture.

While the tilt was still a novelty in the German joust, problems could arise from not knowing how to construct and use it properly. Georg Spalatin wrote that at a tournament at which Maximilian was present several un-named *Walen und Niederländer* ran a *Welschgestech* over a ‘barrier’ (*Schranken*), or tilt. They struck each with hard blows and broke many spears, according to Spalatin. Unfortunately the eyes and ears of several horses were reportedly injured as well, as the barrier was too low.⁴⁷ The tilt was meant to be quite a high barrier, customarily coming up to roughly the level of the the horse’s back while still allowing the knights’ lances to

⁴⁶ For example see *Imagining the Past in France: History in Manuscript Painting, 1250-1500*, ed. by Elizabeth Morrison and Anne D. Hedeman (Los Angeles: J. Paul Getty Museum, 2010), p. 250; here (in an image originally from Saint Petersburg, National Library of Russia, MS.Fr.F.p.XIV.4) is a Burgundian count competing in a joust over a tilt at a *pas d’armes* in 1446 (manuscript produced c. 1470-1480). Additionally, in a fifteenth-century French context, a tilt also appears in an image of a 1438 joust between Sir John Astley of England and Pierre de Masse, which took place in Paris; Young, *Tudor and Jacobean Tournaments*, pp. 74-75.

⁴⁷ *Georg Spalatin's historischer Nachlaß und Briefe*, p. 230-31. Spalatin writes, *Haben einander hart treffen und viel Spieß zerbrochen, auch den Pferden Augen aus und Ohren abgestoßen, aus Ursachen daß die Schranken zu niedrig waren.*

comfortably clear it.⁴⁸ Images like many of those in *Freydal* demonstrate the proper use of the tilt.⁴⁹

The *Welschgestech* is the first of the illustrations of unique varieties of mounted joust to appear in the *Triumphzug*.⁵⁰ Placing it first in the line-up of forms of tournament competition gives it a place of prestige. Most significantly the tilt does not feature in the image, even though it was the central, defining feature of this style of joust. While the *Triumphzug* is meant to portray a parade of people and objects in motion, and including a stationary barrier may have been illogical (although it could be argued that ‘logic’ is a meaningless parameter in such a fantastical work), it may also be that Maximilian assumed a level of knowledge on the part of his audience and believed that they would know that the very title *Welschgestech* meant the use of a tilt. The frequency with the *welsch*-style jousts were held at his court would mean that by the time of the *Triumphzug*’s creation it was a well enough known and established event that Maximilian took for granted an understanding of its central feature (indeed, the same principle applies to all the jousts, as discussed above).

The knights in the *Triumphzug* are shown wearing the frog-mouth style helm seen in all iterations of the *Gestech*. They wear full vambraces on their arms, including gauntlets, even with the protection provided by the vamplate on the lance, which is relatively small. The lances are tipped with three-pronged coronels. The knights carry concave shields which come up above the base of their helms and are fastened to their breastplates. A lance rest is also visible on the

⁴⁸ The length of the tilt in illustrations of the time is often misleading as well, as it is far too short. It would in fact have been very long. In England, for example, by the early sixteenth century, the tilt in the tournament grounds at Greenwich was 150 yards long, while that at Whitehall was 107 yards long. The one built for the famous tournament of the Field of Cloth of Gold (1520), an entirely temporary setup, was still 88 yards long. Young, *Tudor and Jacobean Tournaments*, p. 76.

⁴⁹ von Leitner, ed., *Freydal*, plate 2. See Appendix 1, Figure 9.

⁵⁰ See Appendix 1, Figure 10.

breastplates, although there is no queue attached at the back. They wear greaves and sabatons on their lower legs. Their upper legs are covered by long cloth tonnelets protected by a large raised pommel and ridge on the front of the saddle. They also all wear crests of large plumes of feathers. The horses wear full caparisons which tie in the front and metal shaffrons. Their vision is unobscured.⁵¹

3.4.c The *Hohenzeuggestech*

One particularly interesting form of *Gestech*, which would already have been old-fashioned in Maximilian's time but which he continued to uphold, was the *Hohenzeuggestech*. It was named for the unique high saddle (the titular *hohes Zeug*), which forced the rider to stand upright in his stirrups while sitting elevated off the horse's back on a central bar with his legs slipped through two rings on either side to hold him in place. Large wooden panels extending down over the horse's shoulders also protected his lower torso and legs. This would have given the rider very little control over his horse and required great strength and skill. A surviving example of one of these saddles is preserved in the Royal Armouries.⁵² Although not specifically affiliated with Maximilian, the saddle is German and dates from around 1500, showing that such objects were still being produced at that date.⁵³

Although textual sources describing Maximilian's tournaments do not specify if the jousts being performed are ever the *Hohenzeuggestech* – either because it was incidental information or the authors were not knowledgeable of the terminology – it does appear in

⁵¹ Appelbaum, ed., *The Triumph of Maximilian*, plate 45.

⁵² Leeds, UK, Royal Armouries, Object Number VI.94.

⁵³ See Appendix 1, Figure 11. For more on this particular saddle, see Marina Viallon, 'A German High Tournament Saddle in the Royal Armouries, Leeds' *Arms and Armour* 12 (2015), 103-23.

commemorative forms in *Freydal* and the *Triumphzug*.⁵⁴ Maximilian then clearly had an interest in preserving this form, perhaps as a representation of the history of a uniquely German form of joust. In *Freydal*, the reader gets to see the *hohes Zeug* in action as Maximilian and his opponent break their lances on each other in close quarters whilst balancing in the precarious saddles. Leather straps, supplementing the wooden loops, may be seen holding the knights in place.⁵⁵

The idealised representation of the *Hobenzenggestech*, as it appears in the *Triumphzug*, features knights in frog-mouth helms and full vambraces, as well as two rondels on their chests. The concave jousting shields may be seen to be tied to the breastplate in the centre. The lances are blunted with coronel tips. The knights wear sabatons with elongated, pointed toes, symbolic of the nostalgic qualities of this joust. The horses wear full caparisons and metal shaffrons with additional crinnets to protect their necks. They also wear bells around their necks. The knights are visibly raised off the back of their horses by the high-saddle, and a large, circular harness, similar in form to the padded *Stechkissen*, circles the chests of the horses, protecting the riders' legs. Convex spherical protrusions on the front allow room for the horses' shoulder joints to have full range of movement.⁵⁶

3.4.d The *Gestech im Beinharnisch*

Finally, there is the *Gestech im Beinharnisch*, which, like the *Hobenzenggestech*, was a relatively old-fashioned form of joust in Maximilian's time.⁵⁷ The *Gestech im Beinharnisch* simply

⁵⁴ Appelbaum, ed., *The Triumph of Maximilian*, plate 47.

⁵⁵ See Appendix 1, Figure 12.

⁵⁶ See Appendix 1, Figure 13.

⁵⁷ Wendelin Boehm, *Handbuch der Waffenkunde: Das Waffenwesen in seiner historischen Entwicklung vom Beginn des Mittelalters bis zum Ende des 18. Jahrhunderts* (Leipzig: Verlag von E. A. Seemann, 1890), pp. 552-53.

means the *Gestech* ‘in leg armour’. Definitive descriptions of this joust actually being practiced in Maximilian’s court are difficult to find, although it should be said that a lack of the explicit description of a *Beinharnisch* does not mean that passing references to a *Gestech* being held might not include this variety of joust. Clephan speculated that in this joust unhorsing of one’s opponent was the primary goal, an objective which was made easier by the knights’ leg armour, which would have made gripping the horse more difficult.⁵⁸ However, another interpretation could also be given.

The *Gestech im Beinharnisch* does appear in the *Triumphzug*, indicating its importance, at least as a token of nostalgia, to Maximilian. This joust is the final manifestation of the *Gestech* which features in the *Triumphzug*.⁵⁹ Despite its name seemingly emphasising the use of leg armour, the knights in this image do not appear to be equipped with armour significantly different from that used in other forms of the *Gestech*, such as the *Welschgestech*. They wear noticeable armour to protect their shins, calves, and knees, as well as rounded sabatons on their feet. The so-called *Beinharnisch* does not appear particularly distinctive in its form. It would, however, have played a more critical role in this *Gestech*, as, unlike its visually similar counterpart the *Welschgestech*, there would have been no barrier between the two riders protecting their legs. So in this joust the *Beinharnisch* plays a critical protective role which draws special attention to it. This is particularly noticeable again when compared to other forms of the *Gestech* - the *Deutschgestech* and the *Hohenzenggestech* - where a large *Stechkissen* or an independent element of the saddle protect the knights’ legs, eliminating the need for leg armour entirely. This is the only *Gestech* where the knight’s legs are fully exposed to the

⁵⁸ Clephan, *The Tournament: Its Periods and Phases*, pp. 97-98.

⁵⁹ See Appendix 1, Figure 14.

oncoming rider and his lance, with only armour to protect them and no additional element, thus justifying the attention focused in its name upon the *Beinharnisch*.⁶⁰

Additionally, the knights illustrated in the *Triumphzug* wear the customary frog-mouth helm, topped with a crest of a wreath of laurel leaves. The lances are coronel-tipped. While the knights wear upper-body armour with rondels on the shoulders and bear the distinctive concave *Gestech* shield, they only wear gloves and not metal gauntlets. Tassets are clearly visible protecting their upper thighs, adding to the complete *Beinharnisch*. A queue is also fitted to their backs, as seen in the *Deutschgestech* as well. The horses wear metal shaffrons, one of which is blind, and caparisons, as well as bells around their necks. The caparison of the outermost horse can be seen to be in multiple sections tied together with points. A spherical projection at the horse's shoulder, like those on the saddle of the *Hobenzenggestech*, imply the presence of a metal bard beneath the textile caparison. The clearly rigid appearance of the outer textile further adds to this likelihood. Again, this was a likely requirement for this joust due to the lack of a barrier or other protective elements found in other forms of the *Gestech*. The saddle used is similar in form to that of the *Welschgestech*.

3.5 The *Rennen*

Unlike the *Gestech*, the *Rennen* always utilised non-rebated lances (although this did not necessarily mean that the lances were as sharp as those used on the battlefield) which were not as thick as those used in the *Gestech*; rather, they tended to be slimmer and, critically, not hollow. The *Rennen* could also be far more hazardous than the *Gestech* in its various incarnations, but the multitude of forms preserved in the *Triumphzug* and the frequent

⁶⁰ Appelbaum, ed., *The Triumph of Maximilian*, plate 48.

examples of its occurrence in Maximilian's court attest to his particular enjoyment of this joust, whose various forms allowed for a creative expression of the many manifestations of the German tournament.

One example of this are the many forms of the *Rennen* which also featured mechanical, or 'exploding', pieces of armour. These represent a trend not seen in the *Gesteck*. Two wing shaped plates were sometimes fastened over the brow of the sallet by pins and were meant to fly off when struck.⁶¹ In yet another type the vamplate of the lance, which protected the hand holding it, also could be engineered to fly off if hit. This reflects the skill and ingenuity of the medieval armourer at this time. Due to the association of these mechanical elements of armour with the more hazardous *Rennen*, Barber and Barker have speculated that it represents a less serious attitude toward the joust and a concession to its growing disconnection from reality. These mechanical devices, as they put it, were produced 'more for the entertainment of spectators than for the protection of the participants'. Spectacle in both the *Rennen* and the *Gesteck* had at last trumped any semblance of actual fighting, and this concession was represented in the armour for both, whether it was through fantastic exploding armour or the creation of a suit to render a man invincible.⁶² However, this is true only in the sense that these elements were indeed added for entertainment purposes and offered no practical protection. It must be noted, though, that they do not necessarily represent a less serious attitude toward the joust. Rather, as will be seen, this intense focus on categorising the different forms and promoting the technological innovations within them, such as the mechanical features, signify instead a very serious attitude indeed toward the joust.

⁶¹ Claude Blair, *European Armour circa 1066 to circa 1700* (London: B.T. Batsford, 1958), pp. 162-63.

⁶² Barber and Barker, *Tournaments: Jousts, Chivalry and Pageants in the Middle Ages*, p. 162.

3.5.a The *Welschrennen*

Despite the seeming prominence of the *Rennen* over the *Gestech* in general in Maximilian's court, the *Welschrennen* appears to have been less popular than its counterpart the *Welschgestech*. Simply by examining the images in *Freydal*, one sees that the *Welschgestech* appears more than any other form of the *Gestech*, while the *Welschrennen* does not appear at all. The *Welschrennen* is the first style of *Rennen* to appear in the parade of the *Triumphzug*, just as the *Welschgestech* is the first form of *Gestech*.⁶³ Also like the image of the *Welschgestech*, no barrier is illustrated, its presence an assumed knowledge. The most distinctive visual element which separates this *Rennen* from the other forms in the *Triumphzug* is the helm worn by the knights. In the *Welschrennen* they wear a close helm, fully enclosing the rider's face, with a visor and attached bevor. These are crowned with laurel wreaths. The lances, as with all varieties of the *Rennen*, come to a multi-faceted point. The vamplate of the *Welschrennen* is small, similar to those on the *Gestech* lances. The knights wear upper body armour and gauntlets as well as leg harnesses. An oblong, slightly concave shield, similar to many of those in the *Gestech*, protects the left sides of their bodies, and each has a rondel in its centre – a specific target of sorts. The saddle is like that of the *Welschgestech*. Also like the *Welschgestech*, the knights have a lance rest attached to their breastplate, but no queue at the back. The horses wear full caparisons which cover their eyes, shaffrons, and bells around their necks.⁶⁴

⁶³ See Appendix 1, Figure 15.

⁶⁴ Appelbaum, ed., *The Triumph of Maximilian*, plate 49.

3.5.b The *Geschiftrennen*

The *Geschiftrennen* is one of several forms of the *Rennen* practiced in Maximilian's court to feature mechanical or spring-loaded elements of armour. These mechanical *Rennen* were very popular in Maximilian's court, and several surviving suits of armour attributed to the emperor feature these unique attributes.⁶⁵

The illustration of the *Geschiftrennen* in the *Triumphzug* also emphasises the mechanical elements of the armour.⁶⁶ The shields in this joust are, like in the *Bundrennen* (see Section 3.5.e), in the process of flying up into the air. Unlike the *Bundrennen*, however, the shields in the *Geschiftrennen* not only fly up when struck, but also split into multiple segments. Smaller plates which lie on top of the shields are shown springing off them. The shape of the shields are similar to the *Bundrennen* – oblong and concave – but they do not have a textile covering. The mechanical attachment fixing the shield to the breastplate is clearly visible, and a bevor protecting the knights' lower faces is also attached. The riders wear sallets again, topped with crowns of laurel wreaths. They wear full leg harnesses and vambraces, including gauntlets, with queues affixed to their backs. The lances are pointed, and the vamplates are like those of the *Bundrennen*. The horses wear minimal textile caparisons, covering only their flanks and chests. They are not blind and wear no bells. The saddles are the same as those used for the *Welschrennen*.⁶⁷

⁶⁵ See Appendix 3 for examples.

⁶⁶ See Appendix 1, Figure 16.

⁶⁷ Appelbaum, ed., *The Triumph of Maximilian*, plate 51.

3.5.c The *Scheibenrennen*

Closely tied to the above, in BSB, Cod.icon 398 an occurrence of one of these mechanical *Rennen* is illustrated at the tournament at Linz (1491). There a joust between Maximilian himself and his *Turniermeister* Anthony von Yfan is labelled *das gestiftt [or geschift] Scheiben Rennen*.⁶⁸ In the image the exploded elements of armour are clearly visible. This blending of the two terms for the different forms of *Rennen*, *Geschift-* and *Scheiben-*, emphasises their similarity. They seem, at least according the producer of that text and image, to be interchangeable.

In the *Triumphzug*, unlike the previous forms of the *Rennen*, the *Scheibenrennen* utilises small circular shields.⁶⁹ The image again emphasises the shields breaking apart and flying up into the air; this time wedge-shaped slices detach from the circular shield. The same fastening as in the *Geschiftrennen* for attaching the shield may be seen on the knights' chests. The knights wear bevors, with full vambraces and leg harnesses, with the addition of tassets, and sallets with crowns of laurel leaves. The lances and vamplates are the same as those used in the *Geschiftrennen*, again emphasising their similarity. The horses wear full caparisons which cover their eyes, along with shaffrons and circles of bells around their necks.⁷⁰

3.5.d The *Schweifrennen*

The *Schweifrennen* may have received its name from *Schweif*, meaning 'tail', a possible reference to the *queue* which held the lance in place.⁷¹ This is yet another example of a joust using mechanical, exploding elements; in the *Schweifrennen* the shields fly up into the air when struck.

⁶⁸ Munich, BSB, Cod.icon. 398, plate 31. The joust of 'exploding discs'.

⁶⁹ See Appendix 1, Figure 17.

⁷⁰ Appelbaum, ed., *The Triumph of Maximilian*, plate 52.

⁷¹ Nickel and Breiding, 'A Book of Tournaments and Parades from Nuremberg', p. 132.

An alternate name for the *Schweifrennen* was the *Scharfrennen*, and it was probably the most commonly practiced form of *Rennen*.⁷²

The *Schweifrennen* appears three times in BSB, Cod.icon 398. Firstly, at a tournament in Nuremberg in 1491, Maximilian jousted against Schenk Chrisoph von Limpurg in an image explicitly labelled (with an alternate ENHG spelling) *Schwaiff*.⁷³ The *Schweifrennen* appears again in the text at Innsbruck in 1497 when Maximilian competed against Sigmund von Welsperg, and again at Innsbruck in 1498 when he competed against Count Hans von Montfort.⁷⁴

In the *Triumphzug*, the *Schweifrennen* is very similar to the *Bundrennen*.⁷⁵ The lances are pointed, with large, half-circular vamplates. The shields are depicted as springing up into the air. They are intact and have a textile covering. Although the shields are the same, the riders wear bevors under their shields, not the H-frame seen in the *Bundrennen*. Their sallets are topped with the customary crest of laurel wreaths. They wear no visible upper-body armour beyond the shield, although they do carry queues at their backs. Tassets protect their upper thighs, while dilgen protect their lower thighs and knees. The horses wear full caparisons which cover their eyes and bells around their necks.⁷⁶

3.5.e The *Bundrennen*

The *Bundrennen* is one of several forms of *Rennen* which seems to be mentioned by name solely in the *Triumphzug*.⁷⁷ These forms of *Rennen* may not have been practiced as commonly in Maximilian's court, but may rather represent idealised forms of joust (particularly in the case of

⁷² Clephan, *The Tournament: Its Periods and Phases*, p. 97.

⁷³ Munich, BSB, Cod.icon. 398, plate 49.

⁷⁴ Munich, BSB, Cod.icon 398, plates 41, 45.

⁷⁵ See Appendix 1, Figure 18.

⁷⁶ Appelbaum, ed., *The Triumph of Maximilian*, plate 55.

⁷⁷ For an etymology of *Bund*, see DWB, Bd. 2, Sp. 516-19.

the *Pfannenrennen*, discussed below) or ones of which he was aware and wished to memorialise, or to be associated with his name, but did not practice regularly in real life.

In the *Triumphzug*, the *Bundrennen* offers the first illustration of the mechanical *Rennen*, a joust featuring the spring-loaded, mechanical pieces of armour.⁷⁸ In the woodcut, three of the five knights' shields are shown in the midst of springing off above their heads. This and subsequent images of the spring-loaded armours are clearly not depicting a specific moment of combat or a realistic joust-in-progress. Instead this image is meant to show what the armour was capable of doing in an abstract setting. The shields which are in the act of flying up into the air are large enough to protect the bearer's entire left side, and they also include an attached bevor, coming up high enough to protect the lower half of the knight's face. They are covered in fabric, the excess of which hangs off the shield's edge. The metal framework holding the shield in place is visible beneath them – an H-shaped frame which attaches to the knights' sallet-style helms.

Again, the knights wear crowns of laurel wreaths on their helms. The lances are pointed and the vamplates are much larger than those in the previously illustrated jousts and have an oblong shape, acting as protection for the upper body in place of further armour. They form only a half-circle, the large shield protecting the left half of the body and the vamplate the other. The competitors wear minimal upper body armour, showing off opulent clothing with slashed and puffed sleeves instead. They do wear a queue for the lance at their backs, however. Tassets protect their upper thighs, while dilgen, not worn by the knights but resting independently across the saddle, protect their lower thighs. The horses wear full blind caparisons and bells around their necks.⁷⁹

⁷⁸ See Appendix 1, Figure 19.

⁷⁹ Appelbaum, ed., *The Triumph of Maximilian*, plate 50.

3.5.f The *Feldrennen*

The *Feldrennen* is the next in the series of joust which does not explicitly (at least by that name) appear in any other source contemporary to Maximilian apart from the *Triumphzug. Feld*, or ‘field’, however may be a reference to field armour (i.e. armour made to be worn on the battlefield) and serve as a description of the equipment worn by the knights in this joust, at least as illustrated in the *Triumphzug*.

The knights armed for the *Feldrennen* in the *Triumphzug* are equipped with pointed lances with circular vamplates, like those in the *Welsch-* and *Pfannenrennen* (see Section 3.5.h).⁸⁰ They also wear sallets crowned with laurel wreaths. Their shields are similar in shape to those of the *Bundrennen* – covering almost all of the left side of the body and coming up to protect the lower half of the face. Full vambraces with gauntlets and leg harnesses are used as well. There are no queues in use in this form of *Rennen*, but a lance rest on the breastplate is visible. The saddles have the raised pommel and frontal ridge seen in the *Welschrennen* and others. The horses wear metal bards similar in shape and style to the caparisons seen in the *Geschiftrennen*, but these decorative elements are metal rather than textile. This is evident from the rigidity of the plates protecting the horses’ chests (under some of which textile padding is visible) and their clearly evident articulated plates hinges. The horses also wear shaffrons (which do not cover their eyes) and crinnets.⁸¹

⁸⁰ See Appendix 1, Figure 20.

⁸¹ Appelbaum, ed., *The Triumph of Maximilian*, plate 54.

3.5.g The *Wulstrennen*

The *Wulstrennen* and the *Pfannenrennen* (below) are the most unusual forms of *Rennen* to appear in the *Triumphzug*, and the most outlandish in style. *Wulst*, which can be translated as ‘puff’, ‘embossment’, or ‘bulge’, could be in reference to the knights’ elaborate and highly exposed textile clothing in this joust, at least as illustrated in the *Triumphzug*, and in particular the sleeves.⁸² In this joust the ornateness of the textiles worn outshines the armour. Again, contemporary textual descriptions of this joust do not occur. It seems unlikely, given the obvious dangers of the minimal equipment, that styles of joust such as the *Wulstrennen* were practiced in actuality. The style appears to be more of a tournament-themed tribute to the *Landsknecht*, Maximilian’s mercenary military forces consisting mainly of pikemen and foot soldiers. These men were known for their sumptuous clothing and often wore tunics with enormous puffed sleeves with a multitude of slashes, allowing another rich textile beneath to show through.⁸³ It is a style uncannily similar to the jousters of the *Wulstrennen*.

The *Wulstrennen*, as it is depicted in the *Triumphzug*, showcases some unusual equipment.⁸⁴ The pointed lances have the large, half-circular vamplate of other forms, such as the *Schweifrennen*, and a queue for the lance is visible at the knights’ backs. The knights wear no upper body armour or leg harnesses, although they do use *dilgen*. They also wear no helmets, only padded circlets on their heads, along with the crowns of laurel. Their shields are similar in shape to those of the *Feldrennen*, but instead of stopping level with the nose they cover the entire face. Like the distinctive small, square shield used in the *Pfannenrennen*, this style of shield

⁸² *DWB*, Bd. 30, Sp. 1754-60.

⁸³ Robert Jones, *Knight: The Warrior and World of Chivalry* (Oxford: Osprey Publishing, 2011), pp. 216-219.

⁸⁴ See Appendix 1, Figure 21.

does not appear in any other form of joust. A narrow, rectangular, horizontal slit at eye level allows the riders to see. The horses wear full caparisons and wear bells around their necks.⁸⁵

3.5.h The *Pfannenrennen*

The *Pfannenrennen* is a particularly enigmatic form of mounted joust. It is named for the pan-like, extremely small shield borne by the competitors, which is virtually their only piece of armour. These had a prominently raised rim to catch the opponent's lance and, hopefully, cause it to snap. Hans Burgkmair the Younger, in a 1553 edition of tournament images originally featured in the *Triumphzug*, labelled this joust as *gar besorglich* or 'extremely dangerous'.⁸⁶ Indeed, tournament regulations declared that an open coffin be placed in the lists for a *Pfannenrennen* – although this was probably just as much for the excitement of the spectators than for any practical purpose. However, no evidence has yet been found of the *Pfannenrennen* ever actually being run.⁸⁷ This circles back to the question raised in Chapter 1, Section 1.3, about how far the *Triumphzug* is believable as a guide to varieties of joust. In this instance, it is highly likely that the *Pfannenrennen*'s inclusion in the *Triumphzug* was simply a symbol of the bravery of German knights and the extreme extension of some of the other, already dangerous, forms of joust.

The knights of the *Pfannenrennen* in the *Triumphzug* are staggeringly minimally equipped.⁸⁸ They wear no protective upper or lower body armour, or helms, only a small, square shield on their chests. Instead they wear opulent clothing and laurel wreath crowns on their heads. They also have queues at their backs. The lances they carry are like those of the

⁸⁵ Appelbaum, ed., *The Triumph of Maximilian*, plate 56.

⁸⁶ von Hefner, ed., *Hans Burgkmaiers Turnier-Buch*, plate 8.

⁸⁷ Nickel, 'The Tournament: An Historical Sketch', pp. 226-27.

⁸⁸ See Appendix 1, Figure 22.

Welschbrennen, with the circular vamplates. The horses are more appropriately equipped for the joust than their riders. They wear full caparisons which cover their eyes, along with rings of bells around their necks.⁸⁹

3.6 Conclusions

The tourney, the *Gestech*, and the *Rennen*, as described above, represent the three central forms of tournament combat undertaken at Maximilian's court, often by Maximilian himself. Many of these forms' appearances in *Freydal* provide examples of how combat in each would have looked. Furthermore, their appearance in numerous incarnations in the *Triumphzug* signify their importance to Maximilian as forms which ought to be commemorated. Although a first edition of the *Triumphzug* was not published until after Maximilian's death, it still served its intended role, forming a central part of the commemorative works of his reign. The tournament images in particular endured and evolved, taking on a second life as an independent work of their own. Hans Burgkmair the Younger, son of the artist responsible for the majority of the *Triumphzug*'s original woodcuts, produced his own versions of the images c. 1540, which were heavily based on his father's.⁹⁰ The decoration and equipment of the riders is virtually identical to those in the *Triumphzug*, although the number of men representing each style of joust have been reduced to two. Other alterations have been made to the descriptive details which are of interest. Some examples include:

1. *Das gestech indem hohen zeuch*: The *Hohenzeuggestech* is the first mounted joust featured in this collection. Interestingly, one of the riders has been named specifically as *Kaiser Maximilian* and given a crest of peacock feathers and a crown atop his helm to distinguish him.

⁸⁹ Appelbaum, ed., *The Triumph of Maximilian*, plate 53.

⁹⁰ Munich, BSB, Cod.icon 403.

This posthumous designation of Maximilian as a participant in this specific form of joust only in this work could imply a particular favouring by the emperor of the *Hobenzuggestech*.

2. *Das Deutsch gemain gestech*: The word *gemein* ('common' or 'general') has been added to the *Deutschgestech*, reinforcing its place as the standard form *Gestech* and most representative of this distinctly German joust.

3. *Das Welsch gestech über das thill*: Here, the words *über das thill* ('over the tilt') have been added to the *Welschgestech*, making its format of jousting over a barrier even clearer and highlighting that as its defining factor.

4. *Das wallisch Rennen in dem Armentin*: For the *Welschrennen*, by comparison, it is the armet, the style of close helm worn, which is highlighted as significant, rather than the presence of a tilt.

5. *Das feldt Renen*: In this depiction of the *Feldrennen*, unlike in the *Triumphzug*, one of the rider's shields is seen springing up into the air, a detail not previously recorded.

6. *Das Tartschen geschift Rennen*: One of the rider's shields is shown springing away here as well, as also seen the *Geschiftrennen* of the original *Triumphzug*. This trait is further emphasised, though, by the inclusion of the word *Tartsche*, or targe (shield).

7. *Das geschift scheibe Renen*: As seen in BSB, Cod.icon 398, the *Scheibenrennen* here also includes *geschift* as a descriptor, linking these two forms of joust.

These slight alterations and differences help to both reveal more about these forms of mounted joust as they first appeared in the *Triumphzug*, as well as to demonstrate how the understanding of each changed over time. The inclusion of Maximilian himself, for example, as a participant in the *Hobenzuggestech* both lends particular weight to that variety of joust as well as drawing attention to Maximilian as the central and most important figure in this parade of jousts. At the same time, the absence of other forms of equestrian tournament competition

found in the *Triumphzug*, most notably the tourney, signal a growing lack of interest in this form.

Through these examples provided by the *Triumphzug*, not only the wide variety of jousts in the tournament which Maximilian endorsed, but also how distinct each one was, becomes clear. These distinctions are significant. Maximilian brought a new level of rules and regulations to the world of tournaments; this meant that the tournament was standardised in a way it never was before. Previously when a tournament was held, guidelines were often issued for that tournament alone. Now if the German elite knew that a *Welschgestech* or a *Schweifrennen* was to be run, they knew what to expect – what armour and equipment was required, and what the rules would be. And there is practical evidence of these rules being implemented, as seen in various examples.

These images in the *Triumphzug* also reveal several key points about Maximilian's preferences for certain styles of mounted joust. For one, his penchant for jousts which utilised the 'exploding' elements of armour is clearly evinced in the styles of joust portrayed in the *Triumphzug*. Five separate forms of *Rennen* (the *Bundrennen*, *Geschiftrennen*, *Scheibenrennen*, *Schweifrennen*, and, according to the Burgkmair the Younger prints, the *Feldrennen*) feature mechanical, breakaway pieces of armour. Connected to this, a comparison of the forms shows a much larger proportion of varieties of *Rennen* than *Gestech*. This category of joust allowed for a greater variety of different styles, more theatrical elements, and was clearly favoured by Maximilian as more modern and cutting-edge. The introduction of both the *Gestech* and the *Rennen* over a tilt are another example of Maximilian's interest in promoting newer, more fashionable forms of joust. There are, however, also certain elements of nostalgia which are present in the *Triumphzug*, as seen in the inclusion of the *Hobenzuggestech* and the tourney.

