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## KNIGHTLY TOURNAMENTS IN MEDIEVAL POLAND

### 1. Introductory Remarks

The genesis of tournaments can be found in games of skill and military exercises, which had been known since remote antiquity. Descriptions of such exercises are already offered by the writers of antiquity. As a result of the development of courtly culture the custom of holding simulated fights was given some ideological foundations and a suitable organizational framework. The very word *torneamentum* appeared in the chronicle of Martin of Tours, in which book the death of a few barons was recorded in the year 1066. One of the barons was Gotfryd de Preuilly, who seemingly «torneamenta invenit»<sup>1</sup>.

The tournaments were a substitute for real fighting. They were training in the difficult art of wielding shaft-weapons. They helped acquire the skill of unhorsing one's enemy. In the relevant literature the entertaining and military character of the tournament as a kind of group fight consisting in a frontal attack of two troops of armed horsemen in battle array is stressed<sup>2</sup>.

The entertaining, training and military character of tournaments was reflected in the vocabulary used in the accounts of such competitions. Terms such as *ludus militaris*, *hastiludium*, *tirocinium*, but also

«mundinae vel feriae, quos vulgo torneamenta vocant» serve as evidence in this respect<sup>3</sup>.

The tournament quickly became extremely popular and spread all over Europe. The tournament is also an inseparable element of the period of the dominance of horsemen on the battlefield and, consequently, it is not by accident that the full development of the tournament took place in the 12th century. The mounted knights were always in the foreground, while the infantry, armed with pikes and bows, remained in the background. Of course the tournament was no place for individual fight. It was real battle in the open field or even in the streets of a town — all this for the pleasure of fighting and for money.

A tournament was a very expensive undertaking and an exclusive social event for both the organizer and the participants of the competition. The winner won not only fame but money, and the loser paid with his health or even life, as well as freedom. He had to give all his kit to his opponent and frequently went bankrupt.

In accordance with their character, i.e. the frontal attack of two groups of armed horsemen, the tournaments took a heavy toll of injuries, wounds and deaths. It is said that 200 participants of a tournament suffocated because of the crowd, heat and dust<sup>4</sup>. Despite their entertaining character the competitions were not less brutal than a real battle. Like in a battle, two groups of mounted warriors faced each other on a great battlefield. They fought bravely to defeat their enemies and take them captive. They sometimes stroke mortal blows and killed their opponents by accident.

The Church was against the tournaments. It was of the opinion that the participants unnecessarily risked death, the loss of life and property and took part in the competitions spreading debauchery

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<sup>1</sup> *Chronicon Santi Martini Turonense*, [in:] *Recueil des historiens des Gaules et de la France*, vol. XII, Paris 1968, p. 461; *Chronicon Andegavense breve*, [in:] *ibidem*, vol. XI, Paris 1968, p. 169; cf.: M. P a r i s s e, *Le tournoi en France, des origines à la fin du XIIIe siècle*, [in:] *Das ritterliche Turnier im Mittelalter Beiträge zu einer vergleichenden Formen- und Verhaltensgeschichte des Rittertums*, ed. J. F l e c k e n s t e i n, Göttingen 1985, pp. 176, 180.

<sup>2</sup> F. L o t, *L'art militaire et les armées au moyen âge en Europe et dans le proche orient*, vol. I, Paris 1946, p. 119; J. F. V e r b r u g g e n, *De Krijskunst in West-Europa in de middeleeuwen (IXe tot begin XIVe eeuw)*, Brüssels 1954, p. 150; P. C z e r w i ń s k i, *Die Schlacht und Turnierdarstellungen in den deutschen höfischen Romanen des 12. und 13. Jahrhunderts. Zur literarischen Verarbeitung militärischer Formen des adeligen Gewaltmonopols*, Berlin 1975; R. B a r b e r, J. B a r k e r, *Tournaments, Jousts, Chivalry and Pageants in the Middle Ages*, Woodbridge 1989.

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<sup>3</sup> *Glossarium mediae et infimae latinitatis conditum a Carolo du Fresne domino du Cange actum*, vol. VIII, Paris 1938, pp. 129-131; M. P a r i s s e, *op. cit.*, pp. 182-183, S. K r ü g e r, *Das kirchliche Turnierverbot im Mittelalter*, [in:] *Das ritterliche Turnier...*, pp. 401-406.

<sup>4</sup> P. C z e r w i ń s k i, *op. cit.*, p. 289.

out of conceit and vanity. The first bans were announced in the period of the crusades, because the tournaments diverted the knights from these holy expeditions. It was already in 1130 at the joint ecclesiastical councils of Clermont and Reims that these, as they were called, unfortunate meetings and fairs («mundinae») were criticized. The tournament showed many characteristics of a fair, like the presence of vendors, horse-breeders, blacksmiths and other craftsmen, the noise and throngs of people.

Heavy expenses borne in connection with these competitions by the knights, who readily ruined themselves, their families and children in order to win vain fame and acquire the reputation of being a very brave man, were said to call out for universal condemnation. In the heat of a battle the regular fighting rules were broken and the opponents frequently ridiculed each other in order to shine before the eyes of the audience. The knights were to take part only in regular battles in order to train for war against the infidels or for other heroic acts<sup>5</sup>. Thus, the tournament was not totally condemned. Its training function was recognized and appreciated if it served the purpose of the crusades.

However, the elements of lay culture were dominant in tournaments. Consequently, the third Lateran council of 1179 categorically condemned tournaments and forbade to bury their victims in consecrated ground. The ban was confirmed in 1215 and the Church repeatedly criticized tournaments until the beginning of the 14th century<sup>6</sup>.

At the beginning the tournament was a French speciality, which was reflected in the opinions of chronicle writers, who referred to 'hastiludia vel torneamenta' as «conflictus Gallicus»<sup>7</sup>. It quickly spread in other countries of Western Europe, especially in England, Italy, subsequently in Germany, where the first such competition mentioned in the source material, «tyrocinium quod vulgo nunc turneimentum dicitur», took place next to the city walls of Würzburg in 1127 at the instance of Duke Frederick and Konrad Stauff<sup>8</sup>. The first tournament in Hungary is said to have been organized in Bratislava in 1220<sup>9</sup>.

<sup>5</sup> Cf.: S. Krüger, *op. cit.*, pp. 403, 413.

<sup>6</sup> P. Czerwinski, *op. cit.* p. 226; S. Krüger, *op. cit.*, pp. 401, 406 seq.

<sup>7</sup> Matthaeus Parisiensis, *Chronica Minora sive Historia Anglorum*, ed. F. Madden, vol. I, London 1866, p. 409; W. Iwańczak, *Turniej Rycerski w Królestwie Czeskim — próba analizy kulturowej (The Knightly Tournament in the Kingdom of Bohemia — A Tentative Cultural Analysis)*, „Przegląd Humanistyczny”, vol. XXVII, 1983, fasciculum 5, p. 40.

<sup>8</sup> F. Niedner, *Das deutsche Turnier im XII. u. XIII. Jahrhundert*, Berlin 1831, p. 9; A. Schultze, *Das Höfische Leben zur Zeit der Minnesinger*, vol. II, Leipzig 1889, p. 91; J. Fleckenstein, *Das Turnier als höfisches Fest im hochmittelalterlichen Deutschland* [in:] *Das ritterliche Turnier...*, p. 230.

<sup>9</sup> A. Ruttka, *Umenie kované v zbraniach*, Bratislava 1978, p. 46; E. Fügedi, *Turniere im mittelalterlichen Ungarn*,

In Bohemia tournaments were inaugurated during the reign of Venceslas I, i.e. in the second quarter of the 13th century<sup>10</sup> and they quickly gained great popularity. Similarly like in other countries, a group of professional, so to speak, competitors appeared. These followers of Wilhelm Maralek sought in the lists not only fame but fortune.

## 2. Tournaments in the Poland of the Piasts

Most information about tournaments in Poland can be found in Iohannes Dlugossius's work. The pieces of information are of different value. The data concerning the period of the first Piasts should be submitted to especially critical examination. According to the chronicle writer, it was already in 1067 at the wedding of Boleslas the Generous and Wszesława that knightly games and jousting with lances («ludis militaribus et hastarum») took place<sup>11</sup>. It has been assumed that the whole paragraph is a free interpretation offered by the chronicle writer, who frequently introduced this element of courtly entertainment, undoubtedly very popular in his times, i.e. in the 15th century, into his accounts of different festivities, especially weddings. Another mention referring to a simulated fight found in Iohannes Dlugossius's chronicle is dated 1121. The chronicle writer describes the wedding of Prince Vladislas II the Exile and Agnes (referred to as Christina by Iohannes Dlugossius). This historical fact is dated at the end of 1123 or the beginning of 1124<sup>12</sup>. The mention says that the ceremony was accompanied by tourneys, especially jousting with spears and swords, organized in honour of and for the entertainment of the guests<sup>13</sup>. This piece of information is not confirmed by source analysis, either. The characteristics of the tournament presented in the work do not correspond to the spirit of such

[in:] *Das ritterliche Turnier...*, pp. 390-391, has recently moved the beginnings of the tournament in the Kingdom of Hungary to the end of the 12th century.

<sup>10</sup> See: W. Iwańczak, *Turniej...*, pp. 42-43; *idem*, *Tropem rycerskiej przygody. Wzorec rycerski w piśmiennictwie czeskim XIV wieku (On the Trail of Knightly Adventure. A Model Knight in the Czech Literature of the 14th Century)*, Warsaw 1985, pp. 179-182; J. Macek, *Das Turnier im mittelalterlichen Böhmen*, [in:] *Das Ritterliche Turnier...*, pp. 371-372.

<sup>11</sup> J. Długosz, *Annales seu cronicae incliti Regni Poloniae*, book 3, Warsaw 1970, p. 95.

<sup>12</sup> J. Bieniak, *Polska elita polityczna XII wieku. Część II: Wróżba i zgoda (The Polish Political Elite of the 12th Century. Part II: The Augury and the Reconciliation)*, [in:] *Spółczesność Polski Średniowiecznej. Zbiór Studiów (The Society of Medieval Poland. A Collection of Studies)*, ed. S. K. Kuczyński, vol. III, Wasaw 1985, pp. 64, 67; K. Jasiński, *Rodowód pierwszych Piastów (The Pedigree of the First Piasts)*, Warsaw-Wrocław 1992, p. 204.

<sup>13</sup> J. Długosz, *Annales...*, book 4, p. 294: «Ludos plures, hastarum precipue et gladiatorum, ad letificandum et honorandum convivas».

competitions in the 12th century, when the element of training, not the element of courtly entertainment, was the dominant factor. But the chronicle writer's knowledge was not detailed enough.

The account of the tournament («hastarum ludos») which, according to Iohannes Dlugossius, was organized in Wrocław in 1144 by Comes Piotr Włostowic on the occasion of the marriage of his daughter Agafia to Jaksa of Kopanica is also the chronicle writer's amplification<sup>14</sup>. Other mentions refer to the wedding festivities of Duke Boleslas IV the Curly and Wierzchosława (referred to as Anastazja by Dlugossius) held in 1151 in Cracow (the ceremony really took place in 1141)<sup>15</sup> and Duke Leszek the White's marriage to Grzymisława, also wrongly dated 1220 (the wedding took place in Cracow in 1207)<sup>16</sup>.

Although Iohannes Dlugossius's information does not withstand criticism, it must be admitted that the chronicle writer was not against tournaments, which is confirmed by a couple of his approving remarks. Among many positive characteristics of Duke Casimir the Just the annalist enumerates, besides his love of hunting, the skill of holding simulated fights («simulacro pugne») and jousting with a lance («in ludo hastarum»), as well as the duke's participation in other knightly exercises requiring courage and bravery<sup>17</sup>. Praising Vladislav the Sticklegged, Duke of Great Poland, Iohannes Dlugossius writes that Vladislav was well-trained for tournaments: 'in torneamentis exercitatus'. The mention is dated 1206. It is in this mention that the word «tournament» is used by Dlugossius for the first time<sup>18</sup>. Unfortunately, this mention cannot be given the palm, either, as the piece of information does not seem to be based on fact. It must be considered an example of the author's eloquence and erudition.

<sup>14</sup> Ibidem, book 5, Warsaw 1973, p. 24: «hastarum ludos premio proposito victoribus indixerat».

<sup>15</sup> Ibidem, p. 49: «militibus vero hastarum ludo ceterisque militaribus actibus eam cohonestantibus».

<sup>16</sup> Ibidem, book 6, Warsaw 1973, p. 232: «per actus militares et hastarum ludos in dies plures». See: S. K. K u c z y ń s k i, *Turnieje rycerskie w średniowiecznej Polsce (Knightly Tournaments in Medieval Poland)*, [in:] *Biedni i bogaci. Studia z dziejów społeczeństwa i kultury ofiarowane Bronisławowi Geremekowi w sześćdziesiątą rocznicę urodzin (The Rich and the Poor. Studies in the History of Societies and Culture Presented to Bronisław Geremek on the Sixtieth Anniversary of His Birthday)*, Warsaw 1992, p. 298.

<sup>17</sup> J. D ł u g o s z, *Annales...*, book 6, p. 110: «exercitationis aut in simulacro pugne, aut in venando, aut in ludo hastarum, ceterisque heroicis et militaribus operibus laborem».

<sup>18</sup> Ibidem, p. 200. On the names used by Jan Długosz cf.: S. J a k u b c z a k, *Elementy ludyczne w Długoszowych opowieściach o uroczystościach dworskich (Elements of Pageantry in Dlugossius's Stories about Court Festivities)*, „Sprawozdania Poznańskiego Towarzystwa Przyjaciół Nauk. Wydział Nauk o Sztuce”, fasc. 102, 1984 (1986), p. 15.

However, the fact that the first tournament confirmed by the written sources and related to Polish territory was connected with the person of Duke Vladislav the Sticklegged cannot be denied. The tournament was organized on the territory controlled by one of the Piasts. In 1225 Louis, Landgrave of Thuringia, and his army approached Lubusz-on-Oder. Because of the lack of help on the part of Duke Vladislav the townspeople surrounded the fortress. According to the source, after the loot had been divided, the winners unanimously agreed to organize a «tornamentum», which was held there on Saturday, August 16th, 1225<sup>19</sup>.

