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**THE CONSTRUCTION OF HIGH STATUS MASCULINITY THROUGH THE
TOURNAMENT AND MARTIAL ACTIVITY IN THE LATER MIDDLE AGES**

EMMA VICTORIA LEVITT

A Thesis submitted to the University of Huddersfield in partial fulfilment of the
requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

The University of Huddersfield

December 2016

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Abstract

This thesis employs a gendered reading of contemporary accounts in order to explore how men's expert performances in tournaments enabled them to achieve high status manhood during the late fifteenth and early sixteenth century when England witnessed a resurgence of chivalry. In applying medieval concepts of masculinity to ideals of both kingship and nobility in the early modern period, it argues for continuity across a period of history that has often been treated as two distinct stages. The aim is to shed light on how tournaments were a fundamental aspect of Edward IV, Henry VII and Henry VIII's kingship and masculinity, but also on other nobles and gentry men at these courts who also took this martial display seriously. By examining how men's performances in the joust were used as a means to evaluate their suitability for royal matches, service in warfare and attendance in the privy chamber, I uncover how those few men who dominated the tiltyard were able to achieve an unrivalled masculine status and close friendship with Edward IV and Henry VIII. The emphasis on a chivalrous version of masculinity as a prevalent model for men of high status during the late medieval and early modern period has brought to the forefront of this study a new group of courtiers, who have largely been missing from the historiography.

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I dedicate this thesis to my husband Thomas to whom I owe special thanks for his financial support over the past four years, which has enabled me to focus entirely on my research. I would also like to thank him for feigning interest every time that I mentioned Henry VIII, Charles Brandon, or jousting over the past six years.

List of Abbreviations

The following abbreviations are used in the footnotes. Full details of the works cited below, and of other books and articles referred to by short titles, will found in the Bibliography section at the end of the thesis. Manuscript sources are identified in the footnotes, usually following CA, BL, or OB.

- BL** British Library, London.
- CA** College of Arms, London.
- CSP Spain** *Calendar of State Papers, Spain* (ed.), G. A. Bergenroth
(London, 1862-1866).
- CSP Venice** *Calendar of State Papers, Venice* (ed.), R. Brown
(London, 1869-1873).
- Hall** *The union of the two noble and illustre famelies York and
Lancaster* (ed.), H. Ellis (London, 1809).
- LP** *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, of the Reign of Henry
VIII 1509-1547* (ed.), J. S. Brewer, J. Gairdner and R. H. Brodie
(London, 1862-1910, 1920).
- OB** Oxford Bodleian Library.
- ODNB** Oxford Dictionary of National Biography.

1: Introduction

The tournament has always been recognised as an important historical phenomenon, but it has been under-examined in both socio-cultural and gendered terms. Yet as a cultural phenomenon, the tournament reached its height under the kingship of Edward IV and it dominated the courts of Henry VII and Henry VIII. The fundamental question that this thesis addresses is: to what extent did chivalry continue to be relevant to concepts of high status masculinity in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth century? In this thesis I will trace tournament activity from Edward IV's reign to that of Henry VIII, in order to focus my analysis on chivalric masculinity during a period that has often been argued as witnessing a decline of chivalry. Yet contrary to traditional interpretations I argue for the endurance of chivalry across the late medieval period through feats of arms that remained popular and continued to underpin concepts of manhood into the sixteenth century and beyond.¹ This thesis makes use of original materials deriving from jousting events, such as surviving score cheques that have never been used before to quantify men's engagement in chivalry and performances of masculinity. This thesis will also provide new insight into how these sporting occasions were used by both men of noble birth and those from non-noble backgrounds to advance their status at court. By establishing a connection between the men who successfully competed in these events and those who attained high status manhood under Edward IV and Henry VIII, it will bring to the forefront a group of men understudied in this period, but who at the time were held to be vital to both kings and thus fundamental to this study.

¹ Recent work has discussed the artificial divisions drawn between the late medieval and early modern periods see Clifford. S. L. Davies, 'Tudor: What's in a Name?', *The Journal of the Historical Association*, 97, 325 (2012), 24-43 and 'Information disinformation and political knowledge under Henry VII and early Henry VIII', *Historical Research*, 85, 228 (2012), 228-53.

I will argue that within the courts of Edward IV and Henry VIII, the chivalrous ideal of manliness remained central to both the aristocracy and ambitious gentry men who were looking to advance at court based on their performances in the tiltyard. The men who competed alongside the king aspired to chivalric perfection and, in so doing, sought to imitate the model of masculinity exhibited by the king, who remained the head of the hierarchy of manhood. These men have often been overlooked in the historiography surrounding Edward and Henry's reigns as they participated in an aspect of kingship that has been viewed as a trivial hobby of both kings. In actual fact these sporting occasions were a significant part of both Edward and Henry's kingship as both wanted to prove they were very different kings compared to their predecessors. I will demonstrate that under Edward IV there was a revived and vibrant chivalric culture that continued into the reign of Henry VII and Henry VIII and played a crucial definitional role within high status male identity. In the reign of Henry VIII, I have calculated over fifty formal combats that took place, thus I have decided to focus on only those few that have surviving score cheques as these results are essential to my method of quantifying masculinity.² It will become apparent in this thesis that many Henrician jousts were descended from chivalrous dynasties that can be traced back to the reign of Edward IV, thus it is these courtly men who actually bridge the gap between the late fifteenth and early sixteenth century through their engagement in chivalry.

I have documented all types of chivalrous activity across the fifteenth century, but have decided to analyse only those events that were held during the reign of Edward IV, as

² See Appendix three and four.

it is within his court that we see for the first time the return of the tournament in England.³ Although there were many kinds of formal combats that took place in the early fifteenth century such as jousts, tourneys and foot combats most notably in the reigns Henry IV and Henry VI, it is also true that tournaments as large scale public events were not again held until the reign of Edward IV.⁴ In the fourteenth century both Edward III and Richard II had sponsored tournaments, but Edward IV was the first king in the fifteenth century to do this.⁵ For example those held under Henry IV and Henry VI were not royally led, but consisted of a series of individual duels between men and also challenges waged by groups of nobles against all other men at court. Despite being recognised as one of the best jousters in England, Henry of Bolingbroke seems to have given little time to the sport after his coronation in 1399.⁶ Perhaps as a usurper of the throne Henry IV recognised it was too politically risky for him to joust against men, who might have tried to deliberately harm him. It is noteworthy that a plot to murder Henry IV and his sons was planned for a tournament held at Windsor on Twelfth Night in 1400, which ultimately failed, but seems to have left its mark.⁷ His son, Henry V's preoccupation with waging real warfare against France and his attitude that chivalrous sports should not be pursued, if there was a chance of real combat on the battlefield, meant that no tournaments were held by him during his reign.⁸

³ See Appendix three.

⁴ The terminology employed for the different forms of combat explored is set out on pp. 41-45.

⁵ Richard Barber, 'The Early Years of Edward III', in *Edward III's Round Table at Windsor* (eds.); J. Munby, R. Barber and R. Brown (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2007), pp. 29-37 see Table 1 p.35; Juliet Vale, *Edward III and Chivalry: Chivalric Society and its Context, 1270-1350* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1982) see Appendix 12, for a list of tournaments up to 1348. For those held in the reign of Richard II see Shelia Lindenbaum, 'The Smithfield Tournament of 1390', *The Journal of Medieval and Renaissance Studies*, 20, 20 (1990), 1-20.

⁶ A. L. Brown, Henry Summerson, 'Henry IV (1367–1413)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, (Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Sept 2010) <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/12951>> [Accessed 28 October 2016]; Bryan Bevan *Henry IV* (New York: St Martin's Press, 1994), p.21; Ian Mortimer, *The Fears of Henry IV: The Life of England's Self-Made King* (London: Vintage Books, 2013), p.88.

⁷ See Appendix three.

⁸ Christopher T. Allmand, 'Henry V (1386–1422)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Sept 2010) <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/12952>> [Accessed 22 November

In contrast Henry VI showed little interest in warfare or competing in tournaments despite the fact that several formal combats were held during his reign.⁹ It is apparent that chivalrous nobles and gentry men such as Richard Woodville, Earl Rivers and his son Anthony waged these Challenges and jousts in spite of Henry's lack of enthusiasm for sporting events.¹⁰ It was Edward IV who provided a significant platform for jousting contests as unlike all the previous kings of the fifteenth century, he placed himself at the centre of this display by competing alongside his men. Indeed Edward's hosting of a tournament at Smithfield in 1467 was the high point of all English chivalric encounters that took place across the fifteenth century. It would also serve as a model for those Tudor tournaments held in the reigns of Henry VII and Henry VIII.¹¹ It is for this reason that Edward IV's kingship is the starting point for my thesis even though I recognise that there are more instances of chivalric combats in the reign of his predecessor, yet these were not held on a scale comparable to those in Edward's reign and the king did not compete.

Although Henry VII did hold elaborate tournaments in his reign, he did not participate in them himself, unlike Edward IV and Henry VIII. Thus I have also not included Henry VII in my main analysis of kingly masculinity, since my interest lies with kings and other high status men who took an active part in jousting. Edward IV and Henry VIII came to the throne both in their teens and immediately displayed an appetite for jousting, thus these competitions were royally led. Significantly, Henry VII began his kingship at a different

2016], Richard Barber and Juliet Barker, *Tournaments: Jousts, Chivalry and Pageants in the Middle Ages* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2000), p.37.

⁹ See Appendix three. Katherine Lewis, *Kingship and Masculinity in Late Medieval England* (Oxon: Routledge, 2013), pp. 170-193.

¹⁰ A biography of Anthony Woodville is set out in the next chapter see pp. 79-83.

¹¹ I will discuss the 1467 Smithfield tournament in great detail in the third chapter pp. 230-243.

stage of his lifecycle to the other two kings, which is another key area of exploration in this thesis. It has to be said that Henry VII's projection of his manhood once he became king contrasted to the version exhibited by Edward IV and his son, Henry VIII. Yet, Henry VII did hold tournaments during his reign and obviously acknowledged the power of this chivalrous culture to the image of the court and his sovereignty. It is important to recognise that Henry VII was prepared to spend money where it was expedient for him to do so financing some of the most costly tournaments of the period. I have identified a couple of these great events held in Henry VII's reign in my analysis of tournaments and displays of masculinity as they serve to illustrate the continuation of chivalry across the late fifteenth and early sixteenth century. However my analysis of chivalrous masculinity in Henry VII's reign is based on noble and gentry men who drove this chivalrous culture forward rather than on the king himself. It was ultimately Henry VII's absence in the tiltyard that meant he was never able to develop the same homosocial bonds with this group of jousting men. For Edward IV and Henry VIII it was the homosocial bonds that they were able to establish with their men through jousting, which is central to understanding why and how men from non-noble backgrounds achieved high status at court.

1.1: Historians on Edward IV

Edward of York was born on 28 April 1442 at Rouen in France and was the second son of Richard, third Duke of York and Cecily Neville.¹² Edward was King of England from 4

¹² Rosemary Horrox, 'Edward IV (1442–1483)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Sept 2011) <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/8520>> [Accessed 25 October 2016].

March 1461 until 3 October 1470, and again from 11 April 1471 until his death in 1483. He is the only fifteenth century king whose reputation has been more highly praised in recent years than it was in the past. For example, the works of Anthony Goodman, Charles Ross, Michael Hicks and Christine Carpenter, have credited the kingship of Edward IV in recent years due to his restoration of the prestige of the monarchy and stopping the process of its decay.¹³ One modern school of thought first advanced by J.R Lander in 1956 was to find no fault with Edward IV; he claimed that: 'all in all, he [Edward] was the greatest of medieval kings'.¹⁴ Lander placed the blame for the renewal of civil war in the late fifteenth century entirely upon his brother, Richard of Gloucester. Additionally, Goodman was impressed by Edward's military capacity in his 1461 campaign and also 'the energy and speed of ...action', with which he responded to the Lincolnshire rebellion in 1470.¹⁵ Ross presents Edward as 'consistently courageous, he had a great confidence in himself' and from early in his career 'showed natural gifts of leadership'.¹⁶ Hicks describes him as being handsome, militarily successful, a good public speaker, charming and genuinely charismatic concluding that: 'he was everything that a king was expected to be'.¹⁷ So stable was Yorkist rule in the 1470s, Carpenter concludes that: 'he [Edward] should be acknowledged as one of the greatest of English kings'.¹⁸ Despite this, Edward's kingship has not received the same attention as other medieval kings, thus this thesis makes an important contribution to existing historiography. Edward's reign is significant to a study of the medieval period as it brought a

¹³ Anthony Goodman, *The Wars of the Roses: Military Activity and English Society, 1452-97* (London and New York: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1990); Charles Ross, *Edward IV* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1997); Christine Carpenter, *The Wars of the Roses: Politics and the Constitution in England, c.1437- 1509* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997); Michael A. Hicks, *Edward IV* (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2004).

¹⁴ J. R. Lander, 'Edward IV: The Modern Legend and a Revision', *History*, 41 (1965), 38-52.

¹⁵ Goodman, *The Wars of the Roses: Military Activity and English Society*, p.73.

¹⁶ Ross, *Edward IV*, p.9.

¹⁷ Hicks, *Edward IV*, p.25.

¹⁸ Carpenter, *The Wars of the Roses*, p.203.

revival of those ideals and practices that have been characterised as being at the height of the medieval era such as: martial combat, chivalric knighthood, romanticism and heraldry. Edward IV's kingship presented a complete contrast to his predecessor Henry VI: he restored the norms of medieval kingship, rather than devising a new model of monarchy.¹⁹

However, despite this, Edward IV has often been overshadowed by the warrior kings Edward III and Henry V because of their great military achievements in battles against France such as Crécy (1343), Poitiers (1356) and Agincourt (1415). Nevertheless David Santiuste acknowledges that: 'Edward was a courageous and talented soldier but his reluctance to invade France has denied him a place in history as one of England's greatest warrior kings'.²⁰ His unsuccessful invasion of France in 1475 has caused Edward to be overlooked in comparison to the warrior kings Edward III and Henry V whose legacies were founded on their conquests in France. Yet Edward IV also fought several battles during the Wars of the Roses and significantly never lost one. Therefore Santiuste's study is significant in developing the current historiography, because he seeks to restore Edward's martial reputation.

Following in this vogue for martial kingship is a new study by Anthony Corbett on Edward IV as a warrior king, who praises the king's heroism and tactics in battle. Using this aspect of kingship Corbett argues that: 'Edward IV's reputation deserves to be restored to

¹⁹ For full discussion of Henry VI's disastrous reign see Ralph A. Griffiths, 'Henry VI (1421–1471)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, May 2015) <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/12953>> [Accessed 25 October 2016].

²⁰ David Santiuste, *Edward IV and the Wars of the Roses* (Barnsley: Pen and Sword, 2011), p.1.

reflect something nearer the truth'.²¹ It is apparent that Edward's reign is starting to attract more attention from scholars, but still there has not been a study to date that has tackled the socio-cultural facets of his kingship. In particular there has not been a single study on the revival of chivalry at Edward's court, or a focus explicitly on tournaments, even though they were at the heart of the Yorkist court.

There is a vast scholarship on the Wars of the Roses and the politics of the period in particular regarding the Woodville family and the Earl of Warwick; in addition Edward's marriage to Elizabeth Woodville has also attracted attention.²² Most important to this study is the identifiable gap in the historiography concerning Edward's masculinity, despite the fact that recent years have seen an interest in gender and kingship, with scholarship being published on Richard II, Henry V and Henry VI.²³ Yet to date Edward has not been the subject of a complete study on royal masculinity.²⁴ It is noteworthy however that Santiuste's writing on Edward's military career began to consider Edward's role as a man, providing a fascinating insight into the character of Edward himself, his actions, his relationship and his motivations.²⁵

²¹ Antony Corbet, *Edward IV, England's Forgotten Warrior King: His Life, His People, and His Legacy* (Bloomington: iUniverse, 2015), p.8.

²² For works on the Wars of the Roses see those mentioned Goodman, *The War of the Roses: Military Activity and English society* Carpenter, *The Wars of the Roses*, Pollard, *The Wars of the Roses* and John A. Wagner, *Encyclopedia of the Wars of the Roses* (California: ABC- CLIO, 2001). For more recent works on the Woodville family see Susan Higginbotham, *The Woodvilles: The Wars of the Roses and England's Most Infamous Family* (Stroud: The History Press, 2013). On Edward's marriage see Eric W. Ives, 'Marrying for Love: The Experience of Edward IV and Henry VIII', *History Today*, 50, 12 (2000), 48-53.

²³ Christopher Fletcher, *Richard II Manhood, Youth and Politics 1377-99* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008); and Christopher Fletcher, 'Manhood and Politics in the reign of Richard II', *Past and Present*, 189 (2005), 3-39 and Lewis, *Kingship and Masculinity in Late Medieval England*. I will return to the discussion of royal masculinity in the literature review on gender works in the first chapter pp. 65-66.

²⁴ For a brief discussion on Edward's masculinity see Lewis, *Kingship and Masculinity in Late Medieval England*, pp. 253-256.

²⁵ Santiuste, *Edward IV and the Wars of the Roses*, p.1.

1.1.2: Historians on Henry VIII

Henry Tudor was born on 28 June 1491 at Greenwich and was the second son of Henry VII and Elizabeth of York.²⁶ Henry was King of England from 21 April 1509 until his death on 28 January 1547. His kingship has received an abundance of interest from historians working on the reformation, politics, warfare, foreign policy and the king's personality and there are also numerous materials on his wives.²⁷ The contemporary historiography on Henrician politics traces its roots back to Geoffrey Elton writing in the 1950s and 1960s whose thesis on the administrative and financial structure of government in Henry's reign dominated political scholarship for the first half of the twentieth century.²⁸ David Starkey a student of Elton writing in the 1980s moved the discussion from the royal household into the privy chamber and argued instead for the personal nature of government.²⁹ Starkey highlighted the informal power networks operating within the privy chamber and the importance of household men having access to the king; he named this 'representation through intimacy'.³⁰ Starkey's re-emphasis on the king still being at the heart of decision-making was significant in progressing the historiography as it paved the way for discussions on royal patronage and the most noteworthy factions.

²⁶ Eric W. Ives, 'Henry VIII (1491–1547)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, May 2009) <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/12955>> [Accessed 26 October 2016].

²⁷ For essential reading on the Reformation see George W. Bernard, *The King's Reformation: Henry VIII and the Remaking of the English Church* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2005). I found these two works most useful when focusing on Henry's war aims Steven J. Gunn, 'Warfare in Henry's Reign' in *Henry VIII: Arms and the Man, 1509-2009* (eds.), G. Rimer, T. Richardson, and J.P.D. Cooper (Leeds: Royal Armouries; Historical Palaces, 2009), pp. 40-48 and Raymond James, *Henry VIII's Military Revolution: The Armies of Sixteenth-century Britain and Europe* (London: Tauris Academic Studies, 2007). For an overview of Henry's wives see David Starkey, *Six Wives: The Queens of Henry VIII* (2nd edn., London: Vintage, 2004).

²⁸ Geoffrey R. Elton, *The Tudor Revolution in Government: Administrative Changes in the Reign of Henry VIII* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1953) and Geoffrey R. Elton, 'Tudor Government: The Points of Contact', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 25 (1975), 195-211.

²⁹ David Starkey, *The Reign of Henry VIII Personalities and Politics* (Originally published in 1985 revised edn., London: Vintage, 2002).

³⁰ David Starkey, 'Representation Through Intimacy', in *Symbols and Sentiments: Cross Cultural Studies in Symbolism* (ed.), Ioan Lewis (London: Academic Press, 1977), pp. 187-224.

Such discussion of the personal character of the government in which proximity to the king was viewed as being essential for receiving royal favours led historians such as Eric Ives to argue for patronage-based faction groups.³¹ Ives was the first historian to advance the faction interpretation of events that led to the rise and fall of Anne Boleyn in the 1520s and 1530s.³² Ives and his supporters argued that patronage: 'produced the simplest form of Tudor faction, the patron and the clients who depended on him and on whom he depended'.³³ Others such as Greg Walker have since challenged the power of faction and have suggested that the king's own priorities were responsible for his navigation of policies, thus sudden changes in policies very much reflected the inconsistent views of Henry.³⁴ The faction thread within the historiography has established an important grounding for my own work, since faction was produced by the competition for court patronage, and it also intersects with ideals of masculinity.

Mervyn James argues that the royal court under Henry VIII became the fountain of patronage for those ambitious men who wanted to gain offices, titles and land.³⁵ It was this competition between men resident at the royal court that fits in with an approach informed by notions of masculinity. For example Ruth Mazo Karras points out, this rivalry best

³¹ Eric W. Ives, *Faction in Tudor England* (London: Historical Association, 1979) and 'Stress, Factions and Ideology in Early Tudor England', *The Historical Journal*, 34, 1 (1991), 193-202.

³² Eric W. Ives, 'Faction at the court of Henry VIII; the fall of Anne Boleyn', *History*, 57 (1972), 169-88 and *The Life and Death of Anne Boleyn* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2004).

³³ Ives, *Faction in Tudor England*, p.7 supporters of faction include Diarmaid MacCulloch (ed.), *The reign of Henry VIII: politics, policy and piety* (New York: St Martin's Press, 1995) and John Guy (ed.), *The Tudor Monarchy* (London: Arnold, 1997).

³⁴ For the alternative argument on faction see Greg Walker, *Persuasive Fictions: Faction, Faith and Popular Culture in the Reign of Henry VIII* (Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing, 1996), pp. 2-23.

³⁵ Mervyn James, *Society, Politics and Culture: Studies in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), p.2.

manifested itself in sporting games and athletic achievement.³⁶ It is the purpose of my work to conduct an examination of high status masculinity amongst a group of men at Henry's already noted as being key figures in factional politics. My contribution to this field is that scholars have not approached these men from a position of gender, or fully explored their relationship to the tiltyard.

Although many biographies of Henry do note major tournaments that were held at his court and identify the king's love of jousting, it is also true that they have not taken this activity seriously as an important aspect of his kingship. Walker explicitly states that he is not concerned with 'the numerous disguisings mummings or costumed jousts which were also presented at Court at this time'.³⁷ It is evident that many historians have overlooked the significance of tournaments and dismissed them as a trivial hobby.

However in more recent years, scholars exploring the importance of self-presentation in the exercise of political and social power have re-emphasised the cultural and visual aspects of kingship. Jousts, tournaments and court festivals have all been viewed as contributing to the magnificence of the king and it is within this context that jousting has been taken more seriously as a crucial aspect of kingship. Steven Gunn publishing on the cult of chivalry at the court of Henry VII and Henry VIII in the 1990s was one of the first historians to recognise a group of Tudor courtiers, who combined chivalrous exercise with

³⁶ On men testing and proving themselves against other men Ruth Mazo Karras, *From Boys to Men: Formations of Masculinity in Late Medieval Europe* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2003), pp. 47- 67.

³⁷ Walker, *Plays of Persuasion*, p.4. This is an issue discussed in more detail by Jessica Riddell see below p.27.

service to the state.³⁸ In particular during the reign of Henry VIII when the king took part in tournaments, Gunn has recognised that: 'proximity to the king in the jousts became an index of royal favour'.³⁹ One very visible jouster who benefited from this favour was Charles Brandon, on whom Gunn published his doctoral thesis in 1988. In it he demonstrated that Brandon's rise to the position of premier courtier could be charted through his place in the lists.⁴⁰ While a group of ambitious courtiers surrounded Henry, Gunn's biography on Brandon is the only, detailed study of any of them. Thus there is much more work still to be done on these gentry men and especially on the role of tournaments in the formation and attainment of high status manhood. It is the purpose of this thesis to contribute to the existing field on the relationships between crown, nobility, courtiers and Tudor politics, by adding into this scholarship the role of masculinity in the social mobility of gentry men in the early sixteenth century.

Most recently new works have been published aiming to uncover Henry the man, rather than exploring the Tudor monarch.⁴¹ This research has led to a discussion of Henry's manhood in relation to his struggle to produce a male heir, his relationships with his wives and his manly image most obviously emphasised, as Tatiana String has explored, through the oversized codpieces evident in his portraits.⁴² Suzannah Lipscomb is the most recent

³⁸ Steven J. Gunn, 'Tournaments and Early Tudor Chivalry', *History Today*, 4, 6 (1991), 15-21.

³⁹ Gunn, 'Tournaments and Early Tudor Chivalry', 15-21. David Starkey, *Henry: Virtuous Prince* (London: Harper Press, 2008), pp. 221-234 has also taken jousting seriously and focused on it as a key part of Henry's development as prince and young king.

⁴⁰ Steven J. Gunn, *Charles Brandon: Henry VIII's Closest Friend* (original edition Oxford: Oxford University Press 1988 revised edition Gloucestershire: Amberley Publishing, 2015).

⁴¹ Suzannah Lipscomb, 'Who was Henry VIII?', *History Today*, 59, 4 (2009), 14-20.

⁴² Tatiana String, 'Projecting Masculinity: Henry VIII's Codpiece', in *Henry VIII and His Afterlives: Literature, Politics and Art*, (eds.), Mark Rankin, Christopher Highley and John N. King (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), pp. 143-160.

historian to present an analysis of events that challenged Henry's manhood and highlight the ways in which he tried to fight his declining virile state.⁴³ Lipscomb's study focused on just one year in Henry's reign 1536, in which she argues 'whether looking at Henry VIII's character, health, religion, image reputation or legacy, it is possible to talk of before and after 1536'.⁴⁴ In fact Lipscomb is one of the only historians to explicitly use gender as a tool to explore the cause and effect of events in his reign.⁴⁵

In the most recent biography on Henry, Lucy Wooding presents him as a strong king in control of his court and in charge of policy-making.⁴⁶ Wooding is essential to the framework of this thesis as she is one of the few historians to consider his reign as continuing many aspects of the medieval period. She argues that: 'historians have been preoccupied with finding new modern, or revolutionary elements to Tudor rule, particularly under Henry VIII'.⁴⁷ My own analysis of Henry's kingship and masculinity considers him within this medieval context, rather than as a break with the past. Therefore it is the purpose of this thesis to add a gendered dimension to this study of Henry as a medieval king, which is not an approach that Wooding has taken.

In addition to published histories on Henry VIII, I have also consulted unpublished works that were undertaken on this period. Lorne Greig's doctoral thesis is useful for its

⁴³ Suzannah Lipscomb, *1536: The Year that Changed Henry VIII* (Oxford: Lion Books, 2009).

⁴⁴ *Ibid*, p.13.

⁴⁵ *Ibid*, pp. 47-105.

⁴⁶ Lucy Wooding, *Henry VIII* (2nd edn., Oxon: Routledge, 2015).

⁴⁷ Wooding, *Henry VIII*, p.70.

examination of the early years of Henry's reign and in particular his role in tournaments. Greig signals a number of Henry's men involved in this tournament culture, but does not consider their involvement from a position of gender.⁴⁸ In addition Jessica Riddell's doctoral thesis on ritualised social performances in the reigns of Henry VII, Henry VIII and Elizabeth I, through courtly and civic texts does shed some light on aspects of sovereign masculinity.⁴⁹ It is important that this thesis acknowledges Riddell's work on Henry VIII's tournaments, as she is one of the few to argue their significance as a political tool to generate aristocratic loyalty and to create a sovereign identity based on chivalric performance. Riddell is interested in apparatuses of power, spectatorship and readership in courtly texts, but there is also some important discussion on masculinity as she argues that Henry is presented as 'a paragon of masculinity that aristocratic men must strive to emulate'.⁵⁰ It is this attention to sovereign authority that is significant to my own work on Henry's projection of chivalrous masculinity in the tiltyard, which goes further in demonstrating the relationship between performances of chivalry and the achievement of high status manhood using a quantifiable method.

