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THE TOURNAMENTS

EDINBURGH CASTLE: THE TOURNAMENTS

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PART I GENERAL HISTORY OF SCOTTISH TOURNAMENTS

An overview of Scotland's tournament tradition

Scotland, like many other European countries, had a tournament tradition that spanned several centuries. King William the Lion (r. 1165–1214) reputedly fought in tournaments in France during the 1160s and 1170s, and Scottish noblemen participated in the Continental European tournament scene throughout the high and late Middle Ages.¹ Unfortunately, the patchy nature of medieval Scottish records make it difficult to assess when tournaments were first held in Scotland itself. There are references to a joust at Haddington in 1242, but there may have been Scottish tournaments long before this event.²

During the Wars of Independence both English and Scots participated in tournaments in Scotland and the Borders.³ The English seem to have had a tradition of holding jousts whilst on campaign, and Edward I is believed to have organised tournaments at Falkirk in 1302, Stirling in 1304 and Roxburgh in 1305.⁴ In contrast, the armies of Robert the Bruce (r. 1306–29) do not seem to have hosted tournaments – possibly because of the challenges posed by the struggle for independence.⁵

In the mid-14th century, David II (r. 1329–71) hosted and competed in a number of tournaments, earning himself a reputation as one who loved ‘justyng, dawnsyng, and playnge’.⁶ As well as organising contests in Scotland, David II is believed to have taken part in jousting while he was a captive in England, and it is possible that his enthusiasm for the sport was fostered by the large-scale tournaments held by Edward III.⁷

The first two Stewart kings, Robert II (r. 1371–90) and Robert III (r. 1390–1406), do not seem to have had the same degree of devotion to jousting as their predecessor David II.⁸ Nevertheless, a tournament tradition was maintained in Scotland during their reigns. For example, in July 1382 a tournament was held on the sands at St Andrews.⁹ There is also evidence that suggests that Robert III's ill-fated eldest son David, Duke of Rothesay, took an interest in jousting and other chivalric pastimes.¹⁰

The extent to which Robert III's surviving heir, James I (r. 1406–37), was a patron of tournaments is debatable. The contemporary chronicler Walter Bower claimed that James I ‘was the best of archers and a knowledgeable jouster’.¹¹ Similarly, the 16th-century historian Hector Boece praised James I's ability ‘to fecht with the swerd, to iust, to turnay’.¹² However, modern scholars have tended to emphasise the very limited evidence for tournaments being hosted during James's personal rule.¹³ Indeed, Katie Stevenson has suggested that James may have shared Henry V of England's view that tournaments were a distraction from actual warfare and should therefore be discouraged.¹⁴

James II (r. 1437–60) is generally deemed to have supported tournaments more enthusiastically than his father.¹⁵ In 1449, he presided over a famous tournament at Stirling between three knights from Burgundy (Jacques and Simon de Lalain and Hervey de Meriadet) and three members of the Douglas family. This contest drew attention both within Scotland and on the Continent, and it is arguably the earliest Scottish tournament for which there are detailed descriptions of the proceedings.¹⁶ Meanwhile, entries in the *Exchequer Rolls* imply that on occasions James II personally participated in jousting.¹⁷

In contrast, James III's reign (1460–88) seems to have formed something of a lull in Scotland's tournament tradition.¹⁸ However, his son, James IV (r. 1488–1513), more than compensated for his father's lack of enthusiasm. By far the most detailed and extensive evidence for Scottish tournaments comes from the reigns of James IV and James V (r. 1513–42).¹⁹ This is partly a result of the greater documentation that the early 1500s generally produced, but it also reflects these monarchs' active interest in tourneying. Both James IV and his son participated personally in tournaments and spent substantial sums of money on their organisation.²⁰

The first few decades of the 16th century were in many ways the high point of Scottish tournaments, with expensive set-piece jousts such that of the Wild Knight and the Black Lady forming an important feature of courtly festivities.²¹ This golden age ended with James V's death. For several decades after 1542, there seem to have been no tournaments in Scotland. It was only in the 1580s, when the young James VI (r. 1567–1625) was beginning to exert his authority, that tourneying was revived again.²² In the years before his relocation to England, James VI took an active interest in jousting, and in 1594 staged an almost theatrical tournament at Stirling to celebrate the baptism of his eldest son, Prince Henry.²³ However, this late flowering of tournament activity was cut short in Scotland by the royal family's move south in 1603.

Changing nature of tournaments

The conduct and nature of tournaments evolved significantly during the Middle Ages. The events hosted by James IV and V were fundamentally different from the tournaments in which William the Lion participated during the 12th century.²⁴ Early tournaments were essentially mock battles in which a large number of combatants all fought at the same time, thereby providing knights with an opportunity to practice the skills they needed in wartime. This type of mock battle (or *mêlée*) declined in popularity during the 13th and 14th centuries. By the late Middle Ages, tournaments had developed into a series of contests between individual knights. The most high-status (and probably most popular) form of contest was the joust, where mounted knights rode against one another with lances.²⁵ However, there is evidence that suggests that late-medieval Scottish tournaments did include other forms of combat. The late-16th-century historian Robert Lindsay of Pitscottie claimed that James IV would:

... mak proclamatious out throw his realme to all and sindrie his lordis, earleis and barrouns quhilk was abill for iusting or tornament to come to Edinburgh to him and thair to exerceis them selffis for his plesour as they war best accustomed, sum to rin witht speir, sum to fight witht the battell axe and harnis, sum to feight witht the tuo handit suord, sum to schut the hand bow, corsebow and collvering. And everie man as he faught best gat his wapouns deliuerit to him be the king in this maner; he that ran the speir best, he gat ane speir witht gould deliuerit in to him witht gilt harnis thair to

kepi in memorieall of his practick and ingyne thari to, and also the harrottis [heralds] blasonitt him to be the best justar and rynnar of the speir in the realme among his bretherine; and the battell axe deliuerit to him that faught best thariwitth, and in lykewyse the suord, hand bow and corse bow deliuerit be the heraldis the samin maner to them that wssit them best.²⁶

Pitscottie's account implies that James IV supported a diverse range of martial activity at his tournaments. Nevertheless, bouts with weapons such as axes, and shooting competitions (whether with conventional bows, cross-bows or culverins) were probably still regarded as adjuncts to the jousting. They were challenging events, but did not form the main attraction of late medieval tournaments.²⁷

Jousting was an extremely skilled and relatively dangerous activity.²⁸ In 1485, James III's brother Alexander, Duke of Albany, was killed by a splinter from a lance when he was jousting in Paris.²⁹ The level of risk was perhaps heightened when there were genuine tensions between the contestants. For example, in 1342 two men died in an Anglo-Scottish joust at Berwick after the Scots had suggested fighting with raised visors.³⁰ During the late Middle Ages jousting became more stylised and regulated, although it remained a hazardous sport.³¹

At the same time, changes in military practice (notably the greater importance of infantry and the introduction of gunpowder weapons) meant that tournaments, and in particular jousts, were increasingly unlike real warfare. As a result, the martial significance of tournaments declined and they became more like a courtly celebration.³² During the late 15th and early 16th centuries, greater emphasis was placed on the splendour and trappings of tournaments, participants often wore special costumes and events were frequently themed around a chivalric story, sometimes involving exotic or fantastical elements. Later Scottish tournaments were part of a repertoire of Renaissance royal entertainment, encompassing dancing, banquets, processions and plays.³³ They were a means of showcasing the magnificence and culture of court life, but had a tenuous connection to actual conflict.³⁴

PART II TOURNAMENTS HELD IN AND AROUND EDINBURGH

Edinburgh's importance as a tournament location

Tournaments were held at a number of different places in Scotland. During the 14th century, tournaments were often organised in the border regions.³⁵ However, later jousts generally took place in Central Scotland, in particular at Edinburgh, Stirling, St Andrews and Perth. Edinburgh (and the area immediately surrounding it) was probably the most frequent location for late-medieval Scottish tournaments.