The tournament was soon introduced into the courts of Polish dukes. It became especially popular at the court of the rulers of Silesia. The author of the so-called Book of Henryków (the book of the monastery of Henryków) complains that when after the Mongol invasion of 1241 the power was given to the sons of Duke Henry the Pious, who was killed in the battle of Legnica, strange things started happening, which had never been heard of in the times of the famous dukes of old. The annalist says, «ipsorum frater primogenitus, dominus Boleslaus, multa puerilia in torneamentis et aliis leticiis in sua iuventute exercendo promovit». He, among other things, ordered many knights to Löwenberg, where a tourney was organized on St Mathias' Day («iussit tornamentum haberi») <sup>20</sup>.

Thus, it has been proven that in Poland tournaments were inaugurated in Lwówek Śląski on February 24th, 1243. This novelty was looked at sceptically not only by the above mentioned monk but by the knights themselves, who had to be encouraged by the duke to take part in this competition<sup>21</sup>. It is difficult to state the reason for such restraint, but the supposition that the critical attitude of the Church played a decisive role in this respect seems justified. When the duke promised to make an offering of the village of Jaworowice to God and the Cistercians of Henryków, the knights unanimously backed up the idea and took part in the tourney<sup>22</sup>.

The fact that a tourney was organized at the court of Duke Boleslav the Rogatka is not surprising.

<sup>19</sup> *Annales Reihardsbrunnenses*, ed. F. X. W e g e l e, [in:] *Thüringische Geschichtsquellen*, vol. I, Jena 1854, p. 182; cf.: B. Z i e n t a r a, *Henryk Brodaty i jego czasy (Henry the Bearded and His Times)*, Warsaw 1975, pp. 219-220; J. F l e c k e n s t e i n, *op. cit.*, p. 244.

<sup>20</sup> *Liber fundationis claustris sancte Marie Virginis in Heinrichow czyli Księga henrykowska (Liber fundationis claustris sancte Marie Virginis in Heinrichow or the Book of Henryków)*, ed. J. M a t u s z e w s k i, R. G r o d e c k i, Wrocław 1991, p. 129.

<sup>21</sup> See: R. K i e r s n o w s k i, *Życie codzienne na Śląsku w wiekach średnich (Everyday Life in Silesia in the Middle Ages)*, Warsaw 1977, pp. 80-81; W. I w a ń c z a k, *Turniej...*, pp. 41-42; J. Ł o j k o, *Średniowieczne herby polskie (Polish Medieval Coats of Arms)*, Poznań 1985, p. 131.

<sup>22</sup> *Liber fundationis...*, pp. 129-130; cf.: S. K. K u c z y ń s k i, *op. cit.*, pp. 298-299.

<sup>23</sup> J. D ł u g o s z, *Annales...*, book 7, Warsaw 1975, p. 169.

The duke surrounded himself mostly with knights from German countries, who had known such competitions before. They popularized tournaments in Silesia. Silesia bordered on Bohemia, which also played a decisive role in this respect, because, as has already been said, the tournament appeared there already during the reign of Venceslas I and had more and more followers.

The situation in other duchies ruled by the Piasts was not radically different. Lack of relevant sources is a serious obstacle here too. Although Iohannes Dlugossius enumerates numerous military games («hastarum ludos») organized in different places by Boleslas V the Bashful, Duke of Cracow and Sandomierz, on the occasion of his brother-in-law, Stephen V, King of Hungary's stay in Cracow at the end of August 1270, the account does not seem reliable<sup>23</sup>. The event depicted shows many characteristics of a later ceremony, contemporary with the chronicle writer. That is why one is suspicious of Dlugossius's account. Besides, the meeting lasted only two days and there was no time for the games organized «multifariam» mentioned by Dlugossius.

However, the argument that the duke and his wife, who preferred ascetic life, did not tolerate the development of courtly culture at their court in Cracow would be untrue to reality. In the treasury of Wawel Cathedral is a cross with a diadem connected by the researches with the person of Kunegunda, a daughter of Bela IV, King of Hungary, and the wife of Duke Boleslas the Bashful. In the smaller links of the coronet miniature figures of animals and birds are placed, male and female figures as well as jousting mounted knights are visible in the bigger links. Duchess Kunegunda is said to have been wearing this diadem during the wedding festivities of her brother Bela and Kunegunda, Duchess of Ascania, in 1264 and at the tournament fair organized on this occasion. Duchess Jolanta, the wife of Boleslas the Pious, Duke of Great Poland, and Bela IV's second daughter, was wearing a similar crown. Her lance still crowns St Sigismund's herma in Płock Cathedral<sup>25</sup>.

On both the diadems Erec's adventure in a „sparrow-hawk's game”, presented according to Chrétien de Troyes's story from the middle of the 12th century, is depicted (Chrétien de Troyes was the court poet of Mary, the countess of Champagne). This seems to

confirm the supposition that outstanding guests used to wear some distinctive emblems or objects, figural diadems with images of a few key scenes from Erec and Enida's romance performed at a tournament fair included<sup>26</sup>. This fact is also an example of changes occurring in the tournament, which gradually becomes more pageantry than combat. The tournament changed to theatre. It was moved from the open air to enclosed courtyards and became one of the most attractive forms of court entertainment. It can tentatively be assumed that the tournament was brought to Poland in this form. It was the second stage of its development.

Henry IV the Probus, Duke of Wrocław, was especially keen on tournaments. He tasted them in his adolescence during his peregrinations by the side of the Czech King Ottokar II. Then he organized tournaments in Silesia. In 1284 Tomasz II, Bishop of Wrocław, complains that Henry invited Boleslas I of Opole, Henryk III of Głogów and Mikołaj of Opawa, as well as many other knights and organized a tourney («torneamentum») in Nysa, taken away from the bishop. Henry was chief of the tournament, which lasted for four days. All the provisions gathered in the town were eaten up or used as fodder for the horses<sup>27</sup>. Such behaviour did not correspond with the spirit of chivalry propagated by Henry IV, called the «Righteous», but political conflicts are governed by their own rules.

Knightly service to ladies and courtly poetry were also well-developed in Silesia. Later legends tell of Duke Henry IV the Righteous as a composer of love songs patterned on German minnesängers. In the miniature of Codex Manesse from c. 1320 there is a young duke who, as a winner in a tournament, is being handed a laurel wreath by young ladies. It is to the ladies that the motto «AMOR» visible on the housing of the duke's steed is addressed. The same word can be found on the belt and a tape of Bolko II of Ziębica's cloak on his and his wife Jutta's tombstone dating from the 40s of the 14th century<sup>28</sup>. It should be added that a letter «A», which may denote the motto

<sup>26</sup> R. S a c h s, *Narracja...*, pp. 38-41.

<sup>27</sup> *Urkunden zur Geschichte des Bisthums Breslau im Mittelalter*, ed. G. A. S t e n z e l, Breslau 1845, No. 109: Henry the Probus «convocatis ad se principibus ... indixit torneamentum, in Niza civitate ecclesie nostre et ipso die lusit idem torneamentum, cogendo homines ecclesie nostre ad dandum sibi et omnibus, qui cum eo venerant, omnes expensas, et insuper totam annonam nostram, quam habuimus in allodio nostre ante predictam civitatem Nizam precepit accipi pro equis suis et eorum, qui cum ipsa venerant, pabulandis. Et post modum quatuor diebus modo ludendo torneamentum, modo alia sua negotia faciendo in eadem civitate cum prefatis principibus et militibus, quos secum duxerat, moram traxit, ab hominibus ecclesie nostre expensas gravissimas extorquendo, volens per istam violenciam, quod ista possit facere juro suo, pro consuetudine deducere in futurum».

<sup>28</sup> Z. W a w r z o n o w s k a, *Uzbrojenie i ubiór rycerski Piastów śląskich od XII do XIV wieku (Arms, Armour and Dress of the Silesian Piasts from the 12th until the 14th century)*, Łódź 1976, pp. 101-102, 105.

<sup>23</sup> J. D ł u g o s z, *Annales...*, book 7, Warsaw 1975, p. 169.

<sup>24</sup> *Sztuka polska przedromańska i romańska do schyłku XIII wieku (Pre-Romanesque and Romanesque Polish Art Untill the Close of the 13th Century)*, ed. M. W a l i c k i, [in:] *Dzieje sztuki polskiej (The History of Polish Art)*, vol. I, Warsaw 1971, pp. 298, 712-713; R. S a c h s, *Narracja na średniowiecznych diademach turniejowych (Narration on Medieval Tournament Diadems)*, „Sprawozdania Poznańskiego Towarzystwa Przyjaciół Nauk. Wydział Nauk o Sztuce”, fasc. 102, 1984 (1986), p. 41.

<sup>25</sup> *Sztuka polska przedromańska...*, pp. 744-745; R. S a c h s, *Narracja...*, p. 41.

«AMOR»), is also engraved on small plates found at the castle of Opole and dating back to the first part of the 14th century<sup>29</sup>.

Knightly tournaments «felt at home» at the courts of Silesian dukes. According to Iohannes Dlugossius, in 1310 Henry the Fat's son, Boleslas the Generous, organized tournaments («hastiludia») after his victory over an enemy<sup>30</sup>. But the most valuable work was left to the descendants by Bolko II of Świdnica. It is said that thanks to his initiative a beautiful and unique in Poland iconographic representation of Sir Lancelot of the Lake's knightly romance, namely the wall-painting found in the residential tower in Siedlęcín-on-Bóbr dating from the 40s of the 14th century was painted<sup>31</sup>. The painting is a proof that court and knightly culture was well-developed in Silesia and that knightly literature and the adventures of the famous knights of the Round Table were known on the territory.

The tournament, however, is not only pageantry. Like every entertainment which involves the use of weapons, a tournament meant numerous injuries and even deaths. Iohannes Dlugossius says that Henry the Sparrow, Duke of Głogów, died as a result of a serious wound inflicted with a lance during a tournament held in Legnica in 1397<sup>32</sup>. He was about 37 when he died. In relevant literature information about some problems connected with burying the body can be found, because the duke had been excommunicated<sup>33</sup>. The reason for this excommunication remains unknown, but the supposition that the Church authorities took advantage of the right, established by the 12th

and 13th centuries statutes, to refuse the victim of a tournament burial in consecrated ground seems justified. The fact that in 1398 the synod of the diocese of Płock did not approve of the knightly games serves as evidence of maintaining this right<sup>34</sup>.

Although knightly tournaments were becoming more and more popular in Poland, they were not recorded in 13th and 14th centuries chronicles and annals. Some information about tournaments can be found only in Iohannes Dlugossius's work, but, like in the case of his earlier mentions, the data is not fully reliable. The same is true of knightly competitions («certaminum») which, according to Dlugossius, were organized to add splendour to King Przemysł II's stay in Rogoźno in February 1296, where the King was soon treacherously murdered<sup>35</sup>.

The annalist's mention referring to «hastiludiis» which seemingly accompanied the wedding of Venceslas II and Ryksa, the daughter of Przemysław II, in Poznań in 1300 cannot be trusted, either. Iohannes Dlugossius made some mistakes here, too. According to some better-informed contemporary Czech sources and the historians, the festivities were not connected with the wedding but the engagement of that couple and they did not take place in Poznań but in Prague, where Venceslas II and Ryksa got married three years later<sup>36</sup>. Therefore all the games and knightly competitions must be moved to Czech Prague, where amusements similar to those which accompanied the coronation of Venceslas II in 1292 and were vividly described by Peter of Žitava could take place<sup>37</sup>.

Tournaments were also important elements of other festivities. Therefore, in accordance with the European court ceremonial, Iohannes Dlugossius introduced a tournament into the ceremonial order of Casimir the Great's coronation in 1333<sup>38</sup>. The piece of information is not confirmed by other sources, and the very mention is very general and creates the impression of a stereotype.

<sup>29</sup> R. S a c h s, *Schlesische Lederkleinkunst des Spätmittelalters*, „Jahrbuch der Schlesischen Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität zu Breslau”, book XXIII, 1982, p. 163, fig. 17, 167.

<sup>30</sup> J. D ł u g o s z, *Annales...*, book 9, Warsaw 1978, p. 66.

<sup>31</sup> A. K a r ł o w s k a - K a m z o w a, *Malarstwo śląskie 1250-1450 (Silesian Painting 1250-1450)*, Wrocław 1979, pp. 20-22; eadem, *Sztuka Piastów Śląskich w średniowieczu. Znaczenie fundacji książęcych w dziejach sztuki gotyckiej na Śląsku (Art of the Silesian Piasts in the Middle Ages. The Importance of Ducal Foundations in the History of Gothic Art in Silesia)*, Warsaw-Wrocław 1991; J. W i t k o w s k i, *Cykl Lancelota z Jeziora w siedleńskiejskiej wieży mieszkalnej. Próba interpretacji treści malowideł ściennych (The Lancelot of the Lake Cycle in the Residential Tower of Siedlęcín. A Tentative Interpretation of the Contents of the Wall paintings)*, „Sprawozdania Poznańskiego Towarzystwa Przyjaciół Nauk. Wydział Nauk o Sztuce”, fasc. 102, 1984 (1986), pp. 42-48.

<sup>32</sup> J. D ł u g o s z, *Annales...*, book 10, Warsaw 1985, p. 221: «Pridie kalendas Marci Henricus cognominatus Sperling dux Glogoviensis, dum apud Legnicam hastis luderet, graviter vulneratus occumbit, in monasterio Lubens sepultus».

<sup>33</sup> K. J a s i ń s k i, *Rodowód Piastów Śląskich (The Pedigree of the Silesian Piasts)*, vol. II: *Piastowie świdniccy, ziebiccy, głogowscy, żagańscy i oleśniccy (The Piasts of Świdnica, Ziębice, Głogów, Żagań and Oleśnica)*, Wrocław 1975, p. 127; Henry the Sparrow died on March 14th, 1397 in Szprotawa. He was buried in Żagań.

<sup>34</sup> *Concilia Poloniae. Etudes critiques et sources*, ed. J. Sawicki, vol. VI; *Les synodes du diocèse de Płock et leurs statuts*, Warsaw 1952, p. 227: «provide constitutum est clericos...inhonesta officia et comerca laicalia vitare ac ipsa non exercere, ut sunt hastiludia, tornamenta vel maccellas carnificum».