⁴⁸ Lorne C. G. Greig, 'Court politics and government in England 1509-1515', (unpublished PhD. Thesis, University of Glasgow, 1996) available online at <<http://theses.gla.ac.uk/1733/1/1996greigphd.pdf>> [Accessed 1 June 2016]

⁴⁹ Jessica Riddell, 'A Mirror of Men: Sovereignty, Performance, and Sexuality in Tudor England, 1501-1559' (unpublished PhD. Thesis, Queen's University, 2009) available online at <<http://www.lib.latrobe.edu.au/referencing-tool/oxfordother-sources#thesis-or-unpublished-work>> [Accessed 12 May 2015].

⁵⁰ *Ibid*, p.22.

1.1.3: Thesis Structure

Chapter one- 'Chivalric Masculinity: Attributes and Approaches', sets out what the qualities and attributes are that this thesis defines as being illustrative of chivalrous masculinity and how they are to be evidenced.⁵¹ It will use the model of the medieval knight as an exemplar of manhood in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth century to explore ideals and behaviours that were embodied and also performed by this type of man. I will also highlight the terms used in this thesis to distinguish between manhood, masculinity and manliness in order to make clear the distinction between behaviour that was performed by men and that embodied. In addition the terminology for the different forms of combats are explored in this thesis as contemporary sources used a variety of terms to describe a range of events. A fundamental aspect of this opening chapter is to set out the historiography surrounding ideals and perceptions of high status and royal masculinity in the later Middle Ages. In addition, I will also combine this scholarship with studies on tournament culture as this project overlaps both these areas. I have also combined tournament records, historical narratives, and material culture, to shed light on the models of manhood being exhibited by high status men. To enable an analysis of the physical aspect of manhood, armour and paintings are included as they aid an understanding of the appearance and dimensions of certain men's bodies. In particular, armour is able to highlight physicality of the male body and, in the case of Henry VIII, that body's changing state as he aged, whereas paintings may tend towards a more flattering depiction. In making use of several different kinds of sources including material culture, I aim to set out from the start how this work brings an original approach to an understanding of late medieval and early modern gender identities.

⁵¹ pp. 33-118 below.

Chapter two: 'The Projection of Masculinity: the anatomy of manhood, armour and sexual performance', explores the embodied aspect of masculinity that was centred on the natural advantages of the male body, which qualified men for chivalrous activity in the tournament.⁵² I analyse the bodily dimensions of Edward and his brothers in order to ascertain the importance of stature to jousting that has led to the fundamental question of this chapter: what was the ideal body type for jousting? In setting out this model, I have used Henry VIII's tournament armour in order to compare his body type against this ideal and to inform my discussion of lifecycle that has led to a follow up question: was this manly figure a sustainable ideal? This analysis is only possible for Henry because we do not have comparable surviving evidence of armour for Edward. I have also used Henry's portraits as visual depictions of the king's manly characteristics such as his strong calves, his facial hair and his use of oversized codpieces. In this chapter the focus is on men at the start of the manhood phase of lifecycle (as conceptualised at the time), thus an important subject is men training for jousts and being schooled by those men already accomplished in these knightly arts. In this chapter I will identify those who were responsible for the training of young men in order to assess: what skills and abilities qualified a man to become a trainer of the sons of kings and nobles? The schooling of these knights in the tiltyard is an important theme as it enabled young men to develop homosocial bonds with each other. An important test case for the social advancement of young men trained in arms is Brandon, who illustrates that there was the potential for those not born into noble families to raise themselves to the peerage. I have contemplated Brandon's appeal to Mary Tudor in terms of his physical attractiveness, leading me to ask: to what extent was maleness in itself responsible for his advancement? It is the aim of this chapter to explore these three areas of

⁵² pp. 121-201 below

the debate on embodied masculinity, in order to provide a fuller discussion of the role of the body in the performance and validation of high status manhood.

In Chapter three: 'Scoring Masculinity in the English Tournaments c.1460-c.1540', analysis of chivalric masculinity moves away from the male body and re-focuses on the abilities of men in the tiltyard.⁵³ This chapter traces jousting activity from the reign of Edward IV, to the reign of Henry VIII including those tournaments that were held in Henry VII's court. It considers how tournaments were announced, governed and scored, drawing on heraldic materials to consider other questions such as: what do tournament sources reveal about the understanding and practice of chivalry across the later Middle Ages? It is apparent from the score cheques which men dominated these events i.e. Charles Brandon and Nicholas Carew, those who competed on the king's team, and those who gained high scores. The key question for this chapter is: how far was tournament success responsible for men's advancement at court? The surviving score cheques detail the success of men in the tiltyard, but importantly they also reveal the ability of Henry VIII himself. In competing alongside their men in tournaments Edward IV and Henry VIII were able to establish strong homosocial bonds with their men, a key theme of this thesis given its important links to ideals of knighthood and masculinity. This invites further questions: do the score cheques suggest that Henry VIII was a skilled jousting, or did his men simply let him win? Tournament activity in the reigns of Edward IV, Henry VII and Henry VIII has been extensively analysed before, but generally in terms of "what happened", but what this chapter does is examine

⁵³ pp. 214-305 below

how and why these activities were significant to the reputation and advancement of the participants.

Chapter four: 'Warrior kingship: knightly bonds on the battlefield and in the privy chamber', discusses how warfare was still a defining aspect of high status masculinity in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth century.⁵⁴ Exploring the relationship between martial masculinity and the warrior abilities of Edward IV's and Henry VIII's courts raises one key question: to what extent did Edward IV and Henry VIII embody the warrior ideal? In presenting Edward and Henry's commitment to the martial ideal as another facet of masculinity for men of high status, this chapter argues that the practice of chivalry was being revived both in the tiltyard and on the battlefield. This chapter sets itself in contrast to those writers in the fifteenth century, who expressed anxiety about declining English chivalric masculinity following the loss of French territories, a theme that has been picked up by many modern commentators too. Underpinning the discussion of Henry returning to war with France is the debate regarding: was his hardy display of manhood appropriate at the start of his reign? I have used 'hardiness' to signify foolhardy behaviour, specifically when Henry attempted to recapture his manhood by waging war with France towards the end of his reign. That has led me to explore: at the end of his lifecycle, did Henry deliberately put on a hardy show as a means to recapture his youthful masculinity? In view of this recuperative masculinity is another important theme as Henry sought to regain his manhood in his middling years of kingship following an accident in the tiltyard that forced him to retire from jousting. In coming to terms with his fate this chapter will also ask: did

⁵⁴ pp. 317-383 below

the hardy displays of Henry's jousting companions prove problematic as the king embodied a manlier version of masculinity? In exploring the dichotomy between Henry's youthful courtiers within the privy chamber and his later, more mature state of manhood, this thesis aims to offer an important re-reading of often discussed events within the historiography.⁵⁵ For example Anne Boleyn's downfall, which has most commonly emphasised adultery, faction and fertility, but not tended to explore the significance of Henry's relationship with the men accused, especially in relation to tournaments and jousting.

In the chapter following I will set out the range of sources that have informed this study of instances of jousting activity in the reigns of Edward IV, Henry VII and Henry VIII. In addition the history of the tournament is also set out as I cite studies that have focused on all different aspects of this culture, but importantly have made no serious attempt to link jousting prowess to high status manhood. I will demonstrate how this thesis intends to evidence how success in the tournament could and did lead to rewards beyond the tiltyard in a unique study that ties together masculinity and chivalry.

⁵⁵ A similar study is not possible for Edward IV's reign as the king's chamber was not yet officially sub-divided into a privy chamber and outer chamber as in Henry VIII's day.

2: Chivalric Masculinity: Attributes and Approaches

In setting this work in the context of the tiltyard it is the purpose of this thesis to highlight one distinct model of masculinity in the medieval period: the knight. In this beginning chapter I will set out the attributes that I understand to represent a particular form of chivalrous masculinity in this period based on an intense study of the physical abilities of a select group of jousting men. I will build on the specialised set of skills acquired by knights by drawing on the works of those scholars who have conducted surveys of tournament culture in the late medieval period. In addition it will also be essential to cite those works on knightly and royal masculinity, as my approach is to combine gender as a tool of an analysis and chivalry as a framework for this study. In this first chapter I will highlight some of the earliest records that exist of the systematic recording of tournaments, which are those that survive from the early sixteenth century that record lances broken by men in jousting contests. Most of the detail regarding the holding of tournaments may also be gathered from Challenges copied by heralds of formal combats. Heralds often announced and circulated these documents in order to advertise a specific formal combat. These documents contain useful details about the dates and times of combats, how they were to be fought and how the Challenges were to be answered. Yet despite this unique insight into how men's performances in jousts were controlled and scored it is noteworthy that tournament sources have never been utilised as part of a study on high status masculinity. Therefore in this beginning chapter I will draw on these original sources generated by tournament society, but often overlooked in order to demonstrate how they can be used to further our understanding of how chivalry and masculinity operated within royal courts in the early sixteenth century.

2.1: Methodology

2.1.2: The Knightly Model

The purpose of this work is to define just what those ideas of high status masculinity were and how medieval culture constructed a particular version of chivalrous masculinity different from those versions, which applied to other segments of medieval society. This thesis focuses on the ideals of manhood that were exhibited and emulated by elite men in the royal court and specifically the tiltyard, as many of the men resident at Edward and Henry's court were also involved in tournaments. In this context chivalric masculinity was manifested in physical prowess, strength, dominance and courage, but another aspect of this display was about maintaining the right sort of body fitting for the tiltyard. In this setting elite men were also expected to be athletic, muscular and supremely fit, it was this physique that was the embodiment of high status. Indeed the relationship between the two is self-evident as having a manly body befitting the tiltyard implied that a man was capable of physical prowess because of the hours of training that was involved in honing this particular physique. It also conferred elite masculinity as a man of both great stature and build who had mastered fighting skills was likely going to dominate in this setting and in turn establish his authority over other men. In addition to physical prowess it was also expected that elite men would prove their sexual prowess by producing male offspring to whom they could pass on these other skills. Although the properties of elite masculinity were deemed hereditary, they were also regarded as a set of accomplishments, which had to be trained and learned, as we shall see.

The first substantial study of medieval chivalrous masculinity was published by Ruth Mazo Karras' 2003. Karras has focused on knights mainly using the literature of chivalry including manuals and romances she writes that: 'kighthood epitomized one set of medieval ideals about masculinity'.⁵⁶ These knightly ideals included physical and military prowess, aggression and violence, but within the constraints of chivalry. Although Karras also states that: 'military prowess- expertise in the use of violence- was far from the only important feature of knightly masculinity'.⁵⁷ In the later Middle Ages military prowess was often in conflict with ideals of gentility and courtliness, which were ideals that knights were also expected to emulate in order to secure membership into a courtly world. Indeed Karras also explains that: 'the achievement of manhood depended on mastering the sometimes conflicting ideas, sometimes complementary ideals, of prowess (successful violence) and love (successful commodification of women)'.⁵⁸ According to Karras kighthood meant embodying both the virtues of prowess in arms, violence and bravery, as well as piety, chastity and humility; rather than seeing these as distinct archetypes she recognises the overlap between ideals. Karras' work on the ideal of the knight and the role that this played in shaping ideals of medieval masculinity has provided an important framework for this thesis, in its consideration of the role of tournaments and court culture as an aspect of masculine display. I will add a further dimension to our understanding of medieval masculinity by using material culture to investigate how these knightly ideals were put into practice at the courts of Edward IV and Henry VIII as opposed to using examples from romance literature.

⁵⁶ Karras, *From Boys to Men*, p.20.

⁵⁷ *Ibid*, p.25.

⁵⁸ *Ibid*.

Another study that informs this dissertation is Katherine Lewis' 2013 book on kingly masculinity. This begins with an analysis of the mirrors for princes that advised kings to achieve a balance of 'masculine' and 'feminine' qualities.⁵⁹ Lewis opens with the exemplar of Edward III's kingship who she argues 'comprised an ideal blend of desirable qualities; fearsome, yet compassionate, imposing, yet approachable, a celebrated warrior, yet meek and thoughtful'.⁶⁰ For Lewis it is Edward's ability to cultivate both womanly and manly virtues that has led to his exceptional manhood, which in turn has led to his excellent kingship. Also significant in Lewis' study is the perceived link she points out 'between a king's ability to maintain a correctly balanced gender and the fortunes and security of his realm, because self-mastery was widely regarded as essential to both kingship and manhood'.⁶¹ It is apparent that above all according to Lewis; a king must learn to govern himself before he can govern his kingdom. It is noteworthy that Fiona Dunlop also highlights that elite masculinity 'is predicated on the ideal of rule- the ability to govern both oneself and others'.⁶² Thus both these studies emphasise the importance of self-mastery in the ideology of royal and high status. I will also examine the function of self-control in the actual performance of masculinity in the tiltyard, where men needed to exercise self-restraint when acting on aggressive and violent impulses. In addition I will also discuss Henry VIII's expanding physique that was brought on by his lack of self-control when it came to his diet and discuss the implications of this on his jousting career and his manhood.

⁵⁹ Lewis, *Kingship and Masculinity in Late Medieval England*, pp. 1-11.

⁶⁰ *Ibid*, p.2.

⁶¹ *Ibid*.

⁶² Fiona Dunlop, *The Late Medieval Interlude: The Drama of Youth and Aristocratic Masculinity* (York: York Medieval Press, in association with Boydell & Brewer and the Centre for Medieval Studies, University of York, 2007), p.123.

2.1.3: Quantifying Masculinity and Chivalry

One original aspect of this thesis is its use of score cheques.⁶³ Only a few scholars such as Charles Ffoulkes and Sydney Anglo have written about the cheques, and they offer a purely technical interpretation of their status as records of the results of jousts.⁶⁴ An important study on the Tudor and Elizabethan score cheques is by Joachim Rühl who has pointed out the usefulness of these records versus herald's reports that often do not provide an accurate, or complete picture of the performances of men in jousting contests.⁶⁵ Central to Rühl's argument is that although the queen and her ladies may have been the ones who presented the prize to the knight who jousting the best, the actual decisions about the scoring and winning or losing of jousts was always made by heralds.

Gunn has moved the study of the cheques beyond the purely technical, concentrating instead on what the scores tell us about the dynamics of the tiltyard.⁶⁶ Gunn was the first to suggest that surviving score sheets indicate that: 'clever courtiers such as Charles Brandon knew how to give the king a good contest but ensure he won in the end'.⁶⁷ I build on this observation in what follows; arguing more explicitly that Charles Brandon's performance in the jousts was central to his advancement at court. Furthermore, my work

⁶³ For further discussion see below pp. 112-118.

⁶⁴ Charles Ffoulkes, 'Jousting Cheques of the Sixteenth Century', *Archaeologia Journal*, 63 (1912), 34-39, Sydney Anglo, 'Archives of the English Tournament: Score Cheques and Lists', *Journal of the Society of Archivists*, II (1962), 153-162.

⁶⁵ Joachim K. Rühl, 'Sports Quantification in Tudor and Elizabethan Times', in *Ritual and Record. Sports Records and Quantification in Pre-Modern Societies*, (eds.), John Marshal Carter and Arnd Krüger (New York: Greenwood, 1990), pp. 65-86.

⁶⁶ Gunn, 'Tournaments and Early Tudor Chivalry', 15-21.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*

brings a gendered dimension to an analysis of Brandon's career by considering his performance of masculinity, which has not been considered by any previous studies. Indeed, I approach the score cheques as a measure not just of technical skill, but also of masculinity. The score cheques for the joust allow us to quantify masculinity and chivalry as they illustrate what was needed to win. It is apparent that for men not born into noble families, but of lesser gentry status, jousting was a means to achieve hegemonic masculinity. However, even for those of an elite background there was no guarantee that they would necessarily achieve this masculine ideal. Thus there are surprisingly many noblemen whose names appear on the score cheques, illustrating that all high status men were expected to demonstrate their abilities in feats of arms. This approach sheds further light on how the participants judged both themselves and their competitors in tangible terms. By using these score cheques as a marker not just of expertise in the joust, but as a measure of masculinity, this thesis will bring a new understanding to the concept of manhood in the early sixteenth century.

2.1.4: The Lifecycle of Manhood

This study locates itself within the framework established by Alexandra Shepard, and others, who have emphasised the importance of age and lifecycle in medieval and early modern definitions of masculinity.⁶⁸ Through examining literary descriptions of the "ages of man" alongside advice books.⁶⁹ For example Thomas Elyot's 1541 book *The Castel of Helth* is

⁶⁸ Shepard, *Meanings of Manhood*, pp. 54-58.

⁶⁹ Thomas Elyot, *The Castel of Helth* (London, 1541), p.12 online version <<https://archive.org/details/2234010R.nlm.nih.gov>> [Accessed 15 June 2015] I set out Elyot's 'ages of man'

representative of definitions of the stages of male lifecycle that had been circulating for centuries. Writing about the Middle Ages Deborah Young argues that age formed part of a person's physical description and carried with it certain assumptions about an individual's behaviour and capabilities.⁷⁰ More detailed discussion of lifecycle follows in the next chapter, but for now it is vital to note that full manhood in the late fifteenth and sixteenth century belonged only to the "manly age" from twenty-five years, to age forty. While early modern writers employed a range of age patterns, most allowed about fifteen years before the onset of old age brought diminished capacities and reduced status. Shepard refers to this stage of a man's lifecycle as the 'golden age' of manhood, but within this narrow window only a minority were able to attain high status manhood.⁷¹ This golden age is, in some respects akin to the notion of hegemonic masculinity. For Shepard, the acceptance of manhood and the full acquisition of masculine identity are represented as a stage of life rather than as a life-long bodily identity. I will consider whether the distinct chivalric form of masculinity was bound by a stage of life, or if it could for some be a life-long bodily identity. For example some men of high status continued to engage in vigorous and violent activity even into 'old age' that was from sixty until death. I will also analyse the ways and means by which other elite men sought to maintain this chivalrous ideal of masculinity when they were no longer able to participate in chivalric pursuits.

framework in the first chapter. An example of a secondary study that focuses on male lifecycle is Dunlop, *The Late Medieval Interlude: The Drama of Youth and Aristocratic Masculinity*, pp. 9-21.

⁷⁰ Deborah Youngs, *The Life-Cycle in Western Europe, c.1300-c.1500* (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 2006), p.5.

⁷¹ Shepard, *Meanings of Manhood*, p.9.

One purpose of my thesis is to add another dimension to the study of lifecycle by exploring the use of armour as a measure of men's bodies, as they change and develop with age. Armour is an established source material for those working on chivalric activity in the sixteenth century and beyond. However to date only one study, Carolyn Springer, has taken a gendered approach.⁷² Springer's study of the significance of *Armour and Masculinity in the Italian Renaissance* has proven valuable to my own work as she explores the totality of the male body as represented through armour and the performance of gender identity.⁷³ Springer presents armour as both a cultural artifact and a symbolic representation of masculinity, noting that armour, 'is by definition gendered male'.⁷⁴ Springer outlines her methodology by classifying Italian Renaissance armour into three types: 'the classical body' that represents the idealised nude torso, 'the sacred body' whose iconography establishes an identification with Christ and 'the grotesque body' that represents a distortion of the human body.⁷⁵ Springer's method in dissecting all the various components of armour and linking them to theories of masculinity remains a unique approach to arms and armour. In building on Springer's work this thesis will examine the bodily dimensions of the armoured knight as armour was made to fit close to the body, it gives an approximation of the dimensions of actual men's bodies.⁷⁶

⁷² Carolyn Springer, *Armour and Masculinity in the Italian Renaissance* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2010).

⁷³ Ibid, p.21

⁷⁴ Ibid, p.13

⁷⁵ Ibid, p.21.

⁷⁶ I will expand on this point in the second chapter, pp. 146-171.

2.3: Terminology

2.3.1: The Variant Forms of Combat in the Medieval Tournament

In a study about tournaments, it is important not to use terms such as “tournament”, “tourney” and “joust” indiscriminately, or interchangeably, since each was a distinct activity with its own practice and history. The tournament in the late fifteenth century and early sixteenth century was a competitive event with several groups and stages, but originally it had a more specific meaning. The original tournaments of the twelfth century brought hundreds or sometimes thousands of knights together.⁷⁷ In early tournaments, the mock battle of *mêlée* was not formalised, or even confined to the tournament field. The knights would be assigned to two opposing teams and would charge at each other on a given signal: a practice that was not at all dissimilar to medieval warfare. In a *mêlée* tournament, which would have taken place over a vast area, it would have been impossible to gauge accurately the performance of each individual contestant. Though the *mêlée* tournament was popular in the twelfth century, it had declined by the middle of the fourteenth century and was superseded by other forms of combat in the fifteenth century.

By the fifteenth century the tournament had assumed a complex form, in which three distinct forms of combat were practiced: the tourney, fighting on foot and tilting at the barrier. Historians know about these developments because of tournament Challenges copied by heralds from the late fifteenth century into the early sixteenth century and beyond that detail the different forms of martial combat to be engaged in by men at the

⁷⁷ David Crouch, *Tournaments* (London and New York: Hambledon and Continuum, 2005), p.1.

tournament.⁷⁸ Thus for the purposes of this thesis, when referring to the “tournament”, I use the term to include three basic categories of martial encounter: the joust, the tourney and the foot combats. Although I have chosen to focus on tournaments that were held exclusively in England, it is important to note that the terms applied here are mostly derived from French terminology. It was in Europe - most probably in France - that tournaments were first introduced in the ninth and tenth centuries. The English tournament came from the French word ‘tournoy’, which meant to turn around because to be an expert in these exercises required both agility of both man and horse.⁷⁹ In addition participants often rode around a ring in an early practice closely allied with the joust, and were practiced in preparation for it, known as “running at the ring” and “the quintain”.⁸⁰

In England it was not until the thirteenth century that the “joust” became the high point of the tournament, before this time it acted as a prelude to the main event of the mêlée tournament.⁸¹ The joust was a mounted single combat, usually with lances; the goal in these early contests of the thirteenth century was to knock an opponent completely out of his saddle. Two other forms of jousting further subdivided the joust: ‘à outrance’ (joust of

⁷⁸ Malcolm Vale, *War and Chivalry: Warfare and Aristocratic Culture in England, France and Burgundy at the End of the Middle Ages* (London: University of Georgia Press, 1981), p.67. I will discuss the various documents connected with the tournament in the sources section below pp. 92-118.

⁷⁹ Joseph Strutt, *The Sports and Pastimes of the People of England including the Rural and Domestic Recreations, May Games, Mummeries, Shows, Processions, Pageants, and Pompous Spectacles from the earliest period to the present time* (London, 1903) Available online at: <<https://archive.org/details/sportspastimesof00struoft>> [Accessed 13 September 2015], p.126 I will outline the training practice of the running at the ring in the second chapter of the thesis on pp. 199-200.

⁸⁰ Robert Coltman Clephan, *The Medieval Tournament* (New York: Dover Publications, 1995), p.9.

⁸¹ Alan Young, *Tudor and Jacobean Tournaments* (London: George Phillip, 1987), p.12.

war) with sharp lances and 'plaisance' (joust of peace) with blunted lances.⁸² At this point the joust was still an incredibly dangerous sport as there was as yet no tilt barrier to separate contestants. Skilled horsemanship was essential as there was nothing to prevent the horses from crashing together.⁸³

Therefore a significant feature of the fifteenth century joust was the introduction of the tilt barrier to separate the contestants in a practice known as "tilting" which was another category of combat.⁸⁴ In the late fifteenth century the joust across the barriers might still be followed by "running at large", which involved groups of knights armed with swords, and spears charging at each other without a barrier. The "lists" were barriers that defined the battlefield in a tournament. Henry VIII favoured the "jousts royal" a variant form of the joust of peace that involved tilting across a barrier with tournament horses specifically trained for the joust.⁸⁵

Greater formalisation in the joust also meant greater recording of events and results, which also means we have more surviving evidence about how tournaments were conducted and what happened at them. The joust became a yet more formalised

⁸² Clifford J. Rogers, John France, Kelly DeVries, *Journal of Medieval Military History*, Volume VIII (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2010), p.169.

⁸³ Juliet Barker, *The Tournament in England 1100-1400* (Suffolk: Boydell Press, 1986), p.145.

⁸⁴ Christopher Gravett, *Knights at Tournament* (Oxford: Osprey Publishing, 1988), p.26.

⁸⁵ Carroll Gillmore, 'Practical Chivalry: The Training of Horses for Tournaments and Warfare', *Studies in Medieval and Renaissance History*, n.s., 13 (1992), 5-29 argues that a tournament, although a paramilitary activity was a separate equestrian activity having only occasional application to real warfare.

competition as rules were introduced, as well as score cheques and prizes.⁸⁶ Score cheques showed the scores of the knights who took part.⁸⁷ (see Figure 1) Those who gained the highest scores would be rewarded with a prize that might include a falcon, a gold clasp, or even a diamond ring.⁸⁸ Another indirect prize that participants could gain was an increase in their standing at court. It is in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth century that we have the most evidence of tournament activity at the exact same moment that others have argued that chivalry was in decline.⁸⁹ The joust was fought between two individuals, the knights riding from opposite ends of the lists to encounter each other with lances. One team was made up of the “Challengers”, often four or six knights who would challenge all competitors, or individual knights who would wage a direct challenge with an adversary. The opposing team known as the “Answerers” were knights who had decided to take up the challenge to compete. It is important to emphasise that jousting was not a team sport per se as it was the individual performance of men that was recognised and which formed the basis for the prize giving. The joust offered knights a greater opportunity to showcase their individual prowess as they paraded down the lists in their richest clothing to perform feats of arms.⁹⁰ While not everyone who took part in tournaments was from a noble background, this is not to say that lowborn men could participate. There was still essentially an exclusivity surrounding the nature of chivalry.

⁸⁶ John Tiptoft’s rules for the jousts of peace reveal the scoring method for tilting across the barrier in the late fifteenth century. Though tournament Challenges surviving from the early sixteenth century highlight that Tiptoft’s scoring method was still being used. I will set out Tiptoft’s framework for scoring jousts in the sources section pp. 92-118.

⁸⁷ Surviving score cheques from the reign of Henry VIII reveal that jousts were being scored in the early sixteenth century. I will explain how these score cheques worked in the sources below pp. 112-118.

⁸⁸ BL Harley MS. 6064, f36v in a tournament held during the reign of Elizabeth I the four Challengers are first detailed as receiving prizes, which included a tablet of diamond, a chain, a ring full of diamonds and a chain of gold. Then three prizes are listed for victors in the tilt (a chain), the tourney (a diamond) and the foot combat (a ruby).

⁸⁹ Johan Huizinga, *Waning of the Middle Ages* (Harlem 1919, trans. 1924) for further discussion of the decline of chivalry see chapter two pp. 72-74.

⁹⁰ Barker, *The Tournament in England 1100-1400*, p.145.