There is evidence for at least 32 tournaments in Scotland between 1350 and 1603.³⁶ Ten of these can be confidently associated with Edinburgh, and a number of others were probably held there.³⁷ In contrast, only six tournaments during this period can be securely linked to Stirling (the site which was probably Scotland's second most popular tournament venue). In addition to these large-scale

tournaments in which a series of knights competed, there also appear to have been several chivalric duels in Scotland where a pair of contestants fought against each other. For example, in 1503 Sir Patrick Hamilton of Kincavil jousted with Patrick Sinclair at Greensward (a little outside the medieval burgh of Edinburgh) as part of James IV's welcome for Margaret Tudor.³⁸

The *Exchequer Rolls* for 1329 contain what is probably the first reliable reference to a tournament in the Edinburgh area.³⁹ Unfortunately, it is a very brief entry that simply lists a payment of £6 13s 4d for the construction of an enclosure near Edinburgh for knights to fight in, before cheerfully noting that the English knights who fought there were decisively defeated.⁴⁰ Tournaments also took place in Edinburgh in 1364, 1365 and 1398, and it is likely (but not certain) that jousting formed part of the celebrations for the marriage of James II to Mary of Gueldres in the summer of 1449.⁴¹

The glory days of Edinburgh tournaments were, though, initiated by James IV. In the course of his reign James IV held at least eight conventional tournaments (not to mention a nautical mock joust at Leith in May 1505).⁴² Four of these tournaments are known to have taken place in Edinburgh, and the remaining four were probably held there as well.

The court of James V was slightly more itinerant than that of his father, and this greater geographical range is reflected in the locations he chose for his tournaments. At least three of James V's tournaments were at Stirling, whilst a further two were probably held in Fife.⁴³ James also personally participated in jousts in Paris during the festivities for his marriage to Madeleine of France.⁴⁴ Yet James V did hold at least three tournaments in Edinburgh. He is believed to have hosted jousts in the capital in April 1527 and May 1530, as well as at the celebrations for the coronation of his second wife, Mary of Guise, in February 1540.⁴⁵ The 1540 tournament for Mary of Guise is thought to have been on an extremely grand scale.⁴⁶ Unfortunately, though, the sources regarding this event are extremely fragmentary.

The tournament of 1540 was probably one of the last conventional tournaments in Edinburgh and its environs. The reign of Mary Queen of Scots appears to have seen almost no tournaments (perhaps as a result both of the turmoil of her reign, and of the death of Henry II of France in a jousting accident in 1559). Under James VI, chivalric activity in Edinburgh had something of a resurgence. For example, James ordered the construction of a new practice jousting field at Holyrood.⁴⁷ He also hosted a nautical mock tournament at Leith in 1581 (perhaps an echo of James IV's water-borne joust).⁴⁸ However, this event was more like masque than a traditional tournament.

The timing and context of Edinburgh tournaments

Tournaments were not restricted to a particular season. Although spring and summer seem to have been slightly more popular times of year, tournaments were sometimes held in the middle of winter. For example, James IV hosted a tournament in Edinburgh in January 1496 to mark the marriage of Perkin Warbeck to Catherine Gordon.⁴⁹ Many of the Edinburgh tournaments were organised to coincide with holy days or great royal occasions (such as baptisms, wedding and

coronations), and were frequently part of a broader programme of festivities including feasting, pageants and processions.

For instance, when James IV married Margaret Tudor in August 1503, as well as three days of jousting, there were religious ceremonies, a formal royal entry to the burgh of Edinburgh, banquets, plays, music, performances by acrobats and an appearance by 'ane litill Orknay troll' (perhaps a person with dwarfism).⁵⁰ During the middle years of his reign, James IV held a series of tournaments on Shrove Tuesday or Fastern's Eve (the Scots term for the day before Lent).⁵¹ In Scotland, as in many other European countries, this was a traditional day for merry-making. Indeed, the 14th-century poet John Barbour remarked that 'apon fastry n evyn is / The custom, to mak ioy and blis'.⁵² James IV was therefore making tournaments an element of an established Scottish holiday.⁵³

Almost all of the recorded Edinburgh tournaments had an element of royal involvement or support. They were frequently financed by the Crown, and it is likely that during the reigns of James IV and V the initiative for holding them came directly from the monarch. Tournaments were occasionally organised by other members of the royal family. For example, in 1398 Robert III's queen, Annabella Drummond, arranged a tournament at Edinburgh for 12 knights, including her son, the Duke of Rothesay.⁵⁴ This tournament was probably designed to showcase Rothesay as an ideal chivalric heir. Queen Annabella's active involvement in hosting it is perhaps a reflection of the degree to which Robert III was failing to fulfil his monarchical responsibilities.

Edinburgh tournament sites

There seem to have been several sites in and around Edinburgh where tournaments took place. In so far as it is possible to judge (given the fragmentary nature of the sources), the tournaments of the 14th and early 15th centuries were held in undeveloped areas of land relatively close to the actual burgh. The Anglo-Scottish tournament of 1329 was described as being 'iuxta Edinburgh' (i.e. 'near' or 'close to' Edinburgh) – implying that it took place just outside the main urban settlement.⁵⁵ According to one of the versions of Bower's *Scotichronicon*, the tournament organised by Annabella Drummond in 1398 'was close to the north side of the town of Edinburgh where there is now a loch'.⁵⁶ This is presumably a reference to the area to the north of the burgh that was deliberately flooded in the mid-15th century to create the extended Nor Loch.

In August 1456, James II granted the provost, baillies and community of Edinburgh the valley and low ground at Greenside (just beneath Calton Hill) as a venue for tournaments, sports and other war-like deeds.⁵⁷ It is possible that this grant was intended to compensate for the site just to the north of the burgh being destroyed by the Nor Loch. The extent to which Greenside was used as a tournament site is unclear. We do not have any records of jousting being held there, but given the patchiness of the extant sources no firm conclusions can be drawn from this lacuna.⁵⁸ In December 1520, the Edinburgh burgh council granted 'the ground and place of the Greynsyde' to the Carmelite friars 'for their reparatioun and bigging to be maid'.⁵⁹ However, the Carmelites' buildings evidently left a significant amount of open space as in the early 1550s the citizens of Edinburgh organised a play at Greenside.⁶⁰

By the early 16th century, Edinburgh tournaments seem to have been mainly associated either with the Palace of Holyrood, or with a specially built tournament enclosure beside Edinburgh Castle. Traditionally, historians have paid more attention to Holyrood's role as a venue for jousting. However, Edinburgh Castle was also an important focus for chivalric activity. Research undertaken by Arkady Hodge suggests that James IV's famous Wild Knight and Black Lady tournaments of 1507 and 1508 were held at a *barras* (or tournament enclosure) to the south of the castle.⁶¹ As Hodge points out, the challenge for the 1507 tournament explicitly locates the event in the vicinity of the castle, stating that the contest will be held 'in the town of Edinburgh, within the field of Memory, which shall be between the Castle of Maidens and the Secret Pavilion'.

Martial activities seem to have taken place beside the castle long before the Wild Knight and Black Lady tournaments. Walter Bower's *Scotichronicon* claims that in 1426 'there was a single combat or judicial duel between Henry Knox a man-at-arms of gentle status as defender and a certain common tailor'.⁶² According to Bower, 'the duel was fought beneath the castle at Edinburgh in the king's presence at the appointed time; but on the king's instructions they were separated'.

Almost 80 years later, around 1500, Sir Patrick Hamilton of Kincavil and a foreign squire named John Capaunce fought a chivalric duel beside Edinburgh Castle. According to Robert Lindsay of Pitscottie, the contest took place 'withtin the listis of Edinburgh wnder the castell wall'.⁶³ The lists in which Hamilton and Capaunce fought seem to have been the subject of some controversy. In July 1501, the provost, baillies, treasurer and 'utheris divers of the nychtburis of the toun' of Edinburgh were commanded to appear before William, Earl of Errol, 'as he had thame under summondis before the Lordis for the intrometting and withhalding fra him of the *barras* in the *quhilk* Johne Coupance and Schir Patrik Hammyltoun facht in Edinburgh'.⁶⁴ The burgh officials appear to have admitted they were at fault and compensated the Earl of Errol:

... with certane mone, of the *quhilk* he held him content, for the said *barras*, and als thai promittit to supple the said lord in his office of constablari in tyme tocum, and nocht to be in his contrare in sic cais *quhen* it hapenis nor nain utheris concerning his office, for his favor and kindnes in tyme tocum.