<sup>35</sup> J. D ł u g o s z, *Annales...*, book 8, Warsaw 1975, p. 289.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibidem*, book 9, pp. 13, 23; see: A. S e m k o w i c z, *Krytyczny rozbiór „Dziejów Polski” Jana Długosza [do roku 1384], (A Critical Analysis of Iohannes Dlugossius's „The History of Poland” [Untill the Year 1384])*, Cracow 1887, p. 332; J. B i e n i a k, *Wielkopolska, Kujawy, ziemie Łęczycka i sieradzka wobec problemu zjednoczenia państwowego w latach 1300-1306 (Great Poland, Cuiavia, the Districts of Łęczyca and Sieradz in the Face of the Problem of State Unification in the Years 1300-1306)*, Toruń 1969, p. 132.

<sup>37</sup> *Kronika zbraslavská (The Chronicle of Zbraslav)* [in:] *Fontes rerum Bohemicarum*, vol. IV, Prague 1884, pp. 76-77; cf.: W. I w a ń c z a k, *Tropem...*, p. 182.

<sup>38</sup> J. D ł u g o s z, *Annales...*, book 9, p. 181.

On the contrary, the accounts of the so-called Cracow Congress which took place in September 1364 are very frequent in the written sources<sup>39</sup>. Besides the host, Casimir the Great, the Emperor and King of Bohemia Charles IV; Louis of Anjou, King of Hungary; Peter I, King of Cyprus; Waldemar IV, King of Denmark, as well as Duke Bolko II of Świdnica and Jawor and Duke Siemowit III of Płock, Vladislas of Opole and Otto Wittelsbach, margrave of Brandenburg, took part in the meeting. Jan, margrave of Moravia, Boguslas V, Duke of Pomerania, and his son Każko may also have visited Cracow<sup>40</sup>.

The meeting was accompanied by a splendid feast and a tournament. The Emperor Charles IV himself took part in the competition. A western chronicle writer wrote that the Emperor had never taken part in such games before<sup>41</sup>.

Rulers usually avoided taking part in tournaments because of the Church's negative attitude towards these competitions and the fact that this lay entertainment did not correspond with royal dignity. That was also the reason why an heir to the throne had to restrain himself from jousting. Only few rulers such as Henry II Plantagenet, Louis the Saint and the champion in this field Johannes of Luxembourg are known to have entered the lists.

Charles IV's participation in the Cracow tournament may be considered a sign of new times. After another ban of the Pope, announced in 1313, Peter Dubois defends tournaments in his treatise *De Torneamentis et Justis*, commissioned by Philip IV the Fair, King of France. The result was the removal of the ban. From then onward the Church had never spoken against knights' participation in tournaments<sup>42</sup>.

Peter de Lusignan, who was seeking in Europe support for his crusade, could also take part in such a contest. Guillaume de Machaut, one of the most outstanding poets of the epoch, who was in the service of Johannes of Luxembourg, immortalized his master and his actions in his rhymed chronicle *La prise d'Alexandrie*. Thanks to this chronicle it is known that Peter entered the lists in London on November 1st, 1363 and subsequently, ten months later, found himself in Cracow, where

«Mais einsois grans joustes crièrent,  
Car il le veulent festier  
De jouter et de tournier.  
Briefment, il joustèrent ensamble;  
Et l'emperere, ce me samble,  
Jousta avec les autre roys,  
Qui estoient en grans arrois.  
Mais l'estrange roy ot le pris  
Comme des armes li mieus apris<sup>43</sup>».

In the late Middle Ages the tournament lost its original character. It was no longer military training, but an independent cultural phenomena. Above all fighting in battle array lost its importance. It has been assumed that the group tournament survived until the end of the 14th century at most<sup>44</sup>. But some changes occurred even earlier on because of some transformations in the sphere of culture and customs. Despite the practice of fighting in battle array some contestants distinguished themselves in battle. The presence of ladies also contributed to the appearance of the need for individual performances and the tournament as a whole acquired the character of courtly entertainment. It became the school of courtesy, good manners and adoration of women. At that time the tournament is moved from the open air, and sometimes even farmyards and the streets of towns, to specially marked off places. The battlefield starts being limited to a particular place. Stadiums with stands for important personages and ladies, the prominent spectators, appear.

Most of the elements characteristic of the late medieval version of the tournament were already visible in another tourney organized for the guests in Cracow in 1364. The contest was referred to as a courtly entertainment by the poet, who, first of all, admired the guests' splendid garments. Thus, it may be assumed that military training, which was the original reason for organizing tournaments, was no longer the dominant function of the tournament. The competitions which were popular at the court of the Jagiellon dynasty were more pageantry than combat.

<sup>39</sup> Ibidem, p. 320, according to Johannes Dlugossius it was organized in Cracow in 1363 on the occasion of Casimir the Great's grand-daughter, Elizabeth's marriage to Emperor Charles IV; see: J. W y r o z u m s k i, *Kazimierz Wielki (Casimir the Great)*, Wrocław 1982, p. 136.

<sup>40</sup> R. G r o d e c k i, *Kongres krakowski w roku 1364 (The Cracow Congress in the Year 1364)*, Warsaw 1939, p. 67; J. W y r o z u m s k i, *op. cit.*, pp. 138-139.

<sup>41</sup> *Chronographia Regum Francorum*, vol. II, Paris 1893, pp. 300-302; cf.: A. F. G r a b s k i, *Polska w opiniach Europy zachodniej XIV-XV w. (Poland in the Opinions of Western Europe the 14th-15th Centuries)*, Warsaw 1968, p. 75.

<sup>42</sup> J. F. V e r b r u g g e n, *op. cit.*, p. 89; W. I w a ń c z a k, *Tropem...*, p. 288; S. K r ü g e r, *op. cit.*, p. 419.

<sup>43</sup> See: G u i l l o m e d e M a c h a u t, *La prise d'Alexandrie*, ed. M. L. d e M a s L a t r i e, Genève 1877, p. 39; S. Z a j ą c z k o w s k i, *Wilhelm de Machaut i jego wiadomości do dziejów Polski i Litwy w XIV w. (Wilhelm de Machaut and his Pieces of Information about the History of Poland and Lithuania in the 14th Century)*, „Kwartalnik Historyczny”, vol. XLIII, 1929, pp. 217-228; cf.: A. S e m k o w i c z, *op. cit.*, p. 375; R. G r o d e c k i, *op. cit.*, pp. 72-73; A. F. G r a b s k i, *op. cit.*, pp. 74-75; W. V o i s, *Guillaume de Machaut w Polsce i o Polsce (Guillaume de Machaut in Poland and About Poland)*, „Muzyka”, vol. X, 1965, fasc. 3, p. 59.

<sup>44</sup> S. P a i n t e r, *French Chivalry, Chivalric Ideas and Practices in Medieval France*, Baltimore 1940, pp. 50 seqq.

### 3. Tournaments in Poland in the times of the Jagiellon Dynasty

According to Iohannes Dlugossius, tournaments of lancers and fencers («hastarum et gladiatorii ludii») added splendour to the wedding festivities of Władysław Jagiełło and Jadwiga in 1386, but the King did not like such competitions and did not enter the lists<sup>45</sup>. As it happens, the first royal heralds known to us, whowere, among other things, responsible for organizing tournaments at court, lived in the times of the reign of Władysław Jagiełło. In 1395 the royal herald was Świeszko, his successor was Johannes (Jasiek). In 1403 Lawrence (Wawrzyniec) Polanlant is mentioned<sup>46</sup>. At least the last two heralds earned a salary of 600 grossi per year, secured by salt-mines, «pro dilatación honoris nostri nobis se [h]abilem reddere poterit acque promptum, horum intuitu cupientes ipsum ad nostra obsequia et ad propagandos nostros honores magnis fervidum facere». It should be added that the Great Duke of Lithuania had his herald, too. His name was Jan Litherland<sup>47</sup>.

Heralds played a major role in a tournament, because their task was to recognize the coats of arms and determine the position of particular contestants who entered the lists. It was the heralds that admitted knights to the competitions, using the so-called heraldic rolls. The oldest heraldic roll, with about 25 coats of arms, known to us was made at the end of the 14th century thanks to the initiative of the herald Geldria<sup>48</sup>. However, The Golden Fleece Armorial is the most famous. It was made at the Burgundian court in the years 1434-1435. This heraldic roll was compiled by Jean Lefvre de Saint Remy, the heraldic King of the Order of the Golden Fleece. Thanks to the information provided by Mikołaj Lasocki it contains many Polish coats of arms. In The Golden Fleece Armorial there are 65 coats of arms of Polish di-

stricts, knights and bishops, as well as the King, wearing his tournament attire<sup>49</sup>. Such interest on the part of heralds coming even from remote countries seems to be a proof that the Poles occupied an important position in the great family of European knighthood in the 14th and the 15th centuries.

Duels and tournaments were attributes of the State already at that time. It was not by accident that a newly knighted nobleman was allowed to wear his heraldic device, namely the escutcheon and the crest, not only on the real battlefield but during tournaments. The chief officer of the villages of Lelów Nicolas, given «Pogonia» as his coats of arms by Nicolas of Turzyna, was allowed to use his heraldic device «in ludis, astiludii, torneamentis, prelijset omnibus militaribus et nobilium exercicijs» (in 1434). The certificate attesting the knighthood of Jan Słuszek of Mirów issued in 1436 allows the knight to display his coat of arms «in prelijs, duellis et bellis, astiludijs»<sup>50</sup>.

The tournament was also popular at the royal court, where Angevine influences were clearly visible. In the book of the accounts of the town of Kazimierz, situated in the vicinity of Cracow, a payment of 2 marks and 27 grossi for 4 barrels of beer delivered «ad curiam regiam circa hastilium» is mentioned<sup>51</sup>. It should also be remembered that a small ivory box, an article of French make dating from the 14th century, kept in the treasury of Wawel Cathedral is connected with the person of Jadwiga of Anjou. On the lid there are scenes from the famous romance *Roman de la Rose*, a product of chivalry. In the middle of the picture two knights on horseback are jousting. Some ladies are watching them from a balcony. On the shield of one of the knights there is a rose. This knight is the Knight of the Rose. Two allegorical scenes are depicted on either side: one represents the capture of the «Castle of Love», the other a lady's meeting with the Knight of the Rose<sup>52</sup>.

<sup>45</sup> J. D ł u g o s z, *Annales...*, book 10, p. 156; H. K r ę t, *Dwór królewski Jadwigi i Jagiełły (The Royal Court of Jadwiga and Jagiełło)*, Cracow 1987, p. 142.

<sup>46</sup> *Materiały archiwalne wyjęte głównie z Metryki Litewskiej od 1348 do 1607 roku (Archive Material Obtained Mainly From the Public Register of Lithuania From 1348 Untill 1607)*, ed. A. P r o c h a s k a, Lvov 1890, No. 14; *Zbiór dokumentów małopolskich (A Collection of Documents of Little Poland)*, part VI, ed. I. S u ł k o w s k a - K u r a ś and S. K u r a ś, Wrocław 1974, No. 1658; cf.: S. K. K u c z y Ń s k i, *op. cit.*, pp. 302-303.

<sup>47</sup> *Vitoldiana. Codex privilegiorum Vitoldi magni ducis Lithuaniae 1386-1430*, ed. J. O c h m a Ń s k i, Warsaw-Poznań 1986, No. 209: «Ipsum heraldum nostrum constituimus facimus et creamus ac nostre curis collegio agregamus, concendentibus sibi omnibus iuribus priuilegijs libertatibus auctoritate gracijs et immunitatibus, quibus ceteri regum et aliorum Christianorum principum heraldy vbicunque gaudere consueuerunt vtifruet potiri».

<sup>48</sup> S. M i k u c k i, *Rycerstwo słowiańskie w Wapenboek Gelrego (Slav Knighthood in Gelry's Wapenboek)*, „Studia Źródłoznawcze”, vol. III, 1958, pp. 103-121.

<sup>49</sup> H. P o l a c z k ó w n a, *Najstarsze źródła heraldyki polskiej (The Oldest Sources of Polish Heraldry)*, Lvov 1924, pp. 10-19; cf.: J. S z y m a Ń s k i, *Herbarz średniowiecznego rycerstwa polskiego (Polish Medieval Knighthood Armorial)*, Warsaw 1993, p. 15.

<sup>50</sup> *Prawo polskie w praktyce sądowej XIV i XV wieku (Polish Law in the Court Practice of the 14th and the 15th Centuries)*, ed. A. Z. H e l c e l, [in:] *Starodawne prawa polskiego pomniki, (Ancient Monuments of Polish Law)*, vol. II, Cracow 1870, No. 3193, 3302a; see: S. K. K u c z y Ń s k i, *op. cit.*, p. 305.

<sup>51</sup> *Acta consularia Casimiriensia 1369-1381 and 1385-1402*, ed. A. C h m i e l, Cracow 1932, p. 284.

<sup>52</sup> See: R. H. R a n d a l J r., *Medieval Ivories*, [in:] *Ivory: The Sumptuous Art Highlights from the Collection The Walters Art Gallery*, Baltimore 1983; J. Ł o j k o, *op. cit.*, p. 134; S. K. K u c z y Ń s k i, *op. cit.*, p. 300, note No. 23; A. R. C h o d y Ń s k i, *Zbroje kółce z gdańskiego Dworu Artusa. Z tradycji turniejowych w Polsce (Armour for the Joust from Arthus Hall in Gdańsk. From Polish Tournament Traditions)*, Malbork 1994, p. 81 and fig. XI.

The fame of the Cracow Tournament organized in 1364 spread very quickly. Besides, the subsequent successes of Polish knights on numerous battlefields and in tournaments resulted in the fact that in 1389 inviting through their herald knights from England, Denmark, Germany, Bohemia and other countries of the Christian world, the famous French knights Jean le Meingre, commonly called Marshal Boucicaut, Renaud de Roie and Sir de Sempy did not leave out Poland. Polish knights were invited to take part in tournaments in Saint Inglevert, in the vicinity of Calais. The competition was held in the spring of 1390<sup>53</sup>.