The “tourney”, derived from the French word “tournoy” was a mounted combat between groups of men, generally with blunted swords.⁹¹ The tourney descended from the mêlée style tournament involving teams of knights, rather than individual contests. The knights fought on horseback with swords, staves and clubs, rather than couched lances, but as in the jousts, the numbers of strokes delivered determined the number of scores.⁹²

The “foot combat” was usually the final contest of the tournament, which referred to single combat on foot with swords or spears over a barrier. In what follows, I refer to all of these forms of martial combat based on how they are described in the manuscript accounts, which do clearly distinguish between different forms of contests at tournaments.

⁹¹ Christopher Gravett, *Tudor Knight* (Oxford: Osprey Publishing, 2006), p.15.

⁹² Glenn Richardson, *The Field of Cloth of Gold* (New Haven and London; Yale University Press, 2013), p.136.

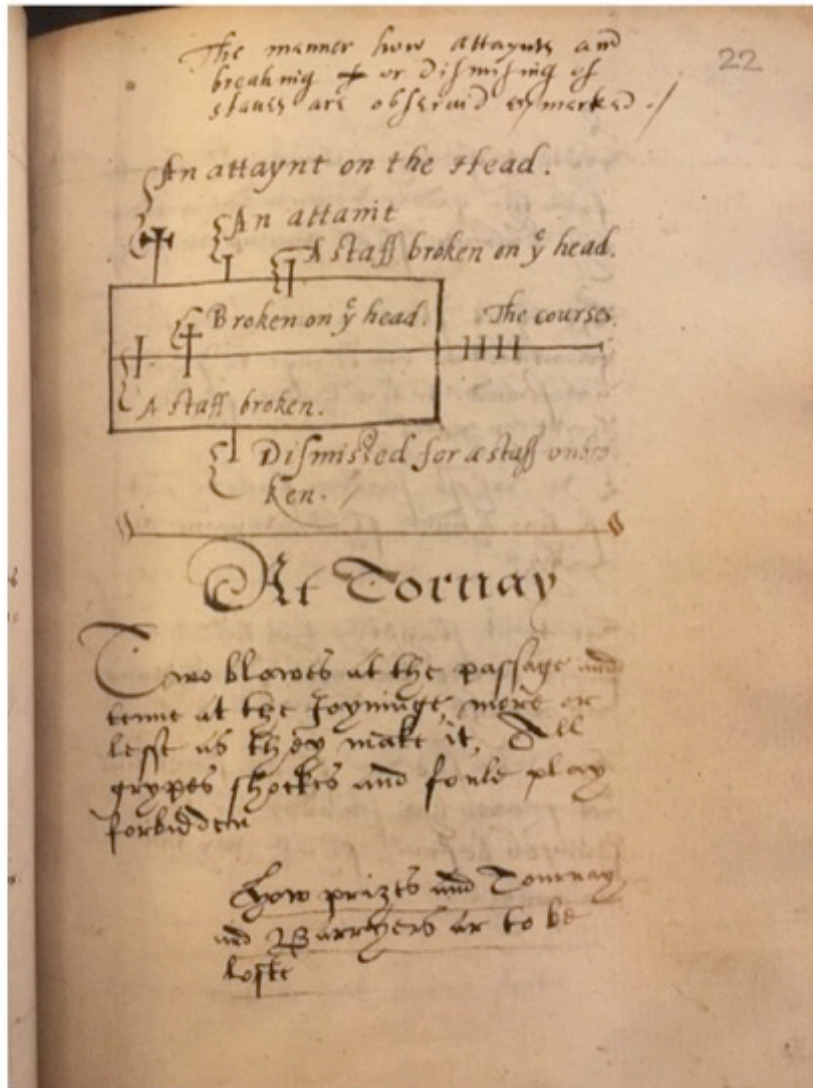


Fig.1. Above is a sample cheque showing how each hit was to be marked for the joust according to John Tiptoft's rules 1467, which is followed by the rules for 'At Tournay', Harley MS. 2358, f22r. Reproduced by Permission of the British Library, London.

2.3.2: Armour Garniture of the Sixteenth century

By the fifteenth century with the distinct rules for the joust, tourney and foot combats within the tournament, different types of armour were required for the various events (see figure 2 as illustration of the following discussion). Jousting required specialised equipment and high saddles, as the aim was to break lances rather than to unhorse the knight.⁹³ For example both the helmet and shield were bolted directly onto the “breastplate” to help prevent neck and chest injuries. Participants were required to wear a protective helmet called a great “bascinet” with extra plate defences for the lower face and throat, which was fixed to the breast and back plates.⁹⁴ In the fifteenth century the first item of plate armour to be specifically designed for the joust was the characteristic “frog-mouthed helm”, which appeared at the end of the fourteenth century and remained, with modifications, the most common form of head piece for the joust until the end of the sixteenth century.⁹⁵ Proper vision could only be obtained when the rider was leaning forward in the correct position for couching his lance, thus when he straightened up at the moment of impact he was completely protected, but had limited vision to make an accurate hit.

Another feature of specialised jousting armour were the “pauldrons” for protecting the shoulders (a component of plate armour derived from spaulders in the fifteenth

⁹³ Christopher Gravett, *English Medieval Knight 1400-1500* (Oxford: Osprey Publishing), p.48.

⁹⁴ Tobias Capwell, *The Real Fighting Stuff: Arms and Armour at Glasgow Museums* (Glasgow: Glasgow City Museums, 2007), p.35.

⁹⁵ David Edge and John Miles Paddock, *Arms and Armour of the Medieval Knight: An Illustrated History of Weaponry in the Middle Ages* (London: Defoe, 1988), p.157.

century). The large pauldron was on the left shoulder and the smaller defence was on the right, which also had a cut-out to accommodate the shaft of the couched lance. The left side had a bolt for attaching a reinforcing element to the lance.⁹⁶ This was because the left side of a knight's body bore the brunt of the blows as knights in the joust always passed right-to-right. Arms and armour experts David Edge and John Miles explain that: 'high quality tilt armour was made thicker and heavier on that side and also made stronger by the addition of reinforces'.⁹⁷ "Vambraces" offered protection for the arms and a "bracer", for the elbows covered by a plate known as a "couter", covered the knight's arms and "gauntlets" covered the hands.⁹⁸ These gauntlets were designed to look like hands and consisted of many small pieces of plate to give added flexibility. It was often stated in tournament rules that locking gauntlets were not to be allowed as they helped the fingers to fasten on the weapon held, which prevented it from being struck out the hand by an adversary.⁹⁹

On the thighs, knights wore "cuisses". These were formed in the shape of a human thigh in order to provide comfort to the knight and ease when moving.¹⁰⁰ On the lower legs the knights wore another fitting piece of plate that was named a "greave", and between the cuisse and the greave, there was a knee plate, or "poleyn".¹⁰¹ The final main piece of armour that the knight had was the "sabaton" that covered his feet. They were designed in

⁹⁶ Helmut Nickel, Stuart W. Pyhrr and Leonid Tarassuk, *The Art of Chivalry: European Arms and Armor from the Metropolitan Museum of Art* (New York: The American Federation of Arts, 1982), p.57.

⁹⁷ Edge and Paddock, *Arms and Armour of the Medieval Knight*, p.157.

⁹⁸ Noel Fallows, *Jousting in Medieval and Renaissance Iberia* (Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer, 2010), p.85.

⁹⁹ I will say a little more about the influence of the locking gauntlet as being one potential reason why Henry needed another suit at the Field of Gold in the second chapter p. 174.

¹⁰⁰ Capwell, *The Real Fighting Stuff*, p.39.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid*, p.38.

a similar style to the gauntlets, with many small pieces of plate overlapping one another in order to allow flexibility.

It was not feasible to own and maintain many different armour sets, so simple practicality led to the development of the “garniture” - a complete armour that was accompanied by a number of pieces.¹⁰² This was mainly due to the costs of tourneying and jousting armour that increased in expense as armour became increasingly advanced and elaborate. For example tilting armour cost between £10 and £12 and field armour £8, in an age when £2.10s was a yearly income.¹⁰³ Therefore it was typical in the sixteenth century for a knight to have one garniture of armour, with exchangeable parts for all eventualities.¹⁰⁴ The additional plates could be integrated into the armour and configured and reconfigured depending on the particular type of harness required.¹⁰⁵ For example, one modification was the “Tonlet” a skirt that was added to the garniture for the foot combats in the lists in the early sixteenth century.¹⁰⁶ A pauldron as mentioned above could be added to offer reinforcement for the joust, or a right mitten gauntlet for holding the lance. As Fallows argues ‘every feasible aspect of sixteenth century chivalric combat is therefore covered by this one garniture’.¹⁰⁷ The large surviving garniture-armour of Henry VIII dated from 1540 is used in the following chapter of this thesis as a marker of lifecycle and manhood.¹⁰⁸

¹⁰² Capwell, *The Real Fighting Stuff*, p.32.

¹⁰³ LP XX no. 558.

¹⁰⁴ Nickel, Pyhrr and Tarassuk, *The Art of Chivalry*, p.57.

¹⁰⁵ Fallows, *Jousting in Medieval and Renaissance Iberia*, p.125.

¹⁰⁶ I will say more about Henry’s tonlet skirt that was added to his garniture for the foot combats at the field of cloth of gold in the second chapter pp. 155-160.

¹⁰⁷ Fallows, *Jousting in Medieval and Renaissance Iberia*, p.128.

¹⁰⁸ See below pp. 163-164.

The Parts of Armour

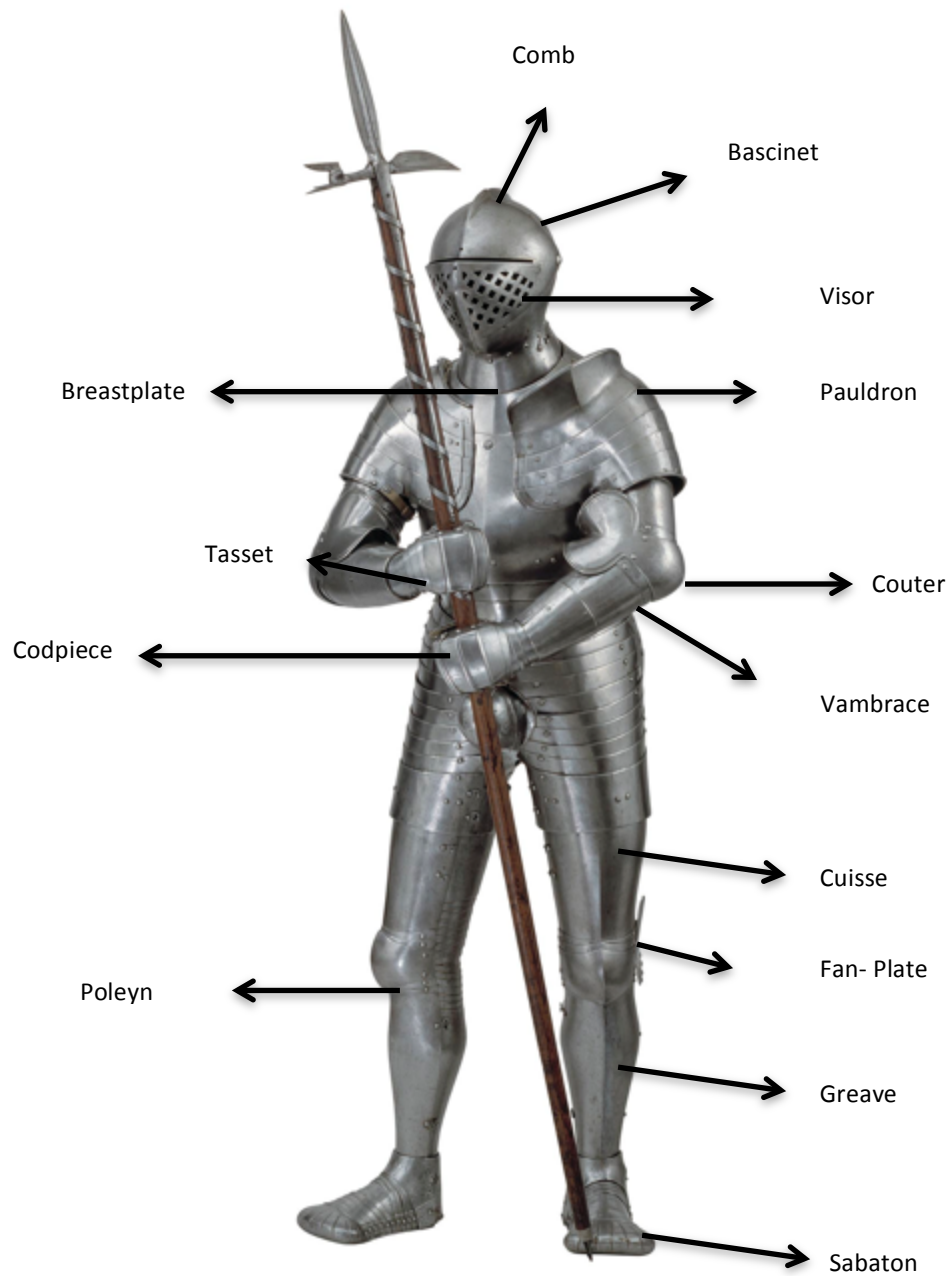


Fig.2. Henry VIII's foot combat armour c.1520 reproduced by gracious permission of the Royal Armouries, Leeds.

2.3.3: Defining Masculinity, Maleness and Manhood

In addition to the terminology surrounding tournaments and armour, we also need to consider the terminology relating to representations and expressions of masculinity. It has been argued that “masculinity” is not an appropriate term to use in discussion of medieval men, because the word was not in common usage before the mid-eighteenth century. Christopher Fletcher, in his work on Richard II, prefers the terms ‘manhood’ and ‘manliness’ as best revealing contemporary understandings of the male gender, drawing on Middle English.¹⁰⁹ Fletcher’s work does highlight the issue of terminology in gendered histories and while not rejecting the term masculinity in my own analysis some distinction is required. When I refer to men performing, or displaying a particular chivalrous quality, or image, the term “masculinity” is applied to describe the social constructs as viewed from the position of the historian. Discussions of the activity of men in physically demanding settings such as on the battlefield, or in the tiltyard is referred to in terms of “manhood” and “manliness”. Crucially, I also consider how the men judged each other’s manly performances, which is made possible through the score cheques.

It is appropriate in this thesis to refer to “masculinities” as I examine two different social contexts: the tournament and the battlefield that produced two contrasting models of masculinity: the knight and the warrior. Neal avoids the plural term “masculinities” in his

¹⁰⁹ Fletcher, *Richard II Manhood Youth, and Politics*, ‘Manhood and Politics in the reign of Richard II’, 3-39 and, ‘The Whig Interpretation of Masculinity? Honour and Sexuality in Late Medieval Manhood’, in *What is Masculinity?: Historical Dynamics from Antiquity to the Contemporary World* (eds.), J. H. Arnold and S. Brady (Palgrave Macmillan: London, 2011), pp. 57-76.

work as he states he finds it 'uncomfortably close to that of multiple genders'.¹¹⁰ Yet Karras' book explores three divergent models of masculinity, thus she argues that it is appropriate to 'speak of masculinities in the plural than the singular'.¹¹¹ It is also fitting that this work speaks of "masculinities" as there was a basic difference between these two models of manhood.

Within tournament culture manhood was a personal achievement that involved proving oneself in demonstrations of physical strength and sporting ability, but also in other areas such as sexual prowess.¹¹² Hence when I refer to men achieving "high status manhood", it is a specific reference to a distinct form of masculinity, which was the dominant form at the courts of Edward IV and Henry VIII. This drew much of its substance from knighthood, considered by both kings and their courtiers as the most honoured way of being a man. It is important to keep this ideal in mind, in order to understand and properly judge the advancement of non-noble men to high status manhood in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth century.

Before moving on, it is necessary to point out here that this thesis incorporates two contrasting areas of secondary literature and debate: scholarship on chivalry and tournaments, and scholarship on masculinity. This is a novel approach because, to date, those scholars who write on tournament activity have not usually drawn on gender as part

¹¹⁰ Derek Neal, *The Masculine Self in Late Medieval England* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004), p.244.

¹¹¹ Karras, *From Boys to Men*, p.3.

¹¹² See below pp. 130-135 for further discussion of contemporary perceptions of manhood.

of their analysis.¹¹³ Similarly, studies on masculinity have rarely used the setting of the tournament as a focus of their analysis of the social or embodied constructs of manhood.¹¹⁴ There is also still comparatively little work on the gender identity of high status laymen more widely, especially with respect to their roles as knights and warriors.¹¹⁵ My work in combining both these areas therefore makes an original contribution to the historiography, by bridging together the gap between literature on gender and tournaments.

2.4: Literature Review: A Gendered History

All too frequently, gender has been equated exclusively with femininity. But S.J.E Riches and Sarah Salih point out that: ‘to leave masculinity unexplored would be to perpetuate the masculinist illusion that it is unproblematic’.¹¹⁶ Indeed the study of medieval masculinities as a specific research area grew out of feminist historical approaches in the late 1980s and grew in popularity during the 1990s.¹¹⁷ In their analysis of gender as a social and historical construction, feminist theorists reassess the notion of man and masculinity as

¹¹³ Barker, *The Tournament in England*; Sydney Anglo, *Spectacle Pageantry and Early Tudor Policy* (2nd edn., London: Clarendon Press, 1997) and Barber and Barker, *Tournaments: Jousts, Chivalry and Pageants in the Middle Ages*. One work that has considered tournaments and gender is Riddell, ‘A Mirror of Men: Sovereignty, Performance, and Sexuality in Tudor England, 1501-1559’. This is also currently a fruitful topic see Hélder Carvahal and Isabel Dos Guimarães Sá, ‘Knightly Masculinity, Court Games and Material Culture in Late-medieval Portugal: The Case of Constable Afonso (c.1480-1504)’, *Gender and History*, 28, 2 (2016), 387-400.

¹¹⁴ Shepard, *Meanings of Manhood*; Neal, *The Masculine Self in Late Medieval England*, perhaps the only exception is Karras, *From Boys to Men*.

¹¹⁵ Though exceptions to this are Fletcher, *Richard II Manhood, Youth and Politics 1377-99*, Lewis, *Kingship and Masculinity in Late Medieval England*. For further discussion of gendered analysis of kings see below pp. 65-66.

¹¹⁶ Sam Riches and Sarah Salih, ‘Introduction. Gender and Holiness: Performance and Representation in the Later Middle Ages’, in *Gender and Holiness: Men, Women and Saints in Late Medieval Europe*, (eds.), S. J. E. Riches and S. Salih (London: Routledge, 2002), pp. 1-9.

¹¹⁷ Examples of this early scholarship will be discussed further below pp. 55-56.

subjects worthy of study.¹¹⁸ It is important to recognise that gender is not experienced in universally uniform ways. Hence the value of a historical approach which considers the manifestation of gender identities within specific settings. The study of male gender identity as a topic in its own right has enabled an informed and contextual analysis of maleness; men also had (and have) a gender and therefore being male should not be viewed as a default category. Why it is apparent in various studies of gender that, historically speaking, masculine identity was often configured relationally or comparatively, between men and women. Indeed as Jacqueline Murray pointed out in her introduction to an early, influential collection of essays on medieval masculinity, published in 1991, the study of 'gender is only meaningful in relational terms'.¹¹⁹ These terms must include analysis of both power and competition because masculinity was very often constructed in relation to other men, rather than in relation to women.¹²⁰ Thus it is vital to assess how men interacted with other men and how this influenced their standing in the male hierarchy.

In early works on masculinity in the Middle Ages a multiplicity of medieval masculinities were recognised. The varied approaches and definitions of gender are employed in a 1994 volume edited by Clare Lees, which examines various ideals and archetypes of men in the medieval period and how these affected the definition of masculinity and its place in history more widely.¹²¹ The ideology of masculinity is regarded

¹¹⁸ Clyde Franklin, *The Changing Definition of Masculinity* (New York: Springer, 1984); Harry Brod, *The Making of Masculinities: The New Men's Studies* (Boston: Routledge 1987); Lynne Segal, *Slow Motion: Changing Masculinities, Changing Men* (New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 1990).

¹¹⁹ Jacqueline Murray, *Conflicted Identities and Multiple Masculinities: Men in the Medieval West* (2nd edn., Oxon: Routledge, 1991), p.10.

¹²⁰ Karras, *From Boys to Men*, pp. 47-58.

¹²¹ Clare Lees (ed.), *Medieval Masculinities: Regarding Men in the Middle Ages* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1994).

by historians (and other scholars) as changeable, adaptive and constructed by society. The fluidity of gender categories and the plurality of medieval masculinities were further explored by two valuable collections of essays, devoted to medieval masculinities. One edited by Dawn M. Hadley in 1999, the other by Jeffrey Cohen and Bonnie Wheeler in 2000, both represented gender as a culturally specific process.¹²² The notion that becoming a man in the Middle Ages was an active rather than a passive and discrete process lies at the heart of this thesis, providing the central argument that manhood was earned through proving one self in physical and constant activity.¹²³

There was no single version of masculinity in the Middle Ages. As Karras discusses, an adult masculine identity and the means to attain it, was not a simple matter of biology, but was affected by other factors such as social status, setting, and time period.¹²⁴ In the Middle Ages those of high status, or at least fairly substantial status did not automatically inherit a masculine identity, but had to earn it. In this thesis I will examine the process by which some men of noble birth and those from gentry backgrounds formed a masculine identity in this period. In terms of setting, I will explore whether a man's masculine identity was affected by his ability to score well in the context of the tiltyard, which actively positioned men in a gendered hierarchy. I will also examine whether the medieval version of high status masculinity was affected by 'the end of the Middle Ages' in English terms so

¹²² Jeffrey Cohen and Bonnie Wheeler (eds.), *Becoming Male in the Middle Ages* (London: Routledge 2000); Dawn Hadley (ed.), *Masculinity in Medieval Europe* (London: Longman, 1999). Despite the number of collections on medieval masculinity few of the contributions consider high status lay men.

¹²³ On the performative nature of gender see Judith Butler, *Gender Trouble. Feminism and the Subversion of Identity* (New York: Routledge, 1990) and *Bodies that Matter: On the Discursive Limits of Sex* (New York: Routledge, 1993) for a short introduction to Butler's idea of performativity see *Undoing Gender* (New York: Routledge, 2004).

¹²⁴ Karras, *From Boys to Men*, p.3.

often dated to 1485, or whether in fact it continued to be influential well into the sixteenth century.

2.4.1: Hegemonic masculinity

Historically men have wielded and dominated political, economic, social and familial power. It is therefore easy to assume that all men enjoyed the benefits of a patriarchal social system that held them to be superior to women, but such an assumption ignores the experiences of men who were not part of the hegemonic group. In examining the ways that inferior men lacked power in relation to other men, it becomes apparent that masculinity is generally organised around power and inclusion. A leading and very influential contributor to the field of masculinities is Raewyn Connell who notes that a cultural hegemonic model of masculinity was an ideal enacted by an elite minority, but, 'it embodied the currently most honoured way of being a man, it required all other men to position themselves in relation to it'.¹²⁵ Recently Amanda McVitty's article on fourteenth century knighthood has made use of Connell's theory of hegemonic masculinity, contending that: 'the dominant identity of knighthood had to be continually performed and defined in relation to other men, and it depended on their recognition'.¹²⁶ Though McVitty is interested in fourteenth century knighthood, I would argue that from the late fifteenth century into the early sixteenth century the knightly masculine identity was still the hegemonic model for elite groups.

¹²⁵ Raewyn Connell and James W. Messerschmidt, 'Hegemonic Masculinity. Rethinking the Concept', *Gender and Society*, 19 (2005), 829-859.

¹²⁶ Amanda McVitty, 'False knights and true men: contesting chivalric masculinity in English treason trials, 1388-1415', *Journal of Medieval History*, 40, 4 (2014), 458-477.

True masculinity, according to Connell: 'is almost always thought to proceed from men's bodies'.¹²⁷ This is what she calls hegemonic masculinity, which is best interpreted as a manifestation of bodily performance, where the idealised version is based on an aggressive and physical presentation of manliness. Connell is critical for my discussion on embodiment as she is one of the few scholars to deal with the relation between the male body and masculinity. Connell asserts that any analysis of gender cannot escape the presence of the physical body and as a result any study on masculinity has to include a discussion on men's bodies.¹²⁸ In examining the ways that inferior men lacked power in relation to other men, it becomes apparent that masculinity is generally organised around power and inclusion.

On the other hand for those unable to embody an often unattainable manly ideal it has led to the notion of 'anxious masculinity', which has been widely accepted for the early modern period. In particular Mark Brietenberg, writing in 1988, argued that masculinity in the early modern period was 'inherently anxious' and that an anxiety about identity was closely related to an anxiety about power.¹²⁹ However my study challenges this assertion that early modern masculinity was inherently anxious, by focussing on a specific group of elite men. The men in question habitually gave a very confident performance of masculinity by competing in the hazardous tiltyard. Although I do not believe that masculinity was inherently anxious in this period, it is evident that men were concerned about their individual manliness. On the other hand, within the sample of men chosen for this study, there are those who succeeded at court and those who failed to maintain favour. This study

¹²⁷ Raewyn Connell, *Masculinities* (2nd edn., Cambridge: Blackwell Publishers, 2005), p.45.

¹²⁸ Connell, *Masculinities*, pp. 52-56.

¹²⁹ Mark Brietenberg, *Anxious Masculinity in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988).

asks: what role did their manly reputations, or physical accomplishments play in this? In relation to questions of hegemonic masculinity, it will also be necessary to determine the criteria by which a courtier was considered to be successful at the time and what factors signalled this success.

2.4.2: Embodied masculinity

One significant factor that I argue signalled success was male body size, which was often a vital aspect of male dominance. Yet very few secondary works, (including unpublished theses and conference papers) have acknowledged the male body as a significant aspect in the formation of manhood. One of the few works that does discuss ideas associated with the embodiment of gender is a collection edited by Sarah Kay and Miri Rubin, which focuses on bodies in physical action, symbols of the body, body language and gendered figures of the body.¹³⁰ Yet Rubin rejects the category of nature arguing that: ‘bodies are constructed but also lived, they are never natural, never given, always made’; thus the collection is more concerned with investigating the ways in which bodies were culturally shaped as opposed to considering the body in its actual physical form.¹³¹ It continues to be the case that most studies tend to distance the study of masculinity from male physicality and instead concentrate on men’s bodies as socially constructed.

¹³⁰ Sarah Kay and Miri Rubin (eds.), *Framing Medieval Bodies* (Manchester, New York: Manchester University Press, 1994).

¹³¹ Miri Rubin, ‘The person in the form: medieval challenges to bodily order’, in *Framing Medieval Bodies*, (eds.), S. Kay and M. Rubin, pp. 100-123.