The precise context to this dispute is unclear, but it presumably indicates that there were competing claims regarding the tenure (and perhaps use) of the *barras* site.

The *barras* that was causing such dissension in 1501 was probably the same as that refurbished in 1507 for the first Wild Knight and Black Lady tournament.⁶⁵ Arkady Hodge states that the *barras* used for the Wild Knight and Black Lady tournaments was part of the royal stables complex located on the south side of the Castle Rock, roughly where King's Stables Road now runs. The King's Stables site is depicted on James Gordon of Rothiemay's 1647 map of Edinburgh.⁶⁶ Rothiemay's map shows two large walled enclosures adjacent to the stables, and it seems likely that the eastern one of these was the remnants of the early-16th-century *barras*.

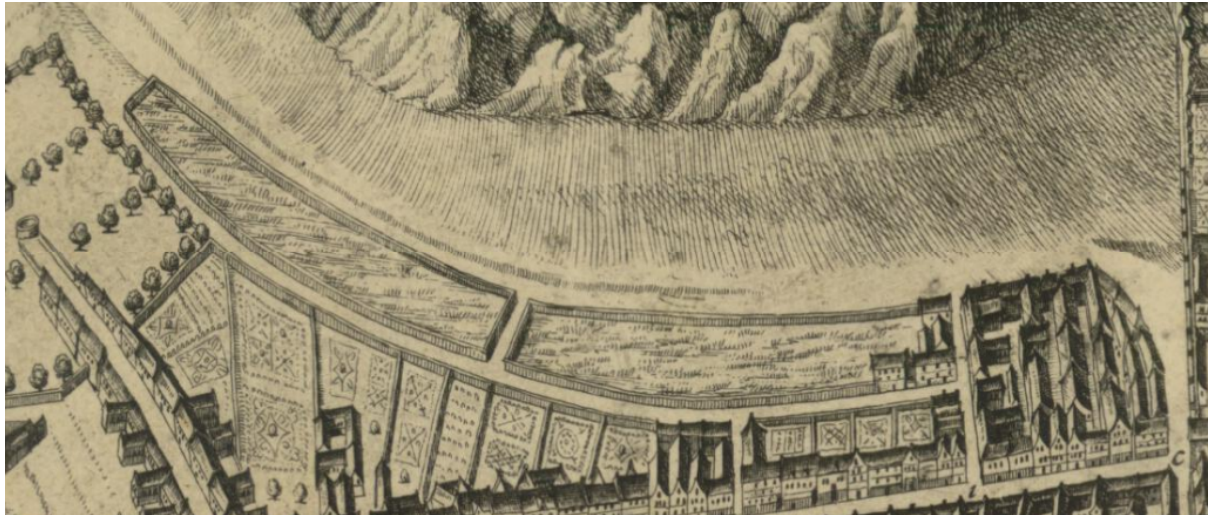


Figure 1 Detail of King's Stables Road area. J. Gordon of Rothiemay, 'Edinodunensis Tabulam', Reproduced by kind permission of the Trustees of the National Library of Scotland. Licenced under CC BY 2.0

The eastern walled enclosure immediately beside the King's Stables seems to have survived into the late 18th century. The majority of early maps of Edinburgh do not give any specific name to the enclosure. However, Alexander Kincaid's 1784 plan of the city and its environs labels it as 'Morass'.⁶⁷ Whilst this might reflect the nature of the terrain, it is equally possible that it is a corruption or misunderstanding of the term 'barras'.

We do not know exactly when the King's Stables site stopped being used for jousting. There is an entry from 1618 in *The Retours of Services of Heirs* that notes that Robert Scott inherited from his brother William land 'in King's Stables under the wall of the castle, with the office of guardianship of the tournaments, and the pastures of green land to the west called the Hastiludes, at the West Gate of Edinburgh'.⁶⁸ However, this description may not reflect early-17th-century use of the site - land transfers frequently include references to archaic (and largely unenforced) rights and responsibilities.

During the late 16th century, jousting in Edinburgh seems to have been centred on Holyrood, where James VI had a practice tournament field created in the grounds of the old abbey.⁶⁹ There is, though, also evidence for tournament activity at Holyrood earlier in the century. It is generally thought that the 1503 tournament to celebrate the marriage of James IV and Margaret Tudor was held in the courtyard of the palace.⁷⁰ Likewise, James V's tournaments of 1527 and 1530 are thought to have taken place at Holyrood, and perhaps the 1540 tournament for Mary of Guise's coronation as well.⁷¹ It seems probable that, during the 16th century, the focus of Edinburgh tournament activity, like many other aspects of Scottish court life, gradually shifted from the old castle at the west end of the burgh to the newly redesigned Renaissance palace on the eastern side of the capital.⁷²

PART III TOURNAMENT EQUIPMENT

Overview

The patchy nature of 14th- and 15th-century sources make it difficult to reconstruct the types of weapons and armour used in early Edinburgh tournaments. Fortunately, though, the evidence from the reigns of James IV and V is much more extensive. In particular, *The Accounts of the Lord High Treasurer of Scotland* (that survive from 1473 onwards) provide a window onto the purchase and maintenance of equipment for tournaments. By this date, tournament arms and armour had become increasingly differentiated from those used in actual warfare, and the *Treasurer's Accounts* frequently state that certain weapons were purchased specifically for jousting or tourneying. Like many elite sporting activities today, tournaments were expensive, and the *Treasurer's Accounts* give a valuable insight into the substantial sums of money James IV and V were willing to lavish on these events. A significant portion of the cost of tournaments was taken up by buying and maintaining the necessary arms and armour. However, the expenditure on surrounding pageantry could also be considerable. For example, the accounts associated with the Wild Knight and Black Lady tournament of 1507 include entries such as £88 for taffeta bought in Flanders, and £145 5s on purple cloth of gold imported from London.⁷³

Horses

Horses played a vital role in late-medieval Scottish tournaments, as successful jousting was dependent on large, expertly trained, horses. Good tournament horses were extremely valuable, and were sometimes imported from abroad. For example, in April 1538 James V wrote to Christian III of Denmark about the purchase of tournament horses.⁷⁴ The transaction was evidently successful as the Scottish *Treasurer's Accounts* for September 1538 include a payment of £22 13s 4d to a saddler named Patrick Slater, 'for furnessing of heidstellis, schakillis, gyrthis, wambrasis, mending of sadillis, wattering bridillis, and utheris small geir furnest be him to the grete hors that come furtht of Denmark'.⁷⁵

For jousts, horses were bedecked with a mix of functional and decorative equipment. Exceptionally extravagant horse trappings were made for the Wild Knight and Black Lady tournaments of 1507 and 1508.⁷⁶ However, moderately elaborate caparisons appear to have been used on other occasions. For example, the *Treasurer's Accounts* for the winter of 1495 to 1496 record the purchase of seven ells of velvet to cover 'tua sadillis and the harnessingis of the samyne' (at a cost of £20), plus ten ells of velvet to cover 'the Kingis bardis [covering for breast and flanks of a horse]' (cost £30), a pound of silk to provide fringes for the bardis (cost £4), and seven 'pirnis' or spools of gold thread to decorate the bardis (cost £4).⁷⁷ These purchases were probably all made for the Edinburgh tournament of January 1496. Impressive trappings were not restricted to the king's personal mount. Luxurious covers were sometimes provided for the horses of favoured courtiers. For example, in 1505 James IV paid £4 10s 'for vj elne grene taffeti to Pate Sinclair, to ane covir for his hors at the tournaying at Fastingis Evin'.⁷⁸

Underneath their taffeta and velvet coverings, tournament horses also wore a number of highly functional items. Traditionally, the front of the horse was protected with various forms of armour and padding. René d'Anjou's mid-15th-century French treatise on tournaments describes how horses were sometimes provided with:

... a kind of hourt that is attached in front of the bow of the saddle, both above and below, in several places, as well and as securely as you can; and it falls the length of an ell in front of the saddle, and wraps around the breast of the horse. The hourt is good to protect the horse or destrier from being hit in the fray, and it also protects the legs of the tourneyers from blows.