Although other forms of nostalgic or increasingly unfashionable mounted combat, such as the *Kolbenturnier*, are pointedly excluded from the work.

Chapter 4: Tournament Equipment – Practical

4.1 Introduction

By the fifteenth century in particular, the tournament was in the midst of an interesting transitional phase. John Hale says that at this time ‘the hold of chivalry over the imagination long outlasted the withering away of the relevance of its international code of behaviour and training to the actual practice of war’.¹ Several factors contributed to this. As Hale noted, the evolution of a so-called gentleman’s code was taking over from a chivalric one. Alongside this went parallel changes in military practice, such as the rise of infantry and firearms. There was also the emergence of set rules in tournaments, ‘which made them both safer for the combatants and more attractive as theatrical entertainments for the spectators’.² These changes also meant that the tournament was less relevant as a form of military training. It was becoming more and more about nostalgia and carefully choreographed violence - a taming of the more reckless tournaments of the past to conform with the ever growing antiquation of chivalry.³ This is reflected in the equipment utilised.

When considering the arms and armour used in Maximilian’s tournaments, it is necessary to consider what sets this equipment apart as uniquely suited to the tournament environment. The development of armour made particularly for the tournament was a natural evolution sparked by a growing awareness of the problems and dangers faced in the lists. A connection could be drawn between the emergence of the one-on-one joust as the central

¹ John Hale, *War and Society in Renaissance Europe* (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1985), p. 37.

² Hale, *War and Society in Renaissance Europe*, p. 37.

³ Hale is a vocal proponent of this viewpoint: ‘But the tournament, no matter how seductive the air of nostalgia that glamorized its choreography, could no longer be seen as an adequate training for war,’ *War and Society in Renaissance Europe*, p. 37.

feature of a tournament and the very first references to specialised tournament armour. Thus a line began to be drawn between jousts fought in armour which either simulated – or was the same as – that worn on the battlefield and armour which was designed specifically for the joust and which had no practical application in any other environment. This evolution in turn allowed for further developments of multiple styles of mounted joust with multiple styles of armour, a technological advancement of which Maximilian took advantage (as seen in the previous chapter). By simply examining the armour used generally in the *Gesteck* or the *Rennen*, it can be seen how they developed accordingly along these lines.

During the early days of the *mêlée*, which involved two groups of knights rather than individual competitors, the primary purpose was to simulate the conditions of war, and thus different armour would not be required due to the event's similarity to actual warfare. The joust was a far more specific form of combat, and thus more specific armour was needed, particularly as the tournament became a unique event unto itself; one not meant to replicate battle conditions. One of the earliest known references to this type of specialised armour made for the tournament alone may be found in the accounts for a royal tournament held by King Edward I of England at Windsor in July 1278. The armour described in this inventory is entirely of leather rather than metal; also included are swords made of whalebone.⁴

This concept of a leather armour for tournaments was soon supplanted, however, by improvements and innovations in plate armour. From the middle of the fifteenth century onward, tournament armour was definitively heavier and more intensively strengthened than armour for war. Reinforcing plates were often worn over the armour. Mobility was decidedly

⁴ Samuel Lysons, 'XXXVI. Copy of a Roll of Purchases made for the Tournament of Windsor Park, in the sixth year of King Edward the first, preserved in the Record Office at the Tower', *Archaeologia*, 17 (1814), 297-310.

less important than safety. Helms were firmly affixed to the breastplate, preventing the wearer from turning his head. Lances were blunted and given a three-pronged, coronel tip. By Maximilian's day this armour would have been useful only in the lists; that was the only environment for which it was suited. Yet in that setting it performed an admirable task, protecting its wearer whilst allowing him to become the most efficient jousting machine possible.⁵

This chapter is the first of two examining tournament equipment during Maximilian's reign. It will focus on the practical equipment – the arms and armour – while Chapter 5 will look at the decorative equipment. It will compare and contrast the unique sets of armour used in the *Rennen* and in the *Gesteck*; specifically, it will focus on the lance (i.e. the arms) and the vamplate, the shield, the helmet, the harness, and the equestrian armour.

4.2 Arms and Armour for the *Rennen* and the *Gesteck*

As discussed in Chapter 3, as the joust evolved in late medieval Germany it split into two primary forms: the *Rennen* and the *Gesteck*. What is also important to note is that as the style of combat in each of these jousts changed and grew distinct so did the armour associated with them.⁶ This craft of creating armour and lances unique to specific types of tournament reached

⁵ Several people have written on the subject of late medieval German arms and armour, and, in particular, armour for the tournament. Established authorities include Blair, *European Armour circa 1066 to circa 1700*; Ortwin Gamber, 'Ritterspiele und Turnierrüstung im Spätmittelalter', in *Das ritterliche Turnier im Mittelalter*, pp. 513-31; and Boehim, *Handbuch der Waffenkunde: Das Waffenwesen in seiner historischen Entwicklung vom Beginn des Mittelalters bis zum Ende des 18. Jahrhunderts*.

⁶ Alongside established authority Matthias Pfaffenbichler, Dirk H. Breiding is an excellent source on German tournament armour. See, for example, Breiding, such as 'Arms and Amour: a Farewell to Persistent Myths and Misconceptions', in *Perspectives on Medieval Art: Learning through Looking*, ed. by Ena Giurescu Heller and Patricia C. Pongracz (New York: Museum of Biblical Art, 2010), pp. 167-86 and 'Harnisch und Waffen des Hoch und Spätmittelalters', in *AufRuhr 1225! Ritter, Burgen und Intrigen – Das Mittelalter an Rhein und Ruhr*, ed. by Brunhilde Leenen (Mainz: Philipp von Zabern, 2010), pp. 129-46.

a new height under Maximilian, as harnesses and equipment were made for him and the tournaments of his court which were fabulous creations unto themselves and which would have had no place on a battlefield. They were suited only to the lists.

As will be shown, the armour for the various varieties of German *Rennen* stood distinctly apart from that for the *Gesteck*. As a whole, armour for the *Rennen* was characterised by elements more evocative of the violence of actual warfare (i.e. the non-rebated lanceheads and sallet helmets), yet at the same time the *Rennen* also veers even further away from the reality of combat than its counterpart (i.e. the incredibly theatrical mechanical shields and breastplates and the more minimal body armour). The arms and armour for the *Gesteck* and all its forms is in many ways more similar to the traditional tournament armour in use throughout Europe in the fifteenth century and prior. The prominence of the frog-mouth helm, the smaller shield, and the coronel lanceheads are all features of tournament armour which had been in use previously. These are just some of the trademarks which set the armour for the *Gesteck* apart from that for the *Rennen*. Like the armour for the *Rennen*, however, it would have had no place on the battlefield, having become engineered over time to be suitable only to the tournament arena. Yet while being restricted to the lists, the armour for the *Gesteck* lacks the theatrical elements of the mechanical breastplates and shields, which may be found only in the armour for the *Rennen*. It represents a more traditional form of tournament combat, with fewer varieties than are found within the *Rennen*, fewer risks involved, and fewer elements of spectacle.

The result in both cases was a form of armour ideally suited to one specific environment and which enabled its wearer to become the ultimate tournament competitor and,

indeed, performer. The overall impression given by both sets of equipment is one of sleek elegance, but also of strength and an accompanying sense of invulnerability.⁷

The fantastic design and innovative safety features prevalent in this new and improved armour were made largely possible by the fact that Maximilian had in his service some of the most skilled armourers of the age.⁸ Their workshops were centred around a few select cities in Maximilian's empire. Put bluntly by Alan Young: 'During the fifteenth century, the very best quality armour was considered to come from [...] the south German workshops in Landshut, Innsbruck and Nuremberg, and above all from the Helmschmied workshop in Augsburg.'⁹ The Helmschmieds were a dynasty of armourers – one of the late Middle Ages' most skilled.¹⁰ The most prominent members were Jörg Helmschmied, his sons Lorenz and Jörg the Younger, Lorenz's son Kolman, and, in turn, Kolman's son Desiderius. Of these, Lorenz Helmschmied (c. 1450-1515) created the most items of armour for Maximilian.¹¹

While the Helmschmieds were based in Augsburg, Innsbruck was another centre for armour production under Maximilian. In 1504, Maximilian founded a court workshop in Innsbruck which was under the charge of the prominent armourer Konrad Seusenhofer (d.

⁷ Blair, *European Armour circa 1066 to circa 1700*, pp. 159-62.

⁸ For more on armour production, see Alan Williams, *The Knight and the Blast Furnace: A History of the Metallurgy of Armour in the Middle Ages & the Early Modern Period* (Boston: Brill, 2003) and Nickolas Dupras, 'Armourers and their Workshops: The Tools and Techniques of Late Medieval Armour Production' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Leeds, 2012).

⁹ Alan Young, *Tudor and Jacobean Tournaments*, p. 58.

¹⁰ The name is also often alternatively spelled Helmschmid. In German, it means 'helmet smith'.

¹¹ Examples of the work of the Helmschmieds may be seen in the so-called Thun *Skizzenbuch* ('sketchbook'), which was long thought to be lost but has been recently rediscovered and is currently held in the Museum of Decorative Arts in Prague (inv. GK 11.572-B). The *Skizzenbuch* consists of drawings of armours produced in Augsburg from the late-fifteenth through the seventeenth centuries, including ones for the tournament. Many are thought to have been made for the Habsburgs, and Maximilian in particular, by Lorenz and his son Kolman. While the drawings are most likely the work of a later hand, they still represent the work of the Helmschmieds. Pierre Terjanian, 'The Art of the Armourer in Late Medieval and Renaissance Augsburg: The Rediscovery of the *Thun Sketchbook*,' in *Jahrbuch des Kunsthistorischen Museums Wien* 13/14 (2011/2012), p. 299-305.

1517).¹² Four years later, in 1508, Maximilian built an ‘armour house’ (*harnisch- oder wappenhaus*) in Augsburg as well.¹³ An inventory taken of the contents of the armour house in 1519, after Maximilian’s death, survives today and offers an insight into the armour and weapons which had come into the emperor’s possession over the years. Significantly, a large number of these items are related specifically to tournaments. There are pieces listed as being explicitly for either the *Rennen* or the *Gestech* (or sub-varieties of these), as well as ones generally for the tournament. There are also several items of equestrian equipment relating to the tournament, and there are even a selection of crests (as will be described in the following chapter). The exact contents of this inventory may be seen in Tables 4 and 5 at the end of this chapter.

4.2.a The Lance and Vamplate

As the instrument through which one won or lost a joust, the lance was of central importance in the tournament. It was commonly comprised of three elements: the shaft, the lancehead, and the vamplate. The lance used in forms of the *Rennen* looked and functioned dramatically differently from those used in the *Gestech*.

In a 1519 inventory of Maximilian’s Augsburg *Harnischhaus*, an impressive total of 407 lanceheads are listed. Out of these, some forty-six are described as being explicitly for use in the *Rennen*.¹⁴ In addition, an even greater 195 are described for use in the *Gestech*. The inventory also includes several entries for lance shafts alone, separate from the lanceheads.¹⁵ It is

¹² Young, *Tudor and Jacobean Tournaments*, p. 58.

¹³ Terjanian, p. 309.

¹⁴ See Table 4 at the end of this chapter. This is not including a cumulative listing for sixty-seven lances for the *Rennen*, *Deutsch*-, and *Welschgestech*, as it is not specified how many are allotted to each style of joust.

¹⁵ The description of four as being *zum anlegen* (‘to suit’) implies that they might be used for multiple varieties of joust, perhaps by switching lanceheads.

unsurprising that the two should be listed separately, as lanceheads could be reused, while lance shafts often broke and would have needed to be in constant supply.

Lanceheads for the *Gesteck* are easily identifiable by their three-pronged form, known as a coronel.¹⁶ Such a shape would have helped to disperse the impact when receiving a blow, hopefully providing enough blunt force to either shatter the lance or unhorse one's opponent. In the *Rennen*, the lancehead retained a roughly pointed shape which was constructed of four sides tapering to a point. However, this visually more aggressive shape was still far from identical to lances used in actual warfare. It was blunter and more rounded than a lancehead truly intended to penetrate armour. Its purpose was to inflict sufficient concentrated force in order to unhorse one's opponent. Furthermore the lancehead for the *Rennen* appears to have come in two main varieties: pointed or slightly hooked. A reference to these two varieties may be found in the verse from the *Triumphzug*: 'Always promoting new advances / In jousting *with hooked or pointed lances* [my emphasis]'.¹⁷ Distinct differences between the two varieties may clearly be seen in images from the *Triumphzug*.¹⁸

The shaft of the *Rennen* lance was longer and slimmer than that of the *Gesteck*, which tended to be shorter and thicker.¹⁹ It also served a different purpose. While the *Gesteck* lance is often seen shattering in numerous tournament images, the *Rennen* lance rarely breaks, and when it does it tends to be in just one rather than two places, as is more common in the *Gesteck*. This is because the breaking of the lance in forms of the *Rennen* was not the ultimate

¹⁶ See, for example, Appelbaum, ed., *The Triumph of Maximilian*, plate 46 and Appendix 1, Figure 8.

¹⁷ Appelbaum, ed., *The Triumph of Maximilian*, pp. 7-8/plate 44.

¹⁸ For example, see Appelbaum, ed., *The Triumph of Maximilian*, plate 55, and Appendix 1, Figure 19.

¹⁹ A comparison of images in *Freydal* shows the clear distinction between the two. See, for example, von Leitner, ed., *Freydal*, plates 114 and 115.

goal. Instead the purpose of the pointed tip of the lance was often to strike one of the mechanical or fly-away elements on one's opponent's chest. Enhanced accuracy would have been needed to achieve this. In almost all images of the *Rennen* seen in *Freydal*, one or both of the competing knights has managed to use his lance to send elements of his opponent's shield flying in jousts such as the *Geschift-* or the *Scheibenrennen*. In the case of the *Geschiftrennen*, for example, the shield and the wedge-shaped plates on it are sent clearly up in the air.²⁰ The same can also be seen in numerous instances of the *Bundrennen*, where the entire textile covered shield is clearly knocked away by an opponent's lance.²¹ This special effect could be the main means of keeping score in a *Rennen*-style joust: a clear indicator to spectators and judges who had struck the best and most effective blow.

By comparison, in forms of the *Gestech* the lance of the victor is often depicted as breaking into several pieces. Just as whoever had, with the strength of his lance blow, managed to 'shatter' his opponent's armour in the *Rennen* would be revealed as the winner, whoever had broken their lance in the *Gestech* would emerge the victor. This broken lance would serve as evidence of the strength of the blow. In many images in *Freydal*, one knight may clearly be seen to be holding up his broken lance shaft in the air.²² Rather than a sign of defeat, as it might initially appear, this was a way for the knight to show his victory. In this way the lance in both the *Rennen* and the *Gestech* were valuable aids to scorekeeping.

The vamplate of the *Rennen* lance was also dramatically different in appearance from that used in the *Gestech*, and it served a very different purpose. In fact its role was far more vital in the *Rennen* than in the *Gestech*. The vamplate did not just serve its traditional function of

²⁰ For example, see von Leitner, ed., *Freydal*, plate 118.

²¹ See, for example, von Leitner, ed., *Freydal*, plate 74.

²² See, for example, von Leitner, ed., *Freydal*, plate 98.

protecting the hand holding the lance; it also protected the entire right half of the knight's body. In this way, acting in conjunction with the *Rennen* shield (known as the *Renntartsche*), the entire torso was safeguarded; the large *Renntartsche* protected one half of the upper body, while the vamplate fit snugly next to it to protect the other half.²³ These large vamplate-shield hybrids, known as *Brechschilden*, or *Brechscheiben*, were semi-circular in shape and assembled from multiple pieces. They were often decorated with rays or a sunburst pattern emanating from the shaft of the lance.²⁴ In addition no gauntlets were used to guard the right hand, as the vamplate served this purpose.²⁵

The vamplate in the *Gestech*, by comparison, was much smaller. It did not need to be as large as that for the *Rennen*, as a full harness of plate armour was used to protect the torso. Thus the vamplate need only serve its original purpose of protecting the hand. Rather than oblong in shape, the vamplate for the *Gestech* was small and circular. As in the *Rennen*, no gauntlet was worn on the hand grasping the lance beneath the vamplate.²⁶

4.2.b The Shield

A shield of some form was borne by all knights in the joust, and it served a variety of purposes. In all types of the joust the shield was never held in the hand. Rather, it was always attached to the cuirass, freeing up the jouster to hold the lance in one hand and the reins in the other. The shield used in the *Gestech*, unlike its counterpart for the *Rennen*, was not designed to

²³ The vamplate and *Renntartsche*, as well as other subsequently discussed elements of armour for the *Rennen*, may be seen in on a suit of armour made for Maximilian in Augsburg, c. 1494, by Lorenz or Jörg Helmschmied. See Appendix 1, Figure 23 (Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Inv. No. R VI).

²⁴ For extant examples, see Appendix 2, numbers 35, 38-41.

²⁵ The bare hand of the knight beneath the vamplate may be seen in von Leitner, ed., *Freydal*, plate 101.

²⁶ See von Leitner, ed., *Freydal*, plate 90.

be separated from its bearer in a joust. This style of shield was made of wood and leather and was fastened to the breastplate by means of a cord.²⁷ It was squarer than the taller, longer shape of the *Renntartsche*, as it needed to cover less surface area due to the more extensive body armour worn in the *Gesteck*.²⁸ It was also notably concave, in order to better catch the opponent's lance and cause it to break.²⁹

In the *Rennen*, the shield could take on different forms. Most commonly, as discussed above, the shield worked in close conjunction with the vamplate. It was the knight's other primary form of chest defense rather than relying on a conventional breastplate. The *Renntartsche*, as the shield is known, was uniquely shaped to cover the left side of the chest, the left shoulder, the neck, and the lower face of the competitor. Indeed, it came all the way up to meet the lower edge of the helmet, or *Rennhut*, thus also serving the purpose of a bevor. This type of shield is seen most often in the *Rennen*, in forms such as the *Schweif-* or *Scharfrennen*.³⁰ These larger *Renntartsche* might have a fabric covering, or they might have several smaller, wedge-shaped pieces fitted over top, which could spring away from the main body of the shield if struck. In addition, occasionally, as seen in the *Scheibenrennen*, a smaller, circular shield was used.³¹ This disc-shaped shield also consisted of several wedge-shaped pieces, which, if struck by an opponent's lance, could spring away. This is what made shields used in most forms of the *Rennen* unique; no matter their shape, they were frequently attached to mechanical

²⁷ These knotted ties are visible in von Leitner, ed., *Freydal*, plate 8.

²⁸ The shield and other elements of the armour for the *Gesteck* may be seen on an armour produced for Sigismund of Tyrol in Innsbruck, c. 1483. See Appendix 1, Figure 24 (Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Inv. No. S VII).

²⁹ Nickel and Breiding, 'A Book of Tournaments and Parades from Nuremberg', pp. 128-29.

³⁰ See Appendix 1, Figure 18.

³¹ See Appendix 1, Figure 17.

frames which allowed them to spring free. Such a device could aid in scorekeeping, as mentioned above, but it would also have undeniably been a crowd pleasing effect.

4.2.c The Helmet

The helmet used in the *Rennen* was most commonly a one-piece sallet, known as a *Rennbut*. These helmets are easily identifiable by the long, tapering tail at the back. They protected only the upper half of the knight's face, requiring the shield, often with a bevor underneath, to come high above the knight's chest and cover his lower face. The *Rennbut* extended down to almost meet the top of this shield, extending below the wearer's eyes; a narrow slit for vision was cut into the helmet. Like the shield, the *Rennbut* could also include detachable elements that would fly away if struck. These often took the form of two decorative fan-shaped plates attached to the brow and secured by a pin.³²

The style of helmet worn in the *Gestech* is known evocatively as a frog-mouth helm. These large helms had evolved from the great helm for war but which were no longer used on the battlefield at that time.³³ They were fastened to the knight's cuirass, thus preventing him from turning his head but also helping to protect his neck and spine. A padded hood was also worn underneath the frog-mouth helm in order to prevent the knight's skull from dangerously impacting the inside of the metal helmet in which he was firmly encased.³⁴ This style of helm is identifiable by its narrow vision slit on the top of the skull, above eye level, which meant that the wearer would only be able to see ahead when leaning forward in the saddle. By raising his

³² See Appendix 1, Figure 23.

³³ Dirk H. Breiding, 'Some Notes on Great Helms, Crests and Early Tournament Reinforces', *The Park Lane Arms Fair* (2013), pp. 18-35.

³⁴ A few of these hoods, known as *Helmhauben*, survive today. See Appendix 3, Number 43.

head at the moment before impact, he might avoid the dangers of splinters from the lance entering his helmet, one of the most common forms of tournament injury.³⁵

4.2.d The Harness

In addition to the lance/vamplate, shield, and helmet, the other key element of a knight's equipment in the German tournament was the harness, a discussion of which here will also include leg defences. Maximilian's 1519 Augsburg inventory includes nine *Stechzeug*, or armours for the *Gesteck*, and ten *Rennzeug*, or armours for the *Rennen*.

More extensive plate armour was often used in the *Gesteck* when compared with the *Rennen*. This could include a breastplate and upper and lower cannons to protect the arms, as well as a gauntlet to protect the hand holding the reins.³⁶ In both the *Rennen* and *Gesteck* very little protection was worn on the back. After all, this was an area which, in the joust, should not technically be exposed to danger. Instead the emphasis on protection was entirely focused on the front of the body.³⁷ In the *Rennen*, the chest was primarily protected by the vamplate and the *Renntartsche*, as discussed above. Beneath this was often worn a simple breastplate, or frame, to which the *Renntartsche* was fastened. For the use of the 'exploding' elements of armour, a *Mechanische Bruststück*, or mechanical breastplate was used. These intricate devices enabled the spring loaded shields to fly off of the wearer, and their complex designs denote an impressive technological achievement in Maximilian's tournaments.³⁸ Such a concept, designed to give the impression that a knight's armour was being shattered from the force of the blow

³⁵ Blair, *European Armour circa 1066 to circa 1700*, pp. 157-61. See Appendix 1, Figure 24.

³⁶ See Appendix 1, Figure 24.

³⁷ In the *Rennen*, the back was often protected by little more than an x-shaped frame. See Appendix 1, Figure 25 (Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Inv. No. B 174).

³⁸ A few of these *Mechanische Bruststück* survive today, including one made in Innsbruck, c. 1490, for Maximilian. See Appendix 1, Figure 26 (Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Inv. No. B 21).

he had received, represents perfectly the emphasis on spectacle to be found in Maximilian's tournaments and moves them still further away from any form of practical military exercise.

Two forms of leg defense were commonly utilised in the *Rennen* and *Gesteck*. In both categories of joust participants wear tassets, articulated leg defences which protected the upper thigh.³⁹ Alongside the tassets another form of leg armour used were dilgen. These were large, concave metal plates which rested across the lower thighs and knees. They were attached to each other by a leather strap and hung across the saddle. They were not fastened to man or horse in any way, as they can often be seen becoming dislodged during combat.⁴⁰

Finally, an additional element of a knight's armour which was fastened to the harness was the queue. This long metal hook fitted onto the frame of the cuirass and projected from a knight's back and acted as cradle into which the rear of the lance could rest. This would hold the lance in place and help the knight to keep it steady while keeping it in position for jousting. It was used in both the *Rennen* and the *Gesteck*.⁴¹

4.3 Equestrian Armour

Finally, equestrian equipment served a crucial role in the joust as well.⁴² One type of saddle, the *Hobes Zeng*, and its specialised use in the *Hobenzenggesteck*, has already been discussed in Chapter 3. The saddle customarily used in other forms of the joust was a much smaller and

³⁹ See Appendix 1, Figure 23.

⁴⁰ A good example of this is Munich, BSB, Cod. icon 398, plate 29.

⁴¹ For examples, see von Leitner, ed., *Freydal*, plates 106, 113, 122.

⁴² For more on equestrian armour and the role of the horse in the tournament, see *The Medieval Horse and its Equipment: c. 1150–c. 1450*, ed. by John Clark (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2004); Pia F. Cuneo, '(Un)Stable Identities: Hippology and the Professionalization of Scholarship and Horsemanship in Early Modern Germany', in *Early Modern Zoology: The Construction of Animals in Science, Literature and the Visual Arts*, ed. by Karl A.E. Enekel and Paul J. Smith (Leiden: Brill, 2007); and Caroll Gillmor, 'Practical Chivalry: The Training of Horses for Tournaments and Warfare', *Studies in Medieval and Renaissance History*, 13 (1992), pp. 5-29.

more streamlined device made of wood and leather. The ease with which a competitor might be pushed from his saddle is demonstrated in the multiple times knights are seen tumbling from their mounts in *Freydal*.⁴³ The saddles in such images are made of a uniform black leather, with a low cantle in the rear and a ridge-shaped pommel in the front. They are without decoration, although in some images minute gold fastenings or decorations are visible.⁴⁴ Low-hung stirrup leathers are attached to the saddles, allowing the knight's legs to hang almost fully extended, with small, open stirrups from which the knights ought to easily be able to free their feet if they fall.⁴⁵

Often in forms of the *Gesteck* the saddle is used in conjunction with a *Stechsack*. These are large padded textile elements which fit around the horses' necks and shoulders. Also known as *Stechkeissen*, these devices protected the chests of the horses as well as the legs of their riders and were often used in place of leg armour for the knights.⁴⁶

The horses themselves did not wear extensive armour in the joust. Instead they were normally covered in large textile caparisons (discussed in Chapter 5). In addition to being visually pleasing, these caparisons often enclosed the eyes and ears of the horses, obscuring their vision and inhibiting their hearing. Each horse would also often wear a ring of bells around its upper-neck. The purpose of both these bells and the blind caparisons was to render the horse unaware of another animal charging at it and to prevent it from deviating from its

⁴³ See von Leitner, ed. *Freydal*, plates 126, 129. Such images of riderless horses are particularly useful in that they provide a helpful, unhindered look at the saddles.

⁴⁴ These may be seen in Munich, BSB, Cod. icon. 398, plates 31, 33.

⁴⁵ Although this did not stop some from getting caught in their stirrups. See BSB, Cod. icon. 398, plate 31.

⁴⁶ Nickel and Breiding, 'A Book of Tournaments and Parades from Nuremberg', pp. 133-34. Blair, *European Armour circa 1066 to circa 1700*, p. 161. For examples, see von Leitner, ed., *Freydal*, plates 110, 102.

course in the joust.⁴⁷ In some instances horses might also wear shaffrons, or armoured head defences, or more often simply a small round plate on the forehead which would have served a decorative rather than a practical purpose.⁴⁸ Unfortunately, in the images from the *Turnierbücher*, the horses' bridles are hidden under their caparisons, although the bits and reins are visible. It is also impossible to tell if the horses are wearing more substantial shaffrons underneath their caparisons, which would have offered them a bit more protection. In most images the horses' tails are tied up in an informal knot to keep them from dragging on the ground or becoming entangled with knight or horse.⁴⁹

4.4 Conclusions

Over the centuries, and in the fifteenth century in particular, the arms and armour worn in the tournament changed drastically. It was no longer the same equipment worn by a knight on the battlefield. Instead it had evolved into something unique. The armour for the late medieval German tournament was extremely limited in its application; it had only one place where it could be logically worn. These limitations could be even further narrowed when applied to the *Rennen* and the *Gesteck*, which each required tournament equipment unique to their forms. During Maximilian's lifetime, and due to the accomplishments of the highly skilled armourers he kept in his employ, these suits of armour became not only practical tools but also works of art. They were designed to protect their wearer under unique circumstances, to provide protection only where most needed, and even to serve as part of the 'show'. From head to toe

⁴⁷ Blair, *European Armour circa 1066 to circa 1700*, pp. 185-57.

⁴⁸ See Munich, BSB, Cod.icon 398, plates 31, 25, 49. On some occasions, they might wear a crinnet to protect the horse's neck as well, as Maximilian's own horse does in Munich, BSB, Cod.icon. 398, plate 25.

⁴⁹ See Munich, BSB, Cod.icon 398, plates 27, 31.

the knight was equipped with gear designed to best suit the form of competition in which he was participating, just as any modern athlete wears a uniform specifically designed for the needs of their sport.

This development of tournament arms and armour further reveals the ways in which the tournament had altered from its original purpose as a military exercise. Indeed, Hermann Wiesflecker has said that, 'Der Krieg war für ihn ein großes Turnier zur Verteilung der Welt' ('war was for him [Maximilian] a great tournament for the division of the world').⁵⁰ This idea neatly sums up the way Maximilian saw his world. That battle was, to Maximilian, merely a tournament on a grand scale illustrates the importance he placed on this athletic competition. This sentiment also reverses the common conception of the tournament as practice for war. It was instead, as Wiesflecker frames it, war which was merely a tournament writ large. And Maximilian spent the time and energy in acquiring the equipment central to the tournament to reflect this; the pursuit of victory in the lists was, to him, just as important as victory in the field.

Just as the tournament inspired armour created especially for it, so to did it allow for the production of a bounty of decorative elements and equipment. These features will be discussed in the following chapter.

⁵⁰ Hermann Wiesflecker, *Maximilian I.: Die Fundamente des habsburgischen Weltreiches*, p. 63.