However there has been much discussion of virility and potency, and the extent to which masculinity was predicated on this. Derek Neal's *The Masculine Self in Late Medieval England* is an important study for its analysis of the vital role played by sex and sexuality in the formation of the masculine social self.¹³² Neal argues that the phallus is probably the most famous symbolic structure associated with the male body and provided a way of vividly symbolising fleshy signs of maleness.¹³³ This highlights that the phallus was practically unavoidable when speaking about maleness, since it provided a powerful image of physical manhood that was central to early understandings of masculinity.¹³⁴ Neal's chapters move from the exterior performance of manhood based on outward appearance and social presentation, to an interior approach that analyses men's understandings of the male body. In particular, in the third chapter of Neal's work which focuses on late medieval attitudes to the male body, he makes the point that: 'the male body helped to define masculinity, first, through its appearance'.¹³⁵

More recently Noel Fallow's *Jousting in Medieval and Renaissance Iberia* provides insightful comments on the jousting's body and his prowess and details the scoring system as tangible evidence of this skill.¹³⁶ In order to spend long periods in the jousting saddle Fallow highlights that a particular physique was required: 'in the Middle Ages a man's masculinity was often defined by his well formed buttocks, thighs and legs'.¹³⁷ Fallow's explicit discussion of the male body in connection with this type of chivalrous activity offers

¹³² Neal, *The Masculine Self in Late Medieval England*, p.16.

¹³³ *Ibid*, p.134.

¹³⁴ *Ibid*, p.135.

¹³⁵ *Ibid*, p.125.

¹³⁶ Fallow, *Jousting in Medieval and Renaissance Iberia* esp see Chp.5 'Keeping the Score', pp. 204-240.

¹³⁷ *Ibid*, p.175.

a major contribution to the current literature surrounding chivalry. Indeed, historians of gender more widely have not usually looked at issues of physique, height and strength in connection with embodiment.

Significantly embodiment is just starting to gain attention in terms of bodily dimensions from scholars working on the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. In one recent study Joanne Begiato explores representations of the body across class and time and illustrates that abstract masculine values were in fact rooted in male bodies. There is a tendency states Begiato 'to see some attributes of masculine identity as largely associated with abstract qualities rather than bodies'.¹³⁸ As such Begiato's approach offers an important understanding of individual men's personal experience of their bodies and health. From the nineteenth century Begiato describes the male body as 'increasingly large, robust and overtly muscular with bulk', which is linked to 'physical power as the key to manliness'.¹³⁹ It is noteworthy from this study that in the nineteenth century elite men idealised working class men's bodies and saw them as something to emulate. By way of contrast it is elite men in the medieval period who had shaped their bodies by physical exertions and it was their bodies that were valorised by all other men.

Another recent study by Matthew McCormack takes a unique approach to the history of masculinity by exploring embodiment in terms of height. The article discusses

¹³⁸ Joanne Begiato, 'Between Poise and Power: Embodied Manliness in Eighteenth- And Nineteenth- Century British Culture', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 26 (2016), 125-147.

¹³⁹ *Ibid*, 125-147.

height as a marker of social status, political power and polite refinement, which are all themes defining masculinity in the eighteenth century. From the very start of the article McCormack states that: 'histories of masculinity should study both representations of gender and their physical manifestations'.¹⁴⁰ It is evident from the historiography outlined by both articles that historians still understand masculinity as being primarily cultural and thus do not consider the actual lived experience of men's bodies.¹⁴¹ McCormack's article is ground breaking in its approach in using dimensions of height along with exploring representations of the male body; as to date there has not been another study that has taken height seriously as a marker of masculinity. It is with regard to height that McCormack contends: 'where masculinity is defined most powerfully in relation to other men, rather than to women'.¹⁴² In highlighting the competition between manly bodies this study is valuable to my own work, which demonstrates that success in the tournament was also about having the right sort of body and stature suited to the physical demands of the joust. This thesis thus makes an important contribution to the historiography surrounding medieval gender, as embodied masculinity still remains subordinate to social constructions of manhood in much of the secondary literature on this topic.

¹⁴⁰ Mathew McCormack, 'Tall Histories: Height and Georgian Masculinities', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 26 (2016), 79-101.

¹⁴¹ John Tosh, 'What Should Historians do with Masculinity? Reflections on Nineteenth-century Britain', in J. Tosh (ed.), *Manliness and Masculinities in Nineteenth-Century Britain. Essays on Gender, Family, and Empire* (London: Pearson Longman, 2005), pp. 32-33.

¹⁴² McCormack, 'Tall Histories: Height and Georgian Masculinities', 79-101.

2.4.3: Masculine competition

It was in the tiltyard that men in the late medieval period still acquired manhood through engaging in competition with other men and by successfully dominating them. A key to understanding competition between men is Karras who discusses the aggressive environment of the tournament, where knights reaffirmed their masculinity by performing knightly deeds in a public setting.¹⁴³ Karras argues that masculinity in the later Middle Ages, 'was primarily a matter of proving oneself against others, nowhere was this more true than in the tournament'.¹⁴⁴ Masculinity is here understood as existing within a complex interplay of competitions between men, through which they defined what a man should be.¹⁴⁵ Successful knighthood meant prowess in arms whether in battle or in tournaments; manliness was about boys becoming men by dominating other men. Karras uses the literature of chivalry to analyse the gender identity of knights in tournaments: my work builds on hers by using historical primary material that has not previously been studied for what it reveals about the attainment of high status manhood.¹⁴⁶

David Crouch has investigated the origins and wider significance of the tournament, he argues that: 'it underpinned the idea of aristocracy: a knight and an aristocrat could be defined as a man who frequented the tournament'.¹⁴⁷ Crouch's statement is valuable to this thesis, although he has not gone on to explore chivalrous masculinity in detail, the

¹⁴³ Karras, *From Boys to Men*, pp. 20-67.

¹⁴⁴ *Ibid*, p.3.

¹⁴⁵ *Ibid*, p.2.

¹⁴⁶ See below pp. 105-118 for further discussion of these sources

¹⁴⁷ Crouch, *Tournaments*, p.149.

relationship between the tiltyard and the attainment of manhood is at the core of my analysis in this work. In this thesis I highlight that physical exertions were important to masculinity as they hardened and strengthened the male body, which would lead to manliness since physical strength was equated with high status manhood.

2.4.4: Homosocial bonding

Studies of masculinity also demonstrate its powerful links to homosociality, arguing that men's lives were highly organised by relations between men. Shepard's work on fraternal bonding shows how in the early modern period 'men primarily sought validation from each other', in male-dominated settings such as workplace, the university and the alehouses.¹⁴⁸ Rachel Moss' work on late medieval materials also reminds us of the importance of exploring cultural contexts that gave rise to homosocial ideals and relationships.¹⁴⁹ One vital cultural context for male bonding that has not been properly explored in these terms is the tiltyard. In this thesis I will explore male friendship and the bond between men using the term "homosocial" as there is no evidence to suggest that either Edward, or Henry engaged in any sexual activities with the men they were close to in their households. The bond between knights at the courts of both kings was also expressed as a form of ennobling love. Hence this thesis demonstrates that the performance of chivalric masculinity was intimately bound up with the companionship of other men and

¹⁴⁸ Shepard, *Meanings of Manhood*, pp. 93-96.

¹⁴⁹ Rachel Moss, 'And much more I am sorry for my good knyghts: Masculine emotional display, homosociality and status' paper given at the Gender and Status Conference, The University of Winchester, 9-11 January 2014.

that this desire to be included in the dominant male group led to the formation of strong emotional bonds between king and knight.

2.4.5: Royal masculinity

The focus on masculinity and gender theory provides an original perspective to the study of kingship that has too often been taken as self-evident. In fact there has been relatively little discussion of high status, or royal masculinity in either the medieval or early modern period. However a few works on kingship and masculinity have emerged over the past decade.¹⁵⁰ One of the first major studies to examine the performance of masculine ideals of kingship was Christopher Fletcher's 2008 *Richard II: Manhood, Youth and Politics 1377-99*.¹⁵¹ Fletcher's analysis explores the tension between courtly effeminacy and warlike masculinity within Richard's court. Fletcher argues that: 'he [Richard] is habitually associated with an elaborate delight in clothing, and courtly culture, sometimes contrasted with the martial masculinity of earlier kings'.¹⁵² He argues that far from being an essentially unmanly king as he has so often been painted, Richard's desires to pursue conventional masculine activities were constrained by circumstance. This attempt to understand what Richard's gender meant to him, how it interacted with his political actions and how others

¹⁵⁰ Cynthia Herrup's work on 'The King's Two Genders' in the early modern period explores the symbolic distinction between the king's natural body and the body politic. Cynthia Herrup, 'The King's Two Genders' *Journal of British Studies*, 45, 3 (2008), 493-510 this study draws on Ernst Hartwig Kantorowicz, *The King's Two Bodies: A Study in Mediaeval Political Theology* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1997).

¹⁵¹ Fletcher, 'Manhood and Politics in the reign of Richard II', 3-39; Fletcher, *Richard II Manhood, Youth and Politics*.

¹⁵² Fletcher, *Richard II Manhood, Youth and Politics*, p.2.

interpreted it, provides a methodology that can also be applied to Edward IV and Henry VIII (with allowance for chronological as well as circumstantial differences).

Most recently, Lewis' 2013 *Kingship and Masculinity in Late Medieval England* studies the political history of fifteenth century England from a gendered perspective focusing on the contrasting masculinities of Henry V and Henry VI. Lewis sets out a model of kingly manhood based on vigour in warfare: thus to be perceived as a strong and masculine king one must be successful in battle and ensure one's succession.¹⁵³ Lewis begins by examining ideals of kingship, which are then compared to the kingship of Henry V and Henry VI. Another useful aspect in Lewis' work is her discussion of masculinity in relation to the lifecycle of a monarch.¹⁵⁴ Lewis highlights the variations of ages and definitions that were linked to the passage of manhood.

2.4.6: Early Modern Masculinities

Since the 1940s, the term "early modern" has been introduced as a category of periodisation, to describe changes that occurred between the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries. Thus Henry VIII has been traditionally treated as an early modern king. Yet the question of exactly when the Middle Ages ends and the early modern begins is a matter for debate. My work highlights that in terms of high status and royal manhood there is a great deal of continuity from the late fifteenth century into the early sixteenth century. I have

¹⁵³ Lewis, *Kingship and Masculinity in Late Medieval England*, p.4.

¹⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 1-11.

found the work of Elizabeth Foyster and Alexandra Shepard on sixteenth century materials very useful.

Foyster's *Manhood in Early Modern England: Honour Sex, and Marriage*, is useful for its discussion of ideals of manhood involving honour, reputation and credit and in demonstrating the ways in which the performance of correct manliness could impact on men's reputations.¹⁵⁵ Foyster recognises that: 'there were particular contexts and points in the lifecycle at which men were more likely to gain power from their relationships with each other'.¹⁵⁶ Foyster thus sees manhood as something to be acquired and asserted in various ways in the early modern period. For Foyster, 'it was gender, and not social class, which frequently set the benchmark of expectations for male behaviour'.¹⁵⁷ This is useful for my own work, which argues that it was a man's exemplary manhood that led him to achieve high status, rather than the other way around. In particular in the early sixteenth century as nobleman became more dependent on the crown for advancement, and as they were increasingly in competition with gentry men, it was ever more apparent that birth right was no longer enough to ensure social advancement.

Shepard also explores what gave men worth in the eyes of their contemporaries and how they managed to achieve and retain manhood. The plural title 'meanings' of manhood is significant; as Shepard demonstrates, male codes of honour and esteem varied far more

¹⁵⁵ Elizabeth Foyster, *Manhood in Early Modern England Honour, Sex and Marriage* (Essex: Routledge, 1999).

¹⁵⁶ *Ibid*, p.8.

¹⁵⁷ *Ibid*, p.39.

according to factors such as age and status than was the case for women. Shepard's research is one of the few works that explores the diverse and varied meanings of manhood in the early sixteenth century.¹⁵⁸ The study of manhood in this thesis locates itself within the framework established by Shepard regarding differing social practices of manhood that were influenced and informed by 'distinctions of age, social status, marital status and context'.¹⁵⁹ For both scholars the early sixteenth century is the starting point, which compounds the fact that this is a "new" period, whereas my study considers its continuity with the Middle Ages.

More recently an edited collection by Kate Fisher and Sarah Toulalan explores the ways in which men's bodies were differentiated from each other in terms of sex and gender from the mid-sixteenth century to the twenty-first century.¹⁶⁰ In particular, Jennifer Jordan's chapter on early modern male bodies and manhood connects to issues of embodiment and indicates differences according to men's ages and stages of life.¹⁶¹ Jordan states, 'the body points to manhood as an ephemeral highpoint of a man's life which would decline with the onset of old age'.¹⁶² It is apparent in Jordan's study that achieving this ideal state of manhood was difficult and maintaining it even more so as men aged losing precisely these manly qualities. Jordan pinpoints certain characteristics of the male sex in the early modern period used to differentiate men from women, but also to define manhood. Jordan argues,

¹⁵⁸ It is important to note that Shepard's work is not just restricted to the early sixteenth century and most of her evidence comes from later in the period, whereas my work just concentrates on the earlier period.

¹⁵⁹ Shepard, *Meanings of Manhood*, p.1.

¹⁶⁰ Kate Fisher and Sarah Toulalan (eds.), *Bodies, Sex and Desire from the Renaissance to the Present* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010).

¹⁶¹ Jennifer Jordan, 'That ere with Age, his strength is utterly decay'd: Understanding the Male Body in Early Modern Manhood', in *Bodies, Sex and Desire from the Renaissance to the Present*, (eds.), Kate Fisher and Sarah Toulalan (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), pp. 27-48.

¹⁶² *Ibid.*

‘in essence, manhood, as it was represented through the male body, was a discourse of virility, strength and vigour’.¹⁶³ Importantly Jordan’s analysis of male signifiers is used as a comparison between the sexes, whereas my thesis compares men’s bodies with other men, which is still not usually the approach in studies of early modern manhood.

2.5: Literature Review: Chivalry, Knighthood and Nobility

From the twelfth century it is evident that there was a link between chivalry, violence and noble identity, which this thesis argues remained until the early sixteenth century and even beyond. In arguing for a decline in chivalry towards the end of the medieval period historians have often overlooked the full extent of the elites’ continued participation in chivalric culture and in particular, in chivalrous activities such as jousting and warfare. In order to assess the elites’ dedication to the ethos of chivalry, it is first necessary to define what chivalry actually meant to men of high status. Maurice Keen observes that the term “chivalry” is ‘not so easily pinned down’ because it was ‘used in the Middle Ages with different meanings and shades of meaning by different writers and in different contexts’.¹⁶⁴ Nonetheless, he argues that: ‘chivalry may be described as an ethos in which martial, aristocratic and Christian elements were fused together’.¹⁶⁵ Richard Kaeuper defined chivalry as being shaped by an on-going process of negotiation, but he states that chivalry was rooted in, ‘the ancient social practices and heroic ideals of generations of warriors, fiercely proud of their independence, exulting in their right to violence and in their

¹⁶³ Jordan, ‘That ere with Age, his strength is utterly decay’d: Understanding the Male Body in Early Modern Manhood’, pp. 27-48.

¹⁶⁴ Maurice Keen, *Chivalry* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1984), p.16.

¹⁶⁵ Keen, *Chivalry*, p.2.

skill at exercising it'.¹⁶⁶ Building upon his earlier study Kaeuper continued to explore the paradoxes of chivalry, as manifested in the religiosity of medieval warriors. In this later study Kaeuper strives to define knightly piety, as knights understood it: 'highly compatible with their violent ideal of prowess and winning honour'.¹⁶⁷ In taking Kaeuper's definition as a framework for my own work on chivalrous masculinity it is the 'violent' aspect of chivalry that this thesis will emphasise, as it is apparent that chivalry was first and foremost martial before it was 'aristocratic' or 'Christian'. Moreover it was through military activity that nobles were able to prove their high status, thus it was the elite's traditional role in warfare and in violent combat that together defined chivalry.

Matthew Bennett has considered the issue of noble violence in relation to Christianity during the initial popularisation of chivalry in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Indeed he argues, 'it is what the term meant: a legitimate, socially respectable code for warriors, allowing them to perfect their craft within a Christian context'.¹⁶⁸ It is significant that both Kaeuper and Bennett place violence at the core of chivalry in the twelfth century as it highlights that martial combat was an essential practice of chivalry and thus in order to sustain high status manhood men had to engage in this military activity. With this definition in hand, it is the purpose of this thesis to argue that chivalry was sustained by martial activity into the early sixteenth century as combat on both the battlefield and in the tiltyard remained central to aristocratic culture.

¹⁶⁶ Richard Kaeuper, *Chivalry and Violence in Medieval Europe* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), p.38.

¹⁶⁷ Richard Kaeuper, *Holy Warriors: The Religious Ideology of Chivalry* (Pennsylvania: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2009), p.36.

¹⁶⁸ Matthew Bennett, 'Why Chivalry? Military Professionalism in the Twelfth Century: The Origins and Expressions of a Socio-military Ethos', in D. J. B. Trim (ed.), *The Chivalric Ethos and the Development of Military Professionalism* (Leiden: Brill, 2003), pp. 41-66.

Recent work on knighthood contends that chivalry remains an elusive term, which could and did mean different things to different people, at different times. Katie Stevenson discusses how: 'no entirely adequate, or precise definition has yet been achieved, as it is an ideal with moving boundaries and difficult abstractions'.¹⁶⁹ Craig Taylor has most recently argued that there is 'a modern temptation to simplify the chivalric ethos into a simple coherent code and brush over the complexity and even contradictions of the ideal'.¹⁷⁰ In contention with Stevenson and Taylor, the aim of this thesis is to show that, with respect to tournaments, knighthood was in fact simplified to a concise and coherent set of rules that informed a definite scoring system and within this setting chivalry and therefore masculinity could be successfully computed. Importantly Taylor is one of the few who explicitly engages with issues of masculinity and knighthood asserting that: 'normative models of masculinity such as knightly ethos may appear to offer solid and stable images of manhood', but he recognises that a static and simple model of masculine behaviour was unlikely to remain unchallenged for hundreds of years.¹⁷¹ However Taylor does admit that the core values such as honour, prowess, loyalty and courage may have remained constant, which is valuable to my work on ideals of knighthood remaining unchanged across the period and thus continuing to influence ideals of masculinity.

¹⁶⁹ Katie Stevenson, *Chivalry and Knighthood in Scotland 1425-1513* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2006), p.3.

¹⁷⁰ Craig Taylor, *Chivalry and the Ideals of Knighthood in France during the Hundred Years War* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), p.6.

¹⁷¹ *Ibid*, p.8.

2.5.1: The “decline” of chivalry?

Tournaments have been generally accepted as a major chivalric preoccupation in the medieval period, but by the late fifteenth century, it has been argued, they were viewed by some as a relic of the past and no longer directly connected to military life.¹⁷² There exist two opposing views on late medieval chivalry: the first and older school of thought is that argued by Johan Huizinga that by the fourteenth century chivalry had declined into a display of decadence, in which the gap between illusion and reality was only too apparent.¹⁷³

Writing in 1919 and in the wake of the First World War Huizinga asserted that: ‘the ideals of chivalry were furthest removed from the realities of knighthood in the fifteenth century’.¹⁷⁴

Raymond Kilgour and Arthur Ferguson subsequently developed Huizinga’s arguments.

Kilgour criticised the romantic extravaganza of fifteenth century French chivalry contending that: ‘the late Middle Ages saw a decline in authentic chivalry, as it became merely a

luxurious game to charm the leisure of a courtly society’.¹⁷⁵ Along similar lines Arthur

Ferguson argued that: ‘by the early sixteenth century decadent chivalry no longer had any connection with the real world and was simply the romantic memory of a past age’.¹⁷⁶

Ferguson’s contention was that the concept of chivalry was not an appropriate way of representing noble behaviour in this period. According to this premise chivalry had no relevance to the military realities of the early modern period.

¹⁷² Johan Huizinga, *The Autumn of the Middle Ages* (trans.), R. J. Payton and U. Mammitzsch (orig. publ. 1919, Chicago, 1996), pp. 89-91.

¹⁷³ Johan Huizinga, *The Waning of the Middle Ages: A Study of the Forms of Life, Thought and Art in France and the Netherlands in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries* (trans.), F. Hopman (originally published 1919; Harmondsworth: Penguins Books, 1972).

¹⁷⁴ Huizinga, *The Waning of the Middle Ages*, p.65.

¹⁷⁵ Raymond Kilgour, *The Decline of Chivalry as Shown in the French literature of the Late Middle Ages* (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1937), p.23.

¹⁷⁶ Arthur Ferguson, *Indian Summer of English Chivalry. Studies in the Decline and Transformation of Chivalric Idealism* (Durham, North Carolina: Duke University Press, 1960), p.75.

In more recent years Richard Barber's work on tournaments explores the transition from the tiltyard as a focus for training in warfare to being instead essentially a theatre for spectacular pageantry.¹⁷⁷ Sydney Anglo's work on spectacle and display takes a similar approach showing the extent of tournaments' transformation in these periods, as they became 'incipient dramas, in which participants represented particular characters and even gave speeches'.¹⁷⁸ In contention with Anglo it is my assertion that martial combat remained at the core of tournaments in the early sixteenth century. The force of the "decline of chivalry" argument lies in the assumption that there is a dichotomy between practicality or danger, and theatre or display: the latter is not serious because it is "only playing". However, as we shall see, these were not necessarily opposites.

The second school of thought that has gained influence over the past twenty years or so, argues, as Keen put it, that the chivalric ideal of the later Middle Ages 'remained faithful to its origins despite the changing face of the times'.¹⁷⁹ The works of Keen and Malcolm Vale, whose ideas on chivalry considerably overlap, have been instrumental in the formation of this revisionist view.¹⁸⁰ Warfare and tournaments were two activities that knights were expected to participate in. Vale states that: 'the tournament even in its domesticated late medieval form was a highly dangerous game and an effective means of

¹⁷⁷ Richard Barber, *The Knight and Chivalry* (London: Boydell Press, 1970), p. 155, see as well Richard Barber, *The Reign of Chivalry* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1980); Barber and Barker, *Tournaments: Jousts, Chivalry and Pageants in the Middle Ages*.

¹⁷⁸ Anglo, *Spectacle Pageantry and Early Tudor Policy*, p.98.

¹⁷⁹ Keen, *Chivalry*, p.194.

¹⁸⁰ Maurice Keen, 'Chivalry, Nobility and the Man at Arms', in *War, Literature and Politics in the Later Middle Ages*, (ed.), Christopher Allmand (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1976), pp. 32-45; Maurice Keen, *Nobles, Knights and Men at Arms in the Middle Ages* (London: Bloomsbury, 1996) and Vale, *War and Chivalry: Warfare and Aristocratic Culture in England, France and Burgundy at the End of the Middle Ages*, pp. 63-87.

military training'.¹⁸¹ It is apparent that men-at-arms still benefited from opportunities presented by tournaments to sharpen particular military skills because of the real threat of violence and danger. Keen argues that what happened at the end of the Middle Ages was, 'not so much the decline of chivalry, but the alteration of its appearance'.¹⁸² Similarly I contend that chivalry and tournaments continued to have a very practical function throughout the later Middle Ages and into the Early Modern period.

2.5.2: Jousting Tournaments and the Art of War

It is evident that the aspiration for glory, achieved via military training and moral virtues was still forefront in the minds of knights and nobles in the early sixteenth century. To win reputation and renown was the principle objective and the tournament remained a key arena for such achievement, as Juliet Barker illustrates: 'it celebrated the skills and virtues of the military profession and in particular those of the knightly classes'.¹⁸³ In the practice of arms, Antheun Janse demonstrates how the tournament was shown to be an expression of noble or knightly identity. Janse maintains that: 'tournaments proved to be much more than a romantic game for nobles'.¹⁸⁴ In practical terms Fallows argues that: 'chivalry denoted the art of war, as much as the art of jousting' and an individual was still expected to prove his valour and virility through knightly deeds.¹⁸⁵ It is apparent that these

¹⁸¹ Vale, *War and Chivalry*, pp. 63-87.

¹⁸² Keen, *Chivalry*, p.239.

¹⁸³ Barker, *The Tournament in England 1100-1400*, p.1.

¹⁸⁴ Antheun Janse 'Tourneyers and Spectators: The Shrovetide Tournament in The Hague, 1391', in *The Court as a Stage: England and the Low Countries in the Later Middle Ages*, (eds.), Antheun Janse and Steven J. Gunn (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2006), pp. 39-52.

¹⁸⁵ Fallows, *Jousting in Medieval and Renaissance Iberia*, p.241.

courtly activities actually bore a resemblance to real world activities as the joust, at least for Henry VIII, had practical application to warfare. David Loades argues that jousts and particularly the tourney in Henry VIII's court: 'were not yet so far divorced from the realities of warfare'.¹⁸⁶ Loades contends that tournaments still formed a valuable training ground for military minded gentlemen, while Vale demonstrates that the chivalric fight on horseback remained closely connected with the real practice of war.¹⁸⁷

Similarly, in Gunn's opinion: 'Henry VIII seems at times to have judged distinction in the joust suitable for reward not only with chivalrous honours [...] but even with senior naval and military commands'.¹⁸⁸ It is noteworthy that Gunn is one of the few historians to consider the significance of chivalry to kingship. Unlike others, Gunn has recognised other forms of service to the king rather than just focusing on the traditional roles of council and parliament. He also adds participation in court spectacles often overlooked as an important aspect of court life and patronage.¹⁸⁹ In this Gunn states that: 'these men catered for a range of other diversions', a few of those listed included tournaments, hunting, hawking and dice. My work intends to progress the revisionist argument of Gunn by being far more explicit in stating that these 'diversions' were actually a significant part of demonstrating high status masculinity, as well as being an enjoyable pastime.

¹⁸⁶ David Loades, *Henry VIII* (Gloucestershire: Amberley Publishing, 2011), p.65.

¹⁸⁷ Vale, *War and Chivalry*, pp. 63-87.

¹⁸⁸ Gunn, 'Tournaments and Early Tudor Chivalry', 15-21.

¹⁸⁹ Steven Gunn, *Henry VII's New Men and the Making of Tudor England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016) his latest work was published in the very final stages of this thesis so I have not been able to reference it throughout.

Whilst the tournament was still used for training, Matthew Strickland argues that it was also an important setting for, 'the fostering of a sense of professional solidarity' and the development of warrior ideals such as 'courage, prowess and loyalty', which mattered most and were tested to the extreme.¹⁹⁰ Though Strickland analyses chivalric conduct from the eleventh century to the thirteenth century, his arguments still hold true for the late medieval period. In building on Strickland's arguments, it was also important that the men fostered a sense of solidarity around the king, not just with each other. Especially in the reigns of Edward IV and Henry VIII, who personally took part in warfare, it was necessary that the king be placed at the centre of these bonds. Edward and Henry promoted these men not simply because they liked or admired them, but because their exploits in the tournament demonstrated that they could help further their martial ambitions.

2.5.3: Was there a Military Revolution in the Sixteenth Century?

The changing nature of warfare by the early sixteenth century is one of the explanations that has been put forward to account for the decline of chivalry.¹⁹¹ By the late fifteenth century the rest of Europe had switched to the crossbow: yet the English still used the longbow right into the early sixteenth century. There has been a tendency to view the longbow as being old-fashioned and as evidence of England being behind Europe when it came to developments in warfare technology. However at the time the longbow was viewed as a significant part of medieval military strategy as they were faster to shoot, cheaper to

¹⁹⁰ Matthew Strickland, *War and Chivalry: The Conduct and Perception of War in England and Normandy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), p.17.