This hourt is made of long straw between strong cloth reinforced with whipcords, and inside the hourt is a sack full of straw, in the shape of a crescent, attached to the hourt, that rests against the breast of the horse, and raises the hourt, so that it doesn't bang against the legs of the horse. And besides the reinforcement, there may be rods sewn inside that hold it straight and in place.⁷⁹

In German, such an arrangement was known as a '*Stechkissen*'.⁸⁰ It is possible that a similar set-up was used in Scottish tournaments. The *Treasurer's Accounts* for 1502 record a payment of £3 10s to an armourer named Moncur 'for ane pair of cuschingis ... and mending of the Kingis harnes at the tournaying'.⁸¹ The meaning of the term 'cuschingis' in this context is unclear, but it is perhaps a reference to something like a *hourt* or *Stechkissen*. The *Treasurer's Accounts* also contain numerous entries regarding 'bards' for horses. Unfortunately, this term had a range of meanings. Whilst it could refer to padded protection on the front of a horse, in some cases it appears to have indicated purely decorative coverings.⁸²

For obvious reasons a tournament horse's face was particularly vulnerable, and as a result they were often protected by specialist armour. In the late 1530s, James V purchased 'thre coveringis of harnes [armour] for the hors facis' for the jousts accompanying his marriage to Madeleine of France.⁸³ The armour on a horse's head was sometimes called a chamfron or schaffron, and the *Treasurer's Accounts* for 1542 record the maintenance of 'schaifronis for hors' along with other items of 'the Kingis grace justing harnes and gilt harnes'.⁸⁴

Saddles, of course, formed an essential part of the equipment for jousting. The saddles used for jousting were often specifically designed for the sport, and are sometimes identified as such in the *Treasurer's Accounts*. For example, during the winter of 1538 to 1539 James V was supplied with 'justing sadillis, riding sadillis, bridillis ... uther geir'.⁸⁵ The saddles purchased by James V at this time seem to have been partly made from leather, as there is a record of 'xij skins to cover the gret justing sadillis' being delivered to Patrick Slater in February 1539.⁸⁶ Steel saddles were also used at the Scottish court, and are referred to in several records associated with James IV's tournaments. For instance, in February 1505 James Hog polished with 'ymree' or emery 'thre steil sadilles' as part of the preparations for that year's Fastern's Eve tournament.⁸⁷ By the late Middle Ages, there were many different designs of tournament saddle. However, in general they needed to provide support behind the back, but not rise too high over the saddle-bow, in order to allow for the requirements of jousting.⁸⁸

Armour and clothing

By the late Middle Ages, a wide range of tournament armour had been developed. Different types of protection were used for different contests. For example, the armour worn to fight on foot was distinct from that used for jousting.⁸⁹ There were also regional variations, with the style of armour favoured in Germany differing from that used in France or Italy. Evidence from the *Treasurer's Accounts* suggest that the armour used in late-15th and early-16th-century Scottish tournaments

drew on a variety of Continental models, with perhaps some additional influences from Scotland's own past.

Late medieval tournament armour typically involved several layers of protection. Padded underclothing formed an essential part of tournament garb, and was occasionally used independently of metal armour. The *Treasurer's Accounts* contain numerous references to 'hogtouns', which were a type of padded jerkin normally worn under armour.⁹⁰ Hogtouns appear to have been made from a variety of materials. The accounts for the tournament to celebrate the marriage of Perkin Warbeck to Catherine Gordon record the purchase of purple damask 'to be ane hogtoun to the Prince [Warbeck] agane the tourenay', plus 12 ells of tartar to provide Warbeck's servants with 'sex hogtounis agane the tournament'.⁹¹ Meanwhile, in January 1512, James IV purchased a hogtoun of black velvet lined with marten skins (although it should be noted that the accounts do not make it clear whether this luxurious item was designed for tournaments or for other activities).⁹² Tournament clothing for the legs is referred to slightly less frequently in the *Treasurer's Accounts*. However, there are some entries regarding arming hose. For example, James IV gave Perkin Warbeck six quarters of white carsay (a type of coarse woollen cloth) to be 'a paire of armyng hois'.⁹³

The metal armour used at Scottish tournaments appears to have varied. Perhaps unsurprisingly, Scottish kings sometimes drew on French tournament fashions. In the 1530s, James V purchased 'ane stand of harnes of the fassoun of the King of Frauncis' and 'ane othir stand maid of the Dolphinis fassoun'.⁹⁴ Both of these suits of armour seem to have been bought for the festivities accompanying the marriage to Madeleine of France. However, there was almost certainly French influence on Scottish tournament armour prior to this date. Indeed, James IV employed a man referred to in the accounts as 'Laurence, the Franch armorar'.⁹⁵

Foreign influences on Scottish tournament gear were not restricted to France. There is reason to believe that Scots also followed German trends. For example, around the time James V bought the armour inspired by the French royal family, he purchased mail 'schone' or shoes in 'the Almane fassoun'.⁹⁶ Similarly, certain references to the equipment used by James IV imply a German inspiration. For instance, the accounts for the 1507 Wild Knight and Black Lady tournament include a payment of 8s 'for ij platis to ane sadil of the Kingis'.⁹⁷ It seems likely that this refers to a structure comparable to the steel plates (or *Dilgen*) that German joustiers used to attach to their saddles, and which took the place of conventional leg armour.⁹⁸

In many cases, the *Treasurer's Accounts* describe tournament armour in very general terms, often simply referring to the purchase or repair of 'harness'. However, there are several entries that mention specific items of equipment, thereby enabling more detailed analysis of the armour used at the Scottish court. Regarding headgear, both James IV and V appear to have owned the light helmets known as basinets. The accounts for the Black Lady tournament of 1508 include 'ane bar for ane basnet' amongst a list of payments for alterations to the king's armour.⁹⁹ Meanwhile, in 1532, six quarters of crammasy (crimson satin or velvet) were delivered 'to the Franche armorar to lyne the Kingis hewmont and basnet'.¹⁰⁰ Basinets could be used as the main form of head protection. However,

they were sometimes worn in conjunction with a larger helmet, the great helm – a combination that the above quotation may be describing.

Other items of armour specifically mentioned in the accounts regarding tournaments include braces (armour for the arms), 'gluffis [gloves] of plait', paunces (armour protecting the abdomen), and pisanes (armour protecting the upper part of the chest and neck).¹⁰¹ Although by the late Middle Ages plate armour was widespread in aristocratic circles, both paunces and pisanes were often still made of mail. For example, the accounts for 1537 record the repair 'of twa pissanis of mailze to the Kingis grace', whilst in 1496, James IV had 'sleiffis and pans of mailze' lined with satin.¹⁰²

On top of their metal armour, many tournament contestants wore garments bearing their coats of arms, which both served to identify competitors and added to the spectacle of the event. These heraldic over-garments or 'coat-armour' were often made of highly luxurious fabrics. For example, the *Treasurer's Accounts* for 1496 record the purchase of two ells of 'rede taffaty, to be the Kingis cotearmour'.¹⁰³ Coat-armour was often decorated with embroidery. However, designs could be painted on. Indeed, in 1496 a painter named John Pret was paid £3 'for paynting of pailzoune thanis [pennants] and the Kingis cotearmour'.¹⁰⁴