Tournaments accompanied first of all different court festivities. In 1397 Sigismund of Luxembourg came to Cracow. In order to do honour to the guest Władysław Jagiełło organized a tourney and promised to give a prize to the winner. Sigismund also took part in the contest and was challenged by many knights because of his royal dignity and his beautiful suit of armour, which could be won by his opponent<sup>54</sup>. Although the mention can be found only in Iohannes Dlugossius's work, the piece of information seems reliable. It may be a reminiscence of this event found in local tradition, and not the result of the observation of later, contemporary festivities (the author died in 1480). This is the way the accounts of some other ceremonies were probably written, e.g. the tournaments which accompanied the wedding of Władysław Jagiełło and Ann of Cilly on January 1st, 1402, and the competitions organized to add splendour to her coronation on February 25th, 1403<sup>55</sup>. However, some recent researches indirectly confirm the truthfulness of those descriptions, especially the first one, as on Tuesday, 31st January, 1402 the session of the court was cancelled probably due to those tourneys and other wedding festivities<sup>56</sup>.

<sup>53</sup> A. F. Grabski, *op. cit.*, p. 72; Ph. Contamine, *Les tournois en France à la fin du moyen âge*, [in:] *Das ritterliche Turnier...*, p. 441.

<sup>54</sup> J. Długosz, *Annales...*, book 10, pp. 223-224: «Sigismundus Hungariae rex ab omnibus militibus propter regie dignitatis eminenciam et armorum splendorem, qui in palestra certaverunt, appetitus hastiludit» dated 1398; cf.: *Rozbiór krytyczny «Annalium Poloniae» Jana Długosza z lat 1385-1444 (A Critical Analysis of Jan Długosz's «Annalium Poloniae» from the years 1385-1444)*, vol. I, adapted by S. Gawęda, K. Pieradzka, J. Radziszewska, K. Stachowska, ed. J. Dąbrowski, Wrocław-Warsaw-Cracow 1961, p. 52; for information about Sigismund's stay in Cracow in the years 1397 and 1398 cf.: Z. Nowak, *Polityka północna Zygmunta Luksemburskiego do roku 1411 (Sigismund of Luxembourg's Nordic Policy Untill 1411)*, Toruń 1964, pp. 67,70.

<sup>55</sup> J. Długosz, *Annales...*, book 10, pp. 243, 247; *Rozbiór krytyczny...*, vol. I, p. 64; Z. Wdowiśzewski, *Genealogia Jagiellonów (The Genealogy of the Jagiellons)*, Warsaw 1968, p. 38.

<sup>56</sup> F. Sikora, *W sprawie małżeństwa Władysława Jagiełły z Anną Cylejską (On Władysław Jagiełło's Marriage to Ann of Cilly)*, [in:] *Personae - colligationes - facta*, Toruń 1991, pp. 98-99.

According to Dlugossius, in 1404, but most probably in the following year, Władysław Jagiełło came to Toruń. He was invited by the Great Master Konrad von Jungingen, who organized a tournament in his honour. Polish knights were unlucky in this competition, Therefore the King ordered Dobiesław of Oleśnica to enter the lists. The knight mounted his steed and bravely forced his opponents to leave the battlefield. According to Iohannes Dlugossius, at about 3 at night (i.e. at about 11 p.m. Our Time) he was the only winner, the only knight in the lists («in palestra»), though he had been challenged by several knights who accompanied the Great Master<sup>57</sup>.

Another mention refers to a tournament held in 1410. The competition was organized by Władysław Jagiełło in honour of Herman, Count of Cilly, who was the uncle of the King's wife Ann. At the beginning of February the King ordered many knights to Jedlnia, where «*varia hastiludia, solatia et choreas*», i.e. various tourneys, games and dances took place<sup>58</sup>.

A very famous tournament was organized by Sigismund of Luxembourg on the occasion of Władysław Jagiełło's visit to Buda. The competition («*hastiludia*») began on 22nd May, 1412, i.e. on Whitsun or, according to Dlugossius, the day after Corpus Christi Thursday, i.e. on June 3rd<sup>59</sup>. Many outstanding guests such as Ernest I the Iron, the archduke of Styria, Carinthia and Carniola; Albrecht II, Duke of Austria; the Silesian dukes Louis II of Brzeg and Legnica, Konrad III of Oleśnica, Jan II of Racibórz; Ostoja Stjepan Kotromanic, King of Bosnia, and Sandalj Hranic-Kosaca, a Bosnian magnate, entered the contest. According to Dlugossius, the games lasted for two days, though an anonymous annotation added to a short chronicle devoted to the Czech kings of the first part of the 15th century says, «*principes... fuerunt Bude leti hastiludendo, corizando et alia solacia exercendo fere per VI hebdomadas*», i.e. for 6 weeks<sup>60</sup>. Dlugossius writes that from the morning untill the evening 100 knights from Greece, Italy, France, Hungary, Bohemia, Bulgaria, Bosnia, Austria, Meissen, the Rhineland, Li-

<sup>57</sup> J. Długosz, *Annales...*, book 10, p. 257; *Rozbiór krytyczny...*, vol. I, p. 71.

<sup>58</sup> J. Długosz, *Historiae Polonicae libri XII*, vol. IV, [in:] *Opera omnia*, vol. XIII, Cracow 1877, p. 1; *Rozbiór krytyczny...*, vol. I, p. 88; A. Gąsiorowski, *Itinerarium króla Władysława Jagiełły 1386-1434 (King Władysław Jagiełło's Itinerary 1386-1434)*, Warsaw 1972, p. 53.

<sup>59</sup> J. Długosz, *Historiae...*, vol. IV, p. 141; cf.: A. Prochaska, *Szkice historyczne z XV wieku (Historical Studies from the 15th Century)*, Cracow-Warsaw 1884, pp. 161-162; *Rozbiór krytyczny...*, vol. I, p. 140; B. Brzustowicz, *Udział rycerstwa polskiego w zagranicznych turniejach w Średniowieczu (Polish Knighthood's Participation in Foreign Tournaments in the Middle Ages)*, „Herald”, No. 7, 1993, p. 10.

<sup>60</sup> F. Sikora, *Sprawa insygnialna 1370-1412 a genealogia Rożnów (The Insignia Issue 1370-1412 Versus the Genealogy of the Rożens)*, „Rocznik Polskiego Towarzystwa Heraldycznego”, vol. I (XII), 1993, p. 42.



Fig. 1. Prince Henry IV, Probus, as the winner of a tournament (a miniature from *Codex Manesse*, about 1320). After: A. Nadolski, *Broń i strój...*

thuania, Russia, Walachia, Albania, Slovenia entered the lists. The following Poles took part in the competition: Dobiesław of Oleśnica, the knight who took part in the Toruń tournament in 1405, Mszczuj of Skrzywno, Zawisza Niger of Garbów and his brother Jan Farurej, Domarat and Jakub of Kobylany, Mikołaj Powała of Taczów, Wojciech Małski, Piotr Cebrowski, Marcin of Rytwiany, Andrzej Balicki, Jan Goły of Strzałków, Marcin (Maciej) of Szczodród and Ścibor Mądrzny of Ściborzycze. Thus, it was the flower of the nobility, the knights who earlier on, in the year 1410, took part in the Battle of Grunwald, who entered the contest. Długossius proudly observes that Polish knights were the first to enter the lists and the last to leave them.

All the above mentioned knights were experienced warriors and contestants. There were no youths

among them. Although the precise dates of their birthdays remain unknown, it is known that they all were over thirty. It can be added that Zawisza Niger was 37 and his brother 35 years old.

Zawisza Niger and Jan Farurej of Garbów often travelled abroad and took part in numerous tournaments. The younger brother's stay in France is mentioned in West-European sources. It is known that «Jehan de Grabo» was recommended by Charles VI to Martin, King of Aragon (1397-1409), because he did well in a knightly fight fought in the monarch's presence<sup>61</sup>.

<sup>61</sup> H. P o l a c z k ó w n a, *O podróżnikach średniowiecznych z Polski i do Polski (On Medieval Travellers from Poland and to Poland)*, „Miesięcznik Heraldyczny”, vol. XVI, 1937, No. 5, p. 69; A. F. G r a b s k i, *op. cit.*, pp. 65-66; M. d e R i q u e r, *Caballeros andantes españoles*, Madrid 1967, p. 100.

Zawisza Niger was even more famous than his brother at the Emperor's and royal courts. He accompanied Sigismund of Luxembourg on his journey to Ferdinand I, King of Aragon, and in September 1415 in Perpignan in the presence of the monarchs unhorsed the invincible John of Aragon in single combat («in certamine singulari»)<sup>62</sup>. This success brought fame to Zawisza Niger, who has always been considered the symbol of the courage of Polish knighthood since then.

Undoubtedly, many Polish knights fought on foreign arenas, but only few of them are mentioned in the sources. In his romance *Le petit Jehan de Saintré* Antoine de la Sale, who died in 1464, tells a story about a Polish magnate's pilgrimage to the tomb of St James of Compostella. According to the source, he was accompanied by four other knights and they all took part in a tournament in Paris, where «baron de Pouillaine le seigneur de Loisselench» was wounded and eventually defeated by the protagonist of the romance — the small knight Jehan de Saintré<sup>63</sup>. Despite the defeat the Polish knight was admired at the French court for his elegance and chivalry. He is often identified with Bartosz Wezenborg of Odolanów. His companions may have been Bartosz Sokołowski of Poniec and Jan of Mórki<sup>64</sup>.

The 15th century was the period of the full development of knightly culture in Poland, which is frequently confirmed by Johannes Dlugossius. However, pieces of information provided by the chronicle writer remain very schematic and they mainly refer to pageants and competitions. Dlugossius writes that in the middle of August 1423 many knights took part «in hastiludiis militaribus» organized on the occasion of Boleslas I, Duke of Cieszyn's visit to Cracow. Similar competitions were held after the coronation of Zofia of Holszany in March 1424 and when Prince Casimir was born in 1426. Vladislas III Jagiellon was crowned King of Hungary in 1440. This ceremony was also accompanied by tournaments<sup>65</sup>.

Many pieces of information about knightly tournaments come from the period of the reign of Casimir Jagiellon. As early as in 1447 a knight of Bohemia took part in a competition probably organized on the occasion of the King's coronation. His servant was killed in the contest<sup>66</sup>.

However, the eulogy that had been written about Jakub of Kobylany, the nephew and namesake of

the knight who took part in the tournament in Buda in 1412, stressing his remarkable skills, is especially important. Recording Jakub of Kobylany's death in 1454, the scribe of the castle court in Brześć Kujawski mentions one of the achievements of the Starost of Brześć (probably the scribe had chosen this event, because he considered it as especially important and because it was commonly considered as important).

An English knight whose name we do not know travelled all over Europe, searching for knightly adventures and opponents who would take part 'in ludo pugnandi, in torneamento et hastiludio'. His challenge was accepted by Jakub of Kobylany. The fight was held in the courtyard of Wawel Castle in the presence of King Casimir Jagiellon and the court<sup>67</sup>. The knights bravely attacked each other with battle-axes. They were separated when they were too tired to go on fighting. They resumed the fight after a short rest. They were again separated by the knights chosen by the King. The contest was interrupted, because the English knight was utterly exhausted. Thus, Jakub of Kobylany, who was not that young at that time, must really be admired for his amazing skill and fitness.

After a day's rest the two contestants resumed the fight, using lances («admittuntur hastiludio»). According to the mention, the Englishman wanted to hit his opponent on the side, by deceit, and hit the partition («ad sepem medium»). As a result of this he fell off the horse, broke his shoulder blade and was unable to resume the duel. Jakub of Kobylany's knightly achievements brought fame to the Kingdom of Poland, which, after the knight's death, was recognized and appreciated by Casimir Jagiellon, who praised him for his participation «in duellis et astiludiis»<sup>68</sup>.

Another mention refers to a tournament organized in 1450 when Boleslas IV, Duke of Czersk and Warsaw, Mikołaj and Waclaw, the dukes of Racibórz, and Boleslas II, Duke of Cieszyn, came to Cracow. The tournament («ludi hastarum») was held to add splendour to their visit. It lasted from Saturday to Tuesday (14th-17th February)<sup>69</sup>.

An interesting event took place in February 1470. Dlugossius writes that during a duel with lan-

<sup>62</sup> J. Długosz, *Historiae...*, vol. IV, p. 207 - dated 1417; cf.: *Rozbiór krytyczny...*, vol. I, p. 166.

<sup>63</sup> Antoine de la Sale, *Le petit Jehan de Saintré*, ed. P. Champion, F. Deconay, Paris 1926, p. 203; A. F. Grabski, *op. cit.*, pp. 66, 72.

<sup>64</sup> H. Polaczówna, *Najstarsze źródła heraldyki...*, pp. 22-27.

<sup>65</sup> J. Długosz, *Historiae...*, vol. IV, pp. 315, 320, 342, 645.

<sup>66</sup> J. Macek, *op. cit.*, pp. 381-382; S. K. Kuczyński, *op. cit.*, p. 304.

<sup>67</sup> J.T.L [ubomirski], *Jakób z Kobylan, kasztelan gnieźnieński, starosta brzeski 1407-1454 (Jakób of Kobylany, the Castellan of Gniezno, the Starost of Brzeg 1407-1454)*, „Biblioteka Warszawska”, 1860, vol. II, pp. 559-561; S. Kutrza, *Przyczynek do dziejów turnieju w Polsce (A Contribution to the History of the Tournament in Poland)*, „Wiadomości Numizmatyczno-Archeologiczne”, vol. XIII, 1901, fasc. IV, pp. 382-384.

<sup>68</sup> *Codex epistolaris saeculi decimi quinti*, vol. III, ed. A. Lewicki, Cracow 1894, Supplement No. 74, p. 583; A. Kamiński, *Kobylański (Kobyleński) Jakub z Kobylan, h. Grzymała (Kobylański (Kobyleński) Jakub of Kobylany, Bearing Grzymała in His Coat of Arms)*, *Polski słownik biograficzny (Polish Biographical Dictionary)*, vol. XIII, 1967-1968, p. 161.

<sup>69</sup> J. Długosz, *Historiae...*, vol. V, Cracow 1878, p. 71.



Fig. 2. The King of Poland in tournament dress (a miniature from the heraldic roll of the *Golden Fleece Armorial*, 1434-1435). After: A. Nadolski, *Broń i strój...*

ces «in singulari hastiludio» Rafał Leszczyński, bearing *Wieniawa* as his coat of arms, hit Mathias Corvinus, King of Hungary, on his forehead and wounded the King. The contest took place at the Vienna meeting<sup>70</sup>. It must be stressed that single combat was a characteristic of tournaments where both the contestants were outstanding knights.