¹⁹¹ Huizinga, *The Waning of the Middle Ages*.

source and their power was immense.¹⁹² Erik Roth in his study of archers and crossbowmen on the battlefield during the Middle Ages has argued that archery was for many years more effective than the firearms that replaced it. Having presented the characteristics of the longbow that included: better penetration, a steadier arrow and a greater range, Roth argues 'the English found the long bow in the hands of a practiced archer a more effective war weapon than the cross bow'.¹⁹³ Being able to use these weapons, which required a greater skill set, also highlighted the martial abilities of the English army. The longbow had been a major factor in the English victories at Crecy, Poitiers and Agincourt during the Hundred Years War and more recently at Flodden in 1513, thus it is apparent why the English still revered these medieval weapons in the early sixteenth century.

In addition, although the growing importance of gunpowder weapons is noteworthy, too close a focus on gunpowder weapons makes it easy to overlook the significance of other weapons and forces. For example the mercenary heavy cavalry were still being used to supplement and support the infantry, which was still equipped with bows and bills.¹⁹⁴ The English light cavalymen were also significant in Henry VIII's early battles in France. It is apparent that the skills involved in these roles were identical to the skills involved in the tournament such as horsemanship, strength and agility. Moreover in the early sixteenth century at least, the Tudor army was drawn from a wider society of men who were employed to fill up the retinues and militia that still operated on a system of loyalty to the

¹⁹² Danièle Cybulskie, 'Why was the Longbow so effective?', *Medievalists.net* <<http://www.medievalists.net/2015/10/18/why-was-the-longbow-so-effective/>> [Accessed 18 March 2016].

¹⁹³ Erik Roth, *With a Bended Bow: Archery in Medieval and Renaissance Europe* (Stroud: History Press, 2012), p.24.

¹⁹⁴ James, *Henry VIII's Military Revolution*, p.110.

nobility and crown.¹⁹⁵ Hence it was the continued ethos of honour and chivalry, rather than profession that saw men participate in the wars of Henry VIII.¹⁹⁶ As we shall see, Henry VIII and his noble men remained committed to the ideals of the warrior model: despite technological advances in warfare, the cult of chivalry was not in its last flowering during his reign.¹⁹⁷

2.6: Subjects

Two men who were able to advance their status far beyond that of their natal backgrounds were Anthony Woodville and Charles Brandon, who came to head the hierarchy of manhood through their performances in the tiltyard at Edward's and Henry's courts. In order to contextualise these men, it is first necessary to provide a brief summary of their backgrounds, major achievements, and significant events of their lives.

¹⁹⁵ David Grummit, *The Calais Garrison: War and Military Service in England 1436-1558* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2008), p.93.

¹⁹⁶ Steven J. Gunn, 'The French Wars of Henry VIII', in *The Origins of Wars in Early Modern Europe*, (ed.), Jeremy Black (Edinburgh: John Donald Publishers, 1987), pp. 28-51.

¹⁹⁷ John Tosh, 'Gentlemanly Politeness and Manly Simplicity in Victorian England', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 6, 12 (2002), 455-472 argues that the ethos of chivalry held sway until the eighteenth century.

2.6.1: Anthony Woodville, Earl Rivers

Anthony Woodville (c.1440-1483) was the eldest son of Richard Woodville, first Earl Rivers and his wife Jacquetta de Luxembourg.¹⁹⁸ By birth he was related to international nobility and inherited his father's earldom, becoming Earl Rivers. It is important to note that Woodville's father was from a modest gentry background. His female relatives subsequently enhanced his status, which was very unusual in this period. First by his wife's status and wealth, and then by his service to Henry VI, who created him Baron Rivers in 1448.¹⁹⁹ Indeed, there is evidence that Richard and his son were considered rather 'jumped up' by some contemporaries. In a letter to his brother in January 1460, William Paston writes, 'my lord Warwick rated him [Rivers] and said that his father was but a squire brought up with King Henry V., and since made himself by marriage'.²⁰⁰ Yet it is evident that Rivers had earned a status of high manhood at the English court. In November 1440 in the lists at Smithfield, he represented England in a duel against, Pedro Vásquez de Saavedra a Spanish knight.²⁰¹ It is significant that Rivers waged this Challenge at Smithfield, as nearly thirty years later his son Anthony would also represent England in a Challenge against a Burgundian knight.²⁰² In this context Anthony's position at Edward IV's court owes something to his father's talent as an expert jousting, as well as to his mother's high birth. It is significant that in the beginning Warwick and indeed the future Edward IV mocked

¹⁹⁸ Michael Hicks, 'Woodville, Anthony, second Earl Rivers (c.1440–1483)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Sept 2011) <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/29937>> [Accessed 28 July 2015].

¹⁹⁹ Michael Hicks, 'Woodville, Richard, first Earl Rivers (d. 1469)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Sept 2011) <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/29939>> [Accessed 26 October 2016].

²⁰⁰ James Gardiner (ed.), *The Paston Letters, A.D. 1422-1509* Volume 1 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press: 2010), p.184.

²⁰¹ Norman Davis (ed.), *Paston Letters and Papers of the Fifteenth Century II* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971), p.22 see item 9. Appendix three for a list of jousts in the reign of Henry VI.

²⁰² See my article 'Woodville versus the Bastard', *History Today*, 66, 11 (2016), p.6.

Anthony Woodville for his inferior birth, yet he later proved that he had all the qualities pertaining to noble status.²⁰³

It is evident that Woodville had inherited his father's jousting ability competing as a co-challenger along with Henry Beaufort, Duke of Somerset in jousts that were held at the Tower of London during Whitsun week in 1458.²⁰⁴ Woodville's marriage to Elizabeth Scales, the heir of Thomas Scales, brought him the title Lord Scales following the death of Thomas in July 1460. Though it was the marriage of his sister Elizabeth to Edward that truly propelled him to high favour at Edward's court. Nevertheless, one could argue that Woodville's knightly conduct, abilities as a jouster and literary interests had already brought him to the attention of Edward IV who shared his enthusiasm for the chivalric way of life. Arguably it was his abilities as a jouster that qualified him to be elected a Knight of the Garter in 1466.²⁰⁵ In July 1468 he took part in the tournament held to celebrate the marriage of Margaret of York to Charles the Bold.²⁰⁶ The last tournament in which he participated in was also the last held by Edward in January 1478, to celebrate the marriage of his nephew Prince Richard to Anne Mowbray.²⁰⁷ Through his constant presence in these major tournaments, he quickly earned a reputation as a valorous knight. Philippe de Commynes in his memoirs wrote that Woodville was, 'a very fine knight' when he was twice sent as an ambassador to the court of Burgundy.²⁰⁸

²⁰³ See below pp. 81-83.

²⁰⁴ *Chronicles of London* (ed.), C. Lethbridge (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1905), p.168, *The Great Chronicle of London* (eds.), A. H. Thomas and I. D. Thornley (London, 1938) p.190.

²⁰⁵ See Appendix six for a list of knights made in the reign of Edward IV

²⁰⁶ An English account of the wedding celebrations is found in BL Add MS. 46354, ff41v-50.

²⁰⁷ BL Harley MS. 69, ff1r-2r I discuss this collection below see pp. 98-100.

²⁰⁸ Philippe de Commynes, *Memoirs: The Reign of Louis XI 1461-83* (trans.), M. Jones (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1972), p.229.

Woodville was one of the best jousting in England and on the Continent at the time, but he was also a scholar and a poet.²⁰⁹ One of the earliest books printed by Caxton at Westminster was the *Dictes and Sayings of the Philosophers* (1477) translated from the French by Woodville.²¹⁰ The frontispiece of the presentation manuscript copy of the *Dictes and Sayings of the Philosophers*, illustrates Woodville in heraldic dress on bended knee presenting the manuscript to Edward IV and the Prince of Wales.²¹¹ No doubt the translation formed part of the young prince's education by Woodville. Another work translated by Woodville was *Cordiale* (1478) a selection of moral proverbs by Christine de Pizan that was also printed by Caxton.²¹²

It is then no wonder that he was deemed worthy enough to tutor the future Edward V, since he possessed all the skills that were necessary to a prince's education. Edward IV clearly deemed Woodville an appropriate model of knightly qualities for a future king when he appointed him governor of Ludlow Castle in 1476, where he was responsible for the education and training of the young Prince of Wales.²¹³ Woodville's position as governor of the Prince of Wales gave him considerable power in Wales and control of the Prince's

²⁰⁹ William Caxton, 'Here endeth the book named the dictes or sayengis of the philosophres ...', *Early English Books Online* (Westminster, 1477 ca. June 1480) available online at < <https://historicaltexts-jisc-ac.uk.libaccess.hud.ac.uk/results?terms=dictes%20and%20sayings%20of%20the%20philosophers> > [Accessed 26 October 2016].

²¹⁰ *The Dictes and Sayings of the Philosophers* (trans.), Anthony Woodville and printed by W. Caxton (1477) a copy is preserved in Lambeth Palace Library MS. 265.

²¹¹ William Caxton, *The Dictes and Sayings of the. a Facsimile Reproduction of the First Book Printed in England by William Caxton In 1477* (Hard Press, 2012).

²¹² *Cordiale* (trans.), Anthony Woodville and printed by W. Caxton (1479) in the printers epilogue he writes of Woodville's devotion to works of piety. Woodville's piety is beyond the scope of this work, but it is important to recognise that he made pilgrimages to Compostella and to Rome. He was also known to wear a hair shirt, which was discovered after his execution on the orders of Richard III see Anne Crawford, *The Yorkists: The History of a Dynasty* (London: Continuum, 2007), p.85 and Ross, *Edward IV*, p.98.

²¹³ Nicholas Orme, 'The Education of Edward V', *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research*, 67, 136 (1984), 119-130.

revenues. It is apparent that the Prince of Wales in his upbringing was encouraged to identify with Woodville, who was both educated in chivalry and had a reputation for its practical application.

Woodville was thus strongly placed to influence developments following Edward IV's death and the succession of his son, Edward V. Woodville became caught up in the politics surrounding the succession and attempted a coup with the Woodville family to seize power.²¹⁴ On the failure of the coup he was arrested and subsequently tried by Henry Percy, fourth Earl of Northumberland and executed at the command of Richard, Duke of Gloucester. Of all Richard's victims James Gardiner states that: 'he [Woodville] was certainly the noblest and most accomplished'.²¹⁵

Surprisingly there has been no substantial scholarly biography of Woodville, despite his varied career as an English nobleman, courtier and writer.²¹⁶ Ross recognised that he had, 'a considerable reputation for his knightly feats of arms'.²¹⁷ Lander states that: 'the son [Woodville] possessed something of that compelling physical charm, which so often

²¹⁴ Precise analysis of these events is a matter for debate Hicks, ODNB entry for Woodville and Rosemary Horrox, 'Edward V (1470–1483)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Sept 2013) <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/8521>> [Accessed 26 October 2016].

²¹⁵ James Gairdner, *History of the Life and Reign of Richard the Third: To which is Added The Story of Perkin Warbeck, from Original Documents* (Longmans, Green and Company, 1879), p.93, see also Hicks, ODNB entry for Anthony Woodville.

²¹⁶ Works on Woodville include: Eric W. Ives, 'Andrew Dymmock and the papers of Anthony, Earl Rivers, 1482-3', *Historical research: the bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research*, 41 (1968), 216-229 and Carole Weinberg, 'Caxton, Anthony Woodville, and the Prologue to the Morte Darthur', *Studies in Philology*, 102, 1 (2005), 45-65.

²¹⁷ Ross, *Edward IV*, p.98.

accompanies great personal beauty and athletic prowess'.²¹⁸ Hicks described Woodville as something of 'a knight errant, interested in jousting, crusades and pilgrimages'.²¹⁹ Woodville made calculated use of chivalric culture to enhance his standing in the same way that Edward used martial feats to highlight the potency of his own kingship. In this way, Woodville performed his dominant manliness in an arena that was visible to all the court. His masculinity was self-consciously fashioned in a public setting earning him reward in the political sphere, thus Woodville is a key figure for this work as he demonstrates that manhood was a means of advancement in itself.

2.6.2: Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk

Charles Brandon (c.1484-1545) was from a modest gentry family and owed his original position at court to his uncle, Thomas in 1485.²²⁰ Charles' father Sir William Brandon had been killed at Bosworth bearing Henry VII's standard, which also prepared the way for his son's status as a royal companion. Thomas Brandon was in favour with Henry VII from the start of his reign, an Esquire of the Body in 1486 and an active courtier who was involved in many of the tournaments held during Henry VII's reign.²²¹ At a tournament held to celebrate Prince Henry's creation as Duke of York in 1494, Thomas won the Answerers

²¹⁸ J. R. Lander, *Crown and Nobility 1450-1509* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1976), p.105.

²¹⁹ See Hicks, ODNB entry for Anthony Woodville.

²²⁰ Steven J. Gunn, 'Brandon, Charles, first duke of Suffolk (c.1484–1545)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, May 2015) <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/3260>> [Accessed 31 July 2015].

²²¹ Steven J. Gunn, 'Brandon, Sir Thomas (d. 1510)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Jan 2008) <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/3268>> [Accessed 31 July 2015].

prize of 'a ryng of golf with a rubee'.²²² Gunn who is the only scholar to have studied his career in detail describes how Thomas broke lances and swords and recovered from a near unhorsing.²²³ Following his expert performances in the tiltyard, in 1507 Thomas was elected to the Order of the Garter.²²⁴ In 1505 Henry VII made Charles one of the company of King's Spears, a group of martial gallants, who were active in jousts and courtly display. Charles was his uncle's named heir; since Thomas had no children of his own, no doubt he regarded Charles as a son. They shared the same passion for the joust and both competed at the tournament held for Prince Arthur in 1501.²²⁵ One could argue that this family link placed Charles in an advantageous position that made him far from ordinary. But Charles capitalised on his uncle's success and advanced his career at court far beyond that of Thomas, due to his own accomplishments.

Charles Brandon's meteoric rise is well documented through at least thirty tournaments that he participated in across the reign of Henry VII and Henry VIII. Brandon had already made a name for himself as a jouster in the reign of Henry VII, from the start of Henry VIII's reign Brandon competed as one of the Challengers at Henry's coronation tournament in 1509.²²⁶ Success in the tiltyard brought reward in the political sphere and in 1512 he was made Master of the Horse, a post previously held by Thomas. This position was a much coveted role for the young men who accompanied Henry in revels and tournaments as it

²²² James Gardiner (ed.), *Letters and Papers illustrative of the reigns of Richard III and Henry VII* Volume I (2 vols., London, 1861), p.398. The tournament Challenge is found in BL Harley MS. 69, ff6r-6v.

²²³ Gunn, *Henry VII's New Men*, p.47.

²²⁴ James Gardiner (ed.), *Memorials of King Henry VII* (Rolls Ser. 10 London, 1858), p.122.

²²⁵ College of Arms, MS. 3 has the earliest surviving score cheques from the Westminster Tournament in 1501, I will analyse the scores shown on this score cheque in the third chapter, pp. 257-269.

²²⁶ Hall, p.511.

meant responsibility for the king's horses. In 1513 Brandon was created Viscount Lisle and elected a Knight of the Garter.²²⁷ For his participation in Henry's French campaign, he received the highest honour imaginable being made Duke of Suffolk.²²⁸ Brandon was even known as a 'second king' during Henry's reign, a status that was confirmed when he married the king's sister, Mary, Queen Dowager of France, making him the king's brother-in-law.²²⁹ No other man in Henry's reign managed to rise as high as Brandon, or enjoyed the continual favour of the king. Gunn's biography of Charles Brandon continues to be the most comprehensive exploration of the life and service of his astonishing career.²³⁰ Gunn's work has provided invaluable substance to this study, but I offer new insights by considering Brandon's masculine identity and the relationship between lifecycle of manhood and his subsequent rise to power.

No other man in Henry's reign managed to rise as high as Brandon or enjoyed the continual favour of the king. Brandon was not of noble lineage, he did not have a mind for philosophy or politics, neither could he offer guidance in religion and questions of theology: what was it then about Brandon that qualified him for such reward from Henry? The answer can only be found in the tiltyard. It was this display of manhood that facilitated Brandon's career (through the social and political dimensions of the court). Brandon gained reward on account of his public shows of a particular type of martial masculinity. In no other area of Henry's kingship did he excel. He preferred to spend his time developing his physical skills in

²²⁷ *LP I* no. 1221, *LP I* no. 1879 see Appendix seven.

²²⁸ *LP I* no. 2168.

²²⁹ *LP I* no. 2171.

²³⁰ Steven J. Gunn, *Charles Brandon: Henry VIII's Closest Friend* (Gloucestershire: Amberley Publishing, 2015) I will quote from this revised version.

the tiltyard, rather than spending any time educating himself in any scholarly capacity.

However, arguably Brandon displayed an intelligence that was more astute than any of Henry's other courtiers when it came to achieving and maintaining patronage.

Brandon and Woodville have both been chosen as test cases for this study as both were not noble by birth, but each managed to learn and to display the personal qualities viewed as being innate to high status manhood. Woodville and Brandon both the eldest sons of their respective families emulated their fathers' military careers by becoming skilled in arms and following the ideals of knighthood. It is because they embodied this version of chivalrous masculinity that they have been selected as the key subjects of this study. It is the aim of this thesis to demonstrate that their display of manhood in the tiltyard is what facilitated their careers through the social and political dimensions of the court. The extent to which their courageous and virtuous deeds served as a qualification of true nobility is evident through Woodville becoming the tutor of a future king of England and Brandon being deemed a suitable match for Henry VIII's sister.

2.7: Sources

Some of the sources employed in this project are well known, others less so.

Tournament sources such as tournament Challenges, rules of the jousts, score cheques and

heralds accounts are distributed throughout a wide variety of extant manuscripts.²³¹ Many of the volumes that combine these chief types of tournament materials are miscellaneous collections presenting a compendium of heraldic materials containing such items as: rules of the assault, articles of the Challenge, the appointment of scaffolds and proclamations for the delivery of prizes. The collections also provide a guide for the holding of tournaments. Examples include British Library Harley MS. 69, British Library Harley MS. 2358 and British Library Lansdowne MS. 285, compilations from the fifteenth, to the seventeenth century.²³² This shows that such activities lasted well into the early modern period. These documents surrounding the medieval English tournament have not previously been used to explore the performance of masculinity and chivalry.

There is a distinct lack of primary narrative source materials for Edward IV's reign itself making him the most understudied of all the medieval kings of England. There are only a small number of accounts that were written at specific periods and about particular events such as the 'Chronicle of the Lincolnshire Rebellion'.²³³ Others include 'Warworth's Chronicle, based on the first fourteen years of Edward's reign and the 'Arrivall' that deals with Edward's return to England to reclaim his crown in 1471.²³⁴ The most important source of the reign that covers the period 1459 to 1486 is the 'Croyland Continuations'; its internal evidence reflects that its author was on occasion an eyewitness to the events that it

²³¹ For published work on these original manuscripts see my article 'Masculine Display in Late Medieval Court Culture', *The Ricardian Bulletin* (September 2015), 54-56.

²³² See below pp. 94-97, 98-100, 101-104.

²³³ *Chronicle of the Rebellion in Lincolnshire, 1470* (ed.), J. Halliwell (London: Camden Society, 1847).

²³⁴ *Historie of the Arrivall of Edward IV in England and the Finall Recouerye of his King VI* (ed.), J. Bruce (London: Camden Society, 1838) and John Warworkth, *A Chronicle of the first thirteen years of the reign of King, Edward the Fourth* (ed.), J. Halliwell (London: Camden Society, 1839).

describes.²³⁵ However it is apparent that much of the first-hand knowledge of the events, which have in the past been treated as a reliable narrative, are in fact problematic as they rely on hearsay because of a lack of access to high politics and ignorance of English. But it is also true that because they report the rumours and reactions towards policies they are valuable in providing an insight into contemporary opinions on the reign.

Continental sources are also utilised for information about Edward IV and his rule. In particular the memoirs of Philippe de Commynes a writer and diplomat at the courts of France and Burgundy and became a knight in the household of Charles the Bold. He also met Edward personally during his later exile and wrote a description of his appearance and character making him an indispensable source for his reign. Dominic Mancini's account of Edward's reign is of particular interest for the importance it attaches to the Woodvilles in Edward's later years and may reflect the opinions of contemporaries.²³⁶ In addition Mancini also provides reflection on Edward's expanding body shape in his middling years of kingship, which is vital given the absence of contemporary portraits and armour to document the king's lifecycle. As well as focusing on sources that illustrated instances of court culture, this study will include works that were commissioned, inherited by and dedicated to Edward IV.²³⁷

²³⁵ *The Crowland Chronicle Continuations: 1469-1486* (eds.), N. Pronay and J. Cox (London: Richard III and Yorkist History Trust, 1986).

²³⁶ Dominic Mancini, *Usurpation of Richard III* (ed.), C. A. J. Armstrong (Oxford: Sutton Publishing, 1969).

²³⁷ Two works it focuses on in particular are William Worcester, *The Boke of Noblesse* (ed.), J. Nicholas (originally published 1860; this edition New York: Burt Franklin, 1972), John Harding, *The Chronicle of John Hardyng* (ed.), H. Ellis (London: Woodfall, 1812), p.99.

An essential source for the reign of Edward IV is the Paston Letters that provide detailed insight into events at the Yorkist court from the perspective of Sir John Paston and other members of the family.²³⁸ The Paston letters are fundamental to my work on Edward's active participation in tournaments as it is John Paston's account of a tourney held at Eltham in 1467 that evidences the king's involvement. For this occasion and many others instances of tournaments, pageants and banquets, it is John Paston's letters that provide eyewitness accounts, revealing the chivalric revival taking place in the late fifteenth century. The engagement of fifteenth century knights in chivalric activities can also be seen in Paston's *Grete Boke* (c.1469) (discussed in more detail below).

In the context of fifteenth century chivalric anthologies, I have also included European handbooks, since tournament culture was genuinely international in this period. Dom Duarte of Portugal's *The Art of Good Horsemanship* (1434) is a manual of jousting techniques that discusses the different types of lances and armour, horsemanship skills and the technique required at the moment of impact.²³⁹ Duarte's work is a chivalric handbook comparable to Geoffrey de Charny's *Book of Chivalry* and Ramon Llull's *Book of Knighthood and Chivalry* that both provide a knightly handbook on equestrian arts, jousting and martial feats.²⁴⁰ Another important knightly text book of the fifteenth century is René of Anjou's *Le*

²³⁸ Gardiner, *The Paston Letters. 1422-1509. A.D.* available online at *Archive.org* <https://archive.org/stream/pastonletters01arbeiala/pastonletters01arbeiala_djvu.txt> [Accessed 13 July 2016].

²³⁹ King Duarte of Portugal, *The Royal Book of Jousting, Horsemanship, and Knightly Combat: A Translation Into English of King Dom Duarte's 1438 Treatise Livro Da Ensinanca de Bem Cavalgar Toda Sela* (The Art of Riding on Every Saddle) (trans.), A. F. Preto and L. Preto (Austin Texas, 2005).

²⁴⁰ Geoffroi de Charny, *A Knight's Own Book of Chivalry* (trans.) E. Kennedy (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2005); Ramon Llull, *The Book of the Order of Chivalry* (trans.), N. Fallows (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2013).

livre des tournois (c.1460), which deals with tournament preparations at great length.²⁴¹

René was another king who was so interested in tournaments that he decided to write a book describing the proper way to hold them, thus producing an instructional and detailed guide for those staging these events. Significantly for my purposes, what these knightly handbooks reveal is that at the exact moment that chivalry has been argued as being in decline in the late fifteenth century, popular treatises on tournaments and horsemanship were being collected and produced. This in turn suggests that not only was there still a keen interest in chivalry, but that it was also being put into practice both in England and abroad.

The sources that inform my analysis of chivalric activities at Henry VIII's court are those that reveal occasions of masculine performance and display. For example, the accounts written by foreign diplomats such as those by Venetian Ambassador Sebastian Giustinian and Spanish Ambassador Eustace Chapuys who spent sixteen years at the English court. The *Letters and Papers* and *State Papers* of Henry VIII are used to shed further light on Henry's wars and tournaments and document the careers of nobles and gentry men.²⁴² Arguably any study of Henry VIII's reign must take these as its starting point because of the wealth of detail they contain about events and issues from a variety of perspectives. For example, Richard Gibson's *Revels Accounts* comprise a detailed record of supplies necessary for pageants and tournaments, providing a detailed insight into the chivalrous court of

²⁴¹ For a modern English translation of King René's tournament book see Elizabeth Bennett, 'King René's Tournament Book', available online at <<https://www.princeton.edu/~ezb/rene/renehome.html>> [Accessed 8 June 2016].

²⁴² John Brewer and James Gairdner (eds.) *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, of the Reign of Henry VIII*, Vols. I-XVIII (London, 1876) available online at *British History Online* <<http://www.british-history.ac.uk/search/series/letters-papers-hen8>> [Accessed 25 August 2015] hereafter referenced as LP followed by the volume number and letter number.

Henry VIII.²⁴³ These accounts are supplemented by Edward Hall's *The Union of the Two Noble and Illustre Families of Lancastre and Yorke* (1542), which records in great detail nearly every court festival, royal ceremony, noble pastime and tournament activity in Henry VIII's early years of kingship.²⁴⁴ Hall revels in the chivalric splendour accompanying court events from the set designs, to the dress of participants, to the reaction of the audience, all of which are valuable in providing an insight into the constructed displays of masculinity.

The *Royal Armouries* collections of the armour worn by Henry VIII in the famous tournaments that marked his reign such as the Field of Cloth of Gold in 1520 will provide evidence for his physique, which aids an assessment of his prowess and display.²⁴⁵ Hans Holbein's paintings also enable insight into the prowess and display of Henry and other men, which will shed light on the self-fashioning and representations of manhood at the court.²⁴⁶ Through combining literary, visual and historical sources with material culture this work aims to provide new insights into the culture that governed the interchange between courtiers both within the inner sanctum of court, the surrounding culture and also against the wider European backdrop, by considering the operation of gender within these areas.

²⁴³ 'Revels', in *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, Henry VIII, Volume 2, 1515-1518* (ed.), J. Brewer (London, 1864), pp. 1490-1518 <<http://www.british-history.ac.uk/letters-papers-hen8/vol2/pp1490-1518>> [Accessed 25 August 2015].

²⁴⁴ Edward Hall, *Hall's chronicle: containing the history of England, during the reign of Henry the Fourth, and the succeeding monarchs, to the end of the reign of Henry the Eighth, in which are particularly described the manners and customs of those periods. Carefully collated with the editions of 1548 and 1550* (ed.), J. Johnson (London, 1809) available online at <<https://archive.org/details/hallschronicleco00halluoft>> [Accessed 25 August 2015] here after referenced as Hall followed by the page number.

²⁴⁵ *Royal Armouries* <<https://www.royalarmouries.org/visit-us/leeds/leeds-galleries/tournament-gallery/tournament-personalities/henry-viii>> [Accessed 25 August 2015].

²⁴⁶ *National Portrait Gallery* <<http://www.npg.org.uk>> [Accessed 25 August 2015].