Tournament participants could also be identified by their shields. During the late Middle Ages, heavy cavalry increasingly abandoned the use of shields in actual warfare.¹⁰⁵ However, they remained an element of tournament gear, and shields were one of the recognised targets in jousting. Late-medieval tournament shields were generally quite small, and frequently had a notch in one corner to act as a rest for the lance.¹⁰⁶ The *Treasurer's Accounts* contain fewer references than one might expect to shields. There is a reference in 1508 to the purchase of velvet and cloth of gold 'to covir the Kingis scheild and scheild ledderis [leathers]', but this is relatively unusual.¹⁰⁷ There are rather more entries in the accounts regarding targes. In 1503, 2s 8d was paid for two ells of 'blak gray [cloth] quhilk covirit the Kingis targe', whilst the accounts for the summer of 1508 record five 'rede [red] skinnis' being used for targes.¹⁰⁸ The word 'targe' is often associated with a specific form of light, round shield, but it may have been used with a slightly broader application.¹⁰⁹ For example, the funeral expenses for James V include (amongst payments for the painting of the effigy's crown and sceptre) an entry regarding the decoration of 'ane targe deliverit to Lyoun herold' – a context in which it seems likely that a more conventionally shaped shield would have been used.¹¹⁰

Maintaining all this tournament equipment took a substantial amount of effort and expense, and the *Treasurer's Accounts* contain frequent references to armour being repaired or 'dichted' (made good). For example, in 1503, James Hog was paid £1 4s for 'dighting of the suordis that left at the tournaying of Fastingis Evin, and for dichting of harnes'.¹¹¹ Even if armour was not damaged in combat, it required regular oiling and polishing. The accounts for supplying Edinburgh Castle during the winter of 1541 to 1542 include an entry for three quarts of olive oil and 'for wax and schein talloun to mix the samin witht to lay upoun the harnes [armour] for kepeing thair of fra roust'.¹¹² Whilst the harness referred to here was probably not tournament armour, this entry provides a reminder of the constant struggle to keep steel items free from rust in a damp climate.

To ensure that arms and armour were in first-rate condition throughout a tournament, metal workers were often kept on site. For example, in June 1508, a cutler named William Raa was paid £1 'for his labour x dayis in the Kingis palzoun be the Kingis command the tyme of justing'.¹¹³ Around the same time an armourer named Alan Coquheran and his two assistants were employed for 27 days.¹¹⁴ James IV also appears to have been willing to fund technical support for other competitors, as the 1508 accounts include a payment of £1 14s 'to ane armorar with the Franch men xvii dayis'.¹¹⁵ As these entries demonstrate, competitors in late-medieval tournaments were supported by a network of craftsmen and grooms. The expertise supplied by these men was essential for enabling aristocrats to compete effectively. Without the support provided by armourers, smiths, grooms and a host of other servants and skilled workers, late-medieval tournaments simply could not have functioned.

Weapons

Although late medieval tournaments were in many ways lavish courtly spectacles, they still retained a martial element. Even in the 16th century, tournaments provided an opportunity for kings and nobles to display their horsemanship and proficiency with weapons (albeit in a context increasingly divorced from contemporary warfare). During the reigns of James IV and V, a range of weapons, including lances, swords, daggers and maces, were used at Scottish tournaments.

Lances (which were generally just called jousting spears in 16th-century Scottish sources) are one of the commonest types of tournament weapon referred to in the *Treasurer's Accounts*. They were usually purchased in large quantities – reflecting both the importance of jousting, and the relatively disposable nature of lances. For example, around the time of his marriage to Margaret Tudor, James IV purchased 160 'justing speirs' and 'speris for tournaying', at a cost of 3s per spear.¹¹⁶ The lances used in late-medieval tournaments were specifically designed for recreational jousting. They were often intended to shatter on impact and typically had a blunt head.¹¹⁷ The precise style of lance (and, in particular, lance-head) used in Scottish tournaments is unclear. There are numerous references in the *Treasurer's Accounts* to the purchase of 'vyrales and dyamindis for justing', and some entries recorded the acquisition of 'spere hedis for justing'.¹¹⁸ Vyrales (or ferrules) are normally identified as bands of metal to prevent the lance splitting, whilst diamonds are generally thought to refer to a diamond-shaped piece of metal on the tip of the lance.¹¹⁹ Unfortunately, I have been unable to establish in any more detail the nature of the design.

The *Treasurer's Accounts* often mention tournament swords. For example, in 1502, James IV paid £8 to a cutler called Robert for 16 'suordis for tournaying'.¹²⁰ Again, these were weapons specifically intended for use in tournaments, and fundamentally different from those used in war. According to René d'Anjou, a tournament sword should:

... be four fingers wide, so that it cannot pass through the eyeslot of the helm, and the two edges ought to be as wide as a finger's thickness. And so that it will not be too heavy, it should be hollowed out in the middle and rebated in front and all in one piece from the crosspiece to the end, and the crosspiece should be so short that it can just block any blow that by chance descends or comes sliding down the

length of the sword to the fingers. And it ought to be as long as the arm with the hand of the man who carries it ...121

By the late Middle Ages, there was substantial variety in sword design. It seems likely that a range of styles were used in Scottish tournaments. Certainly, the *Treasurer's Accounts* refer to both long and short swords. For instance, in 1503 a payment of £12 was made 'for xxiiij suordis, xij lang and xij schort suordis, the said tyme for turnaying'.¹²²

Swords and 'spears' are the tournament weapons that appear most frequently in the *Treasurer's Accounts*. However, other weapons are also mentioned. For example, the accounts for the Wild Knight and Black Lady tournament of 1507 refer to 'dagaris for the barres' and an unusual 'steil mais gilt, with ane dagar in it'.¹²³ The precise purpose of this mace is unknown, but it hints at the diverse range of activities and weaponry present at late-medieval Scottish tournaments.

PART IV FURTHER RESEARCH

This report attempts to provide a brief introduction to Edinburgh tournaments. However, there is substantial potential for further research. Whilst there are some existing publications that discuss tournaments held in the capital (notably Louise Fradenburg's *City, Marriage, Tournament* and Katie Stevenson's *Chivalry and Knighthood in Scotland*), there are many issues that remain neglected.¹²⁴ Potential areas for future investigations include:

1. Detailed study of the arms and armour employed in Scottish tournaments.

It would be particularly interesting to draw further comparisons with other European countries. Research into the craftsmen involved in creating and maintaining tournament arms and armour might also prove rewarding – especially as a number of them appear to have been based in Edinburgh.

2. Research into the people who took part in tournaments.

Some information regarding the competitors in Scottish tournaments is provided by Katie Stevenson's research. For example, she has identified several of the key figures who jousting alongside James IV. However, there is the potential for more detailed work in this area.

3. Analysis of the conduct and regulation of tournaments.

There survive in the National Library of Scotland a number of manuscripts associated with the offices of a herald.¹²⁵ Whilst some attention has been paid to these texts, so far as I am aware, there have been limited attempts to relate the content of these official guidelines to other types of sources, such as the data contained in royal accounts. The comparison between these differing materials

might yield valuable connections and clarifications. A specific point that it would be helpful to investigate is whether it was standard in Scottish tournaments for the jousts to be separated from each other by a barrier (something that has significant ramifications for the styles of leg-armour likely to have been used).

4. Further research regarding the spaces used for tournaments.

It is evident that Edinburgh was a popular tournament location, and this report has highlighted some of the key sites associated with these events. However, there are still significant gaps in our understanding of the use and layout of the city's tournament sites. As the general area of the tournament venues can be identified, it might be worthwhile examining materials such as landholding documents for these locations.

Ultimately, the sources on Edinburgh tournaments are patchy. However, resources such as the *Treasurer's Accounts* provide an extraordinary amount of information for the end of the 15th and the 16th centuries – the significance of which has only begun to be analysed. Many Edinburgh tournaments were also attended by foreign dignitaries. It is therefore possible that there is additional untapped material in documents outside of Scotland – although it should be noted that tracking down such sources is likely to be an extremely time-consuming process. Yet, even if no further sources are found, I would suggest that there is sufficient material already present in Scotland to enable significantly more research into Edinburgh's late-medieval and early-modern tournament culture.