<sup>70</sup> Ididem, p. 539; *Rozbiór krytyczny «Annalium Poloniae» Jana Długosza z lat 1445-1480 (A Critical Analysis of Jan Długosz's «Annalium Poloniae» from the Years 1445-1480)*, vol. II, adapted by S. Gawęda, K. Pieradzka, J. Radziszewska, ed. J. Dąbrowski, Wrocław-Warsaw-Cracow 1965, p. 264; A. Gąsiorowski, *Leszczyński Rafał, h. Wieniawa (Leszczyński Rafał, Bearing Wieniawa in his Coat of Arms)*, [in:] *Polski słownik biograficzny*, vol. XVII, 1972, pp. 129-130; J. Łojko, *op. cit.*, p. 134.

Tourneys played an important role in the wedding festivities of Princess Jadviga, a daughter of Casimir Jagiellon, and George, Duke of Bavaria, in Landshut in November 1475. Długossius, as usual, says only that various games which accompanied the ceremony lasted for a few days<sup>71</sup>.

A chronicle writer from Bavaria devoted much more space to describing those tournaments and gave much more details connected with the event<sup>72</sup>. On the way, on Tuesday, 14th November, the train was ap-

<sup>71</sup> J. Długosz, *Historiae...*, vol. V, p. 634: «per plures dies ludi varii agebantur».

<sup>72</sup> S. Hiereth, *Zeitgenössische Quellen zur Landshuter Fürstenhochzeit 1475*, book I, Landshut 1959, pp. 14-51; idem, *Herzog Georgs Hochzeit zu Landshut im Jahre 1475. Eine Darstellung aus zeitgenössischen Quellen*, Landshut 1965, pp. 131-135;

proached by four knights sent from the city. A short course was held on the track. After the contest, the train set off to reach the city, where the young couple got married in the parish church.

The day after, after dinner, which lasted until 2p.m., new tournaments were held. They culminated in a duel fought between Duke Christopher Wittelsbach and a Polish knight who is frequently identified with Dobiesław Lubelczyk of Kurozwęki, the castellan of Rozprza<sup>73</sup>. According to the source, they started to finger each other, as was the custom, in order to find any objects concealed, which lasted until after dark, when they parted without jousting.

The courses were resumed on Thursday, after dinner. The same contestants entered the lists again. Prince Christopher was wearing a black, white and brown silk cloak. The saddle and the bridle were the same colour. The Polish knight was wearing a white, brown and blue silk cloak. The same colours were visible on the horse's housing. The prize was a brooch set with precious stones worth 100 Hungarian florins. Thus, the prize was worth the effort! However, the Bavarian chronicle writer was angry with the Poles for their indiscreet behaviour, as they carefully examined each part of the Duke's equipment, namely his suit of armour, the saddle and his clothes around the arms and the waist and even the legs. At long last the fight started. «At first they hit each other properly, but soon the Pole's lance broke and his horse tripped; the Duke turned on sight and hit the Pole's horse with all the force he could muster. The steed fell and his body covered the Pole. Then a terrible noise started. It was so deafening that one could not hear one's own words»<sup>74</sup>.

On Friday, 17th November a detailed examination of the equipment rendered the fight between Count Hans von Wertheim and another Polish knight impossible. The prize was 200 Hungarian florins. Thus, tournaments were not as disinterested competitions as they are frequently thought to have been! It

was not only fame but money that could be won and the stakes were often very high.

It can be added that in 1437 the treasury of Marcin of Rytwiany (d. 1428) and his brother Ścibor of Rytwiany (d. 1435), the voivodes of Sieradz, bearing Jastrzębiec in their coat of arms, was brimfull of knight belts decorated with silver, saddles and other objects which were undoubtedly the prizes won in tournaments. They had 34 small and big brooches set with diamonds and other precious stones worth 1390 florins. On the basis of the mention, one can draw the conclusion that Dzierżaw of Rytwiany, just like his father and uncle, treated tournaments as gambling and a means of earning money. He took two brooches worth 280 florins and two strings of pearls worth 24 marks from the treasure left to him and his siblings and set off to try his luck in tournaments<sup>75</sup>. It must be remembered that such tournaments really meant competitions in which the contestants played for high stakes.

Some interesting pieces of information about those tournaments can be found in the Gdańsk material. The tournaments of Gdańsk are characterized by a long and rich tradition. In May 1457 Polish knights flaunted their fencing skills, fought duels with sidearms and jostled on horseback («gladiatoria et hastiludianum opera») on the occasion of Charles VIII Knutson's stay in the town (the king was exiled from his own country) and King Casimir Jagiellon's visit to the newly regained city<sup>76</sup>. The tourneys aroused great interest of the townspeople of Gdańsk, who left their work to see the unusual spectacle. The good springtime weather made the pageant still more attractive.

To commemorate this event tourneys were organized in Gdańsk until the year 1570. They were held in Długi Targ (Long Market), usually in front of Arthur Hall, in May<sup>77</sup>. Only the sons of the most eminent patrician families from St George's brotherhood took part in the competitions. The members of this organization imitated contemporary knights. They wore gorgeous suits of armour and fought in pairs. A mention dating from 1470 says that an Ambrosius once «hastiluderet seu hasta ludum more vulgari committeret» in the marketplace<sup>78</sup>. The mention may refer to such a tournament. We do not, however, have more information about this contest. The tournament which was held in 1486 is much more famous, mainly because of a scandal which accompanied the event.

cf.: K. S z a j n o c h a, *Jadwiga Jagiellonka, księżna bawarska (Jadwiga Jagiellon, Duchess of Bavaria)*, [in:] *Dziela Karola Szajnochy. Szkice historyczne (Karol Szajnocha's Works. Historical Studies)*, vol. II, Warsaw 1876, pp. 78-99; A. F. G r a b s k i, *op. cit.*, p. 76.

<sup>73</sup> F. P a p é e, *Królewskie córy (The Daughters of the King)* [in:] *Studia i szkice z czasów Kazimierza Jagiellończyka (Essays and Studies from the Times of Casimir Jagiellon)*, Warsaw 1907, p. 295; F. K i r y k, *Kurozwęcki Dobiesław z Kurozwęk*, [in:] *Polski słownik biograficzny*, vol. XVI, 1971, p. 269; S. H i e r e t h (*Herzog Georgs...*, p. 176) mentions Dobiesław Kmita of Wiśnicz, the voivode of Lublin, who was not present in Landshut - cf.: M. B i s k u p, *Wokół «landshuckiego wesela» 1475 roku (On the «Landshut Wedding» of 1475)*, [in:] M. B i s k u p, K. G ó r s k i, *Kazimierz Jagiellończyk. Zbiór studiów o Polsce drugiej połowy XV wieku (Casimir Jagiellon. A Collection of Studies in the Poland of the Second Half of the 15th Century)*, Warsaw 1987, p. 296.

<sup>74</sup> K. S z a j n o c h a, *op. cit.*, pp. 94-95.

<sup>75</sup> *Prawo polskie...*, No. 2700: «Pro quibus fibulis sznura ipse Derslaus hastiludet».

<sup>76</sup> J. D l u g o s z, *Historiae...*, vol. V, p. 245.

<sup>77</sup> M. B o g u c k a, *Życie codzienne w Gdańsku. Wiek XVI-XVII (Everyday Life in Gdańsk. The 16th-17th Centuries)*, Warsaw 1967, pp. 178-179.

<sup>78</sup> *Acta capitulorum nec non iudiciorum ecclesiasticorum selecta*, ed. B. U l a n o w s k i, vol. III, part 1: *Acta iudiciorum ecclesiasticorum dioecesium Plocensis, Wladislaviensis et Gneznensis (1422-1533)*, Cracow 1908, No. 880.

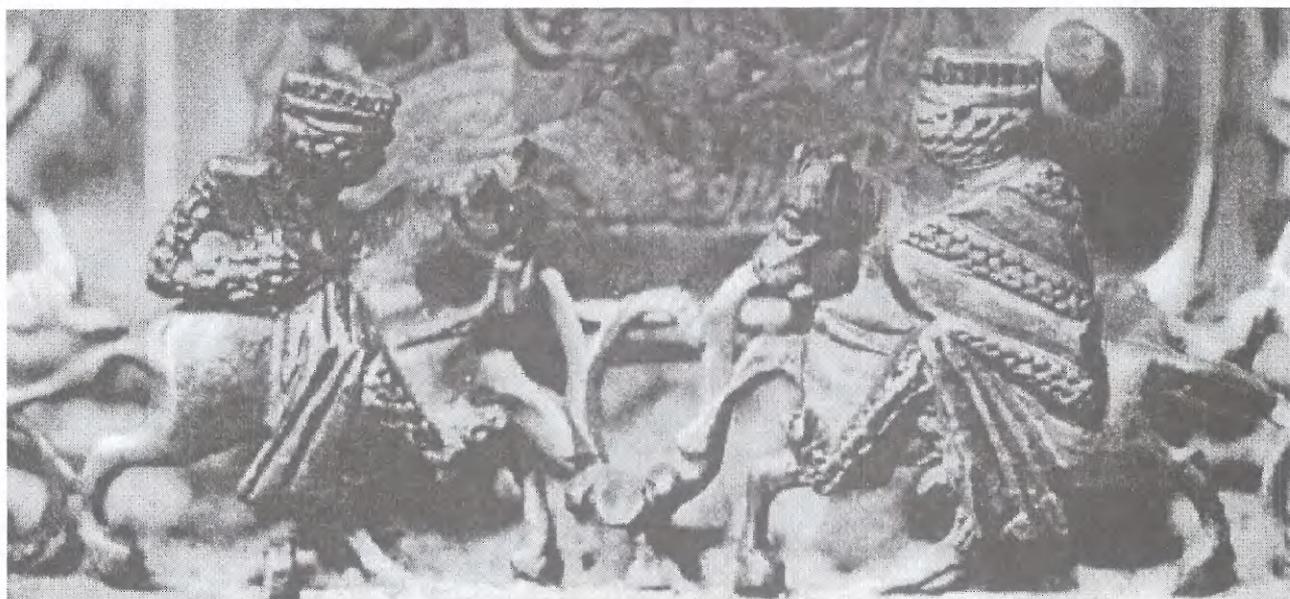


Fig. 3. Tournament (Diadem of Princess Kunegund<sup>a</sup> in the Cathedral of Wawel Castle in Cracow, 2nd quarter of the 13th century).  
After: *Sztuka Polska przedromańska i romańska...*

The winner was Lenart von Dammerau. He was a knight from the lower rank of society. That is why he was not given the prize. Only ten contestants took part in the competition because of his participation in the tournament. Several hundreds knights usually entered such a contest<sup>79</sup>. It is known that it was the patricians' wives and daughters who presented the winners with their prizes. A silver cup in the shape of a ship was the prize in 1486. A silver buckle was given to Jakub Hake in 1488. In 1494 Mayne von Staden was given a shield funded by the councillors<sup>80</sup>.

The winners were given various prizes. According to the tournament book of King Ren d'Anjou, dating from c. 1460, the winners of tournaments could be given the following prizes: a golden stick for the most beautiful *coup de lance*, a ruby for breaking the biggest number of lances, a diamond for the contestant who was the last to leave the lists and did not let the others tear the Zierdank (a decorative object) down from his helmet<sup>81</sup>. At the tournament held in Königsberg in 1518 the judges gave the winners the following prizes: a gilded spear for the best stroke,

a gilded sword for the best swordsman, a gauntlet for the most skilful contestant. The prizes were handed out by young and pretty women<sup>82</sup>. The oldest contestant and the competitor who arrived from the remotest country were also awarded prizes. A very prestigious award was the prize granted for jousting (Stecherdank). It was given to the knight who unsaddled his opponent in the course on horseback with blunted weapons.

Tournaments were also known at the court of the Mazovian dukes. In the revenue book of Janusz II, the duke of Płock, Wizna and Ciechanów, some expenses borne in connection with such entertainments were mentioned in 1479. The tournament took place in Warsaw. According to the book, 60 grossi was given to the painter for his paintings; the barber was paid 60 grossi for treating the horse of the Duke's courtier Aleksy (the horse was injured in the competition) and 66 grossi was spent on 1 bale of white woolen cloth, and all this «super hastiludium quando Dzerzonowsky hastiludebat in Warschouia»<sup>83</sup>.

<sup>79</sup> T. Grzybkowska, *Gdańska la joie de la cour*, [in:] *Munera litteraria Richardo von Weizsäcker a philologis et historicis Universitatis Gedanensis oblata*, ed. J. Data, Wrocław-Warsaw-Cracow 1993, p. 61.

<sup>80</sup> B. Engel, *Aus dem Artushof in Danzig*, „Zeitschrift für historische Waffenkund”, book VII, 1916, No. 5, p. 137; Z. F u i ń s k i, *Uwagi o wawelskiej zbroi turniejowej (Remarks About Wawel Armour for the Joust)*, „Studia do Dziejów Wawelu”, vol. 5, 1991, p. 432; A. R. C h o d y ń s k i, *op. cit.*, p. 39.

<sup>81</sup> M. J a r o s ł a w i e c k a - G a s i o r o w s k a, *Trzy francuskie rękopisy iluminowane w zbiorach Czartoryskich w Krakowie (Three French Hand-Written Illuminated Copies in the Czartoryscy's Collection in Cracow)*, Cracow 1953, p. 16.

<sup>82</sup> *Aufzeichnungen zur Geschichte des letzten Hochmeisters, des Markgrafen Albrecht von Brandenburg, von verschiedenen Verfassern*, hrsq. von M. T o e p p e n, [in:] *Scriptores rerum Prussicarum*, book V, Leipzig 1874, p. 328: «Wem die griszwerten dasz best treffen zuteiln, ein vergulden spiesz zw dancke von der brawt. Wen die griszwerten am besten mit dem schwert getornirt erkennen sollen zuteiln, ein vergult schwert von eyner schonen frawen zw danck. Wer sich nach aussage der griszwerten am geschickten im thornir helt, ein unvergulden hentschuh stiftung von einer schonen unzeytigen jungen junckfrowen zw dancke».