2.7.1: Heralds and Heraldic Volumes

One specialist attracted to the tournament was the herald. The increasingly elaborate rules that governed the various types of combat in the tournament meant that by the thirteenth century a special group of minstrels called “heralds” developed into a professional office. One of their duties was to publicise and proclaim upcoming tournaments. In England the heralds who presided over a specific area were known as “King of Arms”, with names initially representing their locations, for example ‘Norry King of Arms was north of the Trent River and Surroy or later Clarenceux King of Arms was south of the Trent’.²⁴⁷ At the tournament itself heralds played an important role in announcing the contestants as they entered into the lists and kept score of the jousts. Crouch argues that: ‘such was the enthusiasm for the tournament and the need for specialised and knowledgeable commentators that heralds had begun to establish themselves in the early thirteenth century’.²⁴⁸ They continued to have a key role in tournaments throughout the Middle Ages and beyond.

It is in the encounter between Anthony Woodville and the Bastard of Burgundy in 1467 at Smithfield that we find written directions to heralds for the first time. According to the account in Paston’s *Grete Boke*, heralds lined the lists ready to keep score of the combats:

²⁴⁷ John Wagner and Susan Walters Schmid (eds.), *Encyclopaedia of Tudor England- Volume 1* (California, Colorado, England: ABC-CLIO Corporate, 2012), p.285.

²⁴⁸ Crouch, *Tournaments*, p.63.

to be sett at ev'y othir poste a man' of armes, and at ev'y corner
a Kyng of Armes crownyd, and an Harauld or Pursevaunte within
the seide feelde, for reporte makyng of actez doon within the same.²⁴⁹

It is evident from surviving score cheques that heralds were a combination of modern sports referees, journalists and commentators, judging and recording the play-by-play and providing detailed statistical data. The herald's reports on these occasions, taken individually, often do not provide a detailed or accurate picture of the performance of individual knights on the day. Hence why the score cheques are so important as a record in addition to herald's accounts as they provide an actual assessment of knights' abilities in the joust.

In the late medieval period the status and function of heralds increased when as well as proclaiming and presiding over tournaments they began to compile rolls of armorial bearings. Herald's were the obvious people to take on this task as they were regularly present at tournaments and knew all the knights. Surviving heraldic collections are found in the British Library Add MS. 45131 and Add MS. 46354, as well as College of Arms MS. M3 that contain painted drawings of arms and of the arms granted by Garter King of Arms who was the principal officer of all heralds a position that had existed since 1415.²⁵⁰ By the

²⁴⁹ BL Lansdowne MS. 285, f41r printed in Samuel Bentley, *Excerpta Historica* (London: Samuel Bentley, 1831), p.203.

²⁵⁰ British Library Add MS. 45131 contains Sir Thomas Wriothesley, Garter King of Arms heraldic collections comprising of coloured drawings of coats of arms many in his own hand. Add MS. 46354 is another collection made by Wriothesley mainly consisting of lists of knights and in the second part ff72v-192v the volume consists of painted drawing of knights' arms and of arms granted by Wriothesley. The College of Arms possesses an unrivalled collection of heraldic material going back to 1264. College of Arms MS. M3 known as

fifteenth century heralds also became increasingly attached to the households of kings and certain noblemen on a permanent basis. Stevenson describes how heralds took on a more defined role in chivalric society, acting as diplomatic messengers and journeying through their realms to record the insignia of all the noblemen and to note family connections.²⁵¹ Nigel Saul describes how heralds were usually attached to a particular master; they wore his colours of livery and they were regularly paid.²⁵² In this service a herald might produce an armorially illustrated genealogy, or even compose a chivalric biography of his lord recording his deeds. It is noteworthy that Brandon had his own Suffolk herald, Sir Christopher Barker in 1517 who accompanied him to the Field of Cloth of Gold in 1520 and recorded an account contained in College of Arms MS. M6bis of his performances in the series of jousting contests that were held.²⁵³

The increasing volume of surviving accounts of tournaments and the key role played by heralds in the recording of the events make these sources invaluable. Herald's also compiled guides for the holding and conducting of tournaments. The volumes that follow provide examples of the types of heraldic materials that were collected and copied by heralds from the medieval period into the early modern period as chivalry continued to flourish and tournaments were still being held.²⁵⁴ It is apparent from the small size of some

Ballard's Book is a miscellaneous heraldic collection largely written and painted by, or on behalf of William Ballard, March King of Arms under Edward IV.

²⁵¹ Stevenson, *Chivalry and knighthood in Scotland*, p.67.

²⁵² Nigel Saul, *For Honour and Fame: Chivalry in England, 1066-1500* (London: The Bodley Head, 2011), p.58.

²⁵³ College of Arms MS. M6bis, ff7r-12v contains a recorded narrative of the Field of Cloth of Gold in the hand of Sir Christopher Barker.

²⁵⁴ For example an early seventeenth century collection can be found in BL Add MS. 33735 that consists only of thirteen folios that include: John Tiptoft's rules for the jousts and tourney, examples of tournament challenges, heralds fees at tournaments, delivery of prizes after a tourney, scaffolds built at the kings palace of

of these collections that they acted as a working booklet for heralds and officers of the state. Harley MS. 2358 (see Figures 3 and 4) is a small paper heraldic book measuring 6.9in long, by 5.4in wide, with only sixty-one folios, making it easily transportable for heralds to carry around with them and to refer to when regulating and scoring jousts and tourneys which are amongst the documents contained inside.

Westminster and orders for the office of constable of England made by Thomas Woodstock, Duke of Gloucester, and constable of England, and dedicated to Richard II.



Fig.3. Harley MS. 2358 reproduced by permission of the British Library, London

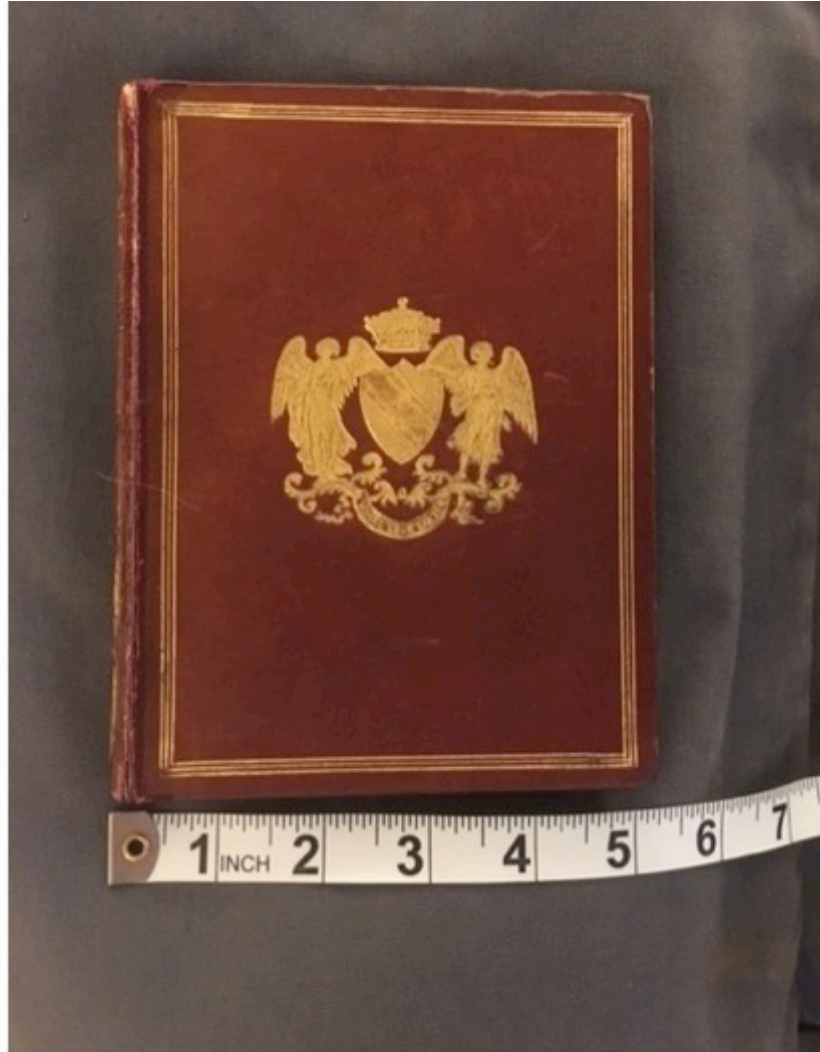


Fig.4. Harley MS. 2358 reproduced by permission of the British Library, London

2.7.2: *Book of Certain Triumphs* British Library Harley MS. 69

The main heraldic collection that is referred to extensively in the thesis is Harley MS. 69, which contains transcriptions of Tudor Challenges copied in the hand of Ralph Starkey antiquary in 1617. All the Challenges in Harley MS. 69 are copies of the original Challenges. The only original Challenge still surviving is that found in British Library Harley 83 H1, which relates to a tournament held in 1511.²⁵⁵ However the content within this original Challenge is comparable in structure and language to those Challenges recorded in Harley MS. 69, thus it is apparent that the others were most likely copied from actual tournament Challenges. It is evident from the dating of this collection that tournament culture was still important in England in the early seventeenth century. The collection is entitled the *Book of Certain Triumphs* and contains 53 folios many of which are proclamations and petitions for the Challenge of jousts royal, tourneys and fighting at the barriers.²⁵⁶ There are numerous documents relating to the articles of the Challenge and most of these are in the form of petitions by four or six gentlemen wishing to challenge all comers to a joust.

The Challenges from Harley MS. 69 explored in this thesis include: the 1478 Westminster tournament, the 1507 Lady of May tournament and the 1516 Greenwich tournament.²⁵⁷ I have chosen to focus on these particular Challenges as they involve the

²⁵⁵ I discuss the original 1511 Westminster tournament in detail in the third chapter of the thesis p. when handling the different sources that surrounded this major event.

²⁵⁶ BL Harley MS. 69, f1r.

²⁵⁷ Other petitions contained in the manuscript but not analysed in the thesis include: the 1492 Sheen tournament, the 1494 Westminster tournament, 1524 Castle of Loyal and the 1540 Greenwich tournament. I have chosen not to include this final Challenge from Henry VIII's reign into my discussion, as the king does not actually compete in this tournament.

men upon whom this thesis focuses. It is apparent from these documents that tournament rules were agreed and circulated well in advance of the tournament, and usually proclaimed by the heralds, who read out the Challenges at various public sites such as at Windsor, Westminster and London Bridge, so that all potential competitors knew what to expect. One of these Challenges that I will analyse in more detail at a later stage in the thesis is that staged by Edward IV at Westminster in January 1478.²⁵⁸ The Challenge below is typical of how these invitations were set out it details the date, different styles of combat to be fought, and the types of weapons that were needed so that men could adequately prepare in advance:

First the said gentlemen shall present themselves at the said fiftenth daye of Jannarie next in such a place as shalbe appointed by the kinge highness for the forming of the discipline and exercise above said there to answeare that day all comers as well strangers as other in forme and manner following. That is to wrete first at juste royall with helme and shield in maner accustomed. Secondly to run in josting harneis along a tilt. And thirdly to strike certaine strokes with swoarde and guise of tourney.²⁵⁹

It is apparent that by the reign of Edward IV that the tournament involved both jousting across a tilt, with lances being scored and fighting on horseback with swords as part of a tourney. Edward's chosen men had to be ready to answer the Challenge of all those that would compete in the Westminster tournament as well as being proficient in both jousting and fighting on horseback.

²⁵⁸ I will discuss this tournament in full in the next chapter see pp. 245-249.

²⁵⁹ BL Harley MS. 69, f1v.

Aside from petitions for jousts and tourneys in Harley MS. 69, it also provides an exemplar of the types of collections that constituted a handbook of chivalry in action. This volume contains lists the making of knights of the Bath, knights of the Order of the Garter and knight banneret. An illustrated sixteenth century copy of Tiptoft's ordinances for 'Justs of Peace' is also included.²⁶⁰ In addition there are also heralds' accounts detailing banquets and pageants at major court occasions such as the marriage of Prince Arthur to Catherine of Aragon in 1501.²⁶¹ And, significantly, a score cheque has been copied into this collection from a tournament held at Greenwich in 1516.²⁶² The score cheque is noteworthy as it is the only Challenge in the collection that details the results of a jousting contest. This, and other such compilations thus present an excellent guide to the rules and practices which governed the holding and calling of tournaments from the later fifteenth century until well into the early modern period.

2.7.3: John Paston's *Grete Boke* British Library Lansdowne MS. 285

Aside from heralds taking an interest in these collections it is apparent that they were of a wider interest to men of gentry status such as John Paston, who owned copies of heraldic materials in his *Grete Boke* (see Figure 5). This collection is made up of seventy-one folios, which includes mainly fifteenth century chivalric and heraldic writings.²⁶³ The *Grete Boke* has affinities with several types of literature in the fifteenth century such as the practical treatises on chivalrous combats, heraldic ceremonial records, military manuals and

²⁶⁰ BL Harley MS. 69, ff19r-20r.

²⁶¹ BL Harley MS. 69, ff28v-35r

²⁶² BL Harley MS. 69, f16v.

²⁶³ British Library Lansdowne MS. 285.

the mirrors for princes a genre of literary texts that gave advice to a ruler.²⁶⁴ The *Boke* contains a number of examples of accounts of “pas d’armes” such as the Golden Tree in July 1468, which was held in the market place at Bruges led by the Bastard of Burgundy, to celebrate the marriage of Margaret of York to Charles the Bold, Duke of Burgundy.²⁶⁵ Popular in the fifteenth century the “pas d’armes” involved a knight, or a group of knights who would defend a particular place, usually a bridge or a road, against all comers, for a defined period of time.²⁶⁶

I will focus on the account it contains of the famous tournament between Antoine, the Bastard of Burgundy and Anthony Woodville in 1467 as an occasion that illustrated chivalry in action.²⁶⁷ Nowhere else is a tournament in England so fully treated, from the Challenge to the lists. An example of an extract taken from this rich and detailed account is that of the Challenge from Woodville to the Bastard that contained rules for the fight on horseback. In the Challenge to the Bastard, Woodville made it known that he would be ready in the city of London for the Bastard to come and accept his Challenge:

First. I shall be bounden by expresse comaundement to appere at the noble cite of London, at the day and houre that me shalbe lymetid and ordeyned in the moneth of Octobre next comyng, before the Kyng my

²⁶⁴ For further discussion see Godfrey A. Lester, *Sir John Paston’s Grete Boke: A Descriptive Catalogue, with an Introduction, of British Library MS Lansdowne 285* (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 1984).

²⁶⁵ BL Lansdowne MS.285, ff26r-29r another example of a pas d’armes with Bastard of Burgundy can be found on ff52r-56v.

²⁶⁶ Andrea Hopkins, *Tournaments and Jousts: Training for War in Medieval Times* (New York: The Rosen Publishing Group, 2004), p.35.

²⁶⁷ BL Lansdowne MS. 285, ff29v-43r.

seide souveraigne lorde or his comissarie depute, my Jugie in that ptie;
ayenst a noble man of foure lynages, and withoute any reproche, at my
choice, yif he will presente hym ayenste me.²⁶⁸

It is noteworthy that this provides an example of another type of Challenge: that of one nobleman directly to another, rather than as an invitation to all comers as quoted above. It is important to note Edward's presence in this exchange despite the fact that he did not compete in this particular tournament. In all these Challenges, whether public or private the permission of the king was clearly vital in the pursuit of chivalry.

Other works in Paston's *Grete Boke* include: John Lydgate's *The Book of Governance of Kings and Princes* and *The Book of All Good Thewes* a verse adaptation of Aristotelian *Secretum Secretorum*.²⁶⁹ However, the mirrors differ in genre to the heraldic and military material in Paston's Boke, drawing on chivalric ideals both of kingship and manhood. The *Grete Boke* is then a valuable collection of contemporary military and chivalrous ideas and advice, but also documents the interest in these shown by men who sought to enhance their social standing. Thomas Hann notes that Paston gathered, 'a reference library of descriptive and how-to books on chivalry - a collection that must have held urgent interest for the first member of a socially mobile family elevated to a knighthood'.²⁷⁰ Most recently Lewis examining medieval ideals about kingship has recognised the role of several of these

²⁶⁸ BL Lansdowne MS. 285, f30v.

²⁶⁹ BL Lansdowne MS. 285, ff155r-199v Lester, *Sir John Paston's Grete Boke: A Descriptive Catalogue, with an Introduction, of British Library MS Lansdowne 285*, p.37.

²⁷⁰ Thomas Hahn, 'Gawain and Popular Chivalric Romance in Britain', in *The Cambridge Companion to Medieval Romance*, (ed.), R. L. Krueger (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), pp. 218-34.

texts in outlining an ideal high status masculine identity.²⁷¹ In commissioning a whole book of such heraldic material Paston was demonstrating his knowledge of the chivalrous past as important to his engagement in the tournament culture, which was promoted by the Pastons as part of their court ambitions. Paston's *Boke* is used in the thesis to demonstrate the practical dimension of these chivalrous texts for gentry men such as Paston as a guide to improve social and familial standing.

²⁷¹ Lewis, *Kingship and Masculinity in Late Medieval England*, pp. 17-36.

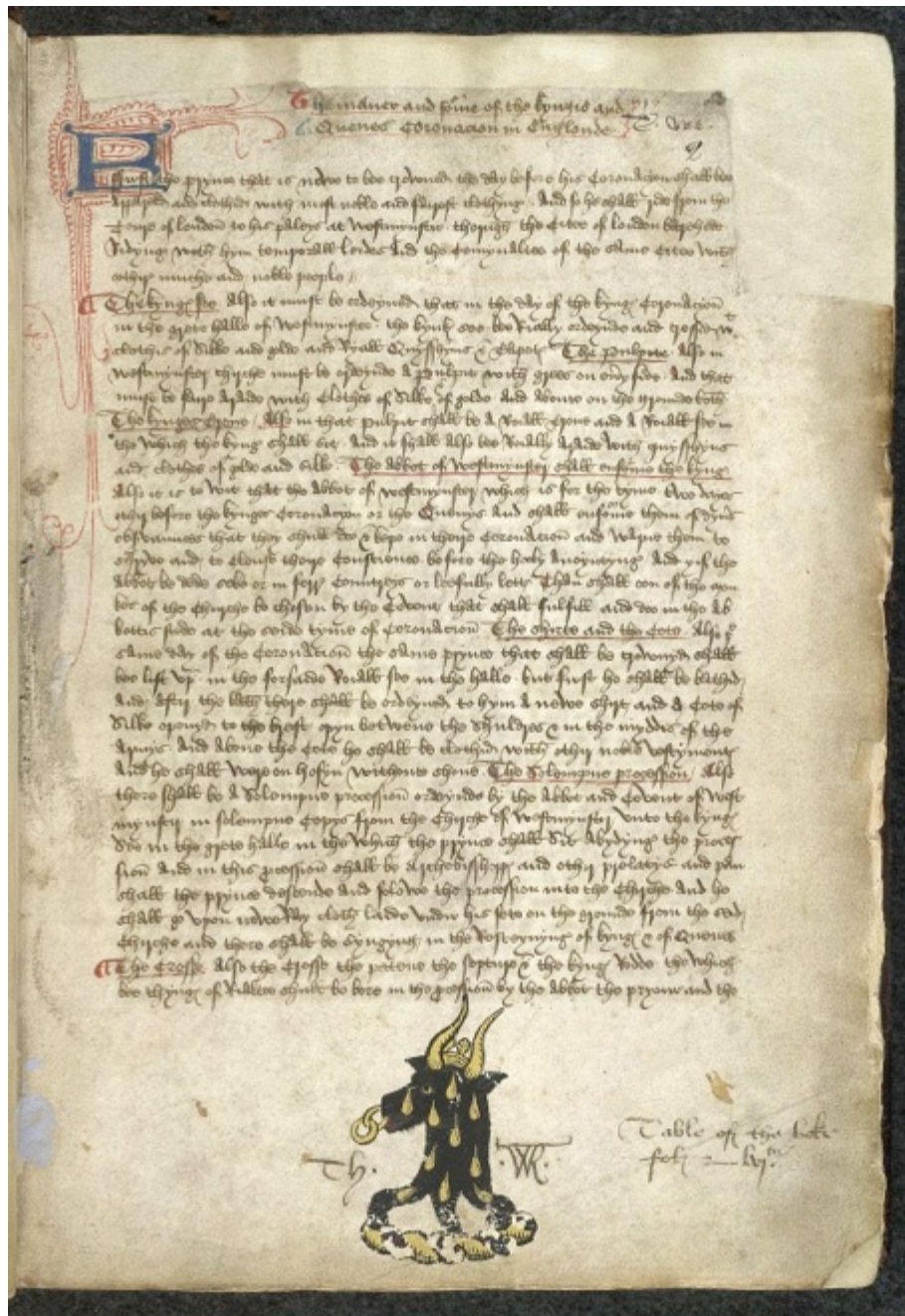


Fig.5. Sir John Paston's Grete Boke Lansdowne MS. 285, f2r reproduced by permission of the British Library, London.

2.7.4: John Tiptoft's Ordinances for *Justs of Peace Royal*

At least twelve manuscripts contain the rules for jousting across the tilt that were formulated in 1466 by John Tiptoft, Earl of Worcester, at Edward IV's command (see Figure 6). Tiptoft's ordinances dealt only with the tilt, although some later editions add material relating to the tourney and barriers.²⁷² There are several copies of Tiptoft's rules surviving: two are preserved in the College of Arms MS. M6, and MS. L5*bis*. Other versions are found in the British Library: a fifteenth century copy in Harley MS. 2358, a sixteenth century copy, in Add MS. 46354 and Harley MS. 6079 and an early seventeenth century copy in Add MS. 33735.²⁷³ Copies from the sixteenth and seventeenth century are also found in the Oxford Bodleian Ashmolean collection in MS. 763 and MS. 1116. Tiptoft's ordinances therefore appear within heraldic collections relating to tournaments that also include: rules for the assault, the articles of the challenge, appointment of scaffolds and proclamations of the delivery of prizes. It is not surprising that Tiptoft's rules were such a prominent feature of all these heraldic volumes as they were perhaps one of the most important records for heralds. Given the significance of this document for heralds at the time, evidenced in the number of copies created, it is surprising that Tiptoft's rules for jousting have not attracted more attention from those that work on tournaments and chivalry.²⁷⁴ With volumes being created from the fifteenth century to the seventeenth century, it is possible to deduce that these rules set the general pattern for tournaments held in England for over a century.

²⁷² See these manuscripts for rules of the tourney BL Harley MS. 1354, ff14v-15r, Harley MS. 2358, ff22r-22vr. Harley MS. 6064, f86v, OB Ashmole MS. 763, f149v.

²⁷³ Worcester's ordinances were copied into numerous collections CA MS M. 6, ff56v-57r and MS. L5*bis*, ff121v-122r, BL Add MS. 33735, ff3r-4r Add MS. 46354 f58v, Harley, ff19r-20r, Harley MS. 1354, ff13r-14v Harley MS. 1776, f45r, Harley MS. 6064, ff86r-86v, Harley MS. 6079, f34v, Stowe MS. 1409, f209r and in OB Ashmole MS. 763, f148r, and Ashmole MS. 1116, f108v.

²⁷⁴ With the exception of Sydney Anglo, *Archives of the English Tournament: Score Cheques and Lists*, 153-162. In this article Anglo dismisses Worcester's rules as 'repetitive' and 'ambiguous', he also adds that they 'do not provide for all the contingencies that may have arisen in actual combat'.



Fig.6. The ordinances statutes and rules wrote and enacted by John Earle of Worcester in Harley MS. 69, f19r reproduced by permission of the British Library, London.

Tiptoft's ordinances are used in this thesis as a measure of technical skill. By the late fifteenth century the joust was not simply a case of unhorsing an opponent, it was important to acknowledge and record exactly where the opponent had been hit as heralds awarded different points for different parts of the body. Tiptoft's ordinances detail many ways 'the price [sic] is won, how many ways the price shall be lost, how broken spears shall be allowed, how spears shall be disallowed and the prize to be given'.²⁷⁵ The scores were marked in accordance with Tiptoft's scoring method, creating a practice that was, arguably, completely objective, based on a knight's ability to score the most points, usually achieved by breaking the most spears. In the Harleian and Ashmolean collections, sample cheques are given showing how each hit should be marked (see Figure 7).²⁷⁶ According to Tiptoft's ordinances, a spear broken on the body counted 1 and a spear broken on the head counted 2 (see Figure 8) a spear broken coronel to coronel (tip of the lance) would count for 3 (see Figure 9) and unhorsing a man counted 3 as well. A mere "attaint" a touch on the body was less than a point. One point was lost when the lance was broken on the opponent's saddle; striking the tilt lost 2 points and striking it twice cost 3 points.

²⁷⁵ BL Harley MS. 69, ff19r-20r.

²⁷⁶ BL Harley MS. 2358, f22r, Harley MS. 6064, f86v, Harley MS. 6079, f34v, Harley MS. 1776, f46v and in OB Ashmole MS. 763, f149r and Ashmole MS. 840, f298r.

Item he that strykelh Couraillle two tymes, shall have
the prize before hyme that strykelh the slyghte three tymes

Item he that strykelh the slyghte 3 tymes, shall have the
prize before hyme that breakeh more spears ::::

Item if ther be any man that fortuethly in the way
which shalbe deuide to haue a broden bougele in the
healed, and to haue ~~any~~ ^{winne} the fayrste rounde
and to haue gyven the greateste stroke, and to haue
helpen hym selfe beste with his speare: he shall haue the
prize ::::

atempt on his head one atempt
+ + a staff broken on his head
+ + + the compe

broken on his head
a staff broken

Dismissed for a staff yll broken

At Couraillle St. Comraie,
Two blowes at the passage, and ten at the
ringe, more or lesse as they made it. All games
shorted and foule playe forbidden ::::

How prized and Couraillle
and ~~any~~ ^{any} ~~one~~ ^{one} to be losse:

He that giveth a stroke with a pyle from the ground
downward, or under the barreth, shall wyne the
prize ::::

Fig.7. John Tiptoft's rules for the Justs of Peace with a sample cheque showing how each hit was to be marked in Harley MS. 1354, f15r reproduced by permission of the British Library, London.

Scores were tallied across the full day of the competition eventually leading to the selection of the winners: one knight from the team of Challengers and another from the team of Answerers. It was quite common that jousting contests would last for over two days, or even several days and so there would be a winner for each different day of the competition selected from each of the two teams. No doubt for the heralds it was easy to score and rate the individual performance of knights in the jousts compared to the mass mêlée. Perhaps the scores were even recorded and then ranked in a table comparable to modern day sports leagues.²⁷⁷ It is apparent that in identifying those that performed best, and equally those that had underperformed. Tournament culture brought a growth of individualism as it was not so much about each team scoring well, but about the individual knight who was awarded a prize. Significantly there is no evidence to suggest that any jousters contested the scores that were awarded to them, which is noteworthy as it proves that this was a framework that they trusted to judge them objectively based on their abilities in the tiltyard. Tiptoft had made it possible to quantify the amount of skill involved and therefore to measure it objectively. Tiptoft's ordinances have been characterised in the past as merely providing a technical report, yet it is my aim to demonstrate that these rules can be used to further our understanding of the practice and ethos of chivalric manhood.²⁷⁸

²⁷⁷ See my article 'From jousting to football: the ideal man hasn't changed much since medieval times', *The Conversation* available online at <<https://theconversation.com/from-jousting-to-football-the-ideal-man-hasnt-changed-much-since-medieval-times-54920>> [Accessed 25 February 2016] in this article I make a comparison between jousting and modern day football events.