Tables 4 and 5: March 23, 1519 inventory of items from the Augsburg *Harnischhaus*, or armour house, relating to tournaments.⁵¹

<i>Item funf rennzewg zum anzug mit irer zugehör</i>	Five <i>Rennzewg</i> with all accompanying elements
<i>Item sechs stegzewg, Tewtsch und Welsch zu brauchen</i>	Six <i>Stechzewg</i> for the <i>Deutsch-</i> and <i>Welschgestech</i>
<i>Item zwen Welsch stechzewg, recht nach Welscher art gemacht</i>	Two <i>Stechzewg</i> for the <i>Welschgestech</i> made in the non-German (Italian or Burgundian?) style
<i>Item mer zwen geschift rennzewg, damit man viererlai rennen thuen mag</i>	Two more <i>Geschift Rennzewg</i> (presumably for the <i>Geschiftrennen</i>), from which one can make four more suits
<i>Item drew krippen zw dem buntwerk und haben die zu krippen kain galgen</i>	Three <i>Krippen</i> for the harness, and two have no hanging mechanism
<i>Item ain renn- und ain stechzewg, die baid haben auf kais. maj. leib gehört</i>	One <i>Renn-</i> and one <i>Stechzewg</i> , both of which belonged to his Imperial Majesty (Maximilian)
<i>Item zehen bar straistartschen</i>	Ten undecorated <i>Streifstartschen</i>
<i>Item drew zehen kerbeisen</i>	Thirteen lance-heads
<i>Item newnzehen swebscheiben zum Tewtschen und Welschen gestech</i>	Nineteen shields/vamplates(?) for the <i>Deutsch-</i> and <i>Welschgestech</i>
<i>Item ainundzwainzig swebscheiben zum thur(n)ir</i>	Twenty-one shields/vamplates(?) for the tournament
<i>Item drew bar ubrig scheiben zum stechen</i>	Three undecorated spare shields/discs(?) for the <i>Gestech</i>
<i>Item zehen becher an die stangen</i>	Ten vamplates
<i>Item sechzehen prechscheiben zum rennen</i>	Sixteen <i>Brechscheiben</i> for the <i>Rennen</i>

⁵¹ ‘Urkunden und Regesten aus dem K.u.K. Haus- Hof- und Staats-Archiv in Wien’, ed. by Heinrich Zimmerman, in *Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen des Allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses*, vol. 3, 2 (1885), no. 2955, pp. 82-84.

<i>Item achtundzwainzig prechscheiben zum stechen</i>	Twenty-eight <i>Brechscheiben</i> for the <i>Gestech</i>
<i>Item vierundfierzic renneisen, gros und clain</i>	Forty-four lances-heads for the <i>Rennen</i> , big and small
<i>Item ainsunddreisig kronlden zum Tewtschen gestech</i>	Thirty-one coronel lance-heads for the <i>Deutschgestech</i>
<i>Item newnunddreisig kronlden zum Welschen gestech</i>	Thirty-nine coronel lance-heads for the <i>Welschgestech</i>
<i>Item acht tartschen zum anzug</i>	Eight shields to suit (i.e. multi-purpose?)
<i>Item zehen strajftartschen</i>	Ten <i>Streiftartschen</i>
<i>Item sechzehen schilt zum Welschen gestech</i>	Sixteen shields for the <i>Welschgestech</i>
<i>Item dreizehen schilt zum Tewtschen gestech</i>	Thirteen shields for the <i>Deutschgestech</i>
<i>Item drei übrig hunderbacken</i>	Three spare queues
<i>Item ain stechdaczen</i>	One <i>Stechtaschen</i> (?), or possibly <i>Stechstange</i> (lance for the <i>Gestech</i>)
<i>Item newnunddreisig spieseisen zum thur(n)ir</i>	Thirty-nine lance-heads for the tournament
<i>Item drew ganze buntwerch zum rennen</i>	Three whole harnesses (?) for the <i>Rennen</i>
<i>Mer sechs halbe büntwerk</i>	Six more half-harnesses
<i>Item siben swaif</i>	Seven queues(?)
<i>Item ain alte kripp zum büntwerch</i>	One old <i>Kripp</i> for a harness
<i>Item zweif zamm und drew piss</i>	Two bridles and three hooks
<i>Item aif plent</i>	Eleven plates(?)
<i>Item ain stechwames</i>	One gambeson (possibly for the <i>Gestech</i> ?)
<i>Item achzehen strupf, bös und gut</i>	Eighteen straps(?), poor and good (quality)
<i>Item vier stiel zum anlegen</i>	Four (lance) shafts to suit
<i>Item zwai bar diechbalftern zum Tewtschen gestech</i>	Two undecorated half-greaves for the <i>Deutschgestech</i>
<i>Item dreizehen stripf; die newn sind liderin, vier von garn und drew ubrig gewindt</i>	Thirteen straps; nine are leather, four of textile and three of leftover threads
<i>Item zwen alt geschift rennzueg mit iren zugehörung on gersucht</i>	Two old <i>Rennzueg</i> for the <i>Geschiftrennen</i> with their accompanying elements

<i>Item zwai helmlet mit iren schiftungen zum Welschen rennen</i>	Two helms with their (?) for the <i>Welschrennen</i>
<i>Item zu geschift spalacz, zu demselben rennen gehörig</i>	Two (?), belonging to the same <i>Rennen</i>
<i>Item zwai blat zum geschiften rennen</i>	Two plates for the <i>Geschiftrennen</i>
<i>Item zwai kerbeisen zum rennen</i>	Two lance heads for the <i>Rennen</i>
<i>Item vier bar alter paingewand</i>	Four undecorated old leg armours (? - possibly for the <i>Gestech im Beinbarnisch</i>)
<i>Item ain baingewand mit flamen</i>	One leg armour with flames
<i>Item ain alt rucken und krebs; hat meister Caspar gemacht</i>	One old back and tassets; which master Caspar made (most likely Caspar Rieder)
<i>Item [...] zwai alte thur(n)ierschwert</i>	Two old tournament swords
<i>Item sechsundfierzig stangen mit krönen und krampen und sieben mit krampen zum Welschen gestech</i>	Forty-six lances with coronel heads and (? – possibly hooked heads) and seven with (? – possibly hooked heads) for the <i>Welschgestech</i>
<i>Item zehen schieft zum tur(n)iren</i>	Ten shafts (i.e. lances) for the tournament
<i>Item ain grossen vergülten Welschen spies; ist im slaben gewesen Herzog Karls von Burgundj, hat Jheronimus Fennd kais. maj. geschenk</i>	A large gilded <i>Welsch</i> lance; which was with Duke Charles of Burgundy in battle, (and which) Jheronimus Fennd gave to his Imperial Majesty
<i>Item sibendsechzig renneisen, Tewtsch und Welsch, und 47 eisen zum thur(n)ir und Welschem gestech. Mer 40 kröndel zum Tewtschen gestech und 32 kröndel zum Welschen gestech, tut 186 eisen</i>	Sixty-seven <i>Renn-</i> lance-heads, <i>Deutsch</i> and <i>Welsch</i> , and forty-seven lance-heads for the tournament and the <i>Welschgestech</i> . Forty more coronel lance-heads for the <i>Deutschgestech</i> and thirty-two coronel lance-heads for the <i>Welschgestech</i> , totalling 186 lance-heads.
<i>Item sechzehen prechscheiben zum rennen und 27 zum Tewtschn gestech, tut 43 prechscheiben</i>	Sixteen <i>Brechscheiben</i> for the <i>Rennen</i> and twenty-seven for the <i>Deutschgestech</i> , totalling forty-three <i>Brechscheiben</i>
<i>Item vier stechwames</i>	Four gambesons (possibly for the <i>Gestech</i> ?)

Table 4: Tournament Arms and Armour in the 1519 Augsburg Inventory

<i>Item acht stechstirnen</i>	Eight shaffrons for the <i>Gestech</i>
<i>Item ain stirnen zum alten Welschen gestech</i>	One shaffron for the old <i>Welschgestech</i>
<i>Item acht geleit mit schellen</i>	Eight bell collars (for horses)
<i>Item ain scheiben mit ainem adler auf ain rossstirnen</i>	One disc (decorated) with an eagle on a shaffron
<i>Item zwenundfierzig sättel zum stechen und rennen</i>	Forty-two saddles for the <i>Gestech</i> and the <i>Rennen</i>
<i>Item sechs stechseck</i>	Six <i>Stechsäcke</i>
<i>Item vierzehn liderin rossgurt</i>	Fourteen leather horse girths
<i>Item vierzehn pruech auf die ross zum decken, darauf zw machen</i>	Fourteen bards/caparisons(?) to put on a horse
<i>Item funfzehn bar stegraif</i>	Fifteen undecorated stirrups
<i>Item zwen beslagen sättel zum geschiften rennen</i>	Two saddles for the <i>Geschiftrennen</i> with metal fittings
<i>Item sechs gross gurt von garn zum geschiften rennen</i>	Six large textile girths for the <i>Geschiftrennen</i>
<i>Item zweif gurt von garn, gros und clain</i>	Two textile girths, large and small
<i>Item zwu ganz vergült stirnen</i>	Two entirely gilded shaffrons
<i>Item zwu gross stirnen mit getterten augen</i>	Two large shaffrons with blinded eyes
<i>Item funf halbstirnen</i>	Five half-shaffrons
<i>Item zwu messig stirnen</i>	Two massive shaffrons
<i>Item sechs sättel zum Welschen gestech mit ir zugehörung</i>	Six saddles for the <i>Welschgestech</i> with all their accompanying elements
<i>Item ain sattel mit schwarzen diebling zum sweingaid</i>	One saddle with black dilgens for (?)
<i>Item zwen sättel mit bolierten straihtartschen und ain mit schwarzen straihtartschen</i>	Two saddles with polished <i>Straihtartschen</i> and one with black <i>Straihtartschen</i>
<i>Item zwai bar alt stechachsen und ain stirnen; seind nit guet</i>	Two undecorated old <i>Stechsäcke</i> and one shaffron; they are not good

<i>Item zwen alt beslaten sättel zw dem Welschen gestech oder rennen und etlich bar sporen</i>	Two old (?) saddles for the <i>Welschgestech</i> or <i>Welschrennen</i> and several undecorated spurs
<i>Sättl: Item rennsattel, acht stechsätel, 22 sticzsatel, zwelf alt rennsättel, vier sätel zw den geschiften zewgen, drei sattel zw dem lustrennen und knabensattelen drei, bring in summa aller sättel 56 sätel</i>	Saddles: (One) saddle for the <i>Rennen</i> , eight saddles for the <i>Gestech</i> , twenty-two (?) saddles, twelve old saddles for the <i>Rennen</i> , four saddles for the <i>Geschift</i> armour, three saddles for the recreational <i>Rennen</i> (possibly the <i>Gesellenrennen</i>), and three boy's saddles, bringing the total to fifty-six saddles in all
<i>Item stegraif sibenzehen par</i>	Seventeen pairs of stirrups
<i>Item sechsundzwainzig renn- und stechgürt</i>	Twenty-six girths for the <i>Rennen</i> and the <i>Gestech</i>
<i>Item dreizehen stufgürt</i>	Thirteen (?) girths
<i>Item aulf gürt zum gestech über die schranken</i>	Eleven girths for the <i>Gestech</i> over the tilt
<i>Item zwen schwaifgürt</i>	Two <i>Schwaif</i> -girths
<i>Item zwen gurt mit schnieren</i>	Two girths with ties
<i>Item fünfzechen pruech auf die pfard zum gestech</i>	Fifteen bards/caparisons (?) for the horse for the <i>Gestech</i>
<i>Item sechzechen plent zun rossen</i>	Sixteen plates(?) for horses
<i>Item zehen stechseck</i>	Ten <i>Stechsäcke</i>

Table 5: Equestrian Armour in the 1519 Augsburg Inventory

Chapter 5: Tournament Equipment – Decorative

5.1 Introduction

As the tournament evolved over the centuries, it became more and more spectator-friendly. Unlike its earlier incarnations as a *mêlée*, which might have ranged for miles across the countryside, these tournaments brought the audience into the competition space as a vital participant. Earlier tournaments were far more for the benefit of the combatants than for anyone watching. Yet as the tournament shrank in range, soon being held in the confined arenas which became known as lists, it grew in popularity – and feasibility – as a spectator sport. In addition, the rise in popularity of the individual joust between just two competitors also meant that a knight might spend more time and effort on his tournament ensemble. As a spectator sport, the tournament offered a unique opportunity for knights to show off a previously un-utilised range of decorative elements to the crowds and to their peers in a way they never could on the battlefield.

As a counterpoint to the previous chapter on tournament arms and armour, this chapter will examine the decorative elements of tournament equipment. Illustrating how the rich and colourful fabrics which the knights and their horses wore at tournament will demonstrate both how they added to the atmosphere of opulence and showmanship and also how they promoted certain themes and chivalric ideals through their distinct designs and functions, which were different from any which had come before. For what is not clear through a study of the arms and armour alone is how vibrant this armour would have been at tournament through the aid of various textiles. It could be both practical and ornamental. The mechanical elements discussed in Chapter 4 are just some of the ways in which the armour was meant to lend a sense of theatricality to the tournament. However, this was greatly aided by the

textile elements of a tournament. This chapter will discuss the myriad ways in which a knight might feature textiles in the joust and the methods by which this was done.¹

In fact, the knight at the joust was blessed with several surfaces on which he could add some element of decoration, and this chapter will endeavour to touch on each. Some of these items were both decorative and functional, serving as decoration as well as arms or armour, such as the lance and the shield. There are also items which were made to be purely decorative and served no protective function, i.e. the caparison and the crest. As will be seen, however, these could also serve multiple roles in a tournament setting, adding to the competition in some vital way. Finally, this chapter will also look at some examples of decoration in the lists. The use of textiles to add interest or excitement was not limited to the knight and his horse, after all. Instead, items like tents and the garb of attendents also offer examples of textiles and colourful decoration playing an integral role.

At first glance, the imagery presented on these decorative elements might be taken for a form of heraldry. However, it should be definitively stated that this is not the case, as the imagery on the items such as the caparisons or the shields expanded beyond the rules of traditional heraldic patterns, which were strictly limited in the colours, patterns, and images that could be used, in what combinations, and how they lay on each other.² The decorative imagery featured in Maximilian's tournaments does not come close to following these rules. For one, the range of designs, both animal and human, are far more naturalistic than those found on coats-of-arms. The colours and pictures are far too complex. Crucially, the text

¹ One brief but useful study of German courtly textiles, including in tournament context, is Max Tewes, *'ain varib, darein wir uns und unser hofgesind beclaiden: Hofkleider der bayerischen Herzöge an der Wende zur Neuzeit'*, in *Ritterwelten im Spätmittelalter: Höfisch-ritterliche Kultur der Reichen Herzöge von Bayern-Landsbut*, pp. 33-47.

² These are summarised in Keen, *Chivalry*, pp. 125-42.

included is also always written in German, marking these designs out as exclusively culturally German. Also competitors who appear more than once within a single tournament, such as Maximilian himself on many occasions, never appear with the same trappings twice; rather their costume changes with each joust, implying that they are not competing under a specific coat-of-arms but instead are looking for the chance to show off as many different ensembles as possible.³ These colourful displays were designed exclusively for use in a tournament setting, where they might be appreciated as symbols of status.⁴

In addition to their distinctness from the realm of heraldic studies, the use of imagery in tournaments, particularly those held in Maximilian's time, should also be held as apart from the field of emblem and impresa studies.⁵ While this has been touched on briefly in wider scholarship, the depths of tournament imagery in connection to emblems is far from fully explored. Alan Young has made the greatest effort, although his focus falls primarily on Elizabethan tournaments. Young attempts to draw attention to the interest and significance of the various ways 'emblems' or 'impresa' might be employed in a tournament setting, yet in trying to cover such a broad chronological and geographical span in such a short space, he does not come to any satisfactory conclusions. Furthermore, some of the so-called problems which Young points to in interpreting tournament emblems may be often easily refuted when studying Maximilian's tournaments. Young claims that it is not always possible to identify the

³ For evidence of this, see Munich, BSB, Cod.icon 398, plates 26 and 32, where Maximilian appears twice in the context of the same tournament but in different apparel.

⁴ In *Bloodied Banners: Martial Displays on the Medieval Battlefield* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2010), Robert Jones discusses the symbolism of heraldic display on the battlefield. The idea of such display, particularly on textiles, as socio-cultural tool for showing martial prowess (pp. 33-55) could also be applied, in many respects, to the tournament.

⁵ These were devices usually consisting of a picture (which, according to official guidelines, ought not to include a human figure) and a short motto or phrase which could appear in a variety of settings, including portraits, embroidery, or even tournaments. They were often recorded in collections known as emblem books.

bearer of an *impresa*, or the specific tournament at which it was worn, and he also points to difficulty in interpreting the language, symbolism, etc. of an *impresa*. Each of these obstacles is easily surmounted when examining the wealth of imagery and accompanying explanatory text prevalent in many German *Turnierbücher*.⁶

5.2 The Caparison

The largest and best canvas by far for a knight in the tournament was, in fact, his horse.⁷

During a joust the side of one's horse was fully displayed to the audience, and by covering this entire surface in fabric, known as a caparison, a knight was gifted with a wonderfully large area with which to play in terms of colour and design. While revealing many things about the spirit of the tournament, it should also be pointed out that the caparisons also concealed much. For example, the girth, which held the saddle on the horse, and the bridle, on the horse's head, remain hidden under the caparison except for the bit visible in the horse's mouth. The saddle was secured on top of the caparison, and the girth was likely attached through a slit in the fabric and passed beneath the horse's belly in that way.⁸ Even the reins were usually draped with matching fabric to the caparison. This created a pleasing uniformity of smooth, unbroken lines for the look of the knight and his horse, yet it also prevents modern viewers from having an unobstructed view of the equestrian tack beneath the decorative elements.

⁶ Alan R. Young, 'The Emblem in Tournaments', in *Companion to Emblem Studies*, ed. by Peter Daly (New York: AMS Press, 2008), pp. 477-87. Young largely disregards the world of German tournaments in his work. Interestingly, he does state that extensive records of a large number of tournament emblems/*impresa* have survived, and topping his list are the *Turnierbücher* of Wilhelm IV of Bavaria and that of the Electors of Saxony, yet any further description or discussion of these works is oddly excluded from Young's chapter, pp. 485-86.

⁷ Jones touches briefly on the significance of the horse's decorative function in battle in *Bloodied Baners*, pp. 139-44.

⁸ For more on the practical fit of the caparison, see Karen Watts, 'Taken for a Ride? The Case for a Unique Surviving Leather Horse Bard of Henry VIII', unpublished conference proceedings: 'Leather in Warfare', (Royal Armouries, Leeds, November 2014), pp. 74-88

In spite of this, the fabric of the caparison itself also served a practical purpose in many ways. The best example of this is that, in the majority of tournament images, the caparisons are 'blind', or have no eye-holes, completely obscuring the horse's vision.⁹ This was to prevent them from seeing the other horse charging at them, which would have caused them to swerve out of the way, serving the same function as the circlet of bells discussed in Chapter 4.¹⁰ The caparison could also be altered to work with whatever form of equestrian equipment was needed for a specific joust. When a *Stecksack* (discussed in Chapter 4) was used, for instance, the caparison was split into two separate parts in order to conceal the *Stecksack* while retaining a sense of stylishness.¹¹ In terms of the decorative elements of tournament equipment, the caparison is perhaps the most versatile, multifunctional, and attention grabbing.

It is on these caparisons that some of the most fantastic decorative tournament elements are to be found. Particularly on the stage of the individual joust, these caparisons came to play a far more vital role through their eye-catching designs, becoming in many ways the central part of a knight's tournament dress. While some were solid, bi-coloured, or striped, many displayed elaborate images or phrases across the horse's flanks. These caparisons offer up numerous magnificent examples of the role textiles played in the tournaments of Maximilian's era. This chapter will look at a few of the most interesting examples and their significance, although their production, symbolism, and importance, warrants further study, the scope of which is larger than this thesis chapter.

⁹ Examples of this type of caparison may be seen in Munich, BSB, Cod.icon 398, Cod.icon 403, and Cgm 1930, as well as in *Freydal*, and the *Turnierbücher* of Gasper Lamberger, Wilhelm IV, and Johann of Saxony.

¹⁰ Blair, *European Armour circa 1066 to circa 1700*, pp. 185-87.

¹¹ For examples, see Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Cod.icon 398, plates 56, 74, 76, 78, 80, 82; Cod.icon 403, plate 11; and Cgm 1930, plates 5-16.

One possible explanation for the significance of some of these designs is that they might be personal devices or symbols associated with an individual, such as the Tudor rose of Henry VII and his descendents or the white hart of Richard II, rather than a coat-of-arms. One potential corroboration of this theory may be found in the figure of Gasper Lamberger, a nobleman from modern Slovenia and a frequent participant in Maximilian's tournaments. Lamberger often appears in the joust with what appears to be a porcupine (or possibly a hedgehog) on his caparisons.¹² This animal is always accompanied by two interlocking gold 'C's, which on one occasion are topped with a crown, and are also often presented with a red heart.¹³ Although not a coat-of-arms as such, this would have been a way for both the audience and his fellow competitors to recognise Lamberger in a tournament.¹⁴

Other caparisons often featured visual references which the fellow knights in the lists and spectators in the stands would have understood instantly. In Hans Burgkmair the Younger's edition of the *Triumphzug* tournament prints, one of the knights in the *Deutschgestech* (there referred to as *Das Deutsch gemein Gestech*) uses a caparison showing a cherubic child figure riding a hobby horse and holding what looks like a little windmill on a stick in the style of a lance.¹⁵ This was, in fact, a common training tool for young boys when they were first learning to ride and to joust. Before they could hold a proper lance, children would run around holding these toys, and the end would spin around in the wind, turning the practice into a fun game for them. The same toy can also be seen in the margins of Maximilian's own personal book of

¹² See Appendix 1, Figure 27.

¹³ This unique emblem can be seen in Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Cod.icon 398, plate 24, and in *The Tournament Book of Gasper Lamberger*, pp. 52, 66, and 67.

¹⁴ This is the closest example in a German tournament context which I have found with similarity to the emblem, but it seems to be unique to Lamberger.

¹⁵ See Appendix 1, Figure 28. Pallmann, ed., *Hans Burgkmair des Jüngerer: Turnierbuch von 1529*, plate 6. The same tool is also represented in three-dimensions on the knight's crest, where it likely would have spun around when he rode.

hours, where two boys face off against each other while bearing the windmill training lances and round shields.¹⁶ In Burgmkair's print, this same childhood toy is now a part of the grown man's tournament garb, where it would have been immediately recognisable to his fellow jousters. Also written on a banner next to the cherub is the ENHG phrase *Das freut mich*, or 'It pleases me', meant in the sense of 'I enjoy this'. The knight is expressing his continued love of the joust from his youth training with a toy to his adulthood competing in proper tournaments.

Another common feature of these caparisons is allegorical imagery or visual puns. One particularly clever one comes from the *Turnierbuch* of Wilhelm IV, which depicts a joust held in 1512. In this instance the caparison of Wilhelm, on the left, is decorated with rows of hanging keys. The caparison of his opponent, on the right, on the other hand, is decorated with rows of locks.¹⁷ Coordination like this would have required agreement and cooperation beforehand between the two knights. It is another example of the changes in the tournament over time. Although the two opponents are still competing against each other in a contest of military skill, they are also working together to create a pleasing visual display for their audience.

Wilhelm IV's *Turnierbuch* is filled with this sort of allegorical imagery. And many of these pictorial messages often have to do with love. In another joust Wilhelm's shield and caparison feature copious small red hearts which are either being crushed in vices or squeezed in clamps hanging from chains. The words *Lieb geduldig* ('patient love' or 'love patiently') are also visible on a banner trailing across his horse's back.¹⁸ And again later Wilhelm appears as literally a 'prisoner of love', as his vibrant red caparison depicts men in chains and stocks while

¹⁶ *The Book of Hours of the Emperor Maximilian the First*, ed. by Walter L. Strauss (New York: Abaris Books Inc., 1974), p. 298, folio 149v.

¹⁷ *Turnierbuch Herzogs Wilhelm des Vierten von Bayern, von 1510 bis 1545*, plate 10. See Appendix 1, Figure 29.

¹⁸ *Turnierbuch Herzogs Wilhelm des Vierten von Bayern, von 1510 bis 1545*, plate 11.

hearts in fools caps doubling as wings float above them.¹⁹ These are not subtle messages but rather loud declarations of one's noble intentions and values in the setting of the tournament, the perfect place for showing off a chivalric code of conduct.

The imagery of love, and particularly hearts, is something which is markedly prevalent in the designs of the caparisons. And a study of the various German tournament books reveals a wealth of other common themes and repeated images. Besides hearts, these include locks, anchors, clasped hands, crowns, owls and other animals, and human figures, all of which appear in abundance.²⁰ The reasoning behind each of these recurrent images in all their varying forms makes perfect sense when viewed in the context of a tournament. In particular those representative of love or steadfast faithfulness, such as the hearts or female figures or clasped hands, fit well with the ethos of the tournament and its connection to the chivalric code. They reflect the age-old idea of the noble knight jousting for the love of his lady, who may have been looking on.²¹

In addition to pictures, text or individual letters also often features as the central design element on a caparison. Sometimes they are nothing more than a series of letters, most likely an abbreviation for something, or even a single letter or two interlocking letters.²² Sometimes they are aspirational phrases or inspirational mottos or even crude or silly jokes. One particularly interesting example of this may be found in BSB, Cod.icon 398.²³ In an image of a

¹⁹ *Turnierbuch Herzogs Wilhelm des Vierten von Bayern, von 1510 bis 1545*, plate 12.

²⁰ In Munich, BSB, Cod.icon 398 alone: for crowns, see plates 16, 22, 24, 34, 40; for human figures, see plates 24, 40, 42, 52, 70; for animals, see plate 24; for hearts, see plates 40, 70; for clasped hands, see plates 42, 52, 72; for anchors, see plates 50.

²¹ The joust, after all, had a long-standing tradition in chivalric songs and literature and was endowed with a heavy dose of romance 'in which colour and violence fuse together into the display of the male before the female,' Keen, *Chivalry*, p. 92.

²² For examples of these, see Munich, BSB, Cod.icon 398, plates 16, 22, 24, 28, 34, 38, 50, 64, 70, and 80.

²³ See Appendix 1, Figure 30.

joust from a tournament which took place in Nuremberg in 1491, two men compete in a *Scharfrennen*. They are labelled as the margrave Friedrich of Brandenburg on the right and, on the left, his opponent is labelled in ENHG as *desr Margraven diener* ('this margrave's servant').²⁴ This sets up the intriguing scenario that the margrave is jousting against his servant, or possibly his squire. The margrave's caparison is decorated with a row of clasped hands along the bottom edge, each pair of which holds a sprig of greenery. On his horse's flank is a woman and a wildman and, above them, a banner bearing the phrase *Erken dich selb*, or 'know yourself'. On the left the servant's much plainer caparison features a banner declaring *Ich wart der Zeit* or, 'I am waiting for the time'.²⁵ Although the servant's caparison is simpler, its only decoration being the single phrase, both his and the margrave's are the same striking shade of red. The servant's caparison seems to declare his noble aspirations; he is perhaps 'waiting for the time' when he, too, can compete in the tournament as a noble, while the margrave's caparison expresses a statement of self-assurance.

Yet the caparison was not always a canvas for two-dimensional decoration. In many cases, the fabric of the caparison itself could be manipulated to add even more visual interest, or it could simply be a secondary element meant to support some other three-dimensional decoration. Some interesting examples of this come from Gasper Lamberger's *Turnierbuch*. On one occasion the plain black caparison of Lamberger's opponent has had a multitude of cuts made in it. These form triangular flaps which would have provided an interesting effect of movement when the knight rode into the joust. In this image they are clearly visible falling

²⁴ Margrave Friedrich V of Brandenburg (1460-1536) was the son of Elector of Brandenburg Albrecht Achilles and Anna, daughter of Elector Friedrich II of Saxony. He was married to princess Sophia of Poland, daughter of King Kasimir IV of Poland. Due to his lavish lifestyle and accompanying debts, he was forced to abdicate by his sons Kasimir and Georg in 1515 and held captive for thirteen years. He was also said to have demonstrated signs of mental instability.

²⁵ Munich, BSB, Cod.icon 398, plate 52.

open as the horse and rider fall to the ground.²⁶ On another occasion Lamberger's entire caparison, as well as his shield and sleeves, have been covered in bells.²⁷ The caparison has further been cut into six distinct panels at the bottom in order to lend even more movement to it. In such an ensemble Lamberger would have made a terrific noise as he charged toward his opponent.²⁸

Finally, Lamberger also proved that a substantial caparison was not always a necessity. At one point in his *Turnierbuch* his horse is depicted wearing only a minimal harness of straps covered in small, round, undecorated pots. Lamberger's clothes and shield are covered in the same pots, and he wears one as a crest on his helmet.²⁹ While the exact purpose of these pots is unclear, it is tempting to imagine they were filled some sort of liquid and were made to demonstrate Lamberger's steadiness and skill in the joust. No matter what form they took, all of these manipulations of the caparison, however, would have been additional ways for a knight to draw attention to himself in the tournament – a way to stand out among his fellow competitors.

²⁶ *The Tournament Book of Gašper Lamberger*, p. 38.

²⁷ *The Tournament Book of Gašper Lamberger*, p. 26.

²⁸ While this image is unusual among German *Turnierbücher*, the decoration of bells covering a caparison may also be found in Benoît de Sainte-Maure's *Le Roman de Troie* (c. 1165), at the point where Benoît is describing the arming of Penthesilea, the queen of the Amazons: *En un cheval d'Espaigne bei/ Plus grant, plus fort e plus vaillant/ D'autres chevens e plus corant/ Est montee delivrement/ Pleine d'ire e de mal talent/ Coverz fu toz d'un drap de seie/ Qui plus qui flor de lis blancheie/ Cent eschilletes cler sonan/ Petites, d'or, non mie grant/ I atachent...* (ll. 23440-49 in Baumgartner and Veillard, eds, *Livre de Poche*, 1998): 'On a bay Spanish horse/ That was bigger, strong and more valiant/ Than all other horses, as well as being faster/ [Penthesilea] is mounted/ [She is] full of anger and resentment/ [Her horse] was covered with a silk caparison/ That was whiter than a lily/ One hundred bells that rang clearly/ Small, made of gold, not large/ Were attached to it...' (translation by Sophie Harwood, 2016). This description is also given of Penthesilea in the *Histoire ancienne jusqu'à César* that was based in part on the *Troie* and written around 1220.

²⁹ *The Tournament Book of Gašper Lamberger*, p. 55.

5.3 The Lance

In the tournament, the lance held a place of central importance as the primary weapon – the means by which a knight won or lost a joust. Its significance as such has been discussed in the previous chapter. However, in Maximilian's time this martial primacy did not exempt the lance from serving a decorative purpose as well. Like the shield (discussed in section 5.4) its role was multi-purpose and reflects the importance of aesthetics in the German tournament. For, although it might seem a minor instrument of the tournament to embellish compared with the other tools with which a knight was endowed, in particular the caparison or the crest (to be discussed later), participants still found a way to make the lance stand out. Indeed, this is logical considering that, despite all the added spectacular elements, the lance remained the central point (so to speak) of the joust.