APPENDIX

Tournaments in Scotland

(Recreational jousts involving more than two participants)

Date	Location	Source
1242	Haddington	Edington, 'Tournament in Medieval Scotland', p 48.
†1302	Falkirk	Edington, 'Tournament in Medieval Scotland', p 49.
†1304	Stirling	Edington, 'Tournament in Medieval Scotland', p 49.
†1305 (October)	Roxburgh	Edington, 'Tournament in Medieval Scotland', p 49.
c.1329	Edinburgh (exact location unknown)	<i>ER</i> , vol. 1, p 238.
†1341	Melrose	Edington, 'Tournament in Medieval Scotland', p 49.

1364	Edinburgh (exact location unknown)	Edington, 'Tournament in Medieval Scotland', p 53.
1365	Edinburgh (exact location unknown)	Edington, 'Tournament in Medieval Scotland', p 53.
1382 (July)	St Andrews	NRS GD82/6.
1398	Edinburgh (on the site of the Nor Loch)	Edington, 'Tournament in Medieval Scotland', p 54. Bower, <i>Scotichronicon</i> , vol. 8, pp 10-11.
1401	Perth	Edington, 'Tournament in Medieval Scotland', p 54.
1404	Stirling	Edington, 'Tournament in Medieval Scotland', p 54.
1433 (probably October) ⁱ	Perth	Stevenson, <i>Chivalry and Knighthood</i> , p 71.
1449 (Shrove Tuesday)	Stirling	Stevenson, <i>Chivalry and Knighthood</i> , pp 72-5.
1449 (Summer) ⁱⁱ	Probably Edinburgh (exact location unknown)	Stevenson, <i>Chivalry and Knighthood</i> , p 78. <i>ER</i> , vol. 5, pp 312, 315, 339, 345-6, 383, 385.
1496 (January)	Edinburgh (exact location unknown)	Stevenson, <i>Chivalry and Knighthood</i> , p 84. Macdougall, <i>James IV</i> , pp 122-3.
1503 (Shrove Tuesday)	Probably Edinburgh (exact location unknown) ⁱⁱⁱ	Stevenson, <i>Chivalry and Knighthood</i> , p 90.
1503 (August)	Edinburgh (Holyrood Palace)	Stevenson, <i>Chivalry and Knighthood</i> , p 92.
1504 (Midsummer) ^{iv}	Location unknown	Stevenson, <i>Chivalry and Knighthood</i> , pp 93-4. <i>TA</i> , vol. 2, pp 476-7.
1505 (Shrove Tuesday)	Probably Edinburgh (exact location unknown) ⁱⁱⁱ	Stevenson, <i>Chivalry and Knighthood</i> , p 90.
*1505 (May)	Leith (docks)	Stevenson, <i>Chivalry and Knighthood</i> , p 94.

1506 (Shrove Tuesday)	Probably Edinburgh (exact location unknown) ³	Stevenson, <i>Chivalry and Knighthood</i> , pp 90-1.
1507 (Summer)	Edinburgh (probably by the Castle)	Stevenson, <i>Chivalry and Knighthood</i> , pp 94-6. Report by Arkady Hodge.
1508 (May)	Edinburgh (either by the Castle or at Holyrood Palace)	Stevenson, <i>Chivalry and Knighthood</i> , pp 96-7. Report by Arkady Hodge.
1527 (April)	Edinburgh (Holyrood Palace)	Stevenson, <i>Chivalry and Knighthood</i> , p 99.
1529 (August)	Stirling	Stevenson, <i>Chivalry and Knighthood</i> , p 99.
1530 (May)	Edinburgh (Holyrood Palace)	Stevenson, <i>Chivalry and Knighthood</i> , p 99. Thomas, <i>Princelie Majestie</i> , p 200.
1531 (January)	Stirling	Stevenson, <i>Chivalry and Knighthood</i> , p 99. Thomas, <i>Princelie Majestie</i> , p 200.
1532 (possibly Autumn) ^{iv}	Location unknown	Stevenson, <i>Chivalry and Knighthood</i> , p 99. <i>TA</i> , vol. 6, pp 25, 73.
1533 (December) ^{iv}	Location unknown	Stevenson, <i>Chivalry and Knighthood</i> , pp 99-100. <i>TA</i> , vol. 6, p 214.
1534 (August)	Stirling	Stevenson, <i>Chivalry and Knighthood</i> , pp 99-100. <i>TA</i> , vol. 6, p 225.
1535 (Christmas)	Probably Stirling ⁱⁱⁱ	Stevenson, <i>Chivalry and Knighthood</i> , pp 99-100. <i>TA</i> , vol. 6, p 261.
1538 (June)	St Andrews	Stevenson, <i>Chivalry and Knighthood</i> , p 101. Thomas, <i>Princelie Majestie</i> , pp 200-1.
1539 (May)	Probably Falkland or St Andrews ^v	Stevenson, <i>Chivalry and Knighthood</i> , p 102. <i>TA</i> , vol. 7, pp 165, 168.
1539 (July) ^{iv}	Location unknown	Stevenson, <i>Chivalry and Knighthood</i> , p 102. <i>TA</i> , vol. 7, pp 184.

1540 (February)	Edinburgh	Stevenson, <i>Chivalry and Knighthood</i> , p 102. Thomas, <i>Princelie Majestie</i> , pp 197–200.
1541 (August) ⁴	Location unknown	Stevenson, <i>Chivalry and Knighthood</i> , p 102. <i>TA</i> , vol. 7, p 469.
1542 (July) ^{iv}	Location unknown	Stevenson, <i>Chivalry and Knighthood</i> , p 102. <i>TA</i> , vol. 8, p 92.
*1581 (January)	Leith	Lynch, 'The Reassertion of Princely Power', p 232.
1594 (August)	Stirling	Lynch, 'The Reassertion of Princely Power', p 226.

† These tournaments were organised by invading English armies.

* These were both nautical tournaments and should probably be regarded just as court entertainments rather than as serious events.

‡ There is some uncertainty about this dating.

‡ The existence of this tournament is based on tentative evidence in the *Exchequer Rolls*.

‡ The location of this tournament is inferred from evidence in the *Register of the Privy Seal* regarding where royal charters were issued. However, it should be noted that the place at which charters were officially agreed is not always a reliable guide to the king's location.

‡ The existence of this tournament is based on tentative evidence in the *Treasurer's Accounts*.

‡ This tournament has traditionally been assumed to take place at Falkland. Yet, according to the *Treasurer's Accounts*, the king 'ran at the listis' on the 'secund day of Maii' (with no location mentioned). The *Register of the Privy Seal* contains a large number of charters issued by James V on this date – all of which state they were given at St Andrews. *RSS*, vol. 2, pp 698–9. The *Treasurer's Accounts* for 1539 also refer to the payment of £4 16s 8d to William Smeberd 'for cariage of the Kingis harnes, speris and uthir justing geir fra Edinburgh to Striveling, and fra Striveling to Sanctandros in Aprile and Maii'. *TA*, vol. 7, p 165.

ABBREVIATIONS

NLS National Library of Scotland

NRS National Records of Scotland

Dr Bess Rhodes' research focuses on Scotland in the 15th and early 16th centuries. After completing an MLitt in medieval history at the University of St Andrews, Bess obtained her PhD in Scottish history from the same university. She subsequently held a teaching fellowship in early modern British history at the University of St Andrews, and is currently head of historical research for Smart History (a new collaboration between history and computer science, based in St Andrews). Among other recent projects, Bess has been working on a digital reconstruction of the burgh of Edinburgh as it appeared in the early 1540s.

Notes

¹ Carol Edington, 'The Tournament in Medieval Scotland', in Matthew Strickland (ed.), *Armies, Chivalry and Warfare in Medieval Britain and France* (Stamford, 1998), p 47.

² *Ibid.*, p 48.

³ *Ibid.*, pp 49–52.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p 49.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p 49.