²⁷⁸ Anglo, Archives of the English Tournament: Score Cheques and Lists', 153-162.



Fig.8. Example of spears hit on the head in Harley MS. 69 f19v reproduced by permission of the British Library, London.



Fig.9. Example of spears broken coronel to coronel in Harley MS. 69, f20r reproduced by permission of the British Library, London.

Tiptoft makes it known that it was not lawful for just any man to compete in the jousts royal, 'except he be well knowne unto the king of armes of the palace to be a gentleman of armes blood and decent [sic]'.²⁷⁹ It is important to emphasise that the men who form the jousting cohort for this project, though non-noble, were not of low status, but were connected to the court circle through their families' history of court service. To some extent Tiptoft's statement is superfluous, as only men of some substance would have had the skills and resources to be able to joust in the first place. Therefore the emphasis on being a gentleman of arms, blood and descent has the effect of establishing the type of man who was qualified to joust in terms of lineage and character.

2.7.5: College of Arms Tournament Cheques

For the first time in the sixteenth century, surviving score cheques provide an exceptional insight into the scoring of chivalry in the early modern period. Drawn up by heralds on the day of a tournament in order to score the jousts, they enabled the victor in a tournament to be identified without dispute. A King of Arms who was the most senior officer of arms marked the scores in strokes on a scoring tablet, termed a cheque. The scoring tablet itself was in the form of a rectangle, with three horizontal lines: the middle lines showing the number of courses run, meaning the number of matches between the two knights (usually between two and eight). The attaints were hits made on the opposing knight but which did not shatter the lance. They were noted in the table by a dash that did not go all the way through the line, but was recorded just above it. The middle line inside

²⁷⁹ OB Ashmole MS. 763, f181r.

the rectangle represented the number of spears broken and the bottom line recorded any faults (see Figure 10). Generally more than one herald would have been entrusted with the task of scoring the joust. One herald was likely given the task of scoring the Challengers, whilst a second herald scored the Answerers.²⁸⁰ The heralds recorded the live results of these combats that were drawn up on score cheques on the day. However copies of these results were also made and written into heraldic collections that contained narrative accounts of individual tournaments.²⁸¹

²⁸⁰ Anglo, 'Archives of the English Tournament: Score Cheques and Lists', 153-62.

²⁸¹ For example for the Westminster Tournament in 1511 original cheques are found in the College of Arms box 37, 1a Score Cheque Tilt 4V 8, 12 February 1511 and 1b Score Cheque Tilt 4V, 13 February 1511. However, copies of these cheques have also been drawn up into other heraldic collections found in BL Harley MS. 6097, ff38r-39v and in OB Ashmole MS. 1116, ff109v-110r.

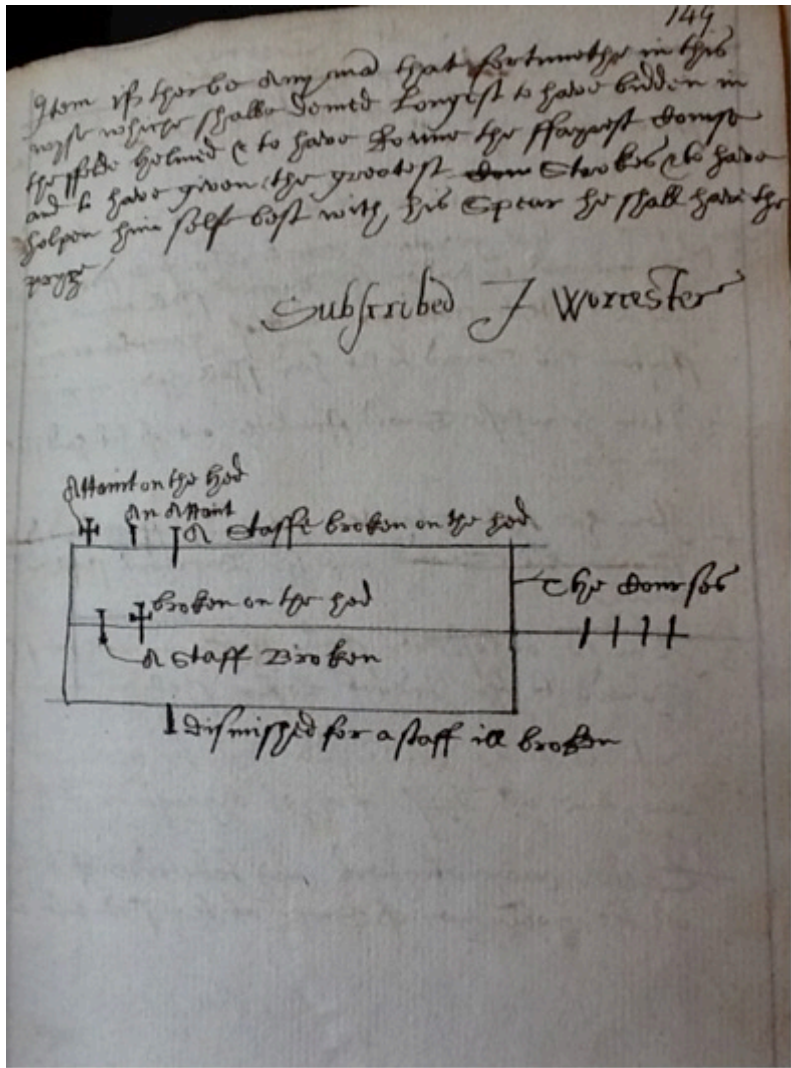


Fig.10. Sample score cheque in Ashmole MS. 763, f144v reproduced by permission of the Bodleian Library

We have some surviving score cheques actually used at tournaments, but like the Challenges for tournaments discussed above, we also have some which are copies included in chivalric compendia. Only half a dozen actual cheques survive from the reign of Henry VIII, with many more surviving from the court of Elizabeth I.²⁸² None of the original cheques used at tournaments survive from the reign of Edward IV, but I have discovered a set of scores from a jousting contest in his reign copied onto a manuscript.²⁸³ This does suggest that jousts were being scored during this period. Furthermore it was during Edward IV's kingship that Tiptoft framed his rules for jousts and his scoring method for jousting across the tilt, which was a barrier introduced in the king's reign to prevent contestants from colliding into one another. Tiptoft's rules dealt exclusively with jousting as it had evolved in the late fifteenth century, thus despite an absence of actual score cheques from this period we can assume that these cheques were in use before the first surviving ones in 1501.

Considering the vast number of tournaments that were staged throughout the reign of Henry VIII, compared to the small number of score cheques that survive, it is likely that these were considered ephemeral documents and probably just used for reference on the day.²⁸⁴ After the winner of each of the Challengers and Answerers had been announced there would not have been much cause to keep the score cheques. Thus it is likely then that the majority were discarded following the tournament. Actual score cheques surviving from the reign of Henry VIII were drawn free hand with the names of knights hastily scribbled on.

²⁸² For a complete list of the score cheques held in the College of Arms see Anglo, 'Archives of the English Tournament: Score Cheques and Lists', 153-62. See Appendix four for a list of score cheques that survive.

²⁸³ BL Add MS. 46354, f85v later discussion on this score cheque see pp. 245-249.

²⁸⁴ See Appendix three for a chronology of all the tournaments held between the reigns of Edward III and Henry VIII.

In contrast score cheques surviving from the late sixteenth century in the reign of Elizabeth I, for example, were ruled up neatly with the names of the combatants carefully written in place. Possibly by the late sixteenth century at its most formalised, the score cheques were such an accepted feature of the tournament that they were prepared in advance by heralds. Those that were copied into manuscript collections by heralds were perhaps done so in order to bring the accounts to life and on a more practical level, to provide examples of how to score these competitions.

Cheques that recorded particularly significant contests, including famous combatants were presented in lavish terms, such as the score cheque from the Field of Cloth of Gold in June 1520. Presented on vellum, the folio is richly decorated with the arms of the two kings and their respective orders: the order of St Michael (Francis I) and the Order of the Garter (Henry VIII) along with the arms of other nobles in attendance.²⁸⁵ Amidst the two royal arms a scribe has penned in the score cheques from these jousts, which were clearly meant for display (see Figure 11).

²⁸⁵ I owe thanks to Adrian James, Assistant Librarian at the Society of Antiquaries of London for allowing me to work with the score cheque from the 1520 Field of Cloth of Gold.

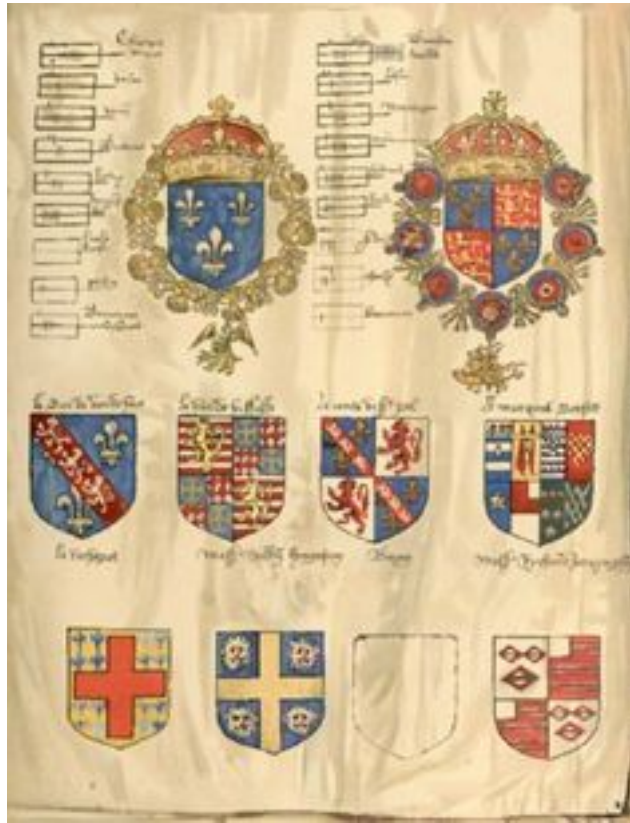


Fig.11. Jousting Cheque for a contest at the Field of Cloth of Gold, 1520. Bodycolour on vellum. 36.5cm x 27.3cm. Reproduced by permission of the Society of Antiquaries.

The score cheques that survive from the reign of Henry VIII are a unique source for shedding light on those men who competed in the tiltyard, those who jousted against the king, and the scores they were able to achieve. In a culture that favoured knightly deeds over genealogical inheritance as an estimation of an individual's manhood, the joust was a vital way in which chivalry and manhood could be effectively and publicly measured. In addition to the manuscript evidence of tournaments this thesis also uses Hall's chronicle for the reign of Henry VIII as it provides a rich and detailed account of many of the Tudor Challenges that make up the heraldic compendiums studied.

2.7.6: Edward Hall's *Chronicle*

Edward Hall was born in 1497 the son of John Hall a prominent London grocer and educated at Cambridge University and Gray's Inn.²⁸⁶ Hall became a lawyer by profession, but he also pursued a prominent public career serving in at least four of Henry VIII's parliaments and as a common sergeant. In compiling his chronicle in 1543, Hall gathered much material concerning Henry's rule and wove it into a single narrative that traced events from the king's accession to his twenty-fourth year in power. Hall's chronicle provides the most detailed survey of Henry VIII and his rule by any Henrician author. For much of the 1530s, Hall is a valuable eyewitness. At the time of his demise in 1547, the account remained unfinished. Hall bequeathed it to the printer and historian Richard Grafton. Grafton finished Hall's work, combining notes and drafts with new material of his own, in

²⁸⁶ Peter Herman, 'Hall, Edward (1497–1547)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Jan 2012) <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/11954>> [Accessed 1 September 2015].

order to bring Hall's Henry VIII narrative up to the king's death. Grafton published Hall's chronicle in 1548 and again in 1550.

Hall's celebratory account of Henry VIII presents him as the epitome of chivalrous kingship. He describes 'the features of his body, his goo[d]ly personage, his amiable visage, princely countenance, with the noble qualities of his royal estate'.²⁸⁷ Hall's account is significant as he writes a very different kind of history of the reign of Henry VIII than that being produced by other chroniclers of the sixteenth century, such as John Stowe.²⁸⁸ Hall criticises other earlier English authors who failed to compose the sort of histories that would do justice to:

the noble triumphes, chivalrous feates, valiant actes, victorious battailes,
& other noble Jestes of this realme, & in especiall of our tyme knowlege,
of this moste valiant and goodly prince, it should appere muche more
honorable, then any other stories.²⁸⁹

For Hall, the high point of Henry's kingship was the first years of his reign, when he depicted his monarch's martial ferocity, athletic prowess, courtly grace and magnificent person. Hall shaped his treatment of Henry's reign into a narrative centred on the king, his court, and his wars and later his power over the English church. It is for this reason that Hall focuses on the events that presented Henry in his most impressive and masculine state: his wars, his

²⁸⁷ Hall, p.508.

²⁸⁸ John Stow, *A Survey of London* (ed.), Charles Lethbridge Kingsford, 2 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1908; repr. 1971).

²⁸⁹ Hall, p.508.

tournaments, his recreations and his grand spectacles. For much of this courtly culture Hall was an eyewitness, which is conveyed through his many excited direct addresses to his contemporary readers.

Thus Hall's account is a crucial source for this thesis. It is apparent from the type of history that Hall produced that there was an audience interested in chivalry. In the thesis I will set Hall's narrative accounts of tournaments alongside the score cheques, to gain a more developed sense of how contemporaries perceived and measured knighthood and manhood in this context.

Having set out the methods that frame this thesis and the sources that are used to support the approach of embodiment, lifecycle and quantifying masculinity, in the following chapters these themes will be explored and arranged around the documentary evidence found in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth century. This examination will begin with the physical aspect of manhood, as it is the purpose of this thesis to argue that a study of masculinity should first start with a discussion of the male body, before extending to cultural and social constructions.

3: The Projection of Masculinity: the anatomy of manhood, armour and sexual performance

The male body was the most immediate indicator of high status manhood in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth century. The body itself enabled masculinity, but it was defined and restricted both by lifecycle and by certain biological and physical characteristics that were deemed to create and signify a manly frame. This chapter explores questions associated with the male body in order to further understand what it meant to be a man in the Middle Ages and early modern periods, answering the research questions: what constituted a masculine body in this period? Was there a specifically *royal* masculine body type? Both Edward IV and Henry VIII in their youth were not only regarded as handsome, but possessed bodies that were physically capable of the joust. However what happened when a man became too old, or was, for other reasons, physically unable to embody this version of masculinity?²⁹⁰ This chapter is structured around the lifecycle of manhood as different ages of man affected the presentation and performance of masculinity, which was central to the knightly ideal embodied by Edward and Henry. This following discussion explores how far men who sought to embody a specifically chivalrous form of manhood, were able to consciously maintain and project the ideal body, and the extent to which this was a conscious undertaking.

²⁹⁰ *Richard III: The New Evidence* (2014) [TV broadcast]. Channel 4. 17 August. The results of a Channel 4 documentary highlighted that Richard III's scoliosis did not prevent him from fulfilling his role as a warrior. I will discuss in this chapter how in spite of these results that Richard's body did in fact prevent him from competing in the tournament.

Edward's brothers George and Richard, both in physique and in appearance, presented a reduced reflection of their massive and debonair brother. George and Richard's inability to embody the knightly ideal brought further disparities with their older brother as neither participated in tournaments. Edward also proved his manhood through the production of sons, both legitimate and illegitimate, which was the clearest indicator of a man's potency and fertility. In this section I also make comparisons to Henry VIII who struggled to produce a male heir, unlike his group of manly jousting companions, who were able to demonstrate their manliness both in and outside of the tiltyard. This beginning section also examines the lifecycle of those men who dominated the jousts during Henry VIII's reign in order to highlight that the performance of masculinity was not necessarily constricted by age, but by men's ability.

In order to fully explore the nature and dimensions of the chivalrous male body in the second section of this chapter, I use Henry's tournament armour to inform my discussion of lifecycle and the king's evolving manhood. I will also use the portraits of Henry in order to examine his changing shape and bodily characteristics, such as facial hair and the prominence of the phallus that symbolised a more mature image of manhood. I also include a significant visual depiction of Henry's jousting companion Nicholas Carew who was the only courtier of the king to be depicted in tournament armour. Using armour as a means to explore embodied masculinity is a valuable approach because it gives us a clear idea of the dimensions of actual bodies, whereas texts can only tell us in general terms what bodies were supposed to be like, not how they actually were.

In the third section the focus is on men in the youthful phase of manhood who possessed a knightly body, one that had the height and stature to enable success in the tiltyard. This section highlights that it required a lot of hard work and training to prepare the body for jousting and to master those skills that were specific to this style of fighting. In order to gain these skills, those men who had already achieved them trained others. The rewards of this training and hard work could be considerable. For Brandon in particular, I argue that it was his performances in the tiltyard, which made him attractive to Mary Tudor, whilst the status and honour he gained from jousting, made the match appropriate.

3.1: Body Matters: Masculinity in the Tiltyard

That the body itself was recognised as a powerful marker of masculinity derives from the widespread contemporary understanding of gender as an innate product of biology. Neal argues that a man's body conveyed masculinity both to society and to the self.²⁹¹ While some aspects of such a body (height) were a matter of biology, others (such as strength or agility) could be improved through training, though arguably, the most crucial validation of manhood was found in producing a male heir. Though medically speaking women were generally blamed if a child was not male, which derived from ideas about the importance of conditions in the womb. For example babies on the right, warmer side of the uterus would be more fully perfected.²⁹² There was an assumption that the ideal male body would also be a sexually potent one and these qualities were deemed to be hereditary. Thus a key measure of manhood was the ability to procreate and pass these qualities on to the next generation. Foyster argues that fatherhood was important to men in the early modern period as perceptions of impotency affected their social standing and reputation.²⁹³ It is noteworthy that although Henry and Brandon's masculinity was dominant in the tiltyard, they both struggled to produce strong male heirs who would survive past infancy to continue their dynasties. This in part may explain why Henry and Brandon continued to joust into their middling years of manhood as it provided them with an arena to demonstrate the manhood that appeared to be lacking in other areas of their lives.

²⁹¹ Neal, *Masculine Self in Late Medieval England*, p.125.

²⁹² Helen M. Jewell, *Women in Dark Age and Early Medieval Europe c.500-c.1200* (Palgrave MacMillan: London, 2007), p.40.

²⁹³ Foyster, *Manhood in Early Modern England*, pp. 3-10 especially chapter 1 'Discovering Manhood' in which she argues that amongst men there was a shared belief in the importance of a worthy sexual reputation which, unlike other non-sexual components of male honour, cut across traditional class differences.

3.1.2: Sizing up the Sons of York

Matthew Bennett has highlighted that a noble warrior's physique should be that of a horseman: 'broad shouldered slender at the waist and with a good forcheure (long legs, well joined at the pelvis)'.²⁹⁴ The significance of Bennett's quotation is that a man has to be born with the right sort of body in order to be a knight. Edward IV was fortunate to be endowed with a tall and broad stature that rendered him visibly and undeniably manly. At the opening of Edward IV's first parliament on 12 November 1461, the speaker of the Commons addressed the king, praising his 'beauty of person' a description that was evidently not mere flattery.²⁹⁵ This was expanded on by the chroniclers of the age, who all remarked on his impressive height and handsome appearance, characteristics that qualified Edward to be viewed as the archetypal king of the Middle Ages. The Croyland chronicle portrayed Edward as 'in the flower of his age, tall of stature, elegant of person'.²⁹⁶ Gabriel Tetzels description in 1466 confirmed that 'the King is a very handsome upright man'.²⁹⁷ Polydore Vergil depicted Edward as 'taule of stature, slender of body'.²⁹⁸ Even his harshest contemporary critic, Philippe de Commynes, who met him twice, remarked on his fine appearance several times: 'he was young and more handsome than any man then alive'.²⁹⁹ His modern biographer Ross drew the comparison to Edward IV's great grandfather, Edward III, from

²⁹⁴ Matthew Bennett, 'Military Masculinity in England and Northern France 1050-1225', in D. Hadley (ed.), *Masculinity in Medieval Europe*, pp. 71-89. Even though Bennett discusses texts from the twelfth century the same standards were clearly applicable across the Middle Ages and into the Early Modern period.

²⁹⁵ 'Edward IV: November 1461,' in *Parliament Rolls of Medieval England*, (eds.), Chris Given-Wilson, Paul Brand, Seymour Phillips, Mark Ormrod, Geoffrey Martin, Anne Curry and Rosemary Horrox (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2005) <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/no-series/parliament-rolls-medieval/november-1461> [Accessed 31 October 2015].

²⁹⁶ *Ingulph's Chronicle of the Abbey of Croyland* (trans.), H. T. Riley (London, 1854).

²⁹⁷ Alec Myres (ed.) *English Historical Documents Volume IV: 1327-1485* (New York: New York Press, 1969), p.1168.

²⁹⁸ Polydore Vergil, *Three Books of Polydore Vergil's English History* (ed.), H. Ellis (London: Camden Society, 1844), p.156.

²⁹⁹ Commynes, *Memoirs*, p.188.

whom he apparently inherited the full Plantagenet characteristics of great height and good looks.³⁰⁰

It is evident that even before his accession at the age of eighteen Edward's handsome appearance attracted the attention of several women, thus his womanising was an aspect of both his youth and virility. Edward was the first king since Edward III to have fathered illegitimate children.³⁰¹ Edward's very physique supported his claim to be king as it qualified him to restore the prestige of monarchy, as, unlike his predecessor Henry VI, he looked like a medieval king should.

The bones of Edward IV indicate that he was 6ft 4in.³⁰² His grandson Henry VIII was also extremely tall by contemporary standards at 6ft 2in, it is remarkable that there has been a lack of study surrounding the average size dimensions of men's bodies in this

³⁰⁰ Ross, *Edward IV*, p.10.

³⁰¹ Elizabeth Lucy was the long-standing mistress of Edward and fathered several children by him, including Arthur Plantagenet, 1st Viscount Lisle. Gardiner, *History of the life and reign of Richard III, to which is added the story of Perkin Warbeck: from original documents* can be found online at *Archive.org* <https://archive.org/stream/historyofliferei00gairuoft/historyofliferei00gairuoft_djvu.txt> [Accessed 23 March 2016]. On p.92 Gardiner describes Elizabeth Lucy as 'a courtesan of obscure birth' to 'whom Edward was first betrothed'. Thomas More, 'The History of King Richard the Third', available online at *Richard III Society* <<http://www.r3.org/on-line-library-text-essays/marius-richard-the-history-of-king-richard-iii/thomas-more-index/the-history-of-king-richard-the-third-sir-thomas-more/>> [Accessed 23 March 2016]. More presents Elizabeth as being seduced by the king, 'if it had not ben for such kind wordes, she would never have shewed such kindenes to him, to let him so kindly get her with childe'. It is apparent that in Hall, p.376 he recognises her standing with Edward referring to her as 'Dame Elizabeth Lucy, whom the kynge not longe before had gotten with chylde'. The naming of her son Arthur Plantagenet and his ultimate promotion implies a recognised liaison with Edward IV see David Grummitt, 'Plantagenet, Arthur, Viscount Lisle (b. before 1472, d. 1542)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Jan 2008) <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/22355>> [Accessed 23 March 2016].

³⁰² Grey Friars Research Team, *The Bones of a King: Richard III Rediscovered*, p.130 when the antiquaries who found Edward's remains in 1789 in St George's Chapel in Windsor stretched out his bones and measured them, they estimated his height at just over 6ft 3in.

period.³⁰³ One notable exception is Alex Werner's research that has used skeletal evidence from Londoners to determine the average height of men and women based on measured long bone lengths. Werner's results highlight that the average height of men was 5ft 7 ½in in the Tudor and Stuart period.³⁰⁴ Edward and Henry were thus well above the average height of a male in this period.

It is noteworthy that Edward's brothers did not compete alongside him in the tiltyard, despite the fact that both were accomplished military leaders. While Richard, Duke of Gloucester showed a great interest in warfare, he did not compete in tournaments. Hicks has even defined Richard as 'an unusual chivalric hero that never jousted'.³⁰⁵ However the fact that Richard's reign was so short and taken up with maintaining power does explain why he did not hold any tournaments as king. Still that Richard never took part in the jousts held by his brother Edward is certainly revealing. This may be because Richard did not meet the bodily requirements for jousting. Following the recent discovery of Richard III's skeleton the Greyfriars research team have calculated that: 'without the twisted spine, he would have stood at around 5ft 8in (1.7m) in line with the medieval average of 1.71m'.³⁰⁶

³⁰³ I will return to these measurements when discussing Henry VIII's armour p.152.

³⁰⁴ Alex Werner, *London Bodies: Changing Shape of Londoners from Prehistoric Times to the Present Day* (London: Museum of London, 1998), p.108

³⁰⁵ Michael A. Hicks, *Richard III* (Gloucestershire: Tempus Publishing, 2003), p.100.

³⁰⁶ Grey Friars Research Team, Maev Kennedy, Greyfriars Research Team, Lin Foxhall, *The Bones of a King: Richard III Rediscovered* (University of Leicester: Wiley Blackwell, 2015), p.73. Not all historians accept that the skeleton is definitely Richard's. Hicks among others have questioned this. See Dominic Selwood, 'Richard III: We're burying the wrong body', *The Telegraph* (March 2015) online at <<http://www.telegraph.co.uk/history/11484859/Richard-III-Were-burying-the-wrong-body.html>> [Accessed 3 November 2016].

However, the scoliosis would have reduced his apparent height significantly, making him slightly shorter than the average man in the medieval period by at 5ft 6in.³⁰⁷

It is significant that George, Duke of Clarence did not compete in tournaments either. This suggests that, like Richard, he may, not have presented the specific body type that was required for jousting. Contemporary evidence suggests that both Richard and George were rather shorter than Edward. John Ashdown-Hill examining contemporary accounts from Burgundian observers, who encountered Richard and George in April 1461, when they were in exile in the Low Countries identifies errors made in estimating their ages. Ashdown-Hill quotes the chronicler Jehan de Wavrin who having seen the two young Yorkist princes, guessed their ages as nine and eight respectively.³⁰⁸ In fact the princes were 12 and 9 years old. Another observer made the same mistake as de Wavrin estimating George and Richard to be only a year apart in age, rather than three years on account of their similar heights. The Milanese Ambassador to the French court Prospero Camuilo, writing to Francesco Sforza, Duke of Milan on the 18 April 1461 wrote: 'the two brothers of King Edward have arrived, one eleven and the other twelve years of age'.³⁰⁹ As a result, Ashdown-Hill argues that based on the modern average height measurements for boys (that have not changed much since the medieval period): 'in the spring of 1461 George was some five inches below the height expected for a boy of his age, and may have been only an inch

³⁰⁷ Grey Friars Research Team, *The Bones of a King*, p.73.

³⁰⁸ Jehan de Wavrin wrote: 'le roy Edouard avoit deux jennes freres, lun eage de neuf ans et lautre de huit ans' quoted in John Ashdown-Hill, *The Third Plantagenet: George, Duke of Clarence, Richard III's Brother* (Gloucestershire: The History Press, 2014), p.64.