<sup>83</sup> *Księga skarbowa Janusz II księcia mazowieckiego z lat 1477-1490 (Janusz II, Duke of Mazovia's Revenue Book from the Years 1477-1490)*, ed. J. S e n k o w s k i, „Kwartalnik Historii Kultury Materialnej”, vol. VII, 1959, Supplement, No. 273, 284, 369.

It can be added that in the inventory of the treasury of the Mazovian Dukes Janusz II and his brother Konrad III the Red, the lord of Czersk and Warsaw, some object undoubtedly connected with tournaments held at court can be found. Among other things, 4 gilded silver lion heads and a golden wreath for the helm are mentioned<sup>84</sup>. All these objects must have been very expensive.

This was only a small part of the expenses borne by the organizer of a prestigious tourney. We do not know all the costs connected with such an undertaking. The cost must have included payments made to craftsmen for building the lists and providing handicrafts, which were indispensable at such ceremonies, as well as payments made to the artists whose performances added splendour to the competition. In 1500, during his stay in Buda at the court of his brother, Vladislas II Jagiellon, Prince Sigismund [the Old] paid a sum of money to the trumpeters who saw off a Knight Piechno at his quarters after the latter's — as we assume — successful duel («post suum astiludium»)<sup>85</sup>.

The superiority of military training to physical strength is sometimes stressed in the written sources. Zawisza Niger was said to win his victories thanks to his fencing skills. This was also the case with Prince Christopher Wittelsbach. The rule was proved by the following event. In 1491 in Szczecin a tournament was held on the occasion of the wedding festivities of Ann, another daughter of Casimir Jagiellon and Elisabeth of Rakusy, and Boguslas X, the duke of Western Pomerania. A Polish knight, whose name we do not know, was very successful in this competition. The knight was very famous because of his numerous victories won in tournaments in Swabia, Bavaria and the Rhineland. Despite the fact that he was rather small in stature, he was a very skilful competitor and unhorsed all the opponents. «No one has ever seen such a thing before»<sup>86</sup>.

It is a good illustration of the training function of the tournament, which, after all, originated with cavalry exercises. A Portuguese chronicle writer writes that his ruler, Manuel I (1495-1521), would spend Saturdays and Sundays at tournaments. As he considered them very important there were many good horsemen and good horses in his kingdom<sup>87</sup>.

The tournament was not, however, equally appreciated by all contemporaries. Gregory of Sanok, for example, openly laughed at tournaments and the contestants who hit each other with lances. He compared them to bees which were dangerous only because of their stings. Just like the bees, the contestants tried to kill each other using only lances and defended themselves using their horses, their saddles and all the things they had at their disposal. Therefore their lives could not be endangered. He praised those who wearing full armour, on horseback trained for real battle, because, through such exercises, they learned to mount and ride the horse and hit blows. In a tournament the opponents waited for a chance and learned to inflict only minor wounds, because they all avoided serious injuries. It can be added that the above opinion dates back to the second part of the 15th century, because the work was published in 1477<sup>88</sup>.

Gregory of Sanok was not alone in his conviction. In one of the royal chambers of Wawel Castle is a tournament scene. The inscription says, 'Tornimenta et Hastiludia Nobilium exercitationes quondam erant militares, quibus et facinora corripiebantur, nostris autem temporibus ludi et spectacula'<sup>89</sup>. This tournament frieze, painted by Hans Dürer and Antoni of Wrocław, dates back to the years 1534-1535. At that time the tournament had already lost its training function and had become a pure court entertainment.

This is the way the tournament was presented by Łukasz Górnicki, a humanist and political writer at the court of Sigismund Augustus. In his treatise *Dworzanin Polski (The Polish Courtier)*, written in 1566, Górnicki attempted to adapt the model courtier of the Italian Renaissance to Polish conditions. He reminds the model courtier that the skill of wielding different kinds of weapon is indispensable not only on the battlefield but at court, where various tournaments such as foot combats and fights on horseback, fencing exercises and courses are frequently organized. Such competitions are held in the presence of the lord and the audience. Thus, a good courtier must be a good horseman, he must know about horses and ride the horse in a shapely manner<sup>90</sup>. The

<sup>88</sup> Ph. Callimach, *Vita et mores Gregori Sanocensi*, ed. I. Lichońska, Warsaw 1963, p. 69.

<sup>89</sup> S. Mossakowski, *Treść dekoracji renesansowego pałacu na Wawelu (The Contents of the Decoration of the Renaissance Palace of Wawel Castle)*, [in:] *Renansans. Sztuka i ideologia (Renaissance. The Art and the Ideology)*, ed. T. S. Jaroszewski, Warsaw 1974, p. 353; Z. Żygulski Jr., *Broń w dawnej Polsce na tle uzbrojenia Europy i Bliskiego Wschodu (Arms in Ancient Poland Against a Background of the Arms and Armour of Europe and the Near East)*, Warsaw 1982, p. 193.

<sup>90</sup> Ł. Górnicki, *Dworzanin polski (The Polish Courtier)*, [in:] idem, *Pisma (Works)*, adapted by R. Poliak, vol. I, Warsaw 1961, pp. 92-93.

<sup>84</sup> J. Mycielski, *Inwentarz skarbcza ksiąg mazowieckich Konrada i Janusza z roku 1494 (The Inventory of the Treasury of the Mazovian Dukes Konrad and Janusz from the Year 1494)*, „Sprawozdania Komisji do Badania Historii Sztuki w Polsce”, vol. VIII, fasc. 1-2, Cracow, 1907, pp. CLIX, CLXI.

<sup>85</sup> Zsigmond Lengyel herceg Budai szamádasai (1500-1502, 1505), ed. A. Divékly, Budapest 1914, p. 20.

<sup>86</sup> F. Papée, *op. cit.*, p. 309, B. Brzustowicz, *op. cit.*, p. 12.

<sup>87</sup> Damião de Góis, *Kronika wielce szczęśliwego króla don Manuela (1495-1521), The Chronicle of the Very Happy King Manuel (1495-1521)*, ed. J. Z. Klave, Warsaw 1989, p. 319.

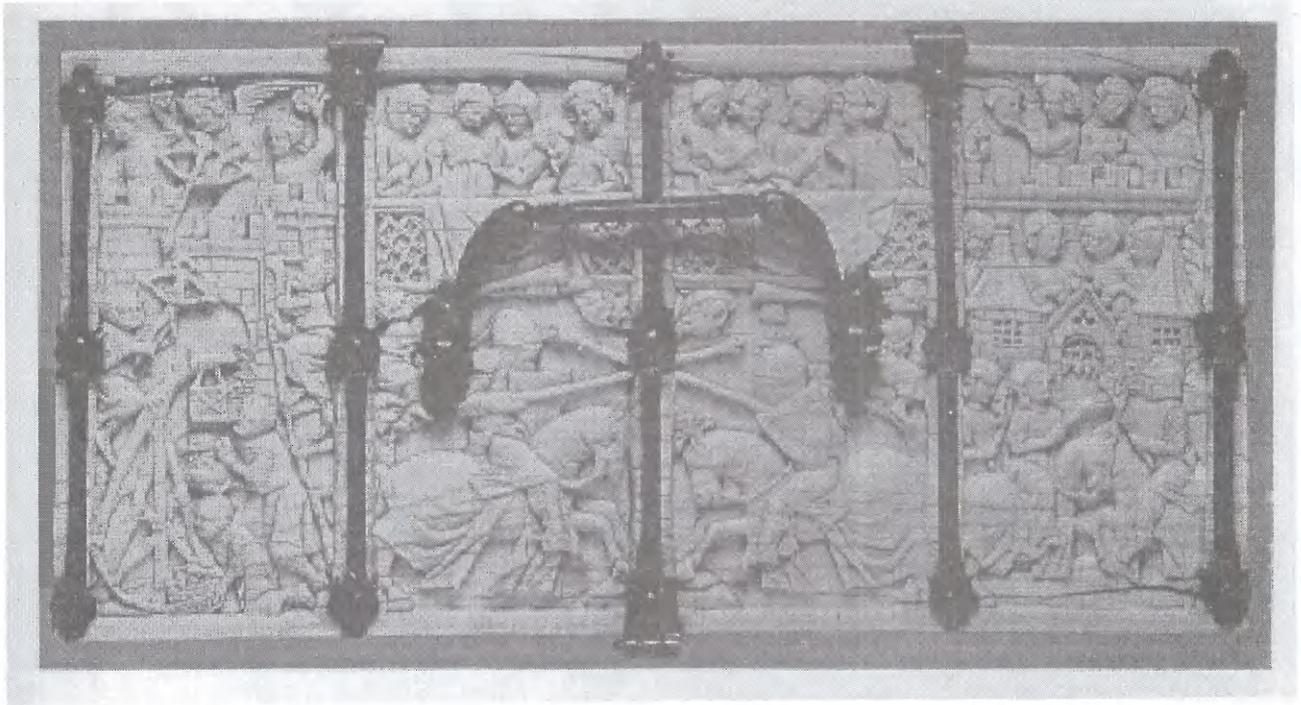


Fig. 4. Tournament (lid of an ivory box decorated with scenes from the romance *Roman de la Rose*, 1330-1350).  
After: A. R. Chodyński, *Zbroje kolcze z gdańskiego Dworu Artusa...*

model courtier must be better at «tilting at the ring» than the Italian courtier, he must equal every German knight (they remain saddle-fast in the joust) and equal Hungarian knights for «courage and good blows», because the latter are «born with the ability to use the shield properly and strike blows»<sup>91</sup>.

Many knights followed the example of Jan Tarło, bearing Topór in his coat of arms, a courtier of the last two Jagiellons and the cupbearer of Cracow, who was famous for his physical strength and victories won in the lists. He had not only good masters but was endowed with many talents by nature<sup>92</sup>. Jan Tarło demonstrated his great skill during the festivities which accompanied Barbara Zapolya's marriage to Sigismund I the Old and her coronation in February 1512, when tourneys and knightly games («Hastarum ludi, militiae exercitia»), dances and other competitions were organized. The winner of the first prize was Jan Rechenberger, an old knight of the King's from Silesia, but the second prize went to the brave knight Jan Tarło, as Decjusz put it<sup>93</sup>. Jan Tarło also took part in the many days' courses which were organized to add splendour to a meeting of monarchs in Vienna in 1515. Thanks to his achievements he was referred to as the «knight of great courage»<sup>94</sup>.

<sup>91</sup> Ibidem, pp. 93-94.

<sup>92</sup> Ibidem, p. 98.

<sup>93</sup> J. L. Decius, *De Sigismundi Regis temporibus liber*, ed. W. Czermak, Cracow 1901, p. 58.

<sup>94</sup> M. Bielski, *Kronika polska (Polish Chronicle)*, ed. K. J. Turowski, Sanok 1856, p. 984; B. Paprocki, *Herby rycerstwa polskiego (The Coats of Arms of Polish Knighthood)*, ed. K. J. Turowski, Cracow 1858, p. 95.

Two royal courtiers entered the lists in Main Marketplace in Cracow in 1517, which is recorded in the city expenditure book: «Gegeben vor 5 pfund Confecten Regalia vor Konigl. Majestät, do sein Gnaden awfs Rathaws war kommen, do sich dy zwei ritter mit eyinander in Schranken schlugen, gros 45»<sup>95</sup>.

Tournaments were also held in April 1518 to celebrate Queen Bona's coming to the town, when they fired a salute and some knights met for jousting, and subsequently during Sigismund the Old's wedding, which was accompanied by numerous feasts, courses and other expensive amusements, which lasted for a couple of days<sup>96</sup>. Jan Tarło distinguished himself in the lists again, as he chased and unhorsed Kasimir, the margrave of Brandenburg, in full armour. It was a big success, because the margrave, a son of Casimir Jagiellon's daughter Zofia, had been very successful in tournaments until then. He was even once given a rich wreath by the Mazovian duchess Ann<sup>97</sup>.

Prince Sigismund Augustus and Prince Elijah Ostrogski took part in a joust with weapons with points which accompanied Princess Izabella's marriage to Jan Zapolya in 1539. «Then some Hungarian knights fought in pairs with shields. One of them lowered his lance, hit the companion's horse on the

<sup>95</sup> A. Grabowski, *Dawne zabytki miasta Krakowa (The Ancient Monuments of the Town of Cracow)*, Cracow 1850, p. 176.

<sup>96</sup> M. Bielski, *op. cit.*, pp. 1001-1002.

<sup>97</sup> Ibidem; A. Przezdziecki, *Jagiellonki polskie w XVI wieku (Polish Jagiellons in the 16th Century)*, vol. I, Cracow 1868, p. 62.

forehead and killed it<sup>98</sup>. This mention is not the only piece of information about Sigismund Augustus' participation in such tournaments. In 1552 he took part a tourney organized at the foot of the Stronghold in Gdańsk in his honour. The King's courtiers and the youth of the most eminent families of Gdańsk also competed in the tournament. The audience bet on the results of some duels<sup>99</sup>.

Łukasz Górnicki's account of the festivities which accompanied Sigismund Augustus' marriage to Katarzyna in 1553 is equally interesting. After the wedding feast courses were held at the castle. Zygmunt Wolski, the royal swordsbearer, and Kieżgała, the duke of Lithuania, fought with weapons with points. A Knight Kosmowski jousted with the equerry of the Prince of Prussia. Twenty four pairs took part in the tourney with shields, with «lanceheads with rings». Then other tourneys in armour for the joust were held in the marketplace, in which contest everyone who behaved according to the articles nailed on the castle's door could participate and chase the opponent who was present in the square so that the second had to fight two or three contestants one after another before he reached the other side of the square. They chased each other in helms with emblems placed on them. The games were held in the presence of the King, the Queen and all the guests. A special balcony was built for them. The contestants who distinguished themselves in battle were sent wreaths with rings by the King, the judge of courage<sup>100</sup>.