⁶ Andrew of Wyntoun's *Orygynale Cronykil* states of David II: 'Justyng, dawnsyng, and playnge He luwyd welle'. David Laing, *The Orygynale Cronykil of Scotland, by Androw of Wyntoun* (Edinburgh, 1872–9), book VIII, line 5947.

⁷ Edington, 'The Tournament in Medieval Scotland', p 52.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p 54.

⁹ NRS, GD82/6. Unfortunately, there is very little information about the St Andrews tournament as the document that records it is a transumpt that was primarily concerned with a grant of the lands of Nether Lunbenyn. The only reason why the tournament is referred to at all is because the relevant charters concerning Nether Lunbenyn were apparently read aloud in public at the tournament on the request of John Ramsay of Brackmont.

¹⁰ Rothesay is believed to have participated in a joust in Edinburgh in 1398 (more details of which are given later in this report). There is also a cryptic remark in Bower's *Scotichronicon* claiming that Rothesay was believed to engage 'too often in unruly games and trivial sports'. D. E. R. Watt, *Scotichronicon by Walter Bower* (Aberdeen, 1987), vol. 8, p 39.

¹¹ Bower, *Scotichronicon*, vol. 8, p 305.

¹² This quotation is taken from John Bellenden's translation of Hector Boece's history. J. Bellenden (trans.), *Scotorum Historiae* (Edinburgh, 1540), fol. 240v.

¹³ Edington, 'The Tournament in Medieval Scotland', p 55.

¹⁴ Katie Stevenson, *Chivalry and Knighthood in Scotland, 1424–1513* (Woodbridge, 2006), p 71.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p 72.

¹⁶ This tournament is discussed at some length by Katie Stevenson. *Ibid.*, pp 72–7. Also see Edington, 'The Tournament in Medieval Scotland', p 55.

¹⁷ J. Stuart *et al.* (eds), *The Exchequer Rolls of Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1878–1908), vol. 5, pp 312, 315, 339, 345, 346. The *Exchequer Rolls* are hereafter denoted as *ER*.

¹⁸ Stevenson, *Chivalry and Knighthood*, pp 80–2.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, pp 82–102.

²⁰ See entries in T. Dickson and James Balfour Paul (eds), *Accounts of the Lord High Treasurer of Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1877–1916), vols 2, 3, 4, 6, 7. The *Treasurer's Accounts* are hereafter denoted as *TA*.

²¹ Norman Macdougall, *James IV* (Edinburgh, 1989), p 295.

²² James VI's tournaments appear to have been partly inspired by the spectacular jousts held at the Elizabethan court. Michael Lynch, 'The Reassertion of Princely Power in Scotland: The Reigns of Mary, Queen of Scots and King James VI', in Martin Gosman, Alasdair MacDonald and Arjo Vanderjagt (eds), *Princes and Princely Culture, 1450–1650* (Leiden, 2003–5), vol. 1, pp 230, 232.

²³ Lynch, 'The Reassertion of Princely Power', p 226.

²⁴ Edington, 'The Tournament in Medieval Scotland', pp 48, 59.

²⁵ Walter Bower claims that, following the death of James I, interest in jousting increased amongst the Scottish nobility. According to Bower, James I had encouraged archery, ordering:

... that the archer's art should be practiced by nearly everybody, at least on feast days under threat of fixed money fines, with targets for shooting prepared and erected in every village, especially at the parish churches. After and as a consequence of [James I's] sad death, nearly everyone gave up on bows and archery without a thought, and devoted themselves to riding with lances, with the result that now at a meeting for magnates you [usually] find out of one hundred men some eighty lances and scarcely six archers.

The degree to which Bower's account of events reflects reality is hard to assess. Certainly, a proportion of the Scottish nobility were interested in jousting long before the reign of James I. Bower, *Scotichronicon*, vol. 8, p 259.

²⁶ Robert Lindsay of Pitscottie, *The Historie and Cronicles of Scotland from the Slauchter of King James the First to the Ane Thousande Fyve Hundreith Thrie Scoir Fiftein Zeir* (Edinburgh and London, 1899–1911), vol. 1, p 232. Hereafter denoted as Pitscottie, *Historie*.

²⁷ It is notable that Pitscottie lists the jousting first in his description of events. Even though he is trying to emphasise the range of weapons used, he still seems to assume that jousting should take precedence.

²⁸ In his satirical poem 'The Justing betuix James Watsoun and Jhone Barbour', Sir David Lindsay mocked the chaos that could ensue when inexperienced people tried to joust. The combatants in Lindsay's poem:

From tyme thay enterit war in to the field,
Full womanlie thay weildit speir and scheid,
And wichtlie waifit in the wynd thare heillis,
Hobland like Cadgeris rydand on thair creillis
Bot ather ran at uther with sic haist,
That thay culd neuer thair speir get in the raist,
Quhe[n] gentil James trowit best w[i]t[h] Iohne to meit
His speir did fald amang his horsis feit.
I am rycht sure gude Iames had bene vndone,
War not that Iohne his mark tuke be the mone.

David Lindsay, 'The Justing betuix James Watsoun and Jhone Barbour, Servitouris to King James the Fyft', in *The Warkis of the Famous and Worthie Knicht, Schir David Lyndesay* (Edinburgh, 1582), p 315.

²⁹ Stevenson, *Chivalry and Knighthood*, p 81.

³⁰ Edington, 'The Tournament in Medieval Scotland', p 51.

³¹ *Ibid.*, pp 51, 59, 62.

³² *Ibid.*, p 62.

³³ Andrea Thomas, *Princelie Majestie: The Court of James V of Scotland, 1528–1542* (Edinburgh, 2005), *passim*.

³⁴ It is perhaps significant that, when Lindsay of Pitcottie praised James IV for holding tournaments, he emphasised how by ‘this way and meane the king brocht his realme to great manheid and honouris’ and that the ‘fame of his iusting and tornamentis sprang throw all Europe’, rather than focusing on any military practice provided by these activities. Pitcottie, *Historie*, p 232.

³⁵ Edington, ‘The Tournament in Medieval Scotland’, p 51.

³⁶ This is in no sense a definitive figure regarding the number of tournaments held during this period – it is merely the total of the tournaments I am aware of references to. However, the tournaments for which we have extant records are almost certainly only a proportion of the contests that actually took place. This total excludes the nautical mock-tournaments of James IV and VI.

³⁷ See Appendix of Tournaments in Scotland for further details.

³⁸ Stevenson, *Chivalry and Knighthood*, p 91.

³⁹ It has been claimed that there was a tournament at Edinburgh during the reign of William the Lion, but Carol Edington notes there is an absence of contemporary evidence for this. Edington, ‘The Tournament in Medieval Scotland’, p 47.

⁴⁰ *ER*, vol. 1, p 238. The Latin reads ‘Et vicecomiti de Edenburgh, pro factura parci iuxta Edenburgh, ubi milites pugnabant, et in quo miles Anglie fuit devictus, £6 13s 4d, de quibus respondebit’.

⁴¹ Edington, ‘The Tournament in Medieval Scotland’, pp 53–4. Stevenson, *Chivalry and Knighthood*, p 78.

⁴² Stevenson, *Chivalry and Knighthood*, pp 84–97.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, pp 99, 101–2. Thomas, *Princelie Majestie*, pp 200–1.

⁴⁴ Stevenson, *Chivalry and Knighthood*, p 100.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, pp 99–100, 102.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, p 102.

⁴⁷ Lynch, ‘The Reassertion of Princely Power’, p 232.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, p 232.

⁴⁹ Stevenson, *Chivalry and Knighthood*, p 84.

⁵⁰ *TA*, vol. 2, p 389.

⁵¹ Stevenson, *Chivalry and Knighthood*, pp 90–1.

⁵² Matthew McDiarmid and James Stevenson (eds), *Barbour’s Bruce: ‘A fredome is a noble thing’*, 3 vols (Edinburgh, 1980–4), book X, line 440.

⁵³ There was also a tradition of tournaments on Shrove Tuesday in other countries which James may have been echoing. Stevenson, *Chivalry and Knighthood*, p 89.

⁵⁴ Bower, *Scotichronicon*, vol. 8, pp 10–11.