The best form of evidence which remains for observing the physical appearance of the lance in the tournament is the *Turnierbücher* of Maximilian's reign, where this 'beautifying' of the lance can be seen to have been carried out in several different ways. One of the most common methods appears to have been simply wrapping or draping the lance in fabric. For example, in Hans Burgkmair the Younger's edition of the *Triumphzug* tournament prints, two knights appear with their lances wrapped entirely in fabric, so that no wood is visible, to match their caparisons. One is purple with a pattern of stars, and one is red with a pattern of what look like bees.³⁰ This matching of textiles and patterns is a common theme in tournament decoration.³¹ Such thoughtful presentation emphasises the eye for detail which the participants brought to these events. The result it creates is pleasing to the witness, whether they be the firsthand viewers or those who see the effect memorialised in print form.

³⁰ von Hefner, ed., *Hans Burgkmaiers Turnier-Buch*, plate 10.

³¹ For further examples of this trend, see Munich, BSB, Cod. icon 398, plates 40, 42, 44.

Lances were, however, not always decorated to match the caparison. Independent embellishments also were experimented with. The *Turnierbuch* of Wilhelm IV of Bavaria illustrates a wide range of lance decorations. On one occasion Duke Wilhelm's lance is artfully draped in a loose gauze-like fabric gathered into bunches.³² On another the duke's lance features two rows of small rosettes running its entire length.³³ Also popular was adorning the tip of one's lance with a hanging element. These might include tassles, bells, or more unusual items.³⁴ Finally, one of the most common decorations for the lance was to swathe it in feathers, often dyed a multitude of colours, wrapping them around the entirety of the shaft of the lance.³⁵ This trend – the use of feathers – echoes the most common fallback theme for the crest, when no more intricate adornment was used.

Of course, broadening the definition of 'decoration', the lance was not always merely enhanced with simple textiles or feathers. Occasionally the lance itself was a sort of stage, a platform for showing off one's skill in the joust. Some very unusual examples of this remain today. In the *Turnierbuch* of Marx Walther, Walther appears at one point with a small boy sitting astride his lance close to the base.³⁶ The child is dressed in colours to complement Walther's crest, shield, and caparison and wears a cloth hat with a feather. He himself is not wearing any element of protective armour.³⁷ Whether or not Walther truly took part in a joust with a child

³² *Turnierbuch Herzogs Wilhelm des Vierten von Bayern, von 1510 bis 1545*, plate 1.

³³ *Turnierbuch Herzogs Wilhelm des Vierten von Bayern, von 1510 bis 1545*, plate 12.

³⁴ For example, Munich, BSB, Cod.icon 398 features tassles on plates 50 and 58. Munich, BSB, Cgm 1930 offers examples of a bag (plate 25), a shoe (plate 26), a plaque featuring clasped hands (plate 27), what appears to be a gold necklace (plate 28), a bell (plate 29), and a star (plate 42).

³⁵ For examples, see Munich, BSB, Cod.icon 398, plate 72; Munich, BSB, Cod.icon 403, plate 11; *Turnierbuch Herzogs Wilhelm des Vierten von Bayern, von 1510 bis 1545*, plate 6.

³⁶ Munich, BSB, Cgm 1930, plate 43. This instance of a knight not being alone on horseback in a tournament is not unique. In the same *Turnierbuch*, Walther appears with a monkey sitting on the flanks of the horse and tethered to the saddle by a chain (plate 34). Again, whether this is apocryphal or truly took place is questionable, but, regardless, it serves as a demonstration of Walther's skill by implying that he would be able to joust whilst also contending with a monkey.

³⁷ See Appendix 1, Figure 31.

sitting on his lance is unknown and more than likely improbable. Yet such an image would represent to viewers Walther's physical prowess and skill in the joust. He is demonstrating that not only does he have the strength to support a heavy additional weight on his lance but also the ability to hold his lance so steady that a small child could safely ride upon it.

All of this comes back, once more, to the arms and armour of the tournament and the lance's dual role. Like the fabric-draped shields (see Section 5.4, below), these embellished lances illustrate the unique blending of pageantry textiles and arms and armour found in a tournament of Maximilian's time. The two exist in a harmonious display of metal and cloth – of military might and of showmanship. The fact that the tournament armour was designed to work in harmony with the fabric elements shows that they were not a mere afterthought but an integral part of the overall experience.

5.4 The Shield

One obvious area which lent itself well to decoration in the tournament was the wide, flat surface of the knight's shield. The role of the shield as a piece of practical tournament equipment has already been discussed in the previous chapter. Like the lance, the shield served both a practical and a decorative function. But its parallel role as a central decorative element in the tournament should not be overlooked, since, as discussed above, German tournament imagery was not bound by the traditional rules of heraldry. This may be clearly seen in the wide range of tournament adornment and imagery found in manuscripts such as the *Turnierbücher*. This separation of heraldic from tournament imagery is further emphasised by the shape of the shield in the German tournament. Originally official coats-of-arms were designed to fit onto a traditional, escutcheon-shaped shield (essentially an inverse triangle with convex long

sides).³⁸ However, the shields used in the late medieval German joust had evolved into different shapes not conducive to traditional heraldic imagery but rather conducive to their assigned purpose in the context of whatever form of joust was being practiced. This allowed for the possibility of a wholly different style of decoration. During Maximilian's reign the shield was utilised to its full extent as another place to show off opulent colours and imagery.

Looking at the variety of shapes, sizes, and materials for the tournament shield discussed in Chapter 4, it is easy to see how the shield had evolved by Maximilian's time to become specifically suited to the joust in all its forms. Thus the shields which we see in images from the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, such as those in Chapter 4, are not emblazoned with family crests or coats-of-arms but rather are made almost always to match the larger pattern or image on the horse's caparison (discussed above). This theme of the separation of heraldic from tournament imagery in the decorative components of Maximilian's tournaments is one which runs across all the various elements. Such complete separation of heraldic patterns from tournament imagery is decidedly shown in the *Turnierbuch* of Wilhelm IV. In each illustration in this work the jousting knight appears with his familial coat-of-arms drawn above him, free-standing, and it is always different from whatever elaborate imagery appears on his shield. Duke Wilhelm, for example, appears in numerous different garbs, but his coat-of-arms, the blue and white checks of Bavaria, are always drawn above him and always the same, allowing him to be identified.³⁹

³⁸ Keen, *Chivalry*, p. 126. The difficulty of placing the coats-of-arms of German nobility on tournament shields would be further exacerbated by the fact that, by the fifteenth century, many noble families' coats-of-arms were made up of, in fact, many coats-of-arms which had been incorporated over the generations as wealthy families married together. This process resulted in an achievement subdivided in many parts, each of which was often highly detailed and would have been incredibly difficult to replicate on the surface of a tournament shield.

³⁹ See Appendix 1, Figure 26. All of the images in *Turnierbuch Herzogs Wilhelm des Vierten von Bayern, von 1510 bis 1545* demonstrate this.

The most common form which the decoration of the tournament shield took was to match the design of the horse's caparison. In instances where the caparison featured a large, central design on the horse's flanks, this design might be replicated in miniature on the knight's shield. For example, in BSB, Cod.icon 398, in an illustration of Maximilian jousting, the emperor bears a single inverted anchor on his caparison, which appears in an identical form on his shield.⁴⁰ Or, in cases where the caparison was decorated all over in a repeating pattern or motif, this same pattern might appear again on the shield. An example of this may be seen in BSB, Cod.icon 403, in the image of the *Wulstrennen*, where the knight furthest from the viewer bears a shield with a pattern of small gold stars on a solid red background. This same pattern is replicated in a larger scale on the horse's caparison.⁴¹ Finally, in instances where the caparison is made of one or two solid colours, this same colour or colours would also feature on the shield. This simpler design can be seen many times in *Freydal*, where stripes of two or three colours are a popular pattern on caparison and shield.⁴²

The colours that can be seen on this range of shields are, in fact, representations of a fabric covering, highlighting once more the importance of textiles to the tournament. These designs were not painted on to the surface of the shield; instead the method of embellishing the shields appears to have been to adhere a fabric covering to the front of the shield. In many illustrations of the joust excess fabric can be clearly seen hanging off the edge of the shield, its

⁴⁰ Munich, BSB, Cod.icon 398, plate 50. For further examples, see Munich, BSB Cod.icon 398, plates 16, 40, 42; *The Tournament Book of Gaspar Lamberger*, pp. 12, 33, 41, 46; Munich, BSB Cod.icon 403, plates

⁴¹ Munich, BSB Cod.icon 403, plate 25. For further examples, see Munich, BSB Cod.icon 403, plates 13, 17, 29; Munich, BSB Cod.icon 398, plate 26, 30, 46; von Leitner, ed., *Freydal*, plates 61, 73, 74.

⁴² von Leitner, ed., *Freydal*, plates 49, 50, 54, 58, and 61 are just some examples. For further examples, see Munich, BSB Cod.icon 398, plates 16, 18, 46, 54; *The Tournament Book of Gaspar Lamberger*, pp. 3, 7, 14; Munich, BSB Cod.icon 403, plates 9,

soft and malleable state evident as it ripples and flutters.⁴³ This technique represents again, as with the textile enhancement of the lance, a harmonious combination of the armour of the tournament and the textiles that went along with it.⁴⁴

5.5 The Crest

Another place where a knight could make his fashionable mark in the lists was the top of the helmet, where a crest could be placed. Although the date of the origin of the crest, like that of the coat-of-arms itself, is uncertain, according to David Crouch an early form of this decoration first appeared in the thirteenth century, when it became popular for knights to encircle their helmets with twisted silk wreaths. These adornments gradually grew more elaborate, eventually taking on the complex and eye-catching form of the crest as it existed in the fifteenth-century Holy Roman Empire. Significantly, a crest allowed for a three-dimensional aspect not applicable to the two-dimensional surface of a shield or caparison, making them an even more impressive medium for display in the tournament. Birds in cages, models of mythical beasts such as dragons or wyverns, or animal heads of all sorts were common features of crests, and by Maximilian's time they had taken on all sorts of fantastical shapes. Items like these were probably constructed of boiled and moulded leather, known as *cuir bouilli*, or cloth stretched over a wooden frame. Other varieties of the crest could also include cloth hangings, or *cointoises*, and plumes of feathers, both of which would look striking when caught in the wind as a knight took part in a tourney or joust.⁴⁵

⁴³ See Appendix 1, Figure 32.

⁴⁴ Almost any *Turnierbuch* offers evidence of these textile coverings. For example, see von Leitner, ed., *Freydal*, plates 1, 2, 10, 14, 17, 18, 21, 22, 26, and many others, where this phenomenon is clearly visible.

⁴⁵ Crouch, *Tournament*, pp. 146-48.

The initial function of the crest seems to have been a purely decorative one; later, however, they became more individualized and served as a way of identifying the wearer. Sometimes a crest might be a direct representation of the wearer's coat-of-arms, or be connected to it in some way. The Black Prince, son of King Edward III of England, wore a lion as his crest, which was related to the English royal coat-of-arms. This heraldic connection was not always present, however. Instead a crest's form might also be dictated by a personal badge of the wearer – a symbol unique to the individual and separate from a hereditary coat-of-arms, much in the same way Gasper Lamberger often appeared in the lists with a porcupine on his caparison. At one point King Richard II of England had a golden sun made for his helm as a personal emblem.⁴⁶

Indeed, the crest as a way to identify those competing in the tournament was one of its primary functions. In *Freydal*, for instance, Maximilian is almost always identifiable by his ostentatious crest in the form of a large plume of feathers in some arrangement (normally coming out from the centre of a crown). While his opponents are identified by their name written beneath them, Maximilian needs only his imperial crest to identify him.⁴⁷ In Marx Walther's *Turnierbuch*, Walther is easily identifiable in a tourney by his tall crest in the form of a skewer of sausages.⁴⁸ Indeed, it is in the tourney where the individual crest becomes most useful. BSB, Cod.icon 398 depicts two tourneys in which all the participants are dressed identically. In both of these cases each combatant wears an individual crest, whether it be a wreath of flowers, a pair of flails, or a spindle, allowing them to retain an individual identity amongst their competitors.⁴⁹

⁴⁶ Juliet Barker, *The Tournament in England: 1100-1400* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1986), pp. 180-81.

⁴⁷ For examples, see von Leitner, ed., *Freydal*, plates 7, 17, 19, and 21, among others.

⁴⁸ See Appendix 1, Figure 33. Munich, BSB, Cgm 1930, plate 18.

⁴⁹ Munich, BSB, Cod.icon 398, plates 56 and 58.

It is unsurprising then that the variety of forms and shapes which the crest could take was immense. These could often be extravagant and noble, echoing the themes found in the imagery of the caparisons. Again, love imagery was very popular. Wilhelm IV jousted with a crest of two clasped hands held together with a padlock, for example.⁵⁰ Animals as well are found frequently both on the caparison and the crest, and the variety of those used is impressive, ranging from the mundane to the mythical.⁵¹ Religious connotations could be found represented in the crest as well: Gasper Lamberger seems to have been fond of jousting with a crown of thorns as his crest.⁵² Interestingly, feminine imagery often appears on the crest. During a February 1502 tournament, Marino Sanuto described Maximilian jousting against Count Wolfgang of Fürstenberg, during which Maximilian reportedly wore a siren as a crest (*et in zima l'elmo havea una sirena*).⁵³ In *Freydal*, when not wearing his distinctive feathered crest, Maximilian is shown several times with a mermaid crest.⁵⁴ He also appears wearing a replica of a woman's hat and veil.⁵⁵

Finally, some crests were designed to add interest to the knight's tournament garb through added visual or aural effects, such as the boy's training lance recreated as a crest described in Section 5.2. A dual tower of bells in a print by Burgkmair the Younger is another example which would have added sound as well as looking impressive.⁵⁶ Many crests, however,

⁵⁰ *Turnierbuch Herzogs Wilhelm des Vierten von Bayern, von 1510 bis 1545*, plate 4. Another example of a heart as a crest may be found in Munich, BSB Cod.icon 398, plate 76.

⁵¹ Examples of this include *The Tournament Book of Gasper Lamberger*: a pig (plate 45); Munich, BSB Cod.icon 403: an owl (plates 9 and 11), fish and a dog (plate 13), a peacock and a ram (plate 15); von Leitner, ed., *Freydal*: a dragon (plate 90).

⁵² *The Tournament Book of Gasper Lamberger*, pp. 19, 31, 33, 41, 45, 46, 49, 51-54.

⁵³ Sanuto, *I Diarii*, vol. 4, p. 217-18.

⁵⁴ von Leitner, ed., *Freydal*, plates 19 and 40.

⁵⁵ von Leitner, ed., *Freydal*, plate 59. Such imagery harks back to Ulrich von Liechtenstein and his *Venusfahrt*, when the nobleman travelled the countryside dressed as Venus and jousted against all who challenged him.

⁵⁶ Pallmann, ed., *Hans Burgkmair des Jüngerer: Turnierbuch von 1529*, plate 7.

appear slightly silly to modern eyes, such as Marx Walther's skewer of sausages. In one particularly unusual instance, Gasper Lamberger wears what appears to be a basket of kittens on his helmet.⁵⁷

The crest could also serve as a symbol of its wearer's social standing. The previously discussed tourney of the so-called *Gemain Hofgesindt* which took place as part of a 1491 tournament in Nuremberg and is depicted in BSB, Cod.icon 398 shows the lower members of the court engaged in a form of the *Kolbenturnier*.⁵⁸ These competitors all wear very utilitarian crests, including a bellows, a wool winder, a plough harness, and a spindle; very different items from the colourful lions, crowns, or peacock feathers found on other knights.⁵⁹ These men are marked out as being of lesser social standing by their functional crests, representative of items from everyday life.

The 1519 inventory of Maximilian's armour house in Augsburg includes, in addition to its large collection of tournament arms and armour, a record of several crests (see Table 6). The inventory refers to them with the ENHG term *Vederpüsch*, or, literally, 'feather bush', interpreted here as 'crest of feathers'. This label is unsurprising, as feathers appear frequently in illustrated sources as a popular form of crest. While these crests are described as made primarily of feathers (most often black, when the colour is specified), they include additional elements as well. One, for example, contains six silver gilded pomegranates, which was one of Maximilian's personal emblems – another instance of the crest replicating an individual's familial or personal symbol.⁶⁰ Another crest in the inventory appears to have been made to

⁵⁷ See Appendix 1, Figure 34. *The Tournament Book of Gasper Lamberger*, p. 41.

⁵⁸ Munich, BSB, Cod.icon 398, plate 58.

⁵⁹ See Appendix 1, Figure 7.

⁶⁰ An elderly Maximilian can be seen holding a pomegranate in a 1518 portrait by Albrecht Dürer currently in the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna (Gemäldegalerie, Inv.-Nr. 825).

replicate the Habsburg eagle, with spread wings and a gilded crown and feet. This inventory is a valuable supplement to the pictorial records of Maximilian's tournaments, as it offers proof that the elaborate crests depicted in the manuscripts and engravings were not exaggerated fancies of the illustrators. Such crests, like one made to look like a dragon's head, did indeed exist and were valuable enough to be preserved in Maximilian's armour house.

<i>Vederpüsch: Item ain grosser schwarzer vederpusch auf ainem helmlett</i>	Crests of feathers: One large black crest of feathers on a helm
<i>Item ain schwarzen vederpüsch mit fünf silbren vergulden margrandenöpfel und in der mitt ain grossen silbern und ain vergulden margrandapfel</i>	One black crest of feathers with five silver gilded pomegranates and in the middle a large silver and gilded pomegranate
<i>Item ain grossen vederpüsch mit ainem vergültem gesteck auf ain helmlet mit zwai flügeln, daran silbren und vergult rosen und schrawfen</i>	One large crest of feathers with a gilded floral arrangement on a helm with two wings, on which are silver and gilded roses and decorations
<i>Item ain schwarzen puschen mit langen tolden auf den trackenkopf</i>	One black feathered crest with long golden spikes on a dragon's head
<i>Item fünfundzwainzig swarz land federn auf helmlet</i>	Twenty-five black (?) feathers on a helm
<i>Item vier schwarz püschchen auf rosstirnen</i>	Four black feathered crests on shaffrons
<i>Item drei püschchen auf helmlet order stirnen</i>	Three feathered crests on a helm or a shaffron
<i>Item ain vederpusch, gemacht wie ain adler mit aufgethanen flügeln und zwu vergült krönen und fuessen</i>	One feathered crest, made (to look) like an eagle with spread wings and gilded crown and feet

Table 6: Crests in the 1519 Augsburg Inventory⁶¹

5.6 Decorations in the Lists

The colourful designs of textiles and other materials were not only to be found on man and horse in the tournament, however. They were on display all around, in various forms, in the

⁶¹ Urkunden und Regesten aus dem K.u.K. Haus- Hof- und Staats-Archiv in Wien', ed. by Heinrich Zimmerman, in *Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen des Allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses*, vol. 3, 2 (1885), no. 2955, p. 84.

lists. These decorative elements might include tents for the participants, or the dress of attendants, evidence for which is available in various forms. These displays of decoration, while not born by horse or rider, still warrant inclusion and discussion, as they are a vital part of creating the overall image for a tournament which was often requisite in Maximilian's day; they are an integral part of the tournament space.

The inspiration for such luxury on display at a tournament can be traced back to the influence on Maximilian of the Burgundian court and its lavish *pas d'armes*, which involved elaborate set-pieces and accessories to the tournament apart from the men and horses.⁶² These additional elements helped to transform the tournament from an athletic competition into a true event. While Maximilian's tournaments most commonly took place in the central square of whatever city in which he was currently residing, such festive embellishments would have helped to set the space apart as an area for festivities; it would have been marked as temporarily special.

This is demonstrated in the 1495 encounter between Maximilian and his Burgundian challenger, Claude de Vaudrey. In his description of the event, Ludwig von Eyb built up a wonderful sense of suspense and anticipation as he described the two men preparing themselves in separate, lavish pavilions which they erected outside of the newly constructed stands made just for the occasion.⁶³ In this way, these temporary textile 'houses' represented a safe space where the nobles could prepare themselves for combat. There they could transform from ordinary men into chivalric warriors in the tournament arena. Reinhard Noltz also wrote that each hung their shield and helmet outside their separate tents, although he makes no

⁶² For an excellent study of the Burgundian *pas d'armes*, see Sébastien Nadot, *Le Spectacle des joutes: Sport et courtoisie à la fin du Moyen Âge* (Rennes: Presses Universitaires de Rennes, 2013).

⁶³ von Eyb, *Die Geschichten und Taten Wilwolts von Schaumburg*, pp. 156-57.

mention of how these shields were adorned.⁶⁴ The tents thus symbolise the men themselves and mark out their territory in the lists, acting as miniature representations of the Holy Roman Empire and Burgundy. Heralds then emerged from these competing spaces to make proclamations concerning the combat which was about to get underway.⁶⁵

These heralds and other attendents also played a vital role; they were their own sort of decorative element. During the tournament of February 1502, Marino Sanuto describes how Maximilian and the men taking part in his tournament, when entering the lists, were followed by a magnificent parade of squires, each bearing the coat-of-arms of the various combatants. They entered the arena to the sound of trumpets, and the entire group was then presented to the judges.⁶⁶ In this scenario, the squires are an essential part of the tournament spectacle because of their role as bearers of the knights' coats-of-arms, and they often were dressed to appear central to the event.

After all, the colourful textiles of the tournament were not just for the knights and their horses. A knight's squires and attendants might dress in colours to match him, and they would be there to assist him in the lists if he should drop his lance or fall from his horse. A knight might even have musicians as part of his entourage. This was essentially a way of identifying a 'team' in a tournament. Everyone affiliated with a certain knight could display their allegiance through the aid of textiles. This trend is demonstrated in several illustrations. Marx Walther in his *Turnierbuch* shows off his prominence as a tournament competitor by depicting not only himself in the lists but a multitude of squires, attendents, and even two musicians with him, all dressed in colours to match Walther so that they are unmistakable as

⁶⁴ *Monumenta Wormatensia*, p. 397.

⁶⁵ von Eyb, *Die Geschichten und Taten Wilvolts von Schaumburg*, pp. 157.

⁶⁶ Sanuto, *I Diarii*, vol. 4, pp. 217-18.

being part of his entourage.⁶⁷ Walther's opponent, on the other hand, has no one to assist him, marking Walther out as the figure of greater significance. Such a display could be a sign of Walther's aspirations – to portray himself as a wealthy and successful tournament combatant, worthy to be considered in the same league as Maximilian.

5.7 Conclusions

All told, the textiles discussed in this chapter offer up a dizzying array of colourful imagery and reveal something of the splendour of Maximilian's court to the modern eye which is not always evident through the cold metal of armour alone. The unique symbols and mottos featured on the horses' caparisons or on the knights' shields or their crests would have each carried a certain meaning common in tournament garb and recognizable to other knights of the time. This is manifested in part through the repeating imagery borne by different knights across the various manuscripts. These textiles represent a visual language of chivalry through which one knight could have communicated his beliefs or his virtues to others who also understood this code. They also represent something uniquely German, for they do not fall within the confines of normal heraldry or emblem studies. The German allegorical iconography found in the *Turnierbücher* of Maximilian, Johann of Saxony, Gasper Lamberger, Wilhelm IV, or even Marx Walther feature naturalistic figures, a wide range of colours and elaborate designs, and specifically German phrasing, all of which mark them out from other tournaments of their time.

⁶⁷ See Appendix 1, Figure 35. Munich, BSB, Cgm 1930, plate 13. Other appearances of squires in tournament books include *The Tournament Book of Gasper Lamberger*, p. 14; Munich, BSB, Cod.icon 398, plates 28, 40, 42, 66, 72; von Leitner, ed., *Freydal*, plates 43 and 125. Such images also bring to mind the Westminster Tournament Roll of Henry VIII, a monarch influenced by Maximilian, which depicts an entire tournament setting, not only showing the jousting knights but a large assortment of squires in matching apparel and the tournament pavilions.

Like the armour which was made only to be worn at tournament, these textiles were part of a knight's wardrobe made expressly for this purpose. And rulers like Maximilian or the nobles of his court had multiple ensembles from which to choose when they competed, in order to display both their wealth and athletic prowess, as is evidenced by the fact that Maximilian and his network of tournament competitors never appear bearing the same textiles twice, even within one tournament. After all, the decorative elements of tournament equipment were not just for the competitors alone; the audience was also meant to enjoy this display. This opulence apparently served its purpose well, as it made an impression on those who witnessed the competitions. One French chronicler, recording a series of tournaments for which he was present at Maximilian's court in 1503, wrote that the knights' trappings were 'of velvet and satin in various colours, and all were accoutred in that country's fashion'.⁶⁸

By examining these various manuscripts and *Turnierbücher*, it is immediately clear that the pageantry of these jousts, manifested in the form of the rich and vibrant textiles, is a key feature of the event in the context of Maximilian's court. It is this pageantry which is part of what helped to elevate Maximilian's tournaments from military training to almost a form of theatre and which helped him to cement his reputation in his own lifetime and beyond. The lure of the tournament drew others to his court and placed him at the centre of a lavish spectacle designed to show off both athletic skill and royal prosperity. The centrality of these remarkable tournaments to Maximilian's court will be the focus of the next chapter.

⁶⁸ *Leurs houchures estoient de velour et de satin de divers couleurs, et estoient tous bien acoustrés à la mode du pays, Collection des voyages des souverains des Pays-Bas*, p. 321. *Houchures* (modern French: *bousses*), appears here to mean 'covers', in reference to the textile caparisons. This quote is also of particular interest because it includes a rare description of the fabric (*velour* and *satin*) from which these caparisons were constructed. This joust, held *à la mode d'Allemagne*, or in the German style, took place among the *grands maistres et gentilshomes de la maison du roy*.

Chapter 6: The Place of Tournaments in Maximilian's Court Culture

6.1 Introduction

This final chapter will explore the overall place of tournaments in Maximilian's court culture. It will examine the various roles tournaments played in the court Maximilian built around himself during his rule and illustrate their centrality and significance in his court and, by extension, his reign. Previous chapters have shown the frequency with which Maximilian was involved in a tournament in some capacity throughout his life (Chapter 2), the complexity of the forms of combat involved in these events (Chapter 3), and the intricacies of the equipment involved – both practical and decorative (Chapter 4 and Chapter 5, respectively). This chapter will build upon the evidence presented and conclusions drawn in these chapters to create a final, comprehensive picture of the importance of tournaments to Maximilian and how they affected his court culture.

First a brief note on the makeup and defining elements of Maximilian's court is necessary, as this had an undeniable influence on how tournaments fit into this unique environment. For one, Maximilian's court was distinctive in that it was highly mobile. Other German rulers spent more time in fixed locations, such as Heidelberg for the Palatinate or Munich and Landshut for different dukes of Bavaria. Maximilian, however, was almost always on the move.¹ As Michael Chisholm put it, 'To be a member of the imperial court was to be a peripatetic,' citing the example of a Venetian ambassador to Maximilian's court who complained that 'during the twenty months he had spent in Germany, he had been almost

¹ For an investigation of the logistics involved in moving an early modern court, see Maria Hayward, 'Transporting Royal Treasures: A Case study from the Court of Henry VIII', in *Vom Umgang mit Schätzen*, Internationaler Kongress, Krems an der Donau, 28-30 October 2004 (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2007), pp. 307-26.

permanently on horseback'.² A contributing factor to this itinerancy was that Maximilian lacked a central, permanent capital. He rather favoured travelling from place to place at a fairly rapid rate, sometimes only staying in a city for a matter of days before moving on to another. This itinerancy allowed him to keep a closer eye on his widespread empire. Maximilian's presence in a city would help to remind its citizens who their ultimate ruler was and to simultaneously impress them with the splendour of his presence.³ The itinerant nature of the court also meant that its members were never consistently the same either. Instead nobles would come and go from Maximilian's court based on their proximity to his current city of residence and their own governing responsibilities as high-ranking noblemen.⁴

As just one minor representation of Maximilian's frequent movements, Table 7 shows Maximilian's itinerary for the year 1494.⁵ 1494 was a year of great upheaval and activity for Maximilian. Following the death of Frederick III in 1493, he now found himself Holy Roman emperor. He had just married his second wife, Bianca Maria Sforza. He also became embroiled in wars in Italy when Charles VIII of France invaded, and Maximilian joined the Holy League alongside the pope, Spain, Venice, and Milan. Yet the emperor was also hosting and participating in tournaments. In January, as part of celebrations to honour Bianca Maria,

² Chisholm, 'Robert Wingfield: English Ambassador to the Holy Roman Empire (1510-1517)', p. 76. Chisholm also offers the example of English ambassador Robert Wingfield, also mentioned in Chapter 1, whose experience was similar: 'His [Wingfield's] itinerary shows that he rarely remained in the same place more than a month. In 1513, for example, he slept in at least 60 different towns. Moreover, he covered great distances, travelling between England, the Netherlands, and Germany several times, and within Germany, Austria, Styria, the Tyrol, and Italy regularly.'

³ Martin Gosman, 'Princely Culture: Friendship or Patronage?' in *Princes and Princely Culture: 1450-1650*, vol. 1, pp. 1-29; Andreas H. Zajic, 'Repräsentation durch Inschriftenträger. Symbolische Kommunikation und Integration des Adels zwischen Hof und Grundherrschaft in den beiden österreichischen Erzherzogtümern im 15. und 16. Jahrhundert', in *Symbolische Interaktion in der Residenzstadt des Spätmittelalters und der Frühen Neuzeit*, pp. 129-70.

⁴ Müller, 'The Court of Emperor Maximilian I', in *Princes and Princely Culture: 1450-1650*, vol. 1, pp. 295-311.

⁵ This table was compiled using the *Regesta Imperii*.

tournaments were held in Innsbruck. In August, a fantastic tournament was held in Mechlin for the marriage of Maximilian courtier Wolfgang von Polheim. All this while being almost incessantly on the road.