The preparations for these festivities had been made much earlier. Some pieces of information can be obtained from the royal receipts and directions given to craftsmen, especially armourers<sup>101</sup>. So 52 tournament swords («gladiulis turnierskie») and 22 sabres, also for tournaments, cost 98 florins 14 grossi. Twelve florins was spent on 60 lances. They paid 300 florins for 1200 Spanish shafts and 100 shafts were bought for 110 florins in Prešov in Slovakia. Six hundred lanceheads, 160 iron rings for lances and copper to coat the shafts were also bought there. The cost came to 93 florins 2 grossi, transport included. The artillery fireworks cost 32 florins 2 grossi. Forty shield worth 138 florins 20 grossi were also bought in Prešov. Three armourers were paid 154 florins from

the city funds for 20 helmets with masks, collars and other accessories<sup>102</sup>. Ten helms («galeis») were bought for 60 florins. The bill for sewing on the lining of 6 hussar helms was 1 florin 18 grossi. A silk taffeta and the batting of the King's helmet cost 22 grossi. That was 1000 florins 18 grossi altogether. The cost was exorbitant but fully justified by the importance of the event and the splendour of the court of the Jagiellons.

In the times of the last two Jagiellons the tournament clearly lost its chief function and became only one of the elements of the fully developed programme of court festivities. Although the tournament, sometimes even the tournament with weapons with points, opened a ceremony it was subsequently relegated to the background by other games such as the parade of masks or the trophy procession with live allegorical pictures. The wedding festivities of Jan Zamojski and Gryzelda Batory in 1583 confirm the above observation<sup>103</sup>. This ceremony seems to open a new period in the history of tournaments in Poland.

#### 4. Tournament dress and weapons

The introduction of tournaments to courts brought about the need to lay down some regulations and establish some tournament customs. The tournaments were divided into two groups: the tournaments proper and knightly games i.e. courses. Besides group and single combats, fights on horseback and foot tourneys, there were duels with lances, battle-axes and clubs. Because of the growing diversity of forms of combat, the rules had to be written down. The most famous collection of such regulations was compiled by René d'Anjou in 1460. One of the copies was brought to Poland and can be found in the Czartoryscy's Library in Cracow<sup>104</sup>. In the introduction King René writes that the rules are based on German, Flanders and Brabant customs as well as the customs of Rhineland and some preserved French sources. The work contains detailed descriptions of the challenge, the proper dress, arms and armour, the rules of building the lists and stands for the judges and the audience according to some generally accepted standards, the ceremonial of the emblem display, the knights displayed their heraldic devices: the coat of arms and the pennon, to be given permission to enter the contest, the very competition and the ceremony of granting

<sup>98</sup> Ł. Górnicki, *Dzieje w Koronie Polskiej z przytoczeniem niektórych postronnych rzeczy od roku 1538 aż do roku 1572* (*The History of the Polish Kingdom with Some Additional Information From the Year 1538 Untill the Year 1572*), [in:] idem, *Pisma* (*Works*), vol. II, Warsaw 1961, p. 574.

<sup>99</sup> M. Bogucka, *op. cit.*, p. 179.

<sup>100</sup> Ł. Górnicki, *Dzieje...*, pp. 620-621; cf.: K. W. Wojcicki, *Turnieje i gonitwy* (*Tournaments and Courses*), [in:] idem, *Obrazy starodawne* (*Ancient Pictures*), vol. II, Warsaw 1843, pp. 17-18.

<sup>101</sup> K. Górski, *Historia artylerii polskiej* (*The History of Polish Artillery*), Warsaw 1902, pp. 247-248: «Distributa artificibus variis res tempore nuptiarum S. M. R. laborantibus».

<sup>102</sup> Ł. Górnicki (*Dzieje...*, p. 621) writes that there were expensive masks at the wedding in which the King and his guests were dressed.

<sup>103</sup> Z. Żygulski Jr., *Wspaniały turniej sprawiony w Polsce (uwagi kostiumologiczne)* (*A Magnificent Wedding Held in Poland (Remarks About the Costume)*), „Biuletyn Historii Sztuki”, book LIV, 1992, No. 4, pp. 15-21; A. Włodarski, „*Tournois magnifique tenue en Pologne*”, ibidem, pp. 25-28.

<sup>104</sup> M. Jarosławiecka-Gąsiorowska, *op. cit.*, pp. 11-17.

the prizes. It also provides some information about payments made to trumpeters, minstrels etc.

Unfortunately, lack of sources renders the presentation of the organizational side of tournaments in Poland impossible. We have no information about the preparation of the tournament square, called the lists. This term had long been used in the Polish language. Originally, the word meant a palisade built in front of castle or city walls and the empty space between the palisade and the walls, where various competitions and contests could be held. Iohannes Dlugossius writes that «circulaciones ex roboribus, que szrank seu kobylene appellantur» were erected at the foot of Vilna in 1391 to facilitate the defence of the castle<sup>105</sup>. Thus, the saying that «the knights have entered the lists» becomes clear.

We do not have at our disposal any descriptions of the lists built in Poland, but the forgotten mention of Jan of Czarnków dating back to the third quarter of the 14th century seems to be interesting. Iohannes of Luxembourg ordered a circle to be marked off in a meadow and surrounded by a high wall. Two tall towers were erected on two opposite gates. He encouraged the Czech nobility to organize tournament games within the wall, for practice and for pleasure<sup>106</sup>. Although the above description is much poorer than the description offered by our chronicle writer's contemporary G. Chaucer in his story *The Knight's Tale*<sup>107</sup>, both the accounts agree as far as the characteristics of the tournament stadium are concerned.

In the Kingdom of Aragon amusements and public entertainments were quite profitable to the royal treasury. Before a coming competition the right to build a timber amphitheatre surrounding the lists and collect entrance fees was rented out to the local townspeople. The rent agreement contained the permission to open a shop where lances were sold in close vicinity to the amphitheatre. Hipolit Burges, a carpenter and a citizen of Perpignan, was one of the men of initiative. The amphitheatre erected in Puig in September 1415, where Zawisza Niger fought his successful duel with John of Aragon, may have been built by him<sup>108</sup>.

The rules of such competitions, governing the course of the contests, the arms and armour, were

adjusted to the enclosed space of the spectacles. The safety of the contestants made René d'Anjou define the tilt arms and armour. He carefully discussed the armour, the helmet and the housing and defined the size and shape of the sword and the club so as to eliminate any possibility of a serious injury. The weapons were examined by the judges and marked with their marks. Only the weapons marked could be used in combat<sup>109</sup>.

As a result of the changes occurring in the character of the tournament blunted lances, i.e. sport weapons, appeared as early as at the beginning of the 13th century. The lanceheads were in the shape of a crown. In the middle of the 14th century special tilt armour was developed. At the funeral of Charles Robert of Anjou in 1342 three knights on horseback symbolized the late ruler of Hungary. They were wearing the monarch's suits of armour. The first knight was dressed «in armis tornamentalibus», the second knight was «ad hastiludium aptis», the third knight was wearing «armis bellicis»<sup>110</sup>. Besides the battle armour two other suits of armour are mentioned. Both of them, as their names denote, are connected with knightly games. Thus, one can draw the conclusion that at least the political elite had at their disposal suits of armour for different occasions, i.e. battle and tilt armour, as early as in the first half of the 14th century.

The tilt armour, which was used only for relatively short duels, was as a rule heavier and more solid than the battle armour, which was to ensure the maximum freedom of movement in battle. Thus, the former was equipped with various reinforcements and defences. The appearance of the tilt armour brought about the introduction of full breastplates, more resistant to hard blows given with shaft-weapons<sup>111</sup>. In 1337-1341 in King Edward III's armoury there were such «poitrines pour les joustes»<sup>112</sup>.

The head defence played an important role in the lists, because it was the head that was the most exposed to lance-blows part of the body. The Great Helm was originally used for that purpose. However, its numerous joints and the flat top rendered the helm not resistant to strokes. In the 14th century the Great Helm became deeper and was added to. The skull became more arched and a sharp ridge appeared where the two forehead reinforces met. The opening was

<sup>105</sup> J. Dlugosz, *Annales...*, book 10, p. 190.

<sup>106</sup> Joannis de Czarnkow, *Chronicon Polonorum*, ed. J. Szlachetowski, [in:] *Monumenta Poloniae Historica*, vol. II, Lvov 1872, p. 687: «Fertur namque, qualiter in quodam prato amoenissimo fecit quendam circum muros satis alto circumcingi et duas turres altas in portis sibi ex opposito consistentes construere et in altum sublimare proponens infra ambitum muri praedicti torneamentorum ludos per nobiles regni Bohemiae, gratia exercitationis et solatii exerceri debere».

<sup>107</sup> G. Chaucer, *Canterbury Tales*, London 1950, pp. 45-46.

<sup>108</sup> S. M. Kuczyński, *Zawisza Czarny (Zawisza Niger)*, Katowice 1980, pp. 527-528.

<sup>109</sup> M. Jarosławska-Gąsiorowska, *op. cit.*, pp. 13-14.

<sup>110</sup> *Glossarium mediae...*, vol. I, Paris 1937, p. 388; cf.: E. Śnieżyńska-Stolot, *Dworski ceremonial pogrzebowy królów polskich w XIV wieku (The Funeral Ceremony of Polish Kings in the 14th Century)*, [in:] *Sztuka i ideologia XIV wieku, (Art and Ideology of the 14th Century)*, ed. P. Skubiszewski, Warsaw 1975, pp. 90-91.

<sup>111</sup> Z. Żygulski Jr., *Broń w dawnej Polsce...*, p. 104.

<sup>112</sup> C. Blair, *European Armour circa 1066 to circa 1700*, London 1958, p. 59.

semi-circular and the helm was leaned on the knight's shoulders. It was a big very helmet. In the middle of the 14th century it changed to a typical helm for the tourney. It is a frequent element of architectural sculpture and polychromatic heraldic friezes. Most such helmets had additional reinforces of the front part, which is a proof that they were used for tournaments. They are decorated with various crests. At the beginning of the 15th century the Great Helm took a new form. This new creation was gracefully called the «Frog-mouthed helm». It was fixed firmly to the breastplate. There was a sight between its flattened top and the high side reinforces, well protecting the face<sup>113</sup>. That is the form in which it appears in the crest of Helm («Helm») coat of arms, which «galeam habens hastiludiale pro insigni»<sup>114</sup>. The second basic type of head defence was the helm equipped with a bar visor for the combat with blunted swords and clubs. It is visible in a representation of the Polish monarch in tilt dress which dates back to the years 1434-1435 and on the outer slab of the tomb of King Casimir Jagiellon in Wawel Cathedral. It must be added that only tilt helmets became part of the repertoire of heraldic forms<sup>115</sup>.

The tournament became more and more popular. Armourers started to produce suits of armour for different types of combat. «Armatura triplex», i.e. a type of armour equipped with triple pieces for 3 kinds of competition, was the matter in dispute in Cracow in 1535<sup>116</sup>. At the same time the Cracow armourer Jan was paid 30 florins by the city judge of Cracow Mikołaj Sierakowski for a similar suit of armour. This suit of armour, however, could perform still more functions. It was a suit of «septenaria arma»<sup>117</sup>.

Suits of tilt armour are rather scarce in Polish collections. That is why a very valuable specimen found in the armoury of Royal Wawel Castle should be given special consideration. The suit of armour

for the combat with blunted weapons 'Stechzeug' was made by the armourer Konrad Poler from Nürnberg and is dated to the years 1492-1500<sup>118</sup>. It consists of a Frog-mouthed helm, a breastplate with a lance-rest on the right side, a stomach lame, laminated cuisses, a backplate with a fan-shaped tail («Schwänzel») and pauldrons. Although the suit of armour is incomplete, one can get a fairly clear idea of what the tilt armour looked like. Firstly, some pieces of this suit of armour were made of much thicker sheet metal than the others. The helmet weighed 9.7 kg and was 2-15 mm thick, the breastplate weighed 6.9 kg and was 3-7 mm thick, the stomach lame weighed 3.7 kg and was 2.5-3 mm thick while the backplate was only 1.5-2 mm thick and weighted 1.7 kg and the pauldrons were 1-2 mm thick. The suit of armour found at Wawel Castle weighs about 28 kg altogether. It should be remembered that this type of armour («Stechzeug») was not equipped with any leg defences, as the knight was protected against an injury by the extended front arson.

The research established that the above discussed suit of armour is one of the four suits of armour which belonged to St Raynold's Brotherhood and in 1557 were hung over their bench in Arthus Hall in Gdańsk. Unfortunately, there is no evidence to suggest that the helmet and the breastplate from the armoury of the Castle Museum of Malbork and the breastplate from the Arsenal of Wrocław (deposits of the Polish Army Museum in Warsaw) are the remains of two other suits of tilt armour from Arthus Hall<sup>119</sup>.

There are two other suits of tilt armour in Polish collections. They are kept in the Polish Army Museum in Warsaw. One of them is a steel, wrought suit of armour for the German joust. It was made in Valentin Siebenbrger's workshop in Nürnberg in c. 1500. It consists of a Frog-mouthed helm, a breastplate with a lance-rest, a backplate, a stomach lame, cuisses, a pair of pauldrons and arm defences. It weighs 30 kg. The other was used for the tourney with weapons with points («Rennen»). It was made in Augsburg in c. 1500. It consists of a basnet with the bevor screwed on the breastplate, which is equipped with a lance-rest, 4 stomach lames with tassets, the left arm defence and a big shield with a spike, which was the target for the opponent. The helm weighs 3.85 kg, the breastplate 24.3 kg<sup>120</sup>.

Because of the popularity of the tournament every self-respecting knight had at his disposal a suit of armour for that occasion. Handing over his property to the monastery in Dubrovnik in 1413, the Czech

<sup>113</sup> A. N a d o l s k i, *Broń i strój rycerstwa polskiego w średniowieczu (The Arms and Dress of Polish Knighthood in the Middle Ages)*, Wrocław 1979, p. 116; A. N o w a k o w s k i, *Uzbrojenie ochronne (Defensive Arms)*, [in:] *Uzbrojenie w Polsce średniowiecznej 1350-1450 (Arms and Armour in Medieval Poland 1350-1450)*, ed. A. N a d o l s k i, Łódź 1990, p. 42.

<sup>114</sup> J. D l u g o s z, *Insignia seu clenodia Regni Poloniae*, [in:] *Opera omnia*, vol. I, Cracow 1887, p. 569; J. S z y m a n s k i, *op. cit.*, pp. 134-135.

<sup>115</sup> P. M r o z o w s k i, *O sztuce i stylizacji heraldycznej w Polsce XIV-XV wieku (On Art and Heraldic Stylization in the Poland of the 14th-15th Centuries)*, „Rocznik Polskiego Towarzystwa Heraldycznego”, vol. I (XII), 1993, p. 92.