⁵⁵ *ER*, vol. 1, p 238.

⁵⁶ Bower, *Scotichronicon*, vol. 8. p 10. The full Latin entry for this tournament in Bower reads:

Anno domini m^o ccc^o xcviij [domina regina constituit] grande hasilitudium xii militum [quorum precipuus erat filius suus princeps regni David Stewart qui eodem anno effectus est dux Rothsaien]. Huiusmodi tirocinium fuit contigue a parte aquilonali ville de Edinburgh ubi nunc est lacus].

It should be noted that the sections in square brackets are only present in two manuscripts of the *Scotichronicon*.

⁵⁷ ‘Appendix: Abstracts of Charters and Other Documents’, in J. D. Marwick (ed.), *Extracts From the Records of the Burgh of Edinburgh, 1403–1528* (Edinburgh, 1869), pp 314–39, www.british-history.ac.uk/edinburgh-burgh-records/1403-1528/pp314-339 [accessed 30 March 2015].

⁵⁸ Stevenson, *Chivalry and Knighthood*, p 80.

⁵⁹ ‘Extracts from the Records: 1520’, in J. D. Marwick (ed.) *Extracts From the Records of the Burgh of Edinburgh, 1403–1528* (Edinburgh, 1869), pp 193–203, www.british-history.ac.uk/edinburgh-burgh-records/1403-1528/pp193-203 [accessed 30 March 2015].

⁶⁰ Robert Adam (ed.), *Edinburgh Records: The Burgh Accounts* (Edinburgh, 1899), p xix.

⁶¹ Unpublished research report by Arkady Hodge for Historic Scotland.

⁶² Bower, *Scotichronicon*, vol. 8, p 259.

⁶³ Pitscottie, *Historie*, vol. 1, p 234.

⁶⁴ ‘Extracts from the Records: 1501’, in J. D. Marwick (ed.) *Extracts From the Records of the Burgh of Edinburgh, 1403–1528* (Edinburgh, 1869), pp 88–92, www.british-history.ac.uk/edinburgh-burgh-records/1403-1528/pp88-92 [accessed 22 March 2015].

⁶⁵ The *Treasurer’s Accounts* state that in April 1507 14s was paid ‘to the masons of the barres, in drinksilver’. *TA*, vol. 3, p 384.

⁶⁶ James Gordon of Rothiemay, ‘Edinodunensis Tabulam’, NLS, EMS.s.52, <http://maps.nls.uk/towns/detail.cfm?id=211> [accessed 10 October 2017].

⁶⁷ Alexander Kincaid, ‘A Plan of the City and Suburbs of Edinburgh’, NLS, EMS.s.632, <http://maps.nls.uk/towns/detail.cfm?id=414> [accessed 10 October 2017].

⁶⁸ Bruce Durie (ed.), *Retours of Services of Heirs 1544–1699* (2012), vol. 2, pp 707–8. Translation by Durie.

⁶⁹ Lynch, ‘The Reassertion of Princely Power’, p 232.

⁷⁰ Stevenson, *Chivalry and Knighthood*, p 92.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, p 99. Thomas, *Princelie Majestie*, pp 197–200.

⁷² Lynch, ‘The Reassertion of Princely Power’, p 221.

⁷³ *TA*, vol. 3, p 256. All figures are given in Scottish currency.

⁷⁴ NRS, GD149/264, fol. 106.

⁷⁵ *TA*, vol. 6, p 444.

⁷⁶ Discussed in some detail by Arkady Hodge. Unpublished research report by Arkady Hodge for Historic Scotland.

⁷⁷ *TA*, vol. 1, pp 261–2.

⁷⁸ *TA*, vol. 2, p 479. Pate or Patrick Sinclair appears to have been one of the leading jousts at the court of James IV. See Stevenson, *Chivalry and Knighthood*, p 98.

⁷⁹ Translation accessed at: www.princeton.edu/~ezb/rene/renebook.html#Arms [accessed 10 October 2017].

⁸⁰ Helmut Nickel and Dirk H. Breiding, 'A Book of Tournaments and Parades from Nuremberg', *Metropolitan Museum Journal*, no. 45 (2010), p 128.

⁸¹ *TA*, vol. 2, p 348.

⁸² *Oxford English Dictionary*, online edition.

⁸³ *TA*, vol. 7, p 13.

⁸⁴ *TA*, vol. 8, p 92.

⁸⁵ *TA*, vol. 7, p 136.

⁸⁶ *TA*, vol. 7, p 136.

⁸⁷ *TA*, vol. 2, p 476.

⁸⁸ See the advice in René d'Anjou's treatise on tournaments: www.princeton.edu/~ezb/rene/renebook.html#Arms [accessed 10 October 2017].

⁸⁹ Suits of armour were sometimes designed so they could be adapted for different forms of contest.

⁹⁰ *Dictionary of the Scots Language*, online edition.

⁹¹ *TA*, vol. 1, p 263.

⁹² *TA*, vol. 4, pp 199–200.

⁹³ *TA*, vol. 1, p 263.

⁹⁴ *TA*, vol. 7, p 13.

⁹⁵ *TA*, vol. 2, p 351.

⁹⁶ *TA*, vol. 7, p 13.

⁹⁷ *TA*, vol. 3, p 394.

⁹⁸ Nickel and Breiding, 'A Book of Tournaments and Parades', p 129.

⁹⁹ *TA*, vol. 4, p 121.

¹⁰⁰ *TA*, vol. 6, p 73. It is not certain whether this entry refers specifically to jousting armour. However, it occurs very close to an entry regarding the purchase of shoes 'agane the justing'.

¹⁰¹ *TA*, vol. 2, p 348; vol. 3, p 254; vol. 4, p 121.

¹⁰² *TA*, vol. 1, p 260; vol. 6, p 337.

¹⁰³ *TA*, vol. 1, p 292.

¹⁰⁴ *TA*, vol. 1, p 297.

¹⁰⁵ Nickel and Breiding, 'A Book of Tournaments and Parades', p 128.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, p 128. There are a number of surviving Continental tournament shields of this type. One late-15th-century example is shown at: <http://wallacelive.wallacecollection.org/eMuseumPlus?service=ExternalInterface&module=collection&objectId=60800&viewType=detailView> [accessed 10 October 2017].

¹⁰⁷ *TA*, vol. 4, p 22.

¹⁰⁸ *TA*, vol. 2, p 408; vol. 4, p 129. It should be noted that the context in which these targes were used is not completely clear. However, major tournaments were held at both these times.

¹⁰⁹ Definition of targe from *Dictionary of the Scots Language*, online edition.

¹¹⁰ *TA*, vol. 8, p 142.

¹¹¹ *TA*, vol. 2, p 386.

¹¹² *TA*, vol. 8, p 124.

¹¹³ *TA*, vol. 4, p 121.

¹¹⁴ *TA*, vol. 4, pp 121–2.

¹¹⁵ *TA*, vol. 4, p 122.

¹¹⁶ *TA*, vol. 2, pp 388–9.

¹¹⁷ Although it should be noted that duelling with sharp lances did take place in parts of Germany during the late Middle Ages. Nickel and Breiding, 'A Book of Tournaments and Parades', p 129.

¹¹⁸ Sometimes these entries are adjacent, potentially implying that a distinction was drawn between spear heads and diamonds. See, for instance, *TA*, vol. 3, p 182.

¹¹⁹ *Dictionary of the Scots Language*, online edition.

¹²⁰ *TA*, vol. 2, p 348.

¹²¹ www.princeton.edu/~ezb/rene/renebook.html#Arms [accessed 10 October 2017].

¹²² *TA*, vol. 2, p 389.

¹²³ *TA*, vol. 3, p 396.

¹²⁴ Louise Fradenburg, *City, Marriage, Tournament: Arts of Rule in Late Medieval Scotland* (Madison, 1991). Stevenson, *Chivalry and Knighthood*.

¹²⁵ Of particular relevance are NLS, Adv. MSS 31.7.22 and 31.3.20.



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