January	1	Vienna
	15	Innsbruck
	16	Vienna
	24	Innsbruck
	25	Vienna
February	14	Klosterneuburg
	18	St Pölten
	22	Melk
	23	Ybbs
	24	Enns
	26	Wels
March	4	Vöcklabruck
	5	Straßwalchen
	5	Salzburg
	9	Hall
	13	Innsbruck
	16	Hall
	23	Telfs
	25	Nassereit
	25	Ehrenberg
	26	Füssen
April	18	Kempten
May	11	Pfaffenhausen
	12	Mindelheim
	12	Kempten
	13	Mindelheim
	14	Kempten
	26	Memmingen
	27	Ulm
June	2	Esslingen
	4	Pforzheim

	6	Speyer
	12	Worms
	18	Mainz
	22	Cologne
July	4	Aachen
	8	Sittard
	10	Maastricht
	14	Sittard
	17	Maastricht
	17	Sittard
	22	Maastricht
August	2	Weert
	3	Grav
	6	Mechlin
	9	Grave
	18	Antwerp
	20	Mechlin
	25	Leuven
	26	Mechlin
26	Leuven	
September	5	Antwerp
	5	Leuven
	12	Mechlin
	16	Leuven
	17	Mechlin
	18	Mechlin
October	6	Antwerp
November	1	Antwerp
	17	Halle (in Hainault)
	20	Antwerp
December	10	Vilvoorde
	10	Antwerp
	24	Mechlin
	27	Bergen op Zoom
	30	Antwerp

Table 7: Maximilian's Itinerary, 1494

Each of these factors described above affected how Maximilian's court was run.

Because of these reasons, Maximilian needed his court to be a location where he could bring members of his highly varied territories together in an environment which fostered peace and stability as well as inspiring loyalty to Maximilian. In accomplishing this, tournaments would serve a vital role.

6.2 Tournament Occasions

As part of courtly life, the tournament played an important role in many ways. There were several reasons that a tournament might take place in Maximilian's court, and, in turn, several purposes which they served. Four primary occasions will be discussed here: times of year (specifically the example of *Fastnacht*), celebratory, political, and recreational. Each of these categories could often, of course, overlap as well. Across these four categories, the tournament demonstrates its numerous and varied uses and its importance to Maximilian, both as a host of, a witness to, and a participant in these events. Also evident is the broad range of effort which might go to into such an event, from lavish spectacle to casual competition, and the wide variety of forms which a tournament might take. Yet each in its own way was still a vital part of Maximilian's court.

6.2.a *Fastnacht* Tournaments

Certain times of year were favoured by Maximilian for holding tournaments. The most popular of these, as this thesis has repeatedly shown, was the *Fastnacht* period, or the festive time leading up to the liturgical season of Lent which often lasted from January to March. This was an extended period of time traditionally devoted to feasting, festive activities, and general

indulgence in anticipation of the more austere weeks of Lent.⁶ Tournaments fit in well with this motif. *Fastnacht* tournaments are well documented for the years 1494, 1496, 1487, 1498, 1500, 1502, 1504, and 1511. These *Fastnacht* tournaments were often held in Maximilian's preferred city in which to base his court, Innsbruck. Innsbruck was a city well laid out for tournaments, with its expansive and even market square beneath Maximilian's own *Goldenes Dachl*.⁷ Maximilian's tournaments, after all, were never held out in the open countryside as those of earlier centuries might have been. They were instead always held in his city of residence's central square, in order to attract the most attention. It was both a practical and a political use of space.⁸

The *Fastnacht* period and its accompanying tournaments of 1494, 1496, 1497, 1498, 1500, and 1502 were all held in Innsbruck. In February 1496, a letter written by the Tyrolean nobleman Sebastian von Mandach described how the young ladies of the court were all wishing that Prince Rudolf IV of Anhalt (1466-1510) and Maximilian would arrive soon in Innsbruck so that they could all spend this merry time before Lent in tournaments and dances.⁹ The *Fastnacht* tournaments in Innsbruck in the year 1498 are also well documented. This is in spite of the fact that, at this time, Maximilian was meant to be travelling to Freiburg for the *Reichstag*. However, throughout this period as described in Chapter 2, Maximilian showed no inclination to hasten to attend to his political duties. In a letter to Duke Albrecht IV of Bavaria, his secretary Georg Eisenreich speculated that Maximilian was unlikely to leave

⁶ Dieter Kramer, *German Holidays and Folk Customs* (Hamburg: Atlantik-Brücke, 1972), pp. 10-14.

⁷ For more on Maximilian's relationship with the city of Innsbruck see, Riegel, 'Bausteine eines Residenzprojekts. Kaiser Maximilian I. in Innsbruck', pp. 28-45, and Wiesflecker-Friedhuber, 'Kaiser Maximilian I. und die Stadt Innsbruck', pp. 125-58.

⁸ For more information on city space as utilised in tournaments, see Mario Damen, 'The Town as a Stage? Urban Space and Tournaments in Late Medieval Brussels', pp. 1-25.

⁹ *Regesta Imperii*, Österreich, Reich und Europa, RI XIV, 2 n. 6864. Original source: Innsbruck, Tiroler Landesarchiv, Maximiliana-Akten, IVa, fol. 175.

Innsbruck for Freiburg before Easter due to *Fastnacht* revelries. In fact, the electors Friedrich III and Johann of Saxony summoned many of their own household knights from Freiburg to Innsbruck for the purpose of participating in tournaments, a counterproductive move in terms of commencing the diet.¹⁰

The *Fastnacht* festivities and tournaments of 1500, which again took place in Innsbruck, also further illustrate Maximilian's penchant for combining tournament pleasure with imperial politics. In Innsbruck Maximilian received various Italian noblemen, including his wife Bianca Maria Sforza's uncle, Duke Ludovico Sforza of Milan, as well as ambassadors from Spain and Naples. A tournament was held around the 19th of January, the primary purpose of which was undoubtedly to welcome and entertain Maximilian's foreign guests and to gain their good favour through hospitality. Duke Ludovico, as he wrote in a letter to his kinsman Cardinal Ascanio Sforza, was able to show Maximilian an important letter that he received from the Milanese envoy Galeazzo Visconti while Maximilian was watching the tournament.¹¹ Thus, even in the midst of diverting entertainment, political manoeuvrings were clearly happening amongst Maximilian and his peers; indeed, the two often went hand-in-hand. As part of Maximilian's efforts to impress, alongside descriptions of the tournament frequent references were made by Ludovico to the different meals the emperor hosted, i.e. when and where they took place and who was being entertained. There was also mention of dancing taking place

¹⁰ *Deutsche Reichstagskaten*, vol. 5, pp. 532-33.

¹¹ According to Duke Ludovico, this letter regarded the willingness for peace of the Swiss and greatly pleased Maximilian. The contents of the letter probably concerned the recently settled Treaty of Basel, which brought an end to the Swabian War, a conflict between the Swiss Confederacy and the Habsburgs over territorial disputes.

after dinner – a customary occurrence accompanying the more lavish tournaments and about which more will be said below.¹²

6.2.b Celebratory Occasions

One of the most obvious reasons for holding a tournament in any medieval court was, naturally, as part of a celebratory or otherwise significant event. Most prominently, these could include weddings, coronations, holidays, or other festive events. Tournaments were a long-standing part of courtly celebrations, and Maximilian's court was no different.¹³ The celebrations surrounding Maximilian's coronation as king of the Romans in 1486, discussed in Chapter 2, stand as a good example of this. As *Römischer König* and later as Holy Roman emperor, Maximilian would go on to continue in this tradition, often placing tournaments at the centre of any great courtly celebration.¹⁴

Weddings are by far the most commonly documented occasion at which tournaments took place, such as that held in Mechlin in September 1494 to celebrate the wedding of Maximilian's *Rennen und Gestech Meister Wolfgang von Polheim* to Johanna von Borselen of the Netherlands. As mentioned in Chapter 2, this was a massive tournament involving many nobles from around the Empire which took place over several days. Indeed, the marriage ceremony itself would only have been a small part of this overall celebration, while Georg

¹² *Regesta Imperii*, Maximilian I., RI XIV, 3, 1 n. 9722, n. 9723. Original source: Milan, Archivio di Stato; Archivio Sforzesco; Potenze estere (Alemagna etc), cart 587.

¹³ Tournament activity swirled around Maximilian's court when he was not present as well, as in 1502, when Maximilian and his second wife, Bianca Maria Sforza were travelling between Augsburg, Regensburg, and Nuremberg. Bianca Maria, however, was travelling behind her husband, only arriving in Augsburg after he had left. Still, tournaments were reportedly held there in her presence, while Maximilian was still on the road, Sanuto, *I Diarii*, vol. 4, p. 543,

¹⁴ In a chivalric conjunction of events, many of the nobles who competed in these tournament festivities went on to be knighted by Maximilian after his own coronation, a ceremony he completed reportedly using the sword of Charlemagne. A list of those knighted and a description of the events may be found in Anton Sorg, *Krönung Erzherzog Maximilians zu einem römischen König*.

Spalatin, in his description of events, devotes substantial time to accounts of the tournaments. Nobles such as Elector Friedrich III of Saxony were present, along with von Polheim's counterpart in the *Triumphzug* Anthony von Yfan, as well as producer of his own *Turnierbuch* Gasper Lamberger.¹⁵

The beginning of 1502 marked another instance where tournaments accompanied a wedding: the marriage of Balthasar Wolf von Wolfsthal, Maximilian's *Hofkammermeister* ('court chamberlain'), again in that favoured city of Innsbruck. This occasion also overlaps with the favoured time for such celebrations of *Fastnacht*. The Venetian ambassador Zaccaria Contarini described the prolonged period of *bagordi*, or 'revelries', in his letters beginning 12 January, saying that throughout the carnival period of *Fastnacht* many jousts were held and that Maximilian himself took part as well. These competitions were also accompanied by banquets and balls held in the evenings. Again, the tournaments are just one part of celebrations which would go on for several days.¹⁶

More tournaments focussed on a wedding celebration occur the very next year. In 1503, feasts and tournaments were held at the beginning of October in, once more, Innsbruck. These centred on the celebrations of the marriage of Count Julian of Lodron and Apollonia Lang. Once more, the wedding was just a part of the list of ritual celebrations which took place when nobles from across the Empire were gathered together. Maximilian heard mass with his son, Philip the Fair, before processing out to take part in several jousts in front of the *Hofburg*.¹⁷ Over several days more tournaments took place as well as feasting and dancing.¹⁸

¹⁵ *Georg Spalatin's historischer Nachlaß und Briefe*, pp. 230-31.

¹⁶ *Regesta Imperii*, Maximilian I., RI XIV, 4, 1, n. 15899. Original source: Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, MSS ital, class VII, Nr 990, colloc 9582, fol. 122 f. See also Wiesflecker, *Kaiser Maximilian I.: das Reich, Österreich und Europa an der Wende zur Neuzeit*, vol. 5, p. 389.

¹⁷ *Collection des voyages des souverains des Pays-Bas*, p. 319.

¹⁸ Sanuto, *I Diarii*, vol. 5, p. 152.

Finally, lavish tournaments as part of wedding celebrations at Maximilian's court continued even as the emperor entered middle age. These are preserved in pictorial form in BSB, Cod.icon 398, which illustrates a tournament held in Heidelberg in 1511. This selection of *Rennen* and *Gestech* occurred as part of the wedding of Count Palatine Ludwig V to Maximilian's niece Sibille, daughter of Duke Albrecht IV of Bavaria, in February of that year.¹⁹ It is worth noting that these wedding celebrations were, again, designed to fall within the *Fastnacht* period.

These noble weddings held at court were, in many respects, the ideal time for Maximilian to promote the tournament. As emperor Maximilian did not always have the time or the money to put on a full display of his imperial power. Weddings would have offered an opportunity for Maximilian to put on a show. Such an event would have drawn nobles from across his realms to his court, and while there a tournament would make an excellent addition to the schedule. They brought other nobles together in friendly competition, while also allowing (until his much later years at least) Maximilian himself a chance to show off his skill in the lists. The tournament played a critical role in the overall structure of a wedding celebration by enhancing the impression of power and prosperity with which Maximilian wished to imbue his court.

6.2.c Political Occasions

Tournaments at Maximilian's court were not merely always a celebratory event, however. They also played a political role in many ways, either as part of larger events or an event unto themselves. Aside from the tournament's draw for knights seeking to enhance their reputation,

¹⁹ Munich, BSB, Cod.icon 398, plate 59.

they could also be a setting for diplomatic manoeuvring within the court. When he himself was not participating, Maximilian often used tournaments as the ideal setting for meeting and discussing politics with envoys and legates from other kingdoms – much in the way modern politicians might play a game of golf together. The tournament offered an occasion to impress visiting dignitaries, particularly when court life was normally much simpler and pointed displays of wealth were not a daily occurrence.

As has been established, Maximilian was an extremely active ruler and full of energy which was always in search of an outlet. This made pinning him down for a prolonged discussion difficult. From the perspective of English ambassador Robert Wingfield, an audience with Maximilian worked something like this: ‘Sometimes Maximilian summoned him; other times Wingfield requested an audience, or, as he wrote, he intended to “follow” the emperor in the hope of getting one. Audiences usually took place in the morning or evening. Lasting often for hours, they could be in council with imperial councillors and sometimes other ambassadors; or they could be private in the emperor’s chamber, in an oratory during mass, or at his dinner table; occasionally they began in council and ended in private.’²⁰ In the midst of such frenetic activities, a tournament made an admirable venue for extended discussion in a setting which would also hold the emperor’s attention.

In February 1502, for example, Maximilian travelled from Innsbruck to nearby Hall. There he was to meet with ambassadors from France, Burgundy, and Spain, and he had arranged for a tournament to be held as well, according to Venetian legate Zaccharia Contarini. On 4 February Contarini wrote that Maximilian was about to depart Innsbruck and should be gone for three days. It was also implied that while in Hall Maximilian would be meeting the

²⁰ Chisholm, ‘Robert Wingfield: English Ambassador to the Holy Roman Empire (1510-1517)’, p. 74.

ambassadors, *messieurs* Sichon, Naturelli, and Courteville.²¹ In this way Maximilian could mix business with pleasure.

It should first be noted that tournaments did not, however, always serve to forward Maximilian's political interests. In fact, they sometimes seemed to be a hindrance rather than a help, as the emperor's love of the tournament sometimes won out over his necessary political duties. In the same year of 1502, Contarini also complained that he was unable to meet with Maximilian because the emperor was busy all day with tournaments and stayed all night at parties and dances.²² While he was seemingly sometimes able to balance his love of tournaments with his political duties, especially when combining the two to their best advantage, there are numerous other instances where Maximilian appears to have shirked his ruling responsibilities for the enjoyment and escapism of athletic competition.

A particularly interesting example of this is his interaction with the Italian knight Gaspare de Sanseverino, marshal to the dukes of Milan and known as *frabasso* (introduced in Chapter 2).²³ In 1498, Sanseverino travelled to Innsbruck accompanied by thirty-three knights. He had, in fact, been expected to arrive on 16 February, yet he had reportedly ridden ahead in haste, leaving behind his wagons and packhorses, in order to arrive in time to watch a tournament which he had heard was scheduled for the day before. Such enthusiasm indeed makes Sanseverino appear an admirable opponent for Maximilian.²⁴ Yet Sanseverino was not

²¹ *Regesta Imperii*, Maximilian I., RI XIV,4,1 n. 16016. Original source: Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, MSS ital, class VII, Nr 990, colloc 9582, fol. 137v ff.

²² *Regesta Imperii*, Maximilian I., RI XIV,4,1 n. 15961. Original source: Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, MSS ital, class VII, Nr 990, colloc 9582, fol. 128 f.

²³ Brandstätter, 'Aspekte der Festkultur unter Maximilian', p. 158. A surviving suit of Sanseverino's tournament armour for the *Gesteck*, c. 1490, may be seen in the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna (Inv.-Nr. S I).

²⁴ *Regesta Imperii*, Maximilian I., RI XIV,2 n. 5881, 5884. Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, MSS lat XIV/99 (4278), fol. 143-146 and Milan, Archivio di Stato; Archivio Sforzesco; Potenze estere (Alemagna etc), cart 586/1, fol. 82 ff.

visiting Maximilian's court purely for the pleasure of partaking in tournaments. He was also there representing the political interests of Duke Ludovico Sforza of Milan, who had instructed Sanseverino to negotiate with Maximilian whilst visiting him under the pretence of friendly athletic competition.²⁵ Clearly other rulers of the time were aware of Maximilian's penchant for tournaments and saw ways to take advantage of this interest by also cleverly working in political discussions. Yet this method did not always work, as the papal legate Leonello Chiericati later complained that Sanseverino had brought no new interesting news to him at Maximilian's court, only tournament weapons.²⁶

The role of tournaments during the imperial diets are of particular interest as well. The concurrence of tournaments and diets has been demonstrated in Chapter 2. Maximilian's initiation of recreational pursuits, such as jousting or hunting, at these events might have been a way for him to promote unity amongst his nobles. However, his oft-described penchant for evading his duties in such circumstances also raises the question of whether these games were a form of escape.²⁷ For example, at the diet of Freiburg in 1497, Erasmus Brascha reported wishing to meet with Maximilian, yet the emperor was apparently too busy with preparations for tournaments and was not able to meet with Brascha until two days later.²⁸ Brascha also expressed the belief that Maximilian would not stay long at the diet of Freiburg, as he had little desire to participate and would, in fact, much rather be hunting and hawking.²⁹ The papal

²⁵ *Regesta Imperii*, Österreich, Reich und Europa, RI XIV,2 n. 8466. Original source: Milan, Archivio di Stato; Archivio Sforzesco; Potenze estere (Alemagna etc), cart 591, istruzioni, fol. 102.

²⁶ *Regesta Imperii*, Maximilian I., RI XIV,2 n. 5934. Original source: Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, MSS lat XIV/99 (4278), fol. 147 f.

²⁷ Dietmar Heil, "Anfänglich sollet ir inen sagen unser gnad und alles gut": Die Reichstagsinstruktionen und Reichstagsordnungen Kaiser Maximilians I. (1486/93-1519)', in *Ordnung durch Tinte und Feder?: Genese und Wirkung von Instruktionen im zeitlichen Längsschnitt vom Mittelalter bis zum 20. Jahrhundert*, ed. by Anita Hipfinger and others (Vienna: Böhlau Verlag, 2011), pp. 49-71.

²⁸ *Regesta Imperii*, Maximilian I., RI XIV,2 n. 5925. Original source: Milan, Archivio di Stato; Archivio Sforzesco; Potenze estere (Alemagna etc), cart 586/1, fol. 99.

²⁹ *Deutsche Reichstagsakten*, vol. 5, p. 544.

legate Leonello Chierigati further complained that nothing new had been achieved since 16 February, since all were so involved in numerous tournaments, which had not yet come to an end and prevented the journey onward from Innsbruck, where the court was currently based, to Freiburg. Thus Chierigati had to remain in Innsbruck, where he wrote, perhaps facetiously, that he was invited by Maximilian to witness his 'glorious war games'.³⁰ Such a description makes it sound as though Maximilian was desperate to avoid facing his political obligations at the imperial diet. Yet such actions could also represent a subtle power play on his part; by refusing to make himself easily available, Maximilian may have been asserting his place as the most important figure present (or absent). He refused to work by anybody's schedule but his own.³¹

There are also examples of the tournament taking on wholly surprising and unusual political roles in Maximilian's court. One of the most interesting came in September 1496, when Maximilian received a Turkish ambassador. The ambassador brought a highly unusual offer from the sultan in Constantinople, who suggested that he, the sultan, should fight Maximilian in a tournament in order to settle their differences. To the astonishment of the court Maximilian knighted the ambassador on the spot for his chivalric offer (although he did not take him up on it).³²

³⁰ *Regesta*, Maximilian I., RI XIV,2 n. 5934. Original source: Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, MSS lat XIV/99 (4278), fol. 147 f.

³¹ Such tactics were not always successful, however. Many years later, at the *Reichstag* in Augsburg in 1510, Maximilian was still utilising tournaments as a recreational diversion. The courtly festivities at the diet included a joust between Maximilian and his frequent opponent Elector Friederich of Saxony. However, few people attended; Maximilian's draw was not as powerful as it once was; Wiesflecker, *Maximilian I.: Die Fundamente des habsburgischen Weltreiches*, p. 275.

³² Wiesflecker, *Maximilian I.: Die Fundamente des habsburgischen Weltreiches*, p. 130.

6.2.d Recreational Occasions

Amidst the grand and spectacular tournaments featured at court celebrations, and the tournaments which served as a setting for political negotiations or fell alongside the imperial diets, there were also many tournaments in which Maximilian was involved which appear to have been staged purely as ‘joust for fun’, so to speak. References to this sort of tournament in the primary sources tend to be brief, and they give the impression that these were not tournaments for the sake of theatre or for making a statement of power. They were not held to impress anyone necessarily but were rather a manifestation of Maximilian’s genuine love of the tournament, for Maximilian seems to have truly found pleasure throughout his life in taking part in these events.

During a series of tournaments held in January 1504, for example, the German Hans Ungelter described a tournament centred on foot combats, along with other festivities and masquerade dances which involved the attendees dressing up as farmers and peasants. During this time, when Maximilian was approaching forty-six, he continued to prove that he was still fit to compete in tournaments. In proof, throughout all of this Maximilian is described by Ungelter as being especially cheerful and happy. *Er rent und sticht und tantzt und hat kostlich welsch tentz und bancket*, Ungelter wrote – ‘He [Maximilian] jousted and danced and had exquisite Italian dances and banquets’. The impression is reinforced that it is tournaments that Maximilian enjoys perhaps more than any other aspect of noble life. Describing another such event, also in 1504, Ungelter wrote, *man habe gerennt, des Abends getanzt; der römische König sei ganz fröhlich gewesen* – ‘One jousted, danced in the evening; the Roman King [Maximilian] was completely happy.’ There are subsequent references to Maximilian taking part in a *Welschgestech*, as well as a combat on foot in the presence of the ladies of the court. Maximilian is again

described throughout by Ungelter as *fröhlich*, or happy.³³ Clearly Maximilian's enjoyment of the tournament, even as he approached his fiftieth year, was unfeigned.

Furthermore, the tournament itself was not always a humourless event. It was not always about Maximilian and his fellow German nobles showing off their martial skill in deadly earnest. Wiesflecker describes how members of the court often engaged in 'peasant-style' dances for fun, as well as in a parody of the so-called *bürgerlichen Vergröberungen des Turniers* ('a bourgeois coarsening of the tournament'), known as the *Gesellenrennen*, in which young people, while keeping things lighthearted, outfitted themselves with helmets and doublets stuffed with hay and tried to hit each other with long poles.³⁴ This style of joust is memorialised in BSB, Cod.icon 398 and its illustration of a tournament in Nuremberg in 1491.³⁵ In this image, the lesser quality of the equipment is clearly evident, as is the raucous spirit which is very different in tone from other depictions of the one-on-one jousts.³⁶

6.3 Tournament Accompaniments and Consequences

In Maximilian's court there were several elements which often accompanied these tournaments or factors which affected their occurrence, such as the risk of injury. These surrounding factors could have a strong influence on the tournament or even be an integral part of the event (in

³³ *Urkunden zur Geschichte des Schwäbischen Bundes (1488-1533)*, vol. 1, p. 497-98.

³⁴ Wiesflecker, *Maximilian I.: Die Fundamente des habsburgischen Weltreiches*, p. 22.

³⁵ See Appendix 1, Figure 7.

³⁶ A description of this exact joust may also be found in the *Chroniken der fränkischen Städte*: 'Item bei ent dieses kuniglichen tags als am Montag vor Petri und Pauli apostolorum ward durch den kunig ein gesellenrennen und stechen hie am Marckt innerhalb der schrancken fürgenumen. Darinn waren der kunig selbs, Herzog Friderich, Herzog Hans von Sachsen, marggraf Friderich von Brandenburg, der lantgraf[en] zu Hessen einer und sunst vil grafen, herrn und edel. Darunter waren der kunig selbs im rennzeug und ander sechs im stechzeug, die teten vil gutter rite. Und zuletzt kamen 16 auf die pan, die waren mit grünen kitteln und mit heu ausgefüllt angetan und hetten stroen helm auf und stachen mit krucken mit einander, das was mit großer kurzweil zu sehen': *Die Chroniken der deutschen Städte: vom 14. bis ins 16. Jahrhundert*, vol. 5, p. 732

the case of the courtly accompaniments) quite apart from the actual athletic competition itself. Each helped to craft the tournament – its tone and focus – in certain ways. The first of these is the many elements external to the tournament competition – i.e. the joust or the foot combat – which were nonetheless an important part of the event when it occurred at court, such as the courtly festivities which were often as elaborate as the athletic competitions themselves. The second of these is more dangerous side of the tournament. Although by Maximilian's time the tournament was designed to be a safer event than it had in centuries past, the consequences of such events could still be negative, and it is worth examining how these affected Maximilian's court.

6.3.a Courtly Trappings

The tournament was not exclusively about the moment that two or more knights came together in physical combat, either on foot or on horseback. Visual is the key word when it comes to Maximilian's tournaments, which were undoubtedly a feast for the eyes involving a plethora of textures – the very essence of spectacle. The manifestation of this spectacle has already been discussed in chapters 4 and 5, discussing the armour and textiles involved in Maximilian's tournaments. Yet the spectacle extended into other events and areas which surrounded the athletic competition. And Maximilian had a hand in organising not only the tournaments but all the festivities which surrounded them as well.³⁷ In 1502, while he was resident in Innsbruck, Maximilian even noted in his *Gedenkbuch* his desire to build a stable for his stallions, hunting horses, and tournament horses.³⁸

³⁷ Brandstätter, 'Aspekte der Festkultur unter Maximilian', p. 162.

³⁸ 'Urkunden und Regesten aus dem K.u.K. Haus- Hof- und Staats-Archiv in Wien', ed. by Heinrich Zimmerman, *Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen des Allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses*, vol. 1, 2 (1883), pp. 42-43.

Firstly, in order for a tournament to take place, the necessary space had to be provided and what was not already pre-existing prepared. When a tournament was due to take place lists and audience stands had to be constructed as well (the section below points to some of the dangers of erecting these temporary structures). These elaborate preparations are described in accounts of the tournaments held by Maximilian at the diet of Worms in 1495, during which Maximilian's competition with Claude de Vauldrey was the main attraction in customary location of the town's central marketplace.³⁹ On the day of the fight, according to Ludwig von Eyb's *Die Geschichten und Taten Wilvolts von Schaumburg*, barriers were erected to enclose the two fighters as well as a temporary viewing stand for Maximilian's queen, Bianca Maria Sforza, all of which were draped with 'golden cloths and costly tapestries'.⁴⁰ German diarist Reinhart Noltz also noted that the ground was strewn with sand as a suitable surface for the opponents.⁴¹ Such preparations would have had to occur each time Maximilian's court arrived in a city in order for a tournament to take place and represent no small amount of effort.

Once preparations had taken place there were still other peripheral elements of the courtly tournament. The audience was, in many ways, an essential courtly accompaniment to a tournament; they were after all, for all intents and purposes, the reason for the excess of spectacle. The audience in Maximilian's time was a critical cog in the staging of a tournament. Such competitions no longer existed purely for two or more men to practice their military skills against each other in faux combat. The atmosphere of theatre meant that the audience also played a role of their own at these events. After all, one requires witnesses to an impressive display of courtly extravagance, or what is the point of such an event? Theatrical

³⁹ *Deutsche Reichstagsakten*, vol. 5, p. 1803.

⁴⁰ von Eyb, *Die Geschichten und Taten Wilvolts von Schaumburg*, pp. 156-57.

⁴¹ *Monumenta Wormatensia: Annalen und Chroniken*, pp. 396-97

elements, such as the ‘exploding’ pieces of armour or the vibrant textiles were created in large part to please the audience.⁴² In this way, in every city to which he travelled, Maximilian might impress its citizens with this elaborate show dedicated to the glory of his court. So while martial skill was certainly still involved in the tournament, it was also heightened through this setting of pseudo, highly chivalric combat. In many ways the tournament was the ultimate visual expression of power in its life and dynamism.⁴³

Another courtly element found alongside the athletic competition were the entertainments of music and dancing.⁴⁴ The large-scale festal tournaments held in Maximilian’s court were almost always accompanied by mummerei, or masked dances, every evening following the games.⁴⁵ These dances are most extensively documented in *Freydal*, where they are depicted in a regular cycle of jousts and foot combats and are presented as of equal importance to the same. In the images men and women dance together in torch-lit rooms, with musicians often visible in the background. The men wear veil-like masks which cover their faces but do not truly conceal their features. Maximilian is easily distinguishable in each image by his chin-length haircut and the hooked nose so common amongst the Habsburgs. In some illustrations fools and tumblers in colourful doublets perform as well.⁴⁶

⁴² See, the coordinating lock and key comparisons of Wilhelm IV, described in Chapter 5 and in Appendix 1, Figure 25.

⁴³ This did not mean a boisterous audience was always appreciated, as demonstrated by the herald before the competition of Maximilian and Claude de Vaudrey (1495), who threatened to remove the head of anyone who was unduly disruptive (discussed in Chapter 2): von Eyb, *Die Geschichten und Taten Wilwolts von Schaumburg*, p. 157.

⁴⁴ For further information on the significance of music in Maximilian’s court, see Green, ‘Meetings of City and Court: Music and Ceremony in the Imperial Cities of Maximilian I’, pp. 261-74; Cuyler, *The Emperor Maximilian I and Music*; and Keith Polk, ‘Patronage, Imperial Image, and the Emperor’s Musical Retinue: On the Road with Maximilian I.’ in *Musik und Tanz zur Zeit Kaiser Maximilian I*, pp. 79-88.

⁴⁵ Monika Fink, ‘Turnier- und Tanzveranstaltungen am Hofe Kaiser Maximilians I.’, in *Musik und Tanz zur Zeit Kaiser Maximilian I*, pp. 37-48.

⁴⁶ See, for example, von Leitner, ed., *Freydal*, plate 36.