<sup>116</sup> *Cracovia artificum 1501-1550*, ed. J. P t a ś n i k, [in:] *Źródła do historii sztuki i cywilizacji w Polsce (Sources for the History of Art and Civilization in Poland)*, vol. V, Cracow 1936, No. 825; *Słownik łaciny średniowiecznej w Polsce (Dictionary of Medieval Latin in Poland)*, ed. M. P l e z i a, vol. I, Wrocław-Cracow-Warsaw 1953-1958, p. 754.

<sup>117</sup> *Cracovia artificum...*, No. 821.

<sup>118</sup> F. Ś c i b a l l o, *Późnogotycka zbroja turniejowa w zbiorach wawelskich (Late Gothic Joust Armour in Wawel Collection)*, „Studia do Dziejów Wawelu”, vol. 3, 1968, pp. 335-356.

<sup>119</sup> Z. F u i ń s k i, *op. cit.*, pp. 423-436.

<sup>120</sup> Z. Ż y g u l s k i J r., *Stara broń w polskich zbiorach (Old Arms in Polish Collections)*, Warsaw 1982, pp. 132-133.

knight Jan Nogavka of Chrustovice gave away all his armour, i.e. a suit of battle armour and «platy klaczie, pavézu et omnia attinencia hastiludii»<sup>121</sup>. Polish knights had similar equipment. In the Kazimierz register of requisitioned wagons is a mention dated 28th April, 1417. The mention says that a Zybrzyd was paid 30 grossi for transporting «apparatu hastiludencium» to Bochnia<sup>122</sup>. In 1437, when the property of the above mentioned Marcin and his brother Scibor of Rytwiiany was divided among the inheritors, their «armis hastiludij», i.e. tilt armour (armour for the course), was also mentioned<sup>123</sup>. A good suit of armour was a guarantee of success. It was frequently valuable. In 1456 a suit of «arma hastiludialia» was priced at 40 Hungarian florins of pure gold<sup>124</sup>, i.e. at almost 70 florins (monetary units). Thus, the fact that the youth of Gdańsk borrowed suits of tilt armour from Arthus Hall to take part in tournaments is not surprising. The tournaments were held in Gdańsk in Długi Targ (Long Market). In 1557 Jakub Thiele chose the best suit of armour out of the four suits of armour kept in Arthus Hall. He paid 1 golden Hungarian florin for it<sup>125</sup>.

The attire worn on the armour was equally expensive. In 1427 in Cracow William of Ferrara's widow, Margaret, took Hincza of Rogów to court. According to her words, the knight and his late brother owed her money for the following items ordered by them for a tournament: 200 white lilies worth 8 marks, 5 silver bands worth 30 marks and garments decorated with pearls worth 26 marks<sup>126</sup>. She demanded to be paid 64 marks. It was quite a large sum. It is only surprising why the members of the Działosza family ordered the white lilies, which were not depicted in their coat of arms.

Although no information about Polish rulers' participation in such tournaments can be found in the written sources, in *The Golden Fleece Armorial* there is a representation of a king in ceremonial attire for the joust, presented in accordance with the binding

heraldic rules. The king is riding horseback. He is wearing a closed helm for the joust with a golden crown, purple mantling and a crest. The crest depicts a silver eagle with a crown on its head rising to the sky. The king is dressed in a beautiful white suit of plate armour and a purple tunic with silver eagles. Silver eagles are also visible on the purple housing covering his white horse. The horseman, the horse, the costume, the arms and armour, the colours, the heraldic crest form a complete artistic whole<sup>127</sup>.

It should be remembered that the last of the Jagiellons on the Polish throne was not only a keen collector of precious stones and various works of art. It must be stressed that in Sigismund Augustus's pantry there were suits of battle armour, suits of armour for the course, cuirasses, various pieces of armour, scaled cuirasses of different shapes, numerous equestrian accessories such as bridles, saddles with accessories and Italian, German, Hussar harness<sup>128</sup>.

The horse was a knight's inseparable companion. Its stature, colour and housing were indicative of the horseman's social rank. As was the custom, the knight who wounded his opponent's steed, which was a cardinal error, had to pay for it<sup>129</sup>. The cost was frequently exorbitant, as a good steed cost over 10 marks<sup>130</sup>.

Thus, the contests of an agreement signed by Mikołaj Naramowski from Poznań and Mikołaj of Sobota, an official and the keeper of Poznań, is not surprising. Mikołaj Naramowski borrowed a horse for a tournament. By one of the articles, he was financially responsible for the horse. If the horse had been wounded and its legs broken, he would have had to pay for it<sup>131</sup>. The deep solicitude for the horse

<sup>127</sup> A. N a d o l s k i, *Uroczysty strój rycerski królów polskich w XIV-XV wieku (The Ceremonial Dress of Polish Kings in the 14th-15th Centuries)*, „Kwartalnik Historii Kultury Materialnej”, vol. XXI, 1973, fasc. 2, pp. 305-306; K. T u r s k a, *Ubiór dworski w Polsce w dobie pierwszych Jagiellonów (Court Dress in Poland in the Times of the First Jagiellons)*, Wrocław 1987, p. 83.

<sup>128</sup> F. K o p e r a, *Dzieje skarbcza koronnego czyli insygniów i klejnotów koronnych Polski (The History of the Crown Treasury, Namely the Crown Insignia and the Crown Jewels of Poland)*, Cracow 1904, p. 76.

<sup>129</sup> A. S c h u l t z, *op. cit.*, p. 111; W. I w a n c z a k, *Tropem...*, p. 119.

<sup>130</sup> Cf.: J. S z y m c z a k, *op. cit.*, p. 163.

<sup>131</sup> *Acta capitulorum...*, vol. II, *Acta iudiciorum ecclesiarum dioecesium Gneznensis et Poznaniensis (1403-1530)*, Cracow 1902, No. 1322: «Comparens personaliter providus Nicolaus Naramowsky, civis de Poznania, suo nomine petivit vener. dominum Nicolaum de Sobotha, custodem vicariumque in Spiritualibus et officialem Poznan. Generalem, pro equo ad faciendum astiludium, cui dominus acclinatus favore et petitione attenda dedit et accomodavit spe certe et sane restitutionis, quoniam viso equo nullo membro pedum lesum recepit de curia prefati dni custodis, ita tamen et tali condicione sibi expressa, quod si aliquid infortuito [casu] accideret in tali facto sive qualiscunque ruina pedum in ipsum equum, extunc secundum placitum et voluntatem prefati dni custodis, quantum dixerit et deliberaverit, exsolvere promisit et obligavit».

<sup>121</sup> E. W a g n e r, Z. D r o b n á, J. D u r d i k, *Kroje, zbroj a zbraň doby předhusické a husitské*, Prague 1956, p. 49; V. D e n k s t e i n, *Pavézy českého typu*, part III, „Sborník Národního Muzea v Praze. Historie”, vol. XIX, 1965, No. 1-5, p. 7.

<sup>122</sup> *Podwoły kazimierskie 1407-1432 (The Kazimierz Register of Requisitioned Wagons)*, ed. S. K r z y ż a n o w s k i, „Archiwum Komisji Historycznej”, vol. XI, Cracow 1909-1913.

<sup>123</sup> *Prawo polskie...*, No. 2700.

<sup>124</sup> *Ibidem*, No. 3582; cf.: J. S z y m c z a k, *Produkcja i koszty uzbrojenia rycerskiego w Polsce XIII-XV w. (The Production and Cost of Knight Arms and Armour in Poland in the 13th-15th Centuries)*, Łódź 1989, pp. 261-263.

<sup>125</sup> A. R. C h o d y Ń s k i, *op. cit.*, p. 28.

<sup>126</sup> *Prawo polskie...*, No. 2134: «pro eo, quod sibi pro hastiludio laboravit ducenta lilia alba pro VIII marcis; pro eo, quod eidem tria crinalia argentea fecit ad astiludium et tibi Hinczconi huiusmodi duo, quodlibet pro sex marcis; pro eo, quia eidem Henrico eciam ad astiludium aparamenta et indumenta cum monilibus laboravit de perris pro XXVI marcis».

is also visible in numerous mentions referring to the cost of treating horses, which was frequently very high. In 1479 in Warsaw, as has already been said, the Mazovian duke Janusz II paid 60 grossi for treating a steed wounded in combat<sup>132</sup>.

The housing covering the horse was an important element of the knight's attire. The colour of the attire and the housing was the colour which belonged to the knight. Both the housing and the attire were decorated with his heraldic device. The importance of the housing is also confirmed by the fact that in the famous book of René d'Anjou there is a detailed description of this part of equestrian attire<sup>133</sup>. In 1534 in Lvov a candidate for a master tailor had to make a housing for the joust with lances, called «deck»<sup>134</sup>. The term is also found in Old Polish dictionaries, where the terms «dek» and «deka» are identified with the Latin words «cooperta» and «stragulum», the Czech word «dek» and the German term «Decke»<sup>135</sup>.

The housing was usually made of quality material such as woolen cloth or, much more expensive, silk, depending on the knight's financial condition. That is why such a cloth covering could be a very good present. In 1505 Prince Sigismund Jagiellon ordered 2 florins to be paid from his treasury «pro dek et pro aliis necessariis ad hastiludium», but 3 years earlier a housing («dek») cost as much as 4 florins<sup>136</sup>. It can also be added that the above mentioned Piechno who was seen off at his quarters in Buda on 26th February, 1500 was given by Prince Sigismund a red «deck» worth over 3 florins as a present<sup>137</sup>.

\* \* \*

Although during the 5 centuries the functions and forms of the tournament had been subject to various changes and alterations, its basic, entertaining, role had been preserved. This role was very expensive, but everyone was ready to bear the cost, as the right to take part in a tournament was one of the basic attributes of knighthood.

The words *tornamentum* and *hastiludium* came into use and became permanent elements of the Latin written sources in Poland. There were duels with weapons with points and combats with blunted weapons, duels fought between two opponents and fights in which cavalry troops took part. The term *tornamentum* denoted the tournament proper, which consisted in a frontal attack of two groups of knights representing different colours or nations. Their task was to break the enemy's battle array<sup>138</sup>. It should be remembered that in his dictionary written in 1540 Jan Cervus of Tuchola identified the word «thurnije» with the word «torneamenta» («thurnije = torneamenta»), the exact Polish equivalent was «kolby»<sup>139</sup>. The Latin word *justa* meant an individual joust with lances with points<sup>140</sup>. The lance played the decisive role in such a tourney, which is reflected in its definition: «hastiludium est ludus militum cum hastis», i.e. a fight with weapons or a course - «gonitwa» (the Old Polish term)<sup>141</sup>. The written sources in which «gonitwa» is juxtaposed with the tournament and «kolba» confirm this interpretation<sup>142</sup>. The terms are found in a story about 7 sages translated by Jan of Koszyczki in 1540, which was very popular in the Middle Ages. The story tells of a brave knight who «kochał się w gonitwie y w kolbie» («loved courses and tournaments»)<sup>143</sup>.

Translated by Zuzanna Poklewska-Parra

<sup>138</sup> Cf.: S. K. K u c z y ń s k i, *op. cit.*, p. 296.

<sup>139</sup> *Słownik Jana Cervusa z Tucholi (The Dictionary of Jan Cervus of Tuchola)*, adapted by M. K a r p l u k ó w n a, Wrocław 1973, p. 166; cf.: *Słownik staropolski (Old Polish Dictionary)*, ed. S. U r b a ń c z y k, vol. III, Wrocław-Cracow-Warsaw 1960-1962, p. 314; *Słownik polszczyzny XVI wieku (A Dictionary of 16th Century Polish)*, ed. M. R. M a y e n o w a, vol. X, Wrocław 1976, p. 463.

<sup>140</sup> Z. Ż y g u l s k i, *Życie na zamku średniowiecznym (Life in the Medieval Castle)*, [Toruń] 1948, pp. 80-82; R. B a r b e r, J. B a r k e r, *op. cit.*, p. 212.

<sup>141</sup> *Glossarium mediae...*, vol. IV, Paris 1938, p. 174; cf.: *Słownik łaciny średniowiecznej...*, vol. IV, Wrocław 1975-1977, p. 718; *Słownik polszczyzny XVI wieku (A Dictionary of 16th Century Polish)*, vol. VII, Wrocław 1973, p. 540.

<sup>142</sup> *Słownik polszczyzny XVI wieku*, vol. VII, p. 541. It can be added that in his dictionary from 1564 Jan Mączyński used the words «gonitwa» («course») and «turniej» («tournament») but did not use the term «kolba». Cf.: *Wyrazy polskie w słowniku polsko-łacińskim Jana Mączyńskiego (Polish Terms in Jan Mączyński's Polish-Latin Dictionary)*, adapted by W. K u r a s k i e w i c z, part 1, Wrocław-Warsaw-Cracow 1962, p. 116; part 2, Wrocław-Warsaw-Cracow 1963, p. 192.

<sup>143</sup> *Wybór tekstów staropolskich. Czasy najdawniejsze do roku 1543 (A Selection of Old Polish Texts. The Earliest Times Until the Year 1543)*, ed. S. V r t e l - W i e r c z y ń s k i, Warsaw 1977, p. 290.

<sup>132</sup> *Księga skarbowa Janusza...*, No. 284: «d. dux Johannes mandavit dare 1 sexag. in Warschouia barbitonsori, qui equum Alexii [curiensi] curabat, qui offensus erat tempore astiludii».

<sup>133</sup> M. J a r o s ł a w i e c k a - G ą s i o r o w s k a, *op. cit.*, p. 13.

<sup>134</sup> Ł. C h a r e w i c z o w a, *Lwowskie organizacje zawodowe za czasów Polski przedrozbiorowej (The Professional Organizations of Lvov in Poland Before the Partitions)*, Lvov 1929, pp. 87, 157-158.

<sup>135</sup> *Słownik łacińsko-polski Bartłomieja z Bydgoszczy podług rękopisu z roku 1532 (The Latin-Polish Dictionary of Bartłomiej of Bydgoszcz According to a Hand-Written Copy from 1532)*, ed. B. E r z e p k i, Poznań 1900, p. 152.

<sup>136</sup> *Zsigmond...*, pp. 175-176, 196.

<sup>137</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 20: «pro deka rubea, in qua Pyechno astiludebat...sartore dedi III flor. cum uno ortt.».