The lavishness of these evening entertainments do not seem to have been greatly exaggerated in *Freydal* either; many descriptions of the events themselves remain, and Maximilian seems to have put as much effort into them as into the competitive side of the tournament. One of his favourite devices seems to have been coming to these dances in costume. In January 1502, following a tournament and during the evening's music and dancing, Maximilian and some noblemen appeared in the traditional costume of the *Landesknecht*, while some of Maximilian's men also appeared as wildmen (*homeni salvetici*). Afterward, as part of the entertainment, Maximilian and Count Felix von Werdenberg (c. 1480-1530) gave a combat demonstration to the audience using spears and daggers. Even after the tournament Maximilian apparently could not resist showing off his martial skill.⁴⁷ The next month, in February 1502, at a mummerei following a tournament Maximilian continued his favoured pastime of appearing in costume by coming, along with his stable master and the duke of Mecklenburg (at this time, most likely Magnus II), dressed as Italian peasants.⁴⁸

Putting on such extravagant entertainments for the amusement of his court was not inexpensive. In March 1500, Maximilian paid 100 *Gulden rheinisch* for new mummerei outfits.⁴⁹ Just one month later, in April, Maximilian paid a burgher of Augsburg 500 *Gulden rheinisch* for jewels (or jewellery) purchased for mummerei held in Munich.⁵⁰ It is little surprise though that Maximilian invested such sums into the evening entertainments that fell alongside his tournaments. They allowed him to continue to show off all aspects of his court following a

⁴⁷ Sanuto, *I Diarii*, vol. 4, p. 216.

⁴⁸ Sanuto, *I Diarii*, vol. 4, p. 217.

⁴⁹ *Regesta Imperii*, Maximilian I., RI XIV, 3, 1, n. 10011. Original source: Vienna, HKA, gb 7, fol. 69=67.

⁵⁰ *Regesta Imperii*, Maximilian I., RI XIV,3,1 n. 10059. Original source: Vienna, HKA, gb 7, fol. 82 ff.=80 ff. The same account also mentions that he paid 450 *Gulden Rheinisch* to a man named Philipp Adler for the same reason.

day's entertainment in the lists. In February of 1504, Maximilian hosted a costly mummerei in Augsburg at which his sister Kunigunde and her three daughters were the guests of honour. Maximilian made his striking entrance alongside forty musicians and thirty companions all dressed in peasant costumes. Among them were a group of women who performed a country dance. In a grand reveal, Maximilian and his companions then shed their peasant costumes and appeared instead dressed in gold. There then followed much dancing, playing, and singing. Maximilian, as with the jousts described above, was again described as very happy throughout.⁵¹

6.3.b Violence and Injuries

Even in this courtly context a tournament was not always a purely theatrical event free of consequences. Something that very often went along with the court tournament were injuries of various sorts; even though by Maximilian's time the tournament had evolved considerably from its original purpose as an often brutal form of military training.⁵² It had indeed become much more of a spectator sport, slowly diverging away from its earliest form and becoming an event unto itself. The evolution of the arms and armour used demonstrates this perfectly, with the equipment utilised having lost much of its resemblance to practical battlefield armour in its effort to guarantee the safety of its wearer. The mechanical elements of armour found frequently in various forms of the *Rennen*, which simulated possible injury without actually incurring it, is the perfect example of this.

⁵¹ *Urkunden zur Geschichte des Schwäbischen Bundes (1488-1533)*, p. 498.

⁵² A good exploration of this subject is Vale, 'Violence and the Tournament', pp. 143-57.

Yet while there are examples of an almost artificial form of danger in the tournament, the risk of injury was still very real.⁵³ Despite the risk and despite his status as a ruler, Maximilian threw himself into the tournament, proving to be a competitor of great skill. During the many tournaments held to celebrate Maximilian's coronation as king of the Romans in 1486, Maximilian jousted in the presence of his father, the emperor Frederick III. The French chronicler Jean Molinet describes how the young Maximilian jousted, 'with blunted irons [lances] against the margrave, and they met, one against the other, with such force that both of them, together with their horses, were thrown to the ground, without the slightest harm, for which each thanked God'.⁵⁴ Although in this instance both Maximilian and the unnamed margrave emerged from the combat unharmed, their thanking God after their mutual falls shows an understanding of the deadly risk involved in the joust and a sincere gratefulness to have avoided injury.

On the same occasion in 1486, Maximilian jousted against the count palatine of the Rhine, Philip, who knocked the newly crowned Roman king off his horse while staying seated himself. This caused the audience watching to reportedly laugh and Frederick III to publicly chastise his son. The unfortunate Philip had to immediately fall to his knees and beg forgiveness of Frederick for causing amusement at the expense of the emperor's son. Interestingly, Oliver Auge has speculated that Frederick's public scolding of his son was not motivated by the loss of honour symbolised by Maximilian's fall but rather by a fear of his son receiving a permanent injury in the daredevil, frivolous joust – a fear perhaps motivated not so

⁵³ Tangible evidence of this may be seen imprinted on the saddle for the *Hohenzeuggesteck* described in Chapter 3 (see Appendix 1, Figure 11), where gouges left by lances centuries ago are clearly visible on the front of the saddle (Leeds, Royal Armouries, VI.94).

⁵⁴ Molinet, *Chroniques*, vol. 1, p. 478: *Le lendemain, en la presence de l'empereur qui bien envis s'y accorda, jousta l'archiduc, son filz, à fers esmolus contre le marquis; et se rencontrèrent l'ung l'autre de telle puissance que eulx, ensemble les chevaux, furent ruéz jus par terre, sans ester quelque pou bleschiéz, dont chescun remerchia Dieu.*

much by fatherly love but by the fact that Maximilian was his only heir, and to risk his life in a tournament was unnecessary.⁵⁵

Maximilian, however, clearly did not heed his father's advice, even after he became emperor. And he was not always so lucky as in the above examples. In the spring of 1498, as has already been discussed, Maximilian was meant to travel to Freiburg to attend the imperial diet there. However, throughout this period he showed no inclination to hasten to attend to his political duties, electing instead to stay in Innsbruck and host and participate in various tournaments. This was the same occasion on which Maximilian summoned the aforementioned Italian knight Gaspare de Sanseverino to Innsbruck to joust against him, exercising his prerogative as emperor to summon the best tournament fighters to his court. Before Maximilian's own encounter with Sanseverino, however, the Italian jousted in the presence of Maximilian and several of his nobles against his armourer, a man known only as Zurla, with the goal of breaking four lances. On the second run, however, Sanseverino struck Zurla on the head with his lance, piercing his helm and injuring him in his head and eye. Sanseverino immediately rushed from his saddle to attend to the wounded man.⁵⁶

Injuries to the head were one of the greatest risks of the tournament. Maximilian himself later reportedly sustained an injury to the head (*fuerat aliquantulum lesus in capite*) which caused a further delay and necessitated a rescheduling of some of these tournaments. Then, before his own much anticipated encounter with Sanseverino, Maximilian injured his foot in a fall from his horse while taking part in a joust (*nel cascare como si suole fare da cavalo*). Although he

⁵⁵ Oliver Auge, 'So solt e rim namen gottes mit mir hinfahren, ich were doch verderbt zu einem kriegsmann« - Durch Kampf und Turnier körperlich versehrte Adelige im Spannungsfeld von Ehrpostulat und Eigener Leistungsfähigkeit' in *Medizin, Gesellschaft und Geschichte* 28 (2009), p. 32.

⁵⁶ *Regesta Imperii*, Maximilian I., RI XIV,2 n. 5910. Original source: Milan, Archivio di Stato; Archivio Sforzesco; Potenze estere (Alemagna etc), cart 586/1, fol. 95 ff.

reportedly recovered quickly, this seemed to put a stop to his plans to joust against Sanseverino. Indeed, the Milanese envoy to Maximilian's court wrote that the injury was serious and that the emperor had to suspend all further jousts.⁵⁷

Finally, Maximilian himself wrote a letter to the assembly in Freiburg who were awaiting his arrival. He explained that he had been delayed from personally attending the diet due to a fall on his right foot (*fal an unserm gerechten fues*). He had, he said, intended to depart for Freiburg on 11 March with his accompanying nobles, yet now because of his injury he was not able to ride or even stand, and he was in daily consultation with his doctors. As soon as he was able, Maximilian said, he would travel to Freiburg, and he requested that the diet should still continue to wait for his arrival.⁵⁸ Maximilian's enthusiasm for the tournament and the resulting injury had now directly interfered with his duties as Holy Roman emperor. This is an illustration of the extreme risk involved in a ruler of Maximilian's stature taking part in these dangerous games. Yet he still seemed to think it quite reasonable to request those already assembled to await his presence and bend to his whims.

Additionally, the risk of injury was not restricted to the knights competing. At the 1485 wedding of Wolfgang von Polheim, as recorded by Georg Spalatin and described above, the eyes and ears of several of the knights' horses were reportedly injured when the tilt being used in the joust was too low.⁵⁹ Presumably on this occasion the horses were either struck by splinters from the shattering lances or by the lances themselves; a grave outcome when the horse was one of the knight's most valuable pieces of equipment.

⁵⁷ *Regesta Imperii*, Maximilian I., RI XIV,2 n. 5983. Original source: Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, MSS lat XIV/99 (4278), fol. 149.

⁵⁸ *Deutsche Reichstagsakten*, vol. 5, p. 549; *Regesta Imperii*, Maximilian I., RI XIV,2 n. 5988. Original source: Innsbruck, Tiroler Landesarchiv, Maximiliana-Akten, VI/I, fol. 49.

⁵⁹ *Georg Spalatin's historischer Nachlaß und Briefe*, p. 230-31.

Injuries were not even restricted to those within the confines of the lists. In 1502, for example, the Venetian ambassador Marino Sanuto wrote that Maximilian held a tournament in Hall, outside Innsbruck, the sole purpose of which was to entertain and impress the French, Burgundian, and Spanish ambassadors who were currently visiting the emperor. This diplomatic approach did not go as planned though, as during this tournament the temporary wooden stands holding around 250 people collapsed, resulting in many injuries but luckily no deaths.⁶⁰

Injuries at tournament, although rarer by this time, were still an unavoidable risk to those taking part (or even to those on the sidelines). The fifteenth and sixteenth centuries offer many examples of the hazards of the tournament.⁶¹ Yet, despite all of this, Maximilian continued to participate in tournaments throughout his life. And, as has been shown, he was far from shielded from all risk of injury. Indeed, many illustrations of Maximilian from contemporary *Turnierbücher* show the emperor falling from his horse in a joust; he does not always emerge victorious.⁶² Yet by showing himself taking a hit Maximilian was also showing that he was willing to risk injury and that he was tough enough to take the fall. Part of his reputation as a skilled competitor in the tournament was tied up in the idea that he did not have to be ‘allowed’ to win all the time and that he was brave enough to put himself in harm’s

⁶⁰ Sanuto, *I Diarii*, vol. 4, p. 217.

⁶¹ As has been demonstrated, injuries to the head were the most common and also the most dangerous. Perhaps the most gruesome example of which might be the 1550 portrait of Hungarian nobleman Gregor Baci, who is depicted with a jousting lance piercing straight through his eye socket and out the opposite side of his skull (an injury which he reportedly survived). And these hazards extended even to the highest ranks of the nobility. King Henry VIII of England was permanently injured following a fall during a joust in 1536, which is widely thought to have contributed to the subsequent deterioration of his health. The worst case scenario was, however, embodied by King Henri II of France, who was killed at a tournament in Paris in 1559 when a splinter from the lance entered his helmet and pierced his eye. These examples illustrate the peril which Maximilian put himself in and his singularity in doing so throughout his life.

⁶² See, for example, Munich, BSB, Cod.icon 398, plate 32, *Der Sächsischen Kurfürsten Turnierbücher*, plates 111-12, or von Leitner, ed., *Freydal*, plates 25, 29.

way time and time again despite the risk and, above all, as Holy Roman emperor. This ties into the discussion below, as Maximilian was proving his worth as a tournament participant as much as as a host of these grand events.

6.4 Maximilian and his Tournament Network

Tournaments are unique in that they are a representation of power through pageantry. Their impact does not come through a military display of might, or political prowess, or building works such as a castle, or art or educational patronage; rather they are pure visual extravagance for the sake of entertainment. And particularly at Maximilian's court, as this chapter has shown, tournaments offered a distinctive outlet for displaying power through the medium of spectacle. Maximilian used tournaments at his court in a variety of ways to boost his reputation on the European stage.⁶³ Beyond the individual occasions and courtly trimmings, the tournament was a useful tool in Maximilian's court in several ways, and there were many unique purposes which it served. One factor about Maximilian's tournaments which stands out in particular is Maximilian's own involvement as a participant, something which made him notable among other contemporary European monarchs. Alongside Maximilian, the choice of men whom he invited to participate in his tournaments was significant as well, as their involvement helped to solidify the network of nobles in his empire. Finally, tournaments were not only of use to Maximilian in reality. The way he utilised tournaments in the fictional literary works that he commissioned as emperor sheds light on how he viewed their worth in the construction of his image and interpretation of his reign.

⁶³ Pfaffenbichler, 'Das Turnier als Instrument der Habsburgischen Politik', pp. 13-36.

6.4.a Maximilian as Tournament Participant

One of the most critical ways in which Maximilian used the tournament to broadcast his power as a leader was by taking part in them himself. Maximilian was not merely a spectator or a sponsor of this spectacle but also a participant within it, not only as a young man, but even after he became emperor. And by all accounts he was extremely good at it as well, as numerous examples have already shown. This participation was highly unusual for a ruler of this time, as it was not common for rulers, especially ones as powerful as the Holy Roman emperor, to participate in tournaments, due to the high level of risk involved (and exemplified above). But this seemed to be a risk Maximilian deemed worth taking. Chapter 2 offers a picture of the frequency with which Maximilian personally competed in tournaments. By taking part himself Maximilian was further emphasising his power; he was drawing more attention to himself as both a ruler hosting these grand tournaments and as a skilled competitor within them.

This was a tactic in which Maximilian was evidently quite successful. In January 1502, Marino Sanuto described a joust between Maximilian and Count Wolfgang of Fürstenberg. The emperor and the count ran against each other only once in an encounter which Maximilian won spectacularly by unhorsing his opponent and forcing him to fly a full lance's length out of the saddle, according to Sanuto.⁶⁴ Clearly German court chroniclers' descriptions, like those of Grünpeck, of Maximilian's great physical strength were not entirely overstated. The next month, in February 1502, while relating another joust in which Maximilian competed, Sanuto described how Maximilian proved, essentially, his great manliness (*in la quale la cesarea maestà, a dir il vero, se diportò che homo che fosse*).⁶⁵ Two years later, in February 1504, the Venetian ambassador and visitor to Maximilian's court, Alvise Mocenigo, praised Maximilian for his

⁶⁴ Sanuto, *I Diarii*, vol. 4, p. 217-18.

⁶⁵ Sanuto, *I Diarii*, vol. 4, p. 217.

chivalric behaviour after watching him compete in a tournament (*E lauda molto il re di valente*).⁶⁶ Not only was Maximilian reportedly a powerful jouster but an honourable one as well. These were both qualities which would be viewed not only as desirable in a tournament but also, critically, for a ruler; Maximilian was thus demonstrating both to the audience. There is also the Hans Burgkmair image of Maximilian jousting over the tilt at a tournament as late as 1511.⁶⁷ Even as he moved beyond the normal age when most men stopped competing in tournaments, Maximilian was still proving his virility in the lists. This too marks him out as unusual among his peers and helped him to maintain an image of virility.

Maximilian's success in building his reputation through the means of the tournament is perfectly exemplified through, once again, his 1495 encounter with Claude de Vauldrey. De Vauldrey, as has been established, was also famous for his skill in the tournament.⁶⁸ Yet he sought Maximilian out based upon the young ruler's reputation in order to challenge him. The story goes that de Vauldrey apparently had a vision that he must fight *mit dem ersten König auf der Welt*, or 'the principal king in the world' – in other words, Maximilian.⁶⁹ Maximilian's reputation as a ruler and reputation as a tournament competitor were already clearly intertwined. The combat itself between Maximilian and de Vauldrey consisted of a mounted joust followed by a foot combat with swords where the combatants 'exchanged numerous heroic blows.' Eventually, of course, it was Maximilian who emerged from the fight victorious and who received the adulation and victor's prize. Reinhard Noltz wrote that the nobles present who were acting as judges unanimously agreed that the king of the Romans had won

⁶⁶ Sanuto, *I Diarii*, vol. 5, p. 883.

⁶⁷ von Hefner, ed., *Hans Burgkmaiers Turnier-Buch*, plates 25-26.

⁶⁸ Molinet, vol. 2, p. 399.

⁶⁹ *Deutsche Reichstagskaten*, vol. 5, p. 1802.

the fight.⁷⁰ Apparently, according to the Venetian legates who were also present, even de Vauldrey graciously (although perhaps with little alternative) admitted that Maximilian had won the contest.⁷¹ Then followed a most chivalrous series of events. The judges awarded the king a golden ring and chain (or necklace) as his prize. Maximilian, however, promptly passed the prizes on to de Vauldrey. And as soon as this happened, de Vauldrey re-presented the gifts in turn to Maximilian's wife, Bianca Maria Sforza, in a competition of gallantry. Bianca Maria was apparently brought to tears by this noble re-gifting.⁷² Even after this Maximilian showed his sporting side by giving de Vauldrey a consolation prize in return in the form of another gold chain and a gold ring. In this way Maximilian could show off not only his skill in the lists but also his largesse as a ruler through the act of gift giving.⁷³

It was not just as a competitor that Maximilian could use historical tournaments to boost his reputation as a ruler. He often used the setting of the tournament to display his generosity. In a November 1502 transaction Maximilian requested that his *Raitkammer* ('accounting chamber') in Innsbruck pay out the sum of 32 *Gulden Rheinisch* for a *Zeug*, or a suit of armour, which Maximilian's *Mundkoch* (court chef) had received from the emperor at tournaments held earlier that year in Innsbruck.⁷⁴ This implies that Maximilian allowed members of his household staff to compete in these tournaments in one way or another; perhaps not in the most prestigious noble jousts, but maybe in a competition among their

⁷⁰ *Monumenta Wormatensia*, p. 397

⁷¹ *Deutsche Reichstagsakten*, vol. 5, p. 1812.

⁷² *Monumenta Wormatensia*, p. 397.

⁷³ *Deutsche Reichstagsakten*, vol. 5, p. 1810.

⁷⁴ *Regesta Imperii*, Maximilian I., RI XIV,4,1 n. 17048a. Original source: Innsbruck, Tiroler Landesarchiv, Geschäft von Hof 1502, fol. 154v f. Such rewards were not limited to material possessions either. In 1498, Maximilian awarded to the Hungarian brothers Georg and Wenceslaus Fuchs, for loyal service to him, a coat of arms which they could use henceforth in war or in tournaments, on their flags or shields, as well as on gravestones, seals, or rings: *Regesta*, Maximilian I., RI XIV,2 n. 6310. Original source: Vienna, HHSA, rrb LL, fol. 87.

peers, such as in the *Gesellenrennen* discussed earlier. And not only that but he seems to have rewarded those who were successful with armour of their own, paid for from his own royal funds.

Of course all of this engagement in historical tournaments and displays of physical strength and power were only beneficial to Maximilian in the moment in which they occurred and their immediate aftermath. He might prove himself repeatedly in the lists, thus gaining the instant respect of his fellow German nobles, but he also realised that such success was fleeting. Memorialising these combats in the *Turnerbücher* of the time allowed these feats to live on *in memoriam*. The *Turnierbücher* of men like Johann of Saxony and Gasper Lamberger demonstrate this desire on the part of Maximilian's contemporaries. Maximilian went on to utilise the power of fictional works commemorating his reign to permanently immortalise his skill in the tournament, as discussed below. In such a way his success in the tournament could also hopefully be seen as a symbol for his overall success as a ruler.

6.4.b Maximilian's Tournament Network

Another way in which tournaments proved to be a most useful political tool in Maximilian's court was in their aid in forming networks. Maximilian's fellow competitors in these tournaments were also essentially a 'who's who' of late medieval Germany and beyond; they were knights and noblemen of Maximilian's court and were also often his friends, the leaders of his armies, and part of a tightly interwoven chivalric community which he created in his court.⁷⁵ In ruling such a vast and often disconnected empire, fostering this kind of camaraderie

⁷⁵ This list would also include men already introduced, like Johann of Saxony and Gasper Lamberger, whose own *Turnierbücher* have been so vital to the present study. These *Turnierbücher* further highlight their connection to Maximilian and serve as a decisive statement of their close connection to him and his tournament network. In addition, Maximilian's appearance in these books as a competitor

while also drawing men to him through this sporting reputation would have been a valuable device for Maximilian.⁷⁶

For example, the collection of names featured at the wedding celebrations of Wolfgang von Polheim and the accompanying tournament (as described earlier) represent some of the most frequent tournament competitors at Maximilian's court; together they make up a sort of tournament network. They also provide an excellent sample of some of the names which appear again and again in this context. Maximilian clearly had a favoured circle of knights with whom he enjoyed competing in a tournament setting and who were drawn to his court again and again for this very purpose. Yet keeping these men close through the aid of tournaments would have had greater benefits than mere recreational enjoyment. Such a practice would have helped maintain loyalty and fidelity and also allowed Maximilian to essentially keep an eye on the high ranking nobles and princes of his empire. Maintaining such a network in the late medieval Holy Roman Empire would have been a difficult task. While traditionally such ties may have been preserved by arranging marriages or holding imperial diets, Maximilian found a way to use the tournament as a tool for the same ends.⁷⁷

It is worth examining a selection of the names who were most integral to Maximilian's tournaments and who have appeared at various points throughout this study: who they were and what made them so important. Many of these men were connected by blood or marriage to Maximilian and to each other, and the number of intertwining ties between them all is

would have been a *coup* for their creators, granting them even greater prestige. Maximilian may be seen in *Der Sächsischen Kurfürsten Turnierbücher*, plates 111-112; and in *The Tournament Book of Gaspar Lamberger*, pp. 150-51.

⁷⁶ For more on the social and political significance of tournaments, see Bumke, *Courtly Culture: Literature and Society in the High Middle Ages*, pp. 264-71.

⁷⁷ John Gillingham, 'Elective Kingship and the Unity of Medieval Germany', *German History* 9 (1991), pp. 124-135.

dizzying. Additionally, those who were most frequently found competing alongside Maximilian tended to be very close to his age. Thus these courtly tournaments also represent a noble German fraternity in which the competitors were the young and vital men of the empire.⁷⁸

One example is Count Wolfgang of Fürstenberg. Wolfgang (c. 1465-1509) (other titles included Landgrave of the Baar and Lord of Wolfach, Haslach, and Hausach) held close ties to the rulers of Württemberg and to the house of Habsburg and was a highly influential man in southwest Germany. In 1485 Wolfgang entered the service of Elector Palatine Philip. Maximilian later knighted him at his coronation as king of the Romans in 1486. In 1490 Wolfgang took part in the siege of Hungarian-occupied Vienna alongside Maximilian, and in 1500 Maximilian appointed him to the royal council. He later acted as a commander in the Swabian War and was named court marshal by Maximilian in 1502. At the end of the Landshut War of Succession (1504), he served as Maximilian's envoy in the peace negotiations with his former lord, Elector Philip. In 1505 he at last achieved the honour of being named a knight of the Order of the Golden Fleece. This was all achieved while being closely involved with many of Maximilian's tournaments (it was Wolfgang whom Maximilian reportedly knocked a lance's length out of the saddle at a 1502 joust).⁷⁹ Wolfgang also had the honour of being depicted in *Freydal*.⁸⁰ The knights selected to appear in Maximilian's commemorative, tournament-centred work would have held a special place in his tournament circle, as their inclusion memorialised them permanently alongside the emperor.

⁷⁸ An interesting exception to this is Count Palatine of the Rhine Philip (1448-1508), the nobleman who unhorsed the newly crowned king of the Romans at his coronation in 1486, to the amusement of the spectators. Philip was eleven years Maximilian's senior, and his defeat of the younger man, though unintentional (and something for which he was forced to apologise), seems an almost symbolic action of the older knight keeping the younger from becoming too self-assured.

⁷⁹ Sanuto, *I Diarii*, vol. 4, pp. 217-18.

⁸⁰ von Leitner, ed., *Freydal*, plate 17. In his introduction, von Leitner provides useful basic biographical information on the participants who appear in the work; pp. LV-CIV.

An example of a younger participant in Maximilian's tournaments is Duke Erich I of Brunswick (1470-1540). His first wife was Katharina of Saxony, the widow of Duke Sigmund of Austria and the daughter of Duke Albrecht of Saxony, and his second wife was Elizabeth of Brandenburg. The godson of Maximilian, Erich was educated at the court of Duke Albrecht of Bavaria, the son of Emperor Frederick II. He fought against the Turks as a captain in Maximilian's military, and he also fought in numerous campaigns for Maximilian in Venice, Switzerland, and France. In 1504 he saved Maximilian's life at the Battle of Augsburg, for which Maximilian knighted him and gave him many material rewards. Later in life, however, after the death of Maximilian, he suffered financial difficulties due to feuding with other German lords. Erich shows up with great frequency in Maximilian's tournaments. In 1489 he may be found in Linz, at the tournament hosted by Frederick III and Maximilian, jousting against Schenk Christoph von Limpurg and later against Andreas von Liechtenstein, when he would have been only nineteen years old.⁸¹ It is tempting to imagine that Maximilian enjoyed witnessing the potential in the younger knight.

There are also several examples of brothers who were both actively involved in Maximilian's tournaments. For example, the brothers Count Hans (died c. 1529) and Count Haug (or Hugo) V (c. 1460-1519) of Montfort. The counts of Montfort were part of a German noble dynasty from Swabia. In 1492 Emperor Frederick III bequeathed the county of Rotenfels in Allgäu to the brothers. Both Hans and Haug appear in BSB, Cod.icon 398; Haug competing in a tournament in Linz in 1489, and Hans competing in a joust against Maximilian himself at a tournament in Innsbruck in 1498.⁸² Hans, however, appears in *Freydal*, while Haug

⁸¹ Munich, BSB, Cod.icon 398, plates 15, 27.

⁸² Munich, BSB, Cod.icon 398, plates 21, 45.

does not.⁸³ There is also Elector Friedrich III of Saxony (1463-1525), known as *der Weise* ('the wise'), who was the brother of the already mentioned Elector Johann of Saxony. Friedrich fought for imperial reform to increase the power of the nobles while reducing the power of the emperor, and in 1500 he became president of the *Reichsregiment* (imperial governing council). He was later even offered the imperial crown, but he refused and went on to help to secure it for Maximilian's grandson, Charles V, instead. Like Maximilian, he was a patron of Albrecht Dürer and Lucas Cranach the Elder, as well as a friend of Georg Spalatin, and in 1502 he founded the University of Wittenberg. And, like his brother Johann, Friedrich competed against Maximilian in many tournaments. He may be seen in BSB, Cod.icon 398 jousting against the emperor in Innsbruck in 1497.⁸⁴ Interestingly, Friedrich appears in *Freydal*, while Johann does not.⁸⁵

Finally, there are two especially interesting individuals: Wolfgang von Polheim (1458-1512) and Anthony von Yfan. It was von Polheim whose marriage to Johanna von Borselen in Mechlin was the occasion of a great tournament. Von Polheim came from one of the oldest and noblest Upper Austrian noble families, and he held the title of *Oberster Hauptmann* in Lower Austria.⁸⁶ He was a companion of Maximilian's from childhood and his trusted friend and counselor.⁸⁷ Von Polheim was even a captive alongside Maximilian in Bruges in 1488. He was closely involved in Maximilian's diplomatic affairs and attempted to help bring about the proposed marriage between Maximilian and Anna of Brittany, acting as Maximilian's stand-in

⁸³ von Leitner, ed, *Freydal*, plate 125.

⁸⁴ Munich, BSB, Cod.icon 398, plate 39.

⁸⁵ von Leitner, ed., *Freydal*, plates 157, 204, 208.

⁸⁶ Like the counts von Montfort, and Friedrich and Johann of Saxony, Wolfgang's brother, Weikhard, may also be found in Maximilian's tournaments, and he jousted at his brother's wedding.

⁸⁷ Some of von Polheim's own armour (manufactured in Innsbruck, c. 1510) may be seen in the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna (Inv. Nr. A 107).

in the marriage by proxy. In 1500 he became a knight of the Golden Fleece. In addition to his numerous appearances both in *Freydal* and in Maximilian's historical tournaments, von Polheim has a special place of prominence: he features as *Rennen und Gestech Meister* ('Master of the *Rennen* and *Gestech*) in Maximilian's *Triumphzug*. There he bears a banner in which reads: 'Always promoting new advances / In jousting with hooked or pointed lances, / Thanks to His Highness [Maximilian], I [von Polheim] unfurled / Skills never seen in all the world.'⁸⁸

Maximilian's tournament network was not made up entirely of German noblemen either. Anthony von Yfan (died c. 1510), as he is commonly named in German sources, was, in fact, the Italian nobleman Antonio de Caldonazo, the baron of Ivano. He was the son of Jacobus de Caldonazo and Laura della Volpe de Vicenza, and he was married to Apollonia von Winden. In 1490 he was named as a royal councillor, and in 1498 von Yfan, along with his brother Hans, was granted care of the courts of the Tyrolean town of Landeck by Maximilian. At the court of Maximilian von Yfan played a central role as a competitor in his tournaments. Maximilian seems to have particularly enjoyed jousting against the Italian. In BSB, Cod.icon 398, von Yfan appears five times, in three of which he is jousting with Maximilian, and he features extensively in *Freydal*.⁸⁹ At Wolfgang von Polheim's wedding, von Yfan was considered to have emerged the victor in the celebratory tournament.⁹⁰ Most significantly, like von Polheim, von Yfan also appears in Maximilian's *Triumphzug*, where he is described as the *Turniermeister* ('Master of the Tournament') and carries a banner stating, 'Much of his [Maximilian's] time was nobly spent / In the true knightly tournament, / A source of valour

⁸⁸ Appelbaum, ed., *The Triumph of Maximilian*, pp. 7-8/plate 44. Von Polheim appears in von Leitner, ed., *Freydal*, plates 34, 62, 66, 86, 89, 126, 137, 161, 212, and 221.

⁸⁹ Munich, BSB, Cod.icon 398, plates 19, 26, 31, 37, and 53. Von Yfan appears in von Leitner, ed., *Freydal*, plates 43, 45, 101, 105, 129, 193, and 232.

⁹⁰ *Georg Spalatin's historischer Nachlaß und Briefe*, pp. 230-31.

and elation; / Therefore upon his instigation, / With knightly spirit and bold heart / I [von Yfan] have improved this fighting art'.⁹¹

Maximilian bestowed upon these two men the immense honour of immortalising them forever in one of his own personal literary works. They may now forever be associated specifically with Maximilian's tournaments, and his high regard for their skill in that context is reflected in such an honour. Who else may have held the positions during Maximilian's reign is unknown. However, the very existence of these two official court positions speaks to the value Maximilian placed on the tournament. He placed two men in charge of upholding his own rules, and the words he put in their mouths in the form of the banners they carry reflect not only the advances made to the tournament by Maximilian but also von Polheim's and von Yfan's places of importance in Maximilian's tournament network.

6.4.c Maximilian and his Fictional Tournaments

Maximilian's utilisation of the tournament in his courtly culture was not always strictly limited to real-life events. In fact, fictional tournaments could often play as important a part in how Maximilian wished to portray his court as those which truly took place there. In the fictional realm, Maximilian could entirely control the outcome of every tournament or frame himself as the hero of every joust.⁹² As Gosman states, '[I]t is not surprising to see propaganda and panegyrics present princely authority as if it were total, complete and non-contested: whatever the prince wants to do, he is allowed to do. [...] The question of whether this kind of

⁹¹ Appelbaum, ed., *The Triumph of Maximilian*, p. 7/plate 41. For further information on von Yfan, see *Die Inschriften des Bundeslandes Tirol*, Teil 1, ed. by Werner Köfler and Romedio Schmitz-Esser (Vienna: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2003), Die Deutschen Inschriften 82.

⁹² See, van Dyke, 'The Literary Activity of the Emperor Maximilian I', pp. 16-28, and William McDonald, *German medieval literary patronage from Charlemagne to Maximilian I: A critical commentary with special emphasis on imperial promotion of literature* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1973).

propagandistic assertiveness is motivated by political reality or by abstract theory is irrelevant: rulers want their virtual realities to be confirmed, and they are not interested at all in having true realities discussed'.⁹³ This idea ties into Müller's theory that Maximilian wanted to present his court through his propaganda as he wished or imagined that it was, rather than his financially strained reality.⁹⁴

Paula Fichtner, among others, rightly questions where Maximilian drew the line between reality and fantasy in the images he presented of himself. This speaks of a boundless self-assurance. Yet he would have needed such a thing to succeed in the role he had been born into. When it comes to Maximilian, there was his authentic self and the self he presented in art and literature.⁹⁵ Connected to this, Müller points out that Maximilians's self-representations were not original but fit into certain long-standing models: i.e. student, commander, ruler, artist. But this does not mean they were all necessarily true.⁹⁶ This desire to present himself as part of a long-standing literary tradition of glorifying rulers comes to the fore in the trilogy of *Weisskunig*, *Theuerdank*, and *Freydal*. As Gerhild Williams neatly puts it,

The three autobiographic narratives [...] link Maximilian's experiences and all the stations of his eventful life to the universal order of all things. All that is confusing, dangerous, and negative is transformed into a meaningful commentary on the life of the hero who appears in three different roles: emblematically the color white stands for the innocent, peerless, also the wise king; the one who thinks high and worthy thoughts is *Theuerdank*, and the one who joyfully, *freydig*, pursues the path of courtly honor is, of course, *Freydal*.⁹⁷

⁹³ Gosman, 'Princely Culture: Friendship or Patronage?', pp. 6-7. In much the same vein, Gosman also states, 'Factual truth is ignored in propaganda and replaced by a more desirable vision of reality. Princely power is never unlimited; instead, propaganda is relied upon to smooth over any imperfections or shortcomings', pp. 19-20.

⁹⁴ Müller, *Gedechtnus: Literatur und Hofgesellschaft um Maximilian I.*

⁹⁵ Fichtner, *The Habsburgs: Dynasty, Culture and Politics*, pp. 32-33.

⁹⁶ Müller, *Gedechtnus: Literatur und Hofgesellschaft um Maximilian I.*, p. 264.

⁹⁷ Williams, 'The Arthurian Model in Emperor Maximilian's Autobiographic Writings *Weisskunig* and *Theuerdank*', p. 4. Williams also points out that, 'As is genre-specific to autobiographic writings, the

The three works strike a balance between allegory and true history which allowed Maximilian to present only the best aspects of himself.

An excellent case study for the role of tournaments in Maximilian's literary heritage is *Theuerdank*, the allegorical re-telling of Maximilian's courtship of his beloved first wife, Mary of Burgundy, and part of what Elaine C. Tennant calls 'the Maximilian industry'.⁹⁸ Given the significance of tournaments in both the Burgundian and German court, it is little surprise that tournaments should hold a prominent place in *Theuerdank*. Yet these individual encounters reflect, in fact, far more the legacy of German tournaments which Maximilian hoped to leave behind at the end of his life rather than the Burgundian-style tournaments which he might have encountered at Mary's court during their actual marriage in 1477.

In *Theuerdank*, in order to win his bride, the young Theuerdank (i.e. Maximilian) must compete in three days of combat with knights in the court of the maiden Ehrenreich (i.e. Mary of Burgundy). Each of these three days of combat in which Theuerdank is involved follows a similar format. There is always a joust, followed by a foot combat, and the day ends with dancing. This is a format similar to that seen in another of Maximilian's autobiographical yet allegorical works, *Freydal*, which is devoted in its entirety to the tournaments which Maximilian so loved. Thus the audience can see Maximilian, as the originator of these works, aligning the organisation of his tournaments across the sources representing his reign.

The first joust in which Theuerdank competes takes the form of a *Scharfrennen*, probably the most popular form of the *Rennen* practised in Maximilian's day and one far more

Weisskunig changes the chaos of a life to a well planned matrix of cosmic order and to a logical motivational mechanism which controls all facets of Maximilian's turbulent life', p.7. Such a statement could easily apply to any of Maximilian's commemorative autobiographical works.

⁹⁸ Elaine C. Tennant, 'Productive Reception: Theuerdank in the Sixteenth Century', in *Maximilians Ruhmeswerk: Künste und Wissenschaften im Umkreis Kaiser Maximilians I.*, p. 295.

closely associated with German than Burgundian tournaments. Theuerdank and his opponent compete in a clearly designated arena, each clad in a *Rennzeug*, the suit of armour designed for the *Rennen*-style jousts. The *Scharfrennen* can consistently be identified as such by the style of armour used and the use of pointed as opposed to blunted lances.⁹⁹

Another source with unmistakable similarities to the tournaments of *Theuerdank* is BSB, Cod.icon 398. An illustration of Maximilian himself participating in a *Scharfrennen* at a tournament in Nuremberg in 1491 appears in this work.¹⁰⁰ Except that this manuscript is not a representation of Maximilian as the allegorical hero, but a historical record of the ruler taking part in an actual tournament. An examination of the German-style armour and equipment used, however, reveals an equivalence to the supposedly Burgundian-set tournament of *Theuerdank*.

On the second day Theuerdank engages in a *Welschgestech*, a style of joust also very much associated with Maximilian and his legacy. Here Theuerdank is described as wearing a *welschen stechzeug*, a variety of the *Stechzeug*, the armour worn by German knights in the *Gestech*.¹⁰¹ There is one notable feature about this joust: while also taking place in an enclosed area, unlike the previous woodcut of the first joust, this one includes a tilt dividing the two knights. The tilt was the primary identifying feature of the *Welschgestech*. Its inclusion in *Theuerdank* is an interesting conundrum. Whether or not Maximilian first encountered the *Welschgestech* in the Burgundian court upon his marriage to Mary, or in the Italian court upon his marriage to Bianca Maria Sforza, its inclusion in *Theuerdank*, placed between two distinctly German forms of joust, shows how Maximilian was now claiming it as his own.

⁹⁹ *Die Geferlichkeiten und geschichten des löblichen streytbaren unnd hochberiempten Helds und Ritters Teürdancks* (Augsburg: Stainer, 1537), p. 493.

¹⁰⁰ Munich, BSB, Cod.icon 398, plate 49.

¹⁰¹ *Teürdancks* (1537), p. 501.

The third day brings a *Deutschgestech*, the classic form of the German joust with blunted lances.¹⁰² Like the *Scharfrennen*, this is most popular form of the *Gestech* from Maximilian's court. By the end of the third day Theuerdank (perhaps unsurprisingly) has emerged victorious from each of his combats. Afterward the young queen (Mary) then greets him and, taking his hands, says, *Ir habt eur macht wol bewert*, or 'You have truly proved your power', and further names him 'the noblest hero on the earth' because of his accomplishments. There could be no clearer connection established between Theuerdank, i.e. Maximilian's, reputation as a ruler and the importance he placed on success in tournaments.¹⁰³

Theuerdank was first printed in 1517, many decades after Maximilian's marriage to Mary in 1477 and just two years before his death in 1519. Its mix of text and woodcut engravings is a wonderful example of a late medieval monarch harnessing the new power of printing. Maximilian was cleverly using this new technology as a tool to help craft his future legacy. It is the reason why Maximilian favoured woodcuts and pictures: because they were relatively inexpensive and could be multiplied and distributed rapidly, rather than art by famous painters or sculptors. Maximilian also knew that he could make his printed works more popular by adding images.¹⁰⁴

Theuerdank was Maximilian's way of commemorating his marriage to Mary as one of the most significant events of his life. His ties to Burgundy were, at the end of his life, the ones which he most wanted to honour. Yet he did so in a way which incorporated his own subsequent accomplishments as well, by retroactively inserting the German-style tournaments of his court into a Burgundian setting. One interesting example of the way these two factors

¹⁰² *Teiirdancks* (1537), p. 508.

¹⁰³ *Teiirdancks* (1537), p. 516.

¹⁰⁴ Waas, *The Legendary Character of Kaiser Maximilian*, pp. 118-19.

combine in the *Theuerdank* tournaments is that the hero, Maximilian, is gifted armour from the ‘Burgundian’ armouries by Ehrenreich in which to compete. This could be seen as a highly literal representation of the blending of the two cultures – Theuerdank is undertaking German tournaments in Burgundian armour.¹⁰⁵ The choice of the three varieties of mounted joust depicted is also significant. They represent the two most quintessentially German – and most popular under Maximilian – forms of the *Rennen* and the *Gesteck*: the *Scharfrennen* and the *Deutschgesteck*. The third, the *Welschgesteck*, is representative of one of Maximilian’s most favoured and unique forms of joust which he promoted.

As a monarch Maximilian undoubtedly wished to emulate the famous tournaments of Mary’s father, Charles the Bold - a man whom he greatly admired - in the court of Burgundy. As has previously been discussed, the impressive tournaments held at the Burgundian court were already famous in Maximilian’s day, and he would have been well aware of their reputation. *Theuerdank* may be Maximilian’s way of drawing a parallel between his own tournaments and those of the Burgundian father-in-law whom he idolised, while also emphasising the German forms and innovations of his own competitions and, by extension, building his own legacy on top of that of Burgundy. In its literary re-telling, Maximilian also gets to portray himself as the unequivocal hero, saving the damsel in distress, Mary, just as he saved her inheritance from the perceived threat of France, all brought to life in the true Arthurian model.¹⁰⁶

¹⁰⁵ *Teüerdancks* (1537), p. 490.

¹⁰⁶ Williams, ‘The Arthurian Model in Emperor Maximilian's Autobiographic Writings *Weisskunig* and *Theuerdank*’, pp. 9-10. For more on concept of adventure as found in *Theuerdank*, see Bianca Häberlein, ‘Die Konzeption des Abenteuers im 'Wilhelm von Österreich' Johanns von Würzburg und im Theuerdank Maximilians I.’, in *Maximilians Ruhmeswerk: Künste und Wissenschaften im Umkreis Kaiser Maximilians I.*, pp. 281-94.

Gerhild Williams calls Maximilian his own propaganda minister – someone who carefully constructed his public image in order to achieve his goals. Throughout his reign Maximilian wanted to assert his political power over other rulers, such as those of England and France.¹⁰⁷ When he was unsuccessful in doing this in real-life, he could at least do it in literary form. This method has earned him both respect and disdain from modern historians. Paul van Dyke, for instance, vigorously condemned Maximilian’s (admittedly undeniable) vanity. He claims that his works lack any artistic knowledge or literary ability; rather they are simply the result of a tremendous effort to produce an enormous volume of work. There is nothing worth praising in the form or content.¹⁰⁸

These works’ veracity is certainly worth questioning. *Weisskunig’s* portrayal of Maximilian’s thorough and wide ranging education, for instance, is undoubtedly dubious. The young prince’s education would in all likelihood have been meagre, due to the financial difficulties faced by Frederick III and the empire at that time.¹⁰⁹ However, their impact in how Maximilian’s public image has been crafted is undeniable. When such works are the most easily accessible and widespread sources relating to Maximilian’s reign, thanks to the power of printing, their mission must have been successful.

6.5 Conclusions

In his court, Maximilian created for himself a unique environment by making use of a type of *Kulturtransfer*; he combined elements of Burgundian, Italian, and Austro-German courtly culture to create his own ‘melting pot’. Some elements were absorbed; some were in part

¹⁰⁷ Williams, ‘The Arthurian Model in Emperor Maximilian's Autobiographic Writings *Weisskunig* and *Theuerdank*’, p. 6.

¹⁰⁸ van Dyke, Paul, ‘The Literary Activity of the Emperor Maximilian I’, p. 17.

¹⁰⁹ Cuyler, *The Emperor Maximilian I and Music*, pp. 8-9.

transformed into something new.¹¹⁰ Throughout his reign Maximilian's connection to the tournament appears threefold: Maximilian consistently demonstrates in the running of his court a combination of true enjoyment of the tournament and, at the same time, an understanding of its important role in his court, as well as a consciousness of its place in his legacy.

Firstly, Maximilian, by all accounts, very much enjoyed taking part in tournaments, both in forms of foot combat and also on horseback, as a participant. This is shown in the examples above, where Maximilian is often described as 'happy' while taking part in a tournament. This enjoyment of the tournament led him to pursue it well into middle age and to continue to prove himself a fit competitor. This would have been particularly useful during times when Maximilian was viewed as lacking in other dimensions as a leader – in the political arena, for instance. Showing himself off as an adept tournament competitor allowed Maximilian to display his chivalric prowess, something always sure to gain a medieval ruler respect, even when he may not prove himself in other ways. Although, as also seen above, this passionate pursuit of the tournament could sometimes come at the expense of his political success. This was a double-edged sword which Maximilian dealt with throughout his reign. Yet certainly the tournament was a more politically useful recreational pursuit than one of Maximilian's other great loves, hunting, which did not have the added benefit of taking place within the court and in front of an audience.

For, secondly, Maximilian was clearly aware of the power of the tournament as a focal point of courtly activity. He demonstrates over and over numerous ways in which he incorporates tournaments into courtly festivities – at weddings or other celebrations – and

¹¹⁰ Brandstätter, 'Aspekte der Festkultur unter Maximilian', pp. 163-65.

brings them heavily into the revelries of the *Fastnacht* period on a regular basis. Not only did these tournaments provide pleasing entertainment to the ladies of the court and other spectators, but they also provided a space for other princes and high-ranking nobles of Maximilian's empire to come together for friendly competition. They could show off and build their chivalric reputations while, hopefully, gaining a respect and appreciation for Maximilian's hospitality, and he, in turn, could keep an eye on them and maintain valuable friendships. They acted as a unifying force in bringing together nobles across his disparate empire. The tournament possessed a sort of universal appeal which would have brought knights to Maximilian's court for the pleasure of competing, no matter what city he found himself in. Yet they were also still a way for Maximilian to assert his own power as a skilled competitor and to win the respect of foreign noblemen, such as Claude de Vauldrey.

Thirdly, in Maximilian's eyes his court was not just the social world which he built around him; it was also, in many instances, a theoretical, idealised space which could be used in crafting his image. This court had the power to exist perpetually, preserved forever in art and literature. The role of memory as it relates to the courtly tournament is a critical one to Maximilian. This may be seen in the commemoration of real-life tournaments in which Maximilian was involved through the medium of the *Turnierbücher*, a genre which he and many of his contemporaries popularised. It may also be seen in the prominent place of fictional tournaments in works like *Theuerdank*. In each of these literary or artistic works tournaments are placed, either subtly or obviously, in a central or critical role.

It is also important to note that Maximilian himself had a hand in producing these works, proving that his passion for the tournament was a central factor he wished to emphasise in his public persona. In each of these works Maximilian is casting himself as the central character – a knight of the noblest chivalric standards and, above all, a superb

competitor in the tournament. He is intentionally harking back to earlier medieval tales of heroic knights and is attempting to both embody and carry forward this tradition in his own lifetime and beyond. Both chivalry and honour were, naturally, integral to the world of tournament, a stage on which the highest ideals of knightly ethics could be played out. Maximilian threw himself into this idea, already romanticising ‘chivalry’ in much the same way as happens today. And he often set himself in centre stage, both in the actual events and in their literary representations.

The importance of the tournament in Maximilian’s court cannot be overstated. Although it may be seen in a negative (as a distraction from imperial duties) or a positive (as a form of pleasing entertainment) light, Maximilian throughout his life showed himself to be a devotee of the tournament far surpassing other rulers of his time. He incorporated it in a variety of ingenious ways into his courtly life – across many locations, times, purposes, and even artistic mediums. He also demonstrated an awareness of how it might affect his future reputation. As a vital part of courtly life which has heretofore been largely overlooked or incorporated into other studies, the tournament deserves full focus as a key element of Maximilian’s reign.

Conclusions

Centuries of scholarship, art and literature have left us multiple Maximilians to ponder and to reconcile. For some he was the creative force that set off the ascent of his house to world prominence, for others a German emperor who fatefully conflated the welfare of the German *Nation* with the interests of his dynasty and his flamboyant constructions of himself. Others have celebrated his lavish patronage of learning, art, and music that would make Vienna a cultural capital in the centuries to come. Still others see him as a conventional Renaissance prince, brutal when he punished, reckless when he spent, deplorably self-indulgent when he pursued game and fish that might have been feeding his often resentful peasantry. Historians have had an especially hard time periodizing the man. Was Maximilian an avatar of things to come or an anachronistic medievaliser?¹

This quotation from Paula Fichtner succinctly captures many of the contradictions central to Maximilian's character. Maximilian was in many respects not the most successful medieval monarch. Yet in other ways his forward thinking helped to secure his lasting place in history. In each of these often contradictory facets, tournaments played a role. Maximilian's 'flamboyant constructions of himself' often centred on tournaments, as reflected by his 'lavish patronage' of various artistic and literary projects. His 'self-indulgent' nature and 'reckless' spending also often manifested itself in a pursuit of tournaments when other matters of greater importance required his attention. His tournaments also are, in their innovative form and elaborate spectacle, the perfect manifestation of Maximilian's desire to be an 'avatar of things to come', while also, in their focus on chivalry and mimicry of Burgundian culture, a symbol of his nostalgic desire to be an 'anachronistic medievaliser'.

Several historical factors, some of which can be put down to the pure luck of Maximilian's time and place of birth, allowed him to craft the tournament-centred legacy which

¹ Fichtner, *The Habsburgs: Dynasty, Culture and Politics*, p. 31.

he did. For one, he was able to employ some of the most skilled armourers of the time, such as the Helmschmieds or Konrad Seusenhofer. Their workshops in Innsbruck and Augsburg produced for Maximilian some of the most exquisitely crafted tournament armour possible, and his patronage in turn allowed them to do so. This armour, which plays a central role in numerous visual sources and in particular the *Turnierbücher*, enabled Maximilian to host and participate in the elaborate tournaments which he did. Outside of the world of tournaments, Maximilian's patronage of these workshops and his passion for innovation in the field of armour manufacturing led to the distinctive appearance of sixteenth century German armours becoming known as 'Maximilian style' – another way in which Maximilian left his mark.

There was also the serendipitous fact that printing in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries was being fully realised as a powerful tool for those who knew how to utilise it. Maximilian, as has been shown throughout this study, took advantage of this new technology in many ways. As Waas puts it, "Maximilian's ambition to write his own chapter in history is evident in nearly all of his public expressions".² Throughout his reign Maximilian showed a keen self-awareness when it came to the crafting of his own legacy, and his literary output reflects this. *Freydal*, *Thenerdank*, and *Weißkunig* all show the young king performing chivalrous deeds. In addition to these works, one could also take as examples the *Jagdbuch*: a list of his hunting preserves (in which he refers to himself as the 'Great Huntsman'), the *Fischereibuch*: a volume of his royal fishing preserves, the *Zeugbücher*: an inventory of his armouries, and also a family *Genealogie*, as well as the *Triumphzug*. Even his elaborate *Grabmal* in Innsbruck, although he was never buried there, stands as an example of the emperor's forward-thinking.

² Waas, *The Legendary Character of Kaiser Maximilian*, p. 98.

Yet these fortuitous historical coincidences would have remained just that, if not for Maximilian's ability to harness and take advantage of them. There are several ways to interpret this endless quest for immortality by the emperor. Van Dyke, for one, has stated his belief that the primary focus of Maximilian's literary output was bragging. Each of these works, according to him, only exist to show off Maximilian's skill, education, leadership, piety, knowledge, and charity. Van Dyke takes the rather unforgiving and simplistic view that 'Maximilian was firmly convinced that he could do almost everything better than anybody alive, better than all but a few of those who were dead [...] Every book in which he took any interest is either a record of his deeds, a catalogue of his possessions or an exhortation to his descendants to base their greatness on his example.'³ This belief that Maximilian's sole object was fame and that he always exclusively sought out self-glorification, is certainly justified, and this judgement could easily be applied to the emperor's approach to tournaments. The primary focus of works like *Weißkunig* and *Theuerdank*, after all, was not to show Maximilian as he was but as he wished to appear to history.

Yet throughout these works Maximilian shows a desire not just to glorify himself but to glorify his court. He did not see himself as 'the best' at everything he undertook to do, but rather he wished to convey an image of well-rounded prosperity and success, applicable to himself as an individual and to his court as well. These pursuits were also helped by Maximilian's seemingly boundless and restless energy. He flung himself into his literary pursuits while surrounding himself with scholars and artists. Van Dyke relates an anecdote from Willibald Pirckheimer (d. 1530), a German jurist and humanist: while crossing Lake Constance on the Rhine in Maximilian's company in 1499, Pirckheimer claimed that

³ van Dyke, 'The Literary Activity of the Emperor Maximilian I', p. 16.

Maximilian spent the part of the voyage dictating his autobiography in Latin.⁴ Although the veracity of this tale is questionable, it serves as a demonstration of how, as a ruler, Maximilian was known to be endlessly productive.

Finally, there was the fact that during Maximilian's lifetime the tournament was at a critical point in its history where it was increasingly losing its relevance as a form of military training, but its capacity for theatre was being newly mined. In many ways Maximilian could be said to have used the tournament as a form of propaganda.⁵ He found various ways to use the tournament as a tool: a vehicle for displaying the power of his court, a unifying event to bring together his subjects (both noble and non-noble), and a venue for himself to show off his chivalric skills in the lists. As explained previously, Maximilian ruled over a vast and culturally varied empire, and, amongst the many devices and methods he used to maintain control over his territories, whether diplomatic, military, or benevolent, tournaments should not be overlooked as a key weapon in his propagandistic arsenal.⁶

Maximilian made use of the tournament as a form of propaganda in two ways. First, he used the tournaments which took place in reality at his court often as a means of showing off both his affluence and, critically, his own virility as a competitor within them. These events were a chance for him to display wealth and prosperity or to portray his court as the beating

⁴ van Dyke, 'The Literary Activity of the Emperor Maximilian I', pp. 18-20.

⁵ Darin Hayton, in his study of the role of astrology in Maximilian's court, provides a clear explanation of the usefulness of the word 'propaganda' in a medieval context, before the concept had been explicitly defined, and justifies its use in his study. As Hayton puts it, '[T]he absence of the term [propaganda] in the early sixteenth century does not mean that early modern princes and audiences failed to recognize attempts at persuasion'. This same explanation applies as easily to the role of tournaments as it does to astrology. Hayton, *The Crown and the Cosmos: Astrology and the Politics of Maximilian I*, pp. 4-6 (4).

⁶ 'As soon as the illiterate or the uneducated accept the basic principle that their country is superior to others, and that the dynasty in power is the best thing that could happen to them, propaganda has achieved its aim': Gosman, 'Princely Culture: Friendship or Patronage?', p. 19. This explanation, while blunt, encapsulates Maximilian's ultimate goal.

heart of his empire and him as its undefeatable ruler. By staging these events in town squares across his empire, and by crafting a close-knit tournament network around himself, Maximilian mastered the art of self-promotion. Yet Maximilian did not limit himself to tournaments in reality. The tournament often played a central role in his literary legacy, and fictional tournaments served to memorialise the emperor's court and ensure its fame down the centuries.

Maximilian further found new ways to utilise spectacle and pageantry in his tournaments. One need only look to the *Triumphzug* to see the obvious importance Maximilian placed on the tournament in the context of his court; the varieties of joust are presented there as of equal importance to any of his other courtly accomplishments such as music or military might. The clearest example of how central tournaments were to court life is the fact that Maximilian devised at least two court positions devoted to the tournament: *Rennen und Gestech Meister* and *Turniermeister* (Wolfgang von Polheim and Anthony von Yfan, respectively).⁷ Their presence also shows an interest by the emperor in properly cataloguing the different varieties of joust featured in the *Triumphzug*. It shows an appreciation of the importance of the language of the tournament and the terminology which he wished to use in memorialising these competitions.

Evidence of his success may be found in the fact that, in his own time Maximilian and his tournaments had a great influence on younger rulers, especially Henry VIII of England. Their close relationship is reflected in a letter from the English ambassador Robert Wingfield to his master, King Henry. Wingfield reported Maximilian as saying to him, 'I desire you to make my most hearty and affectuous recommendations unto my most dear and well beloved

⁷ Appelbaum, ed., *The Triumph of Maximilian*, p. 7-8/plates 41, 44.

brother, the King your master, which by word doth call me father; and I do call him son, which I do take right gladly upon me'.⁸ This father/son-style relationship, as it is presented here, also manifested itself in several gift exchanges in the form of armour. In 1514 Maximilian gifted to Henry a suit of armour which included a highly unique horned parade helmet made by his favoured armourer Konrad Seusenhofer.⁹ In addition, Maximilian also gifted Henry the so-called Burgundian bard (c. 1510), a luxurious horse armour decorated with pomegranates, a personal symbol of both Maximilian and Henry's first wife, Katherine of Aragon.¹⁰ These two rulers seemed to have had a shared interest in chivalric culture as represented by fine suits of armour and spectacular tournaments. In Henry's own tournaments, as commemorated in the Westminster Tournament Roll (1511), or even the Field of Cloth of Gold (1520) – possibly the most famous tournament of all time – we may see a reflection of the pageantry of Maximilian's own court.

In such ways Maximilian's influence on the tournament continued to be felt directly after his lifetime. As the tournament, and specifically the joust, continued to evolve and became even less viable as a form of either military training or entertainment, gradually being replaced by more pacific events like running at the ring or formal carousels, Maximilian still made his impact felt, even after his death.¹¹ The Hans Burgkmair tournament images originally presented in the *Triumphzug*, in particular, were re-issued in various forms and editions in the

⁸ Wingfield, quoted in Chisholm, 'Robert Wingfield: English Ambassador to the Holy Roman Empire (1510-1517)', p. 75.

⁹ Leeds, UK, Royal Armouries, Object Number IV.22.

¹⁰ Leeds, UK, Royal Armouries, Object Number VI.6.

¹¹ An example of how the German tournament evolved and its gradual transition in emphasis to more benign forms of competition, particularly tilting at the ring, can be seen in Georg Rodolf Weckherlin, *Triumphball shevvs set forth lately at Stuttgart. Written first in German, and now in English by G. Rodolphe Weckherlin, secretarie to the Duke of Wirtemberg* (Stuttgart: John-Wyrich Ressler, 1616), Early English Books Online: from a copy in the British Library, London.

decades after Maximilian's death. His effort to properly define and categorise forms of the German joust evidently had a wide-ranging appeal. A variation on these unmistakable images are also included in a fighting manual, *De Arte Athletica*, by the Augsburg aristocrat Paulus Hector Mair (1517-1579). This two volume manuscript (c. 1540s) includes treatises on an abundance of forms of combat, including fencing, wrestling, and fighting with staff weapons. It also features an extensive section on the German tournament dedicated *ad aeternam memoriam divi Maximiliani Romanorum Imperatoris, Caesaris, et Augusti*.¹² In this work, Maximilian is directly credited with establishing the glory of the German tournament; his name has become linked with the pastime.

The same phenomenon can be seen in the introductory plate to a mid-seventeenth century partial edition of the *Triumphzug*, which reads, 'Hereafter are following, dedicated to the Most Worshipful memory of the late Most Illustrious and Great Mightiest Prince and Lord, Maximilian First of his Name, Holy Roman Emperor, etc, sundry knightly games that were in part invented and regulated by His Majesty himself and every so often made use of by His Majesty for pastime and entertainment.'¹³ Over a century after his death Maximilian's reputation as lover of, participant in, and designer of the tournament was firmly set in place; here he is directly credited with 'inventing' and 'regulating' the tournament. In the *Triumphzug* Maximilian had found a way to guarantee his legacy and to share with future generations those things of which he was most proud, and being an architect of the tournament was key among these.

¹² Munich, BSB, Cod.icon. 393(2), *De arte athletica II*, plate 194.

¹³ New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 22.229, *Album of Tournaments and Parades in Nuremberg*, plate 3.

And indeed, in the centuries after his death, just as he desired, Maximilian was remarkably successful in his efforts to place tournaments at the heart of his legacy. This is exemplified in some particularly interesting ways, of which his encounter with Claude de Vauldre in Worms in 1495 is a good case study. This famed encounter transformed into almost a legend as the story passed down and grew over the years. One rather romantic account of it found its way into the nineteenth-century work, *Memoirs of the Court, Aristocracy, and Diplomacy of Austria*, by Carl Eduard Vehse, who claimed:

When he [Maximilian] held the first Diet at Worms, the French knight Claude de Barre, a man of gigantic strength, hung out his shield from the window of his inn, challenging all the Germans to single combat. Maximilian then had the arms of Austria and Burgundy hung by the side of the shield of the Frenchman, whom he conquered with the sword, after the lances of both had glanced from the cuirasses.¹

This account, although far from factually accurate, shows the impression the encounter between these two famous knights – one of an older and one of a younger generation – made upon the German people and how it passed down through the centuries, adding to Maximilian’s chivalrous image – that of ‘the Last Knight’.

In the same vein, a series of prints published in 1824 claimed to depict the tournament at Worms. This sensational and highly romanticised series of images bears no resemblance to historical reality. The introduction falsely claims that the imperial diet took place in 1487, and that there, in fact, Maximilian held the last ever German tournament.² The accompanying images show men in anachronistic armour, including winged and horned helmets most

¹ Carl Eduard Vehse, *Memoirs of the Court, Aristocracy, and Diplomacy of Austria*, trans. by Franz Demmler (London: Longman, Brown, Green, and Longmans, 1856), vol. 1, p. 8.

² *Das Turnier zu Worms in plastischer Aufstellung mit Figuren, Versetzstücken und Oertlichkeiten in kleinen und grossen Cartons* (Vienna: M. Trentsensky, c. 1824), p. 6.

commonly associated with nineteenth century myths of the Vikings.³ It is in many ways charming in its inaccuracy and, while a wholly unreliable historical source, still represents the hold over the imagination which Maximilian's tournaments had on a nineteenth century audience.

This legacy has continued on and flourished into the present day in other (more historically accurate) ways. Recent museum exhibitions like that held at the Reiss Engelhorn Museum in Mannheim entirely dedicated to Maximilian and the courtly tournament are proof of this.⁴ Yet, despite the role of tournaments circling around the periphery of Maximilian studies for many years, the lack of an expansive study solely focused on this subject has left a wide gap in the scholarship, which this thesis has attempted to, at least partially, fill.

While the current study has explored the topic of tournaments and Maximilian, it has also brought up many questions which warrant further research yet which were outside its scope. For example, this thesis has focused almost exclusively on the joust alone and its significance in Maximilian's tournaments. An in-depth study of the place of foot combat in Maximilian's tournaments would also be worthwhile. Furthermore, while numerous studies of tournament arms and armour exist, none have been devoted solely to tournament textiles, discussed in Chapter 5 of this thesis but worthy of a much larger and wider ranging investigation. Also, this thesis has incorporated where relevant the tournaments of other knights of Maximilian's court and their involvement in Maximilian's own tournaments. However, many of these could be the subject of their own study, which would in turn continue to add to the greater understanding of late medieval German tournaments.

³ See Appendix 1, Figure 36.

⁴ *Kaiser Maximilian I: Der letzte Ritter und das höfische Turnier*, ed. by Sabine Haag, Alfried Wiczorek, Matthias Pfaffenbichler, and Hans-Jürgen Buderer.

The findings of this project have shown the many and varied ways Maximilian's personal history is intertwined with the history of the tournament. It has done so by exploring the evidence presented in a wide range of sources, specifically: narrative, visual, Maximilian's personal works, and material culture. Each of these category of source provides a new lens through which to view Maximilian's tournaments, and together they create a new picture which has never before been fully drawn. Using these sources, this study has examined Maximilian's life as a whole and located occurrences of tournaments within it across a variety of times and places while also establishing their place in the larger events of his life. Taking a closer look at the makeup of the tournament itself, it has scrutinised the individual forms of joust which Maximilian both practiced and promoted. Connected to this, it has analysed the equipment used in the joust, both practical and decorative. Finally, this study has also explored the many roles the tournament played in Maximilian's courtly life, including its purpose and the occasions which warranted such an event, some of the dangers associated with it, and Maximilian's own place within it. These discoveries have painted the picture of a man passionate about the tournament, keenly aware of his place in history, and clever enough to use the one to guarantee the other.

Appendix 1: Images

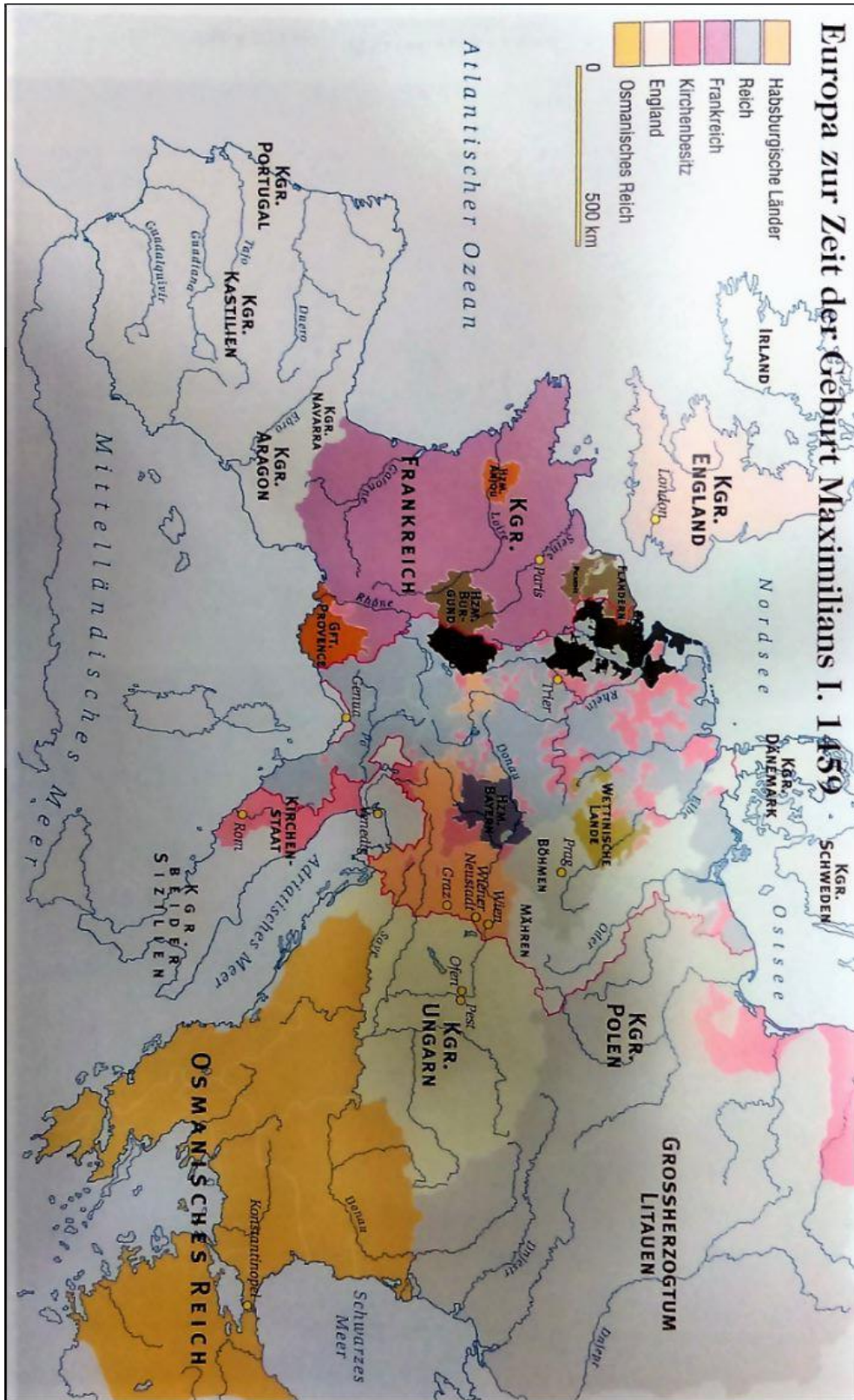


Figure 1: Map of Maximilian's Holy Roman Empire

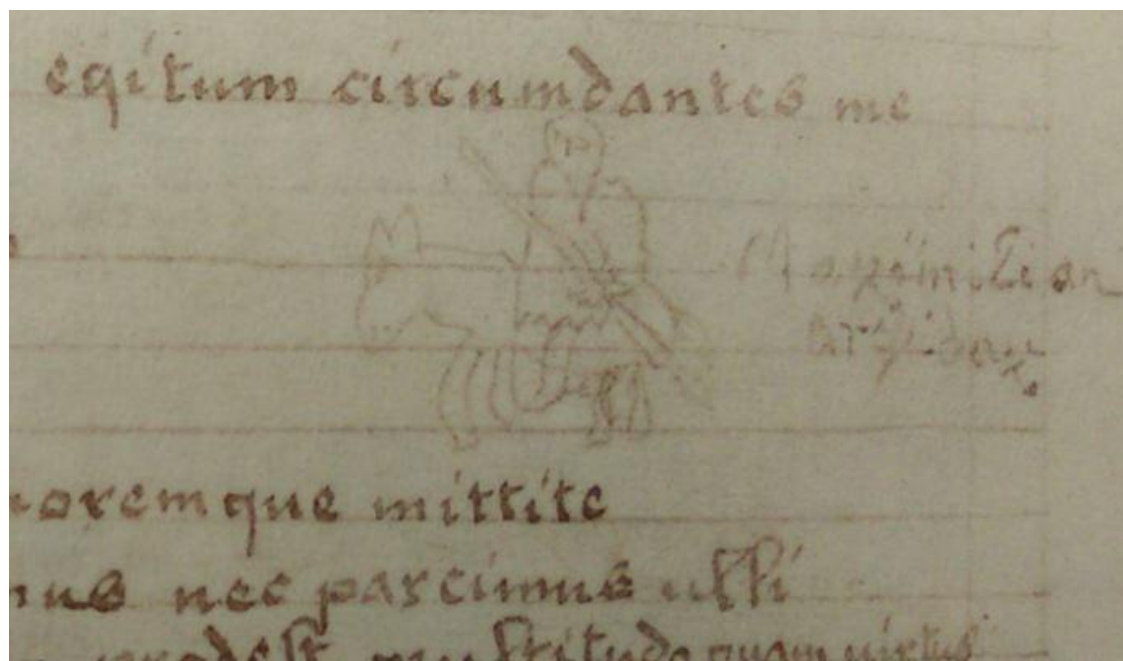


Figure 2: Maximilian's *Lehrbuch*



Figure 3: Jousting Figurines in *Weißkunig*



Figure 4: Tourneyers in the *Triumphzug*

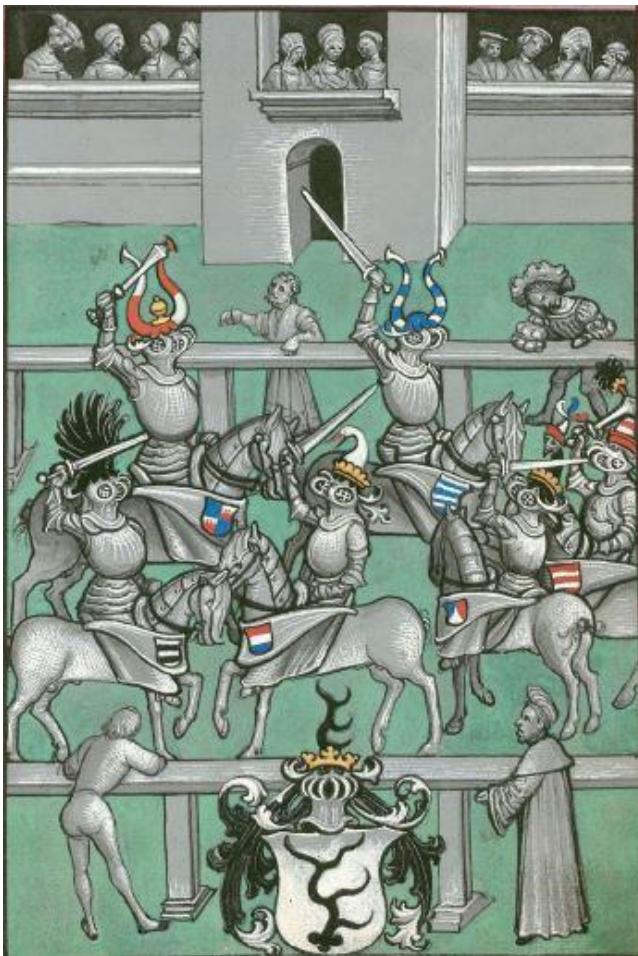


Figure 5: Tourneyers in the *Turnierbuch* of Ludwig von Eyb



Figure 6: Tourneyers in the *Turnierbuch* of Marx Walther



Figure 7: Tourneyers in BSB, Cod. icon 398



Figure 8: The *Deutschgestech* in the *Triumphzug*



Figure 9: The *Welschgestech* in *Freydal*



Figure 10: The *Welschgestech* in the *Triumphzug*



Figure 11: The *Hohes Zeug*



Figure 12: The *Hohenzeuggestech* in *Freydal*



Figure 13: The *Hohenzeuggestech* in the *Triumphzug*



Figure 14: The *Gestech im Beinharnisch* in the *Triumphzug*



Figure 15: The *Welschrennen* in the *Triumphzug*



Figure 16: The *Geschiftrennen* in the *Triumphzug*



Figure 17: The *Scheibenrennen* in the *Triumphzug*



Figure 18: The *Schweifrennen* in the *Triumphzug*



Figure 19: The *Bundrennen* in the *Triumphzug*



Figure 20: The *Feldrennen* in the *Triumphzug*



Figure 21: The *Wulstrennen* in the *Triumphzug*



Figure 22: The *Pfannenrennen* in the *Triumphzug*



Figure 23: The *Rennzeug*



Figure 24: The *Stechzeug*



Figure 25: A *Rennzeug* Backplate



Figure 26: Mechanical Breastplate for the *Rennen*



Figure 27: Gasper Lamberger's Personal Emblem



Figure 28: Child's Jousting Toy on a Caparison



Figure 29: The Lock and Key Caparisons in the *Turnierbuch* of Wilhelm IV



Figure 30: The Margrave Friedrich of Brandenburg and his Servant Jousting



Figure 31: Young Boy on a Lance in the *Turnierbuch* of Marx Walther



Figure 32: Fabric-Draped Shields in BSB, Cod.icon 398



Figure 33: Marx Walther Wearing a Skewer of Sausages Crest



Figure 34: Gasper Lamberger Wearing a Basket of Cats Crest



Figure 35: Marx Walther and his Attendants in a Tournament

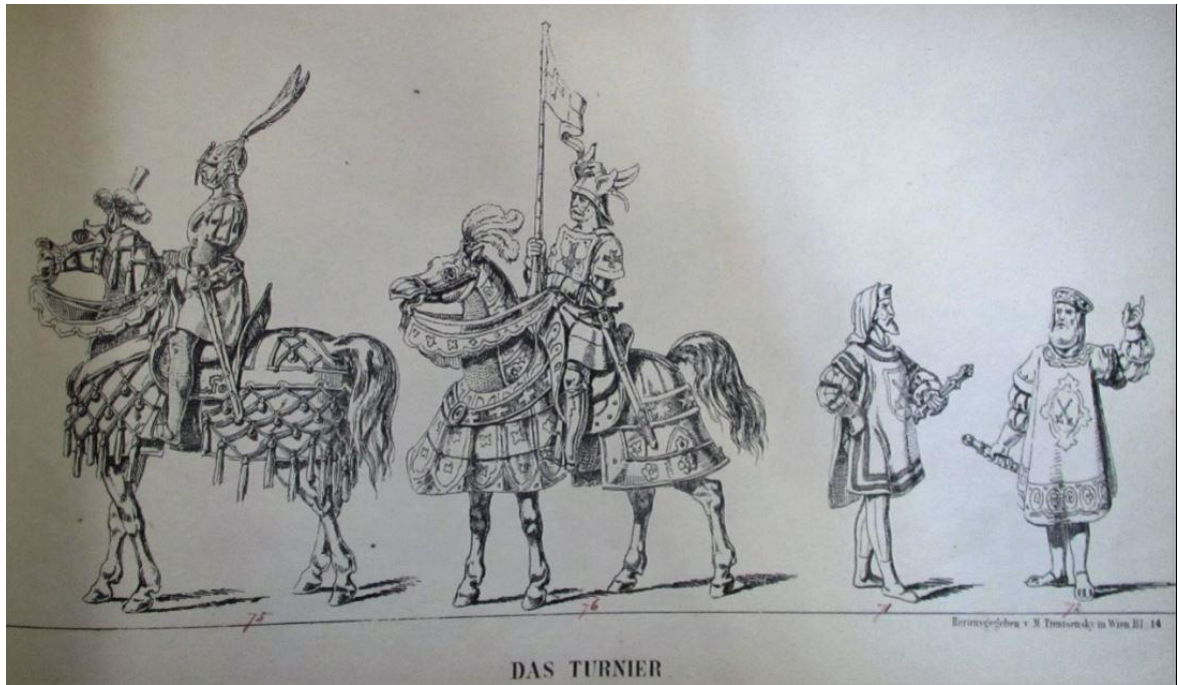


Figure 36: A Romantic Image of the Tournament of Worms

Appendix 2: Glossary

Armet – A close-helmet of Italian origin featuring a visor and worn most often in the *Welschrennen*.

Bard – Articulated armour covering for a knight's horse, normally consisting of three parts:

Crupper – The section covering the horse's rump.

Flanchard – The section covering the horse's sides.

Peytral – The section covering the horse's chest.

Bevor – Protection for a knight's neck and lower face. In the *Rennen*, this was often incorporated into the knight's shield. Also known as a beaver.

Brechschild – A style of shield used in the *Rennen* composed of multiple elements fastened together. It was often made to cover the entirety of a knight's right side and incorporated the vamplate for the lance as well. Also known as a *Brechscheibe*.

Caparison – Textile covering for a knight's horse, usually made to go over the metal bard. In the joust, either the caparison or the shaffron often had no eye-holes, obscuring the horse's vision and preventing them from seeing the oncoming horse. Also known as a trapper.

Coronel – A blunted tip (usually three-pronged) for a lance used in a tournament, specifically the *Gesteck*.

Crest – The three-dimensional decorative element worn on top of a knight's helmet.

Crinnet – Articulated armour made to protect a horse's neck.

Cuir bouilli – Leather hardened in either boiled water or wax and then moulded into a specific form. The material from which crests were most often constructed.

Dilgen – Armour to protect a knight's upper legs, consisting of two spherical sockets, connected by a leather strap, resting independently on the horse's back. Also known as tilting sockets.

Frog-mouth helm – The style of helmet used most frequently in the *Gesteck*, characterised primarily by its narrow vision slit at the very top of the helmet, above eye level. This feature would have required the knight to lean forward in his saddle during a joust in order to see his oncoming opponent. However, by raising his head at the last moment, the design would also have protected his eyes from splinters from the lances. Known in German as a *Stechhelm*.

Gesteck – One of the two (along with *Rennen*) primary overarching styles of late medieval German joust, characterised by its use of blunted lances and the *Stechhelm*.

Helmhaube – Padded hood, normally made of linen, worn inside the *Stechhelm* and fastened to it by a series of ties. This protected the knight's head inside the helm and prevented it from impacting the walls of the helm.

Hohenzeug – The saddle used in the form of joust known as the *Gesteck im Hohenzeug*, which was designed to elevate the rider far off the back of the horse.

Krippen – The semi-circular, fan-like plates attached to the *Rennbut* and designed to spring away. Most commonly used in the *Bundrennen*.

Lance – The primary weapon used in the joust, which could either be pointed or blunted and hollow or solid, depending on the style of joust.

Lists – The designated area in which a tournament took place.

Mummerei – A masked dance commonly held at court as part of the evening celebrations following a tournament. Themed or regional costumes were often worn.

Points – Ties used to affix a knight's armour.

Queue – A metal hook sometimes found protruding from the back of tournament armour, which was designed to catch and cradle the lance while jousting. There is a possible etymological connection to the German term *Schweif/Schweifrennen*, or ‘tail’.

Rennen – One of the two (along with *Gesteck*) primary overarching styles of late medieval German joust, characterised by its use of pointed lances and the sallet.

Renntartsche – The large shield, usually made of wood and leather, worn in the *Rennen*, which covered the entire front of a knight’s body and lower face, eliminating the need for a metal breastplate or bevor.

Rennzeug – The complete suit of armour worn in a *Rennen*.

Sabatons – Armoured protection for a knight’s feet.

Sallet – The style of helmet used most frequently in the *Rennen*, characterised by its minimal face protection and distinctive tapering point at the rear. Known in German as a *Rennhut*.

Schraubenschlüssel – A three-pronged, multi-purpose tool used for assembling both the *Rennzeug* and the *Stechzeug*.

Shaffron – Armour protecting a horse’s head, often intended to be worn under a caparison. In the joust, either the shaffron or the caparison often had no eye-holes, obscuring the horse’s vision and preventing them from seeing the oncoming horse.

Stechsack – A padded bumper worn around a horse’s neck to protect its rider’s legs in lieu of plate armour. Also known as a *Stechküssen*.

Stechtartsche – The small rectangular shield used in the *Gesteck*, which was fastened to the breastplate.

Stechzeug – The complete suit of armour worn in a *Gesteck*.

Streiftartsche – Armour to protect a knight's upper legs, similar in form and function to *dilgen* but broader and shallower in depth. Used in the *Rennen*.

Tassets – Articulated armoured protection for a knight's thighs.

Tilt – The wooden barrier separating two knights in a joust. 'Tilting' would eventually become a synonym for the act of jousting.

Tonnlet – An armoured 'skirt' worn in foot combat to protect a knight's upper legs.

Vamplate – A metal cone surrounding the shaft of the lance to provide protection to the knight's hand.

Appendix 3: Extant Maximilian Tournament Armours

This appendix is sorted under the headings of armour and associated items relating to the broad divisions of the *Gesteck*, the *Rennen*, the tourney, and foot combat, which are, when possible, further divided into complete suits, partial suits, accessories and equestrian items. Also included are miscellaneous individual items and miscellaneous equestrian items. Each of these categories is organised chronologically. The appendix was compiled primarily from the inventory of the *Hofjagd- und Rüstkammer* (HJRK), the collection of arms and armour (formerly known as the *Waffensammlung*) in the *Kunsthistorisches Museum* in Vienna. It also draws upon the holdings of the Royal Armouries, UK, and the American collections of the Philadelphia Museum of Art and the Metropolitan Museum of Art.

Items related to the *Gesteck*

- **Complete suits**

1. Complete *Stechzeug*

Date: c. 1485

Manufactured: Augsburg

Armourer: Lorenz Helmschmid

Current location: Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, HJRK S VI

2. Complete *Stechzeug* for the *Welschgesteck*

Date: c. 1500

Manufactured: Netherlands

Armourer: Unknown master 'h'

Current location: Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, HJRK S II

- **Partial suits**

3. *Stechzeug* fragment for the *Welschgesteck*

Date: c. 1490-95

Manufactured: Netherlands and Augsburg

Armourer: Unknown

Current location: Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, HJRK S. III

4. *Stechzeug* fragment

Date: c. 1494

Manufactured: Augsburg

Armourer: Lorenz or Jörg Helmschmid

Current location: Philadelphia, Philadelphia Museum of Art, 1930-63-1a—t

5. Three *Stechzeug* fragments

Date: 1494

Manufactured: Augsburg

Armourer: Jörg Helmschmid

Current location: Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, HJRK S. XI; S. XIII; S. XV

6. Two *Stechzeug* fragments

Date: 1494

Manufactured: Augsburg

Armourer: Lorenz Helmschmid

Current location: Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, HJRK S. XII; S. XIV

7. Two *Stechzeug* fragments

Date: c. 1495

Manufactured: Nürnberg

Armourer: Konrad Poler

Current location: Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, HJRK S. XVII; S. XVIII

8. *Stechzeug* fragment for the *Welschgestech*

Date: c. 1495

Manufactured: Netherlands and Augsburg

Armourer: Unknown

Current location: Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, HJRK S. IV

9. *Stechzeug* fragment

Date: c. 1510

Manufactured: Nürnberg

Armourer: Konrad Poler

Current location: Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, HJRK S. XIX

- **Accessories**

10. Coronel lance head for the *Gestech*

Date: c. 1480-90

Manufactured: Innsbruck

Maker: Unknown

Current location: Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, HJRK B 53

11. Three *Schraubenschlüssel* for a *Stechzeug*

Date: Late-fifteenth century

Manufactured: Southern Germany

Armourer: Unknown

Current location: Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, HJRK B 141c; B 171e; B 174e

- **Equestrian**

12. Ten saddles for the *Gestech*

Date: Late 15th century

Manufactured: South Germany

Maker: Unknown

Current location: Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, HJRK B 204; B 208; B 131; B 3;
B 17; B 135; B 88; B 203; B 6; B 10

13. *Stechsack*

Date: c. 1480-90

Manufactured: Innsbruck

Maker: Unknown

Current location: Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, HJRK B 14

Items related to the *Rennen*

- **Complete suits**

14. Complete *Rennzeug*

Date: c. 1485-90

Manufactured: Innsbruck

Armourer: Jörg Treytz

Current location: Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, HJRK R I

15. Complete *Rennzeug*

Date: c. 1495

Manufactured: Augsburg

Armourer: Lorenz or Jörg Helmschmied

Current location: Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, HJRK B 182

16. Complete *Rennzeug*

Date: c. 1495

Manufactured: Augsburg

Armourer: Lorenz or Jörg Helmschmid

Current location: Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, HJRK R VI

17. Complete *Rennzeug*

Date: c. 1500

Manufactured: South Germany

Armourer: Unknown

Current location: Leeds, Royal Armouries, II.167, VII.1365

18. Complete *Rennzeug*

Date: c. 1500

Manufactured: Innsbruck

Armourer: Unknown

Current location: Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, HJRK R VII

19. Complete *Rennzeug*

Date: c. 1510-15

Manufactured: Innsbruck

Armourer: Konrad Seusenhofer

Current location: Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, HJRK R VIII

20. Complete *Rennzeug*

Date: c. 1515

Manufactured: Innsbruck

Armourer: Unknown

Current location: Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, HJRK R IX

- **Partial suits**

21. Backplate for a *Rennzeug*

Date: c. 1495

Manufactured: Augsburg

Armourer: Lorenz or Jörg Helmschmid

Current location: Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, HJRK B 174

- **Helms**

22. Helm for a *Welschbrennen*

Date: 1485

Manufactured: Augsburg

Armourer: Lorenz Helmschmid

Current location: Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, HJRK B 22

23. *Rennhut*

Date: c. 1490-95

Manufactured: Augsburg

Armourer: Lorenz Helmschmid

Current location: New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 29.156.45

24. *Rennhut*

Date: c. 1495

Manufactured: Augsburg

Armourer: Lorenz or Jörg Helmschmid

Current location: Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, HJRK W A 26

25. *Rennhut* and bevor

Date: c. 1495

Manufactured: Augsburg

Armourer: Lorenz or Jörg Helmschmid

Current location: Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, HJRK B 12; B 129

- **Accessories**

26. Three *Schraubenschlüssel* for a *Rennzeug*

Date: c. 1500

Manufactured: Southern Germany

Armourer: Unknown

Current location: Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, HJRK B 137f; B 172b; B 180c

- **Equestrian**

27. Seven saddles for the *Rennen*

Date: Late 15th century

Manufactured: South Germany

Maker: Unknown

Current location: Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, HJRK B206; B 61; B 64; B 205;
B 142; B 138; B 91

Items related to the tourney

- **Partial suits**

28. Arms (upper and lower cannons) for a *Kolbenturnier*

Date: 1486

Manufactured: Augsburg

Armourer: Lorenz Henschmid

Current location: Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, HJRK A 79

- **Helms**

29. Helm for a *Kolbenturnier*

Date: c. 1480-85

Manufactured: South Germany

Armourer: Unknown

Current location: Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, HJRK B 75

Items related to foot combat

- **Complete suits**

30. Complete foot combat harness

Date: Before 1508

Manufactured: Arbois, Burgundy

Armourer: Francesco da Merate of Milan

Current location: Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, HJRK B 71

- **Helms**

31. Helm for foot combat

Date: c. 1500

Manufactured: Netherlands

Armourer: Unknown

Current location: Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, HJRK B 152

32. Helm for foot combat

Date: c. 1500

Manufactured: Netherlands

Armourer: Unknown

Current location: Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, HJRK B 23

Miscellaneous individual pieces

33. One pair dilgen

Date: c. 1485

Manufactured: Augsburg

Amourer: Lorenz Helmschmid

Current location: Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, HJRK A 62a

34. Right *Streiftartsche*

Date: c. 1485

Manufactured: Augsburg

Armourer: Lorenz Helmschmid

Current location: Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, HJRK B 11

35. *Brechschild*

Date: c. 1485

Manufactured: Augsburg

Armourer: Lorenz Helmschmid

Current location: Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, HJRK B 132

36. Exposed mechanical breastplate

Date: c. 1490

Manufactured: South Germany or Innsbruck

Armourer: Unknown

Current location: Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, HJRK B 21

37. Exposed mechanical breastplate

Date: c. 1495

Manufactured: Augsburg

Armourer: Lorenz Helmschmied

Current location: Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, HJRK B 25

38. *Brechschild* fragment

Date: c. 1495

Manufactured: Augsburg

Armourer: Lorenz or Jörg Helmschmid

Current location: Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, HJRK B 5c

39. *Brechschild*

Date: c. 1500

Manufactured: Innsbruck

Armourer: Unknown

Current location: Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, HJRK B 12a; B 182e

40. *Brechschild*

Date: c. 1500

Manufactured: Innsbruck

Armourer: Unknown, in the style of Hans Prunner

Current location: Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, HJRK B 178b

41. *Brechschild*

Date: c. 1500

Manufactured: Innsbruck

Armourer: Unknown

Current location: Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, HJRK B 143; W A 26

42. One pair dilgen

Date: c. 1500

Manufactured: Innsbruck

Armourer: Unknown

Current location: Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, HJRK B 174c

43. Two *Helmhauben*

Date: c. 1480-90

Manufactured: Innsbruck

Maker: Unknown

Current location: Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, HJRK B 46; B 113

Miscellaneous equestrian

44. Blind shaffron

Date: c. 1480-90

Manufactured: Innsbruck

Armourer: Unknown

Current location: Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, HJRK B 141a

45. Seven blind shaffrons

Date: c. 1485-90

Manufactured: Augsburg

Armourer: Lorenz Helmschmied

Current location: Vienna, Kunshistorisches Museum, HJRK B 4; B 139; B 182d; B 87b;
B 19a; B 173b; B 137c

46. Seven spurs

Date: c. 1495

Manufactured: Southern Germany

Maker: Unknown master 's'

Current location: Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, HJRK A 149 (2); A 151; A 152;
A 130; A 157 (2)

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