³⁰⁹ 'Milan: 1461', in *Calendar of State Papers and Manuscripts in the Archives and Collections of Milan 1385-1618*, ed. Allen B Hinds (London, 1912), pp. 37-106 *British History Online* <<http://www.british-history.ac.uk/cal-state-papers/milan/1385-1618/pp37-106>> [Accessed 18 March 2016].

or two taller than his younger brother, Richard'.³¹⁰ Ashdown-Hill further suggests that George's height was between 5ft 3in and 5ft 4in at the time of his death in 1478 when he was twenty-eight years old.³¹¹ Thus it seems that there was a correlation between stature and jousting ability, as Edward and Henry were both known to be above the average height for a man in this period and both competed in tournaments. It is apparent that there is still much work to be done in this area as McCormack identifies that: 'height is rarely taken seriously by historians'.³¹² Hence by including height into my discussion of physical ideals of manliness, it is clear that this work is helping to progress the current historiography on embodied manhood.

We know that both Richard and George did fight in battles, so their height and possible other disabilities, in the case of Richard, did not preclude them from martial activities. In trying to understand why both did not compete in tournaments it may also have something to do with the weight of jousting armour that was much thicker and heavier than battle armour.³¹³ It suggests that only the strongest men could compete in jousting contests, but on the battlefield lighter armour meant that men did not need to be as strong and as agile to wear it. It may be that for, Edward, his brothers being unable to compete in the tournament was beneficial to his kingship, as it meant that neither of them could challenge his manhood in that arena and served to emphasise his superior physique.

³¹⁰ Ashdown-Hill, *The Third Plantagenet: George, Duke of Clarence*, pp. 185-191 case study reveals that the modern average height for a boy of 9 is 4ft 6in, thus he concludes that George may have been 4 or 5ins below the average height for his age.

³¹¹ *Ibid*, p.92 produces a graph detailing the growth rates of two modern boys, which approximately correspond to the apparent growth rates of Richard III and George, Duke of Clarence.

³¹² McCormack, 'Tall Histories: Height and Georgian Masculinities', 79-101.

³¹³ Evidence for the weight of armour pp. 146-147.

3.1.3: The Sexual Performance of Manhood

One of the crucial benchmarks of masculinity in this period was the ability to father sons and this relates to perceptions about the superiority of the male. It was essential to the image of their virility that males demonstrated their potency through the production of a male heir. The writings of Aristotle, who profoundly shaped medieval scholarship, claimed that in all human reproduction, it is the semen of the male that is the active agent in producing conception and which gives form to the foetal material.³¹⁴ Although women were generally blamed if a child was not male, the sex of a baby also had implications for the virility of the father. Drawing on the views of Aristotle, the thirteenth century medieval scholar Albert Magnus argued that female children were the product of poorly digested and weak semen; a woman was in a sense a deficient man.³¹⁵ The creation of a female thus represented a defect in reproduction as the female state was represented as a deformity. Magnus' understanding of conception developed Aristotle's view as it was not just the active role of semen that made the man dominant, it was also his ability to prove the superiority of his sperm through a male child being conceived.³¹⁶ Strong male sperm was seen to reproduce in another the characteristics and sex of the male from whom it came. The superiority of the male sperm was then essential to the representation of manhood.

³¹⁴ The Aristotelian view of sex determination emphasized the relative vigour of the male seed and intractability of the female material, as quoted in Joan Cadden, *Meanings of Sex Difference in the Middle Ages: Medicine, Science and Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press: 1993), p.254.

³¹⁵ Albertus Magnus, 'Quaestiones de animalibus', quoted in Cadden, *Meanings of Sex Difference in the Middle Ages: Medicine, Science and Culture*, p.250.

³¹⁶ Alcuin Blamires, *Woman Defamed and Woman Defended* (3rd edn., Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), pp. 39-41.

Henry now in his thirties would be expected to have fathered several children, but his only surviving child and heiress was Mary, who in 1525 was only nine years of age.³¹⁷ Admittedly it took Edward IV six years of marriage to produce a male heir, Prince Edward.³¹⁸ Yet unlike Henry VIII, he and Elizabeth had already produced three healthy daughters and there is no evidence that his potency was a matter of concern. Moreover he subsequently fathered more children, including another son, Richard and a number of illegitimate children.³¹⁹ In this way Edward was able to both confirm his virility and secure the Yorkist dynasty with little difficulty. In contrast, Henry's protracted struggle to father healthy children, let alone give England an heir has been well documented.

Shortly after the great tournament held in 1511 at Westminster to honour the birth of his first son, Henry, Prince of Wales the baby died, to the grief of his parents.³²⁰ Catherine's last recorded pregnancy was in April 1518. Catherine's Chamberlain gave the news in confidence to Wolsey's court agent, the royal secretary Richard Pace. Pace added his own hopes: 'prays God heartily it may be a prince, to the surety and universal comfort of the realm'.³²¹ According to Scarisbrick, Catherine had 'several miscarriages, three infants who were either stillborn, or died immediately after birth (two of them males), two infants

³¹⁷ Ann Weikel, 'Mary I (1516–1558)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Jan 2008) <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/18245>> [Accessed 28 November 2016].

³¹⁸ Rosemary Horrox, 'Edward V (1470–1483)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Sept 2013) <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/8521>> [Accessed 28 November 2016].

³¹⁹ Rosemary Horrox, 'Richard, duke of York and duke of Norfolk (1473–1483)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2004) <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/23504>> [Accessed 28 November 2016].

³²⁰ I focus on the 1511 Westminster tournament in the next chapter pp. 270–340.

³²¹ LP II no. 4074.

who died within a few weeks of birth (one of them a boy) and one girl, Princess Mary'.³²²

Davis has cited Catherine's last delivery as a stillborn daughter on 9-10 November 1518.³²³

Thus Catherine failed in her main duty as queen, which was to produce a male heir- but this clearly also had implications for perceptions of Henry's virility too.

It was within this climate that Henry looked to his only living son as a means to mark his manhood and to secure his dynasty. Though a bastard, Henry Fitzroy, born in 1519, was acknowledged by Henry as a marker of his fertility and virility (specifically his ability to father sons) at a point when he had yet to produce a legitimate royal heir.³²⁴ He was given the name Henry after his royal father and the surname Fitzroy to make sure that all knew he was the son of the king. Henry appointed Thomas Howard, Earl of Surrey who was three years older than Fitzroy to be his companion.³²⁵ Having received a noble upbringing Surrey, was already a fine horseman, a gifted linguist and talented poet, thus he offered a more rounded example of high status manhood. It is worth noting that Henry also had a genuine love of letters and learning and a passion for the arts.³²⁶ It is evident why Henry considered Surrey a perfect role model for his son as he exemplified a model of manhood that the king

³²² Scarisbrick, *Henry VIII*, p.150.

³²³ Clifford S. L. Davies and John Edwards, 'Katherine (1485–1536)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, May 2011) <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/4891>> [Accessed 23 February 2016].

³²⁴ For an examination of Fitzroy's life in full see Beverley Murphy, *Bastard Prince: Henry VIII's Lost Son* (Stroud: The History Press, 2001), Beverley A. Murphy, 'Fitzroy, Henry, duke of Richmond and Somerset (1519–1536)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Jan 2008) <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/9635>> [Accessed 4 November 2016].

³²⁵ Susan Brigden, 'Howard, Henry, earl of Surrey (1516/17–1547)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Jan 2008) <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/13905>> [Accessed 15 June 2016].

³²⁶ It is worth noting that Henry VIII also wrote poetry and music. Most famously Henry wrote 'Pastime with good company' see BL Add MS. 31922, ff14v-15r.

encouraged, much in the same way that Woodville's expertise in the literary world and in the tiltyard made him the best candidate to tutor Prince Edward.³²⁷

While Fitzroy's christening has not been recorded, his elevation ceremony to the peerage on 18 June 1525 appears in British Library Add MS. 6113, which records the creations of royal and noble personages at the English court.³²⁸ Fitzroy was created Earl of Nottingham and on the same day given the unprecedented honour of a double dukedom as Duke of Richmond and Somerset.³²⁹ It was the first time since the twelfth century that an illegitimate royal son had been raised to the peerage.³³⁰ Duke of Richmond was an important title because Fitzroy's grandfather Henry VII and his great-grandfather Edmund Tudor, first Earl of Richmond, had held it. Perhaps at this stage of his reign, when Henry still had only a daughter, he toyed with the idea of designating his illegitimate son as heir. One final honour that Henry bestowed on Fitzroy was the Order of the Garter on the 25 June 1525.³³¹ This promotion was an expression of the hopes that Henry must have entertained about the future exploits of his six-year-old son, and it served to confirm his own dominant masculinity.

³²⁷ Refer back to the previous chapter where I highlighted Woodville's role in teaching the young Prince Edward in the art of chivalry and good governance p.82.

³²⁸ BL Add MS. 6113, ff65v-66v.

³²⁹ *LP* IV no. 1431.

³³⁰ King Richard I in 1196, when he married Ela, the daughter and heir of William Fitzpatrick, Earl of Salisbury, made William Longspee illegitimate son of Henry II, Earl of Salisbury.

³³¹ Appendix seven lists the Knights of the Garter made in Henry VIII's reign.

Those men who made up Henry's intimate circle of jousting companions in the early years of his reign had, by the 1520s, mostly produced sons. Edward Neville and Henry Norris had each fathered two sons, and Thomas Grey had one son.³³² Though Brandon, who was most celebrated as embodying the chivalric masculine ideal, noticeably struggled like Henry to produce male heirs. Brandon's first marriage to Margaret Mortimer had produced no children and his second marriage in 1508 to Anne Browne had produced only two daughters.³³³ In his third marriage to Mary Tudor, by whom he had two daughters and two sons, both sons died young. Finally in his fourth marriage in 1533 to Catherine Willoughby, he had another two sons, both of whom died young of the sweating sickness. Brandon had then failed to produce a strong male line to secure his dynasty.³³⁴ Although it must be noted that Brandon's lack of sons did not threaten his position at court, which reminds us that virility was only one dimension of his identity as a man.

Brandon's first son through his marriage to Mary was Henry, Earl of Lincoln, who was born on the 11 March 1515 and christened a few days later.³³⁵ The potential dynastic significance of Brandon's children with Mary is made evident through the manuscripts that have recorded Henry Brandon's lavish christening ceremony and the number of honours that marked his birth.³³⁶ In the British Library, two separate volumes contain the ceremonial for Henry Brandon: British Library Add MS. 6113 and Egerton MS. 985. To begin with, in Egerton MS. 985, it is the king who is shown to confer on Brandon's son his own name, 'King

³³² For a list of Henry's jousting fraternity, see table 1 p.138.

³³³ See ODNB entry for Charles Brandon's offspring.

³³⁴ Although ironically, it was his granddaughter Jane from his marriage to Mary, who actually ended up challenging for the English throne.

³³⁵ BL Egerton MS. 985, ff63v-64r.

³³⁶ BL Add MS. 6113, f117v-119v and BL Egerton MS. 985, ff61v-63r.

highnes gave the name Henrie'.³³⁷ Henry was made the child's godfather. It was common practice that fathers would often name their sons after the king during this period, but having the king name a child has a rather different emphasis. At this stage in his kingship Henry did not have a legitimate male heir and perhaps there is a sense that he was styling Brandon's son to be a potential heir, if he was unable to father a son of his own. Furthermore Thomas Wolsey, who was at the time the most powerful man at court after the king, controlling virtually all matters of state and who had recently been made a cardinal, also stood as godfather to Brandon's son.³³⁸ The manuscript lists, 'the kinge highnes, the lord cardinall- godfathers'.³³⁹ A final honour conferred on Brandon's son was the title of Earl of Lincoln.³⁴⁰ Henry Brandon could have been royal heir presumptive, but he died young in 1522.³⁴¹ This status derived from the identity of Henry Brandon's mother of course. But it was also enhanced by Charles Brandon's reputation for chivalrous manhood in the tiltyard and the belief that his son would inherit these same attributes.³⁴²

³³⁷ BL Egerton MS. 985, f62v and Add MS. 6113, f18v.

³³⁸ Sybil M. Jack, 'Wolsey, Thomas (1470/71–1530)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Jan 2012) <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/29854>> [Accessed 28 November 2016], Peter J. Gwyn, *The King's Cardinal: The Rise and Fall of Thomas Wolsey* (London: Random House, 2002).

³³⁹ BL Egerton MS. 985, f63r.

³⁴⁰ BL Egerton MS. 985, f61v.

³⁴¹ Maria Perry, *The Sisters of Henry VIII: The Tumultuous Lives of Margaret of Scotland and Mary of France* (Cambridge: Da Capo Press, 2000), p.154 he and his younger brother are often mistakenly thought to be the same person, both died as children, both bore the same name, and were made Earl of Lincoln.

³⁴² I will say more about the marital union between Mary and Brandon below see pp. 257-269.

3.1.4: The Ages of Man

Masculinity in the later Middle Ages and Early Modern periods was not just seen as a product of biology but also characterised in humoral, social and moral terms.³⁴³ Two different approaches were used to explore the theory and reality of ageing in the medieval period: one being medical ideas that drew on classical humoral theory rooted in the works of Aristotle and Galen, and another being the ages of man model that presented the affinities between stages of the human life. Together these classical models presented a coherent system that detailed certain life stages that were linked to humoral characteristics. Classical theory dictated that the human body was made up of four basic elements that also made up the universe: fire, water, earth and air. The four qualities were hot, cold, moist and dry and lay at the foundation of a system of four elements, four humors and four temperaments: the element fire, primarily hot and secondarily dry was dominant in the yellow bile; earth, especially dry and secondarily cold, was dominant in the black bile; water, primarily cold and secondarily moist, was dominant in the phlegm; air, primarily moist and secondarily warm, was dominant in the blood.³⁴⁴ A good balance of humors was required for good health in each individual, but it was believed that these substances fluctuated in the body according to age and sex.³⁴⁵ The crucial variable in the humoral balance was heat, which was understood to create sexual difference: males were considered to be hot and dry, in contrast to females who were cold and wet. Over the life course it is apparent that males became colder and wetter in old age, and females gradually became drier.

³⁴³ Cadden, *The Meanings of Sex Difference in the Middle Ages*, p.2.

³⁴⁴ *Ibid*, p.184.

³⁴⁵ Carol Rawcliffe, *Medicine and Society in Later Medieval England* (Stroud: Sutton Publishing, 1997), p.33.

This is highlighted in the 'Ages of Man' model that divided the human life span into distinct periods, each marked by its own physical characteristics. Medieval and Renaissance thinkers developed competing models with varying numbers of segments, ordinarily four, six, or seven.³⁴⁶ For example Thomas Elyot's medical handbook *The Castel of Helth* (1540) lists the ages of man as follows:

Adolelency to. XXV. yeres, hotte and moyst, in the whiche tym the body groweth. Juventute unto. XL. yeres, hotte and drye, wherin the body is in perfyte growthe. Senectute, unto. LX. yeres, colde and drie, wherin the bodye beginneth to decreace. Age decrepite, until the last time of lyfe, accidently moist, but naturally cold and dry, wherein the powers and strength of the body be more and more minished.³⁴⁷

In Elyot's four-stage scheme: 'adolescence' to age 25, 'juventute' from 25 to 40, 'senectute' from 40-60 and 'age decrepit' from 60 to death. Here 'juventute' is, as was common, presented as the peak of a man's lifecycle, the stage at which the body reached its most perfect state.³⁴⁸ It is significant that the manly image 'juvente' only lasted 15 years before the onset of old age brought diminished capacities and reduced masculine status. In addition to the decline of age it signalled a feminisation as classical theory characterised men's bodies as 'hotte' and 'dry', thus those men at the end of the lifecycle represented a more feminised body.

³⁴⁶ P. J. P. Goldberg, 'Life and Death of the Ages of Man', in *A Social History of England, 1200-1500* (eds.), R. Horrox, M. Ormrod (Cambridge University Press: Cambridge, 2006), pp. 413-535.

³⁴⁷ Elyot, *The Castel of Helth*, p.13.

³⁴⁸ Shepard, *Meanings of Manhood*, p.9.

According to Elyot's description old age started as early as forty. It is thus perhaps significant that Brandon appears to have retired from the tiltyard when he was exactly forty in 1524. Although it is important to note that theories such as Elyot's were not necessarily followed in practice. Instead of having absolute meanings Dunlop explains how individual schemes of the Ages repeatedly reconstruct the period of youth according to their own internal logic.³⁴⁹ Dunlop suggests that: 'these concepts sometimes have only a tenuous connection to the reality of men's lives and men's bodies'.³⁵⁰ For example, if a man continued to be strong and vigorous he might continue to joust beyond forty as the table below demonstrates. Looking at this list, the health and capabilities of the individual were clearly crucial factors in determining age of retirement, not theories about when old age began.³⁵¹ As Burrows has concluded: 'anyone who goes to medieval discussions of the Ages of Man with the intention of ascertaining at what age youth was thought to end, or old age to begin, will find no easy answers.'³⁵² But it is, nonetheless, noteworthy that most men did retire from jousting in their thirties or very early forties. Henry Norris was one of the few men to continue jousting beyond the age of forty, right up until he was fifty-four, making him one of the oldest jousting on record.³⁵³ Norris is also listed on the table as starting very late at thirty-seven. He is not recorded as jousting before this date but he probably did.

³⁴⁹ Dunlop, *The Late Medieval Interlude*, p.13.

³⁵⁰ *Ibid*, p.13.

³⁵¹ Toby Capwell, Arms and Armour Curator of the Wallace collection in London, and a modern jousting tells me that he retired from jousting when he was forty-two years old due to family commitments and not having time to rigorously train. Personal communication.

³⁵² J. A. Burrows, *The Ages of Man: A Study in Medieval Writing and Thought* (New York: Oxford, University Press, 1986).

³⁵³ Eric W. Ives, 'Norris, Henry (*b.* before 1500, *d.* 1536)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, (Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, May 2009) <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/20271>> [Accessed 28 November 2016] I will say more about Norris' career and relationship to the king in the final chapter pp. 383-389.

Names of jousting men in the reign of Henry VIII	Ages in their first recorded tournament	Ages in their last recorded tournament	Reason for stopping jousting
Henry Bourchier (1472-1540)	22	45	Retired from the tiltyard supplanted by younger favourites.
Charles Brandon (c.1484-1545)	17	40	Appears to have simply retired from the tiltyard due to age and perhaps also through fear of hurting the king after their jousting collision on 10 March 1524.
Francis Bryan (c.1490-1550)	26	36	Lost an eye in a jousting accident at a tournament in Greenwich on Shrove Tuesday in 1526 forcing him to retire from jousting.
Giles Capel (c.1455-1556)	21	34	Appears to end his jousting career at the Field of Cloth of Gold in 1520 for reasons unknown.
Nicholas Carew (c.1469-1539)	20	31	Exited the tiltyard following a tournament held at Greenwich in 1527; the last major tournament at Henry's court in the 1520s before the subsequent decline of them at court for several years.
William Compton (c.1482-1528)	27	28	No evidence to suggest he continues jousting after this age , he almost died against Neville at the Richmond tournament in 1510.
William Courtenay (1475-1511)	26	36	He died on 9 June 1511 of pleurisy a few months after his performance in the 1511 Westminster tournament held on 12 and 13 February.
Thomas Grey (1477-1530)	24	43	Exited the tiltyard following his final appearance at the Field of Cloth of Gold in 1520.
Edward Neville (1471-1538)	27	38	Retires from the tiltyard fell out of favour with Henry due to his close kinship with the Poles and Courtenays, through marriages, which proved his eventual undoing in 1538.
Henry Norris (c.1482-1536)	37	54	Beheaded by Henry VIII shortly after the May Day tournament at Greenwich in 1536, but it is notable that at this age he still led the team of Answerers.
Thomas Knyvet (c.1485-1512)	24	26	Died at age twenty-six at the battle of St. Mathieu on 10 August 1512.
Edward Stafford (1478-1521)	23	31	Executed on Tower hill on 17 May 1521.
Henry Stafford (c.1479-1523)	22	41	Retired from the tiltyard and died three years later.

Table 1. Ages of prominent jousters in the reign of Henry VIII.

Henry was also no longer a frequent participator in the lists by the late 1520s. This could have been a product of his age, but during this period he was too likely preoccupied to joust, trying to secure a divorce from his first wife Catherine of Aragon in the hope of marrying Anne Boleyn and producing a male heir.³⁵⁴ Certainly, it was only on significant occasions that Henry now ran, such as in 1527 at Greenwich and when he did compete Gunn notes that it was Henry Courtenay, first Marquis of Exeter, who replaced Brandon as Henry's main opponent in the lists.³⁵⁵ But it is notable that in the 1530s Henry returned to the tiltyard, and it seems no coincidence that this is the period when Anne Boleyn was in the ascendancy (eventually becoming his wife and queen in 1533), which gave promise of a male heir.³⁵⁶ And, in addition, there was a fresh group of up and coming male courtiers. Henry was now competing alongside younger men such as Francis Bryan and Nicholas Carew.³⁵⁷ Henry retired from the tiltyard in 1536 when he was forty-five, following an accident that left his body severely wounded.³⁵⁸ It may well be that Henry continued to joust into his forties to convey the impression that he was still a young and virile man, in the absence of sons.

³⁵⁴ For details on Henry's divorce see Bernard, *The King's Reformation: Henry VIII and the Remaking of the English Church*.

³⁵⁵ Gunn, *Charles Brandon: Henry VIII's Closest Friend*, p.48.

³⁵⁶ Eric W. Ives, 'Anne (c.1500–1536)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2004) <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/557>> [Accessed 28 November 2016] I will discuss the historiography surrounding Anne in great detail in the final chapter of the thesis pp. 378-382.

³⁵⁷ I will talk about the lifecycle of these men in the final chapter pp. 365-375.

³⁵⁸ For a later discussion on Henry's accident see pp. 378-382.

3.2: Symbols of the Ideal Male Body

Henry's changing physique is best examined through his surviving armour, which reflects the king's differing stages of lifecycle. We can be confident that some suits of armour definitely belonged to Henry, but the identification is more tentative in other cases. Although armour could be somewhat modified to give an impressive appearance, it was bespoke for individuals, and its practical function meant that it had to fit its owner closely, thus it does tell us something about what real men's bodies were like. In this section I will illustrate that armour can be used to give an impression of the male body, as parts of a knight's suit such as the "greaves", which protected the lower leg were made to fit exact, thus illustrating the size of men's calves. Although it is also true that other parts of a knight's armour could be slightly altered such as the breastplate, which could be adjusted depending if the knight wanted a tight or looser fit. Arguably Henry's suits of armour are still the best material source for a study on embodiment as at least parts of the armour garniture do convey a close approximation of his actual body size. Other parts of Henry's armour were clearly not just functional, but decorative such as his largely oversized codpieces that symbolised a more performed masculine identity. In this sense Henry's armour is an essential source for this thesis as it aids a discussion of both embodiment and masculinity that is culturally and socially shaped.

3.2.1: The Armoured Body

Springer's study has decoded Renaissance armour in Italy, but it is apparent that there is still a notable gap in the literature on the function of armour as a signifier of masculinity.³⁵⁹ The leading authority on arms and armour was Claude Blair who, writing over fifty years ago, set the foundation of arms and armour scholarship.³⁶⁰ More recently David Edge and John Miles Paddock's illustrated history of arms and armour began with the early development of weaponry and the origins of the knight and ended with the full flowering of arms, armour and tournaments in the sixteenth century.³⁶¹ Tobias Capwell produced a catalogue of different types of armour in Glasgow museums that focused on aspects of life such as hunting and jousting rather than period or country.³⁶² In addition, as a champion jousting himself, Capwell provides a unique insight into how wearable and essential specialised tournament armour was in a way that other non-jousting scholars can only imagine.

It was not until Springer's study that the literature on armour moved beyond a technical critique of all the various component parts and started to take a gendered approach to the analysis of arms and armour. The premise of Springer's argument is that Italian nobles in the sixteenth century expressed anxieties about the body and masculine authority that were combated by the commissioning of elaborate and decorative parade armour. Parade armour, Springer argues, 'was a forceful symbolic assertion of legitimacy,

³⁵⁹ Springer, *Armour and Masculinity in the Italian Renaissance*, pp. 25-73.

³⁶⁰ Claude Blair, *European Armour: circa 1066 to circa 1700* (London: Batsford, 1958).

³⁶¹ Edge and Paddock, *Arms and Armor of the Medieval Knight*, p.137.

³⁶² Capwell, *The Real Fighting Stuff*, p.105.

but also signalled anxiety over maintaining that position of dominance'.³⁶³ It is apparent that this was the case with Henry's armour as he got older, he used armour to emphasise his manliness, at a time when he was anxious about his standing as a man. Especially given that he had only one son, and was advancing in both age and size.

In particular, the development of a new style of armour known as 'grotesque amour' in the early sixteenth century, that took the form of human and animal masks, signalled this performative aspect of masculinity. An early example of this is the "horned helmet" that originally formed part of the court armour of Holy Roman Emperor Maximilian I in 1514, made by the greatest armourer in Europe, Konrad Seusenhofer of Innsbruck.³⁶⁴ Its incredible mask, hooked nose, grinning mouth, brass spectacles and ram's horns, on a helmet to be worn by the king, is reflective of the theatrical aspect of chivalry and was clearly intended for a pageant, or masque rather than for combat (see Figure 12).

Decorative armour for Blair was 'symptomatic of the beginning of the decline of armour as a thing of practical use', as these armours were designed chiefly for parade not for protection in battle.³⁶⁵ It is apparent that armour as well as revealing the shape of men's bodies also served an important performative function in being used as a device to emphasise potency such as with the oversized codpieces employed by Henry.³⁶⁶

³⁶³ Springer, *Armour and Masculinity in the Italian Renaissance*, p.21.

³⁶⁴ 'The Horned Helmet', *Royal Armouries* can be found online at <<https://www.royalarmouries.org/leeds/leeds-galleries/tournament-gallery/tournament-top-ten/single-object/913>> [Accessed 31 March 2016].

³⁶⁵ Blair, *European Armour: circa 1066 to circa 1700*, p.116.

³⁶⁶ Further discussion of codpieces pp. 185-187.



Fig.12. Horned Helmet by Konrad Seusenhofer c.1511-1514, object number IV.22, Royal Armouries, Leeds.

There have been a number of studies published on Henry VIII's suits of armour; these are the earliest to survive in England.³⁶⁷ A noteworthy contribution within this collection is Thom Richardson's, which examines records that detail armourers from Italy, Flanders and Germany (Almains) at work in Greenwich by 1511, and reviews the armours that survive in the Royal Armouries.³⁶⁸ As far as has been discovered, the Almain workshops were employed for the manufacture of the king's own armour and for those privileged nobles who were given a royal warrant authorising them to have armour made for them that cost them a great deal.³⁶⁹ It is apparent from Richardson's study that just as men's fashion changed in this period in relation to dress, armour also followed trends. During the sixteenth century Richardson identifies that: 'serious production of armour fashions for both male dress and armour changed, and like all the makers of fashionable armour in Europe, the Almains at Greenwich followed it, while retaining their own distinctness'.³⁷⁰ Henry's use of foreign armourers suggests that English armourers were not capable of making armour of the quality required for the king's own use and for his armies. The Greenwich armoury produced superb armour of a standard equal to anything being made in Europe and made for the king, among other things, two suits of foot combat armour in the c.1520s. Although one was never completed, and the other, much larger from the c.1540s are all on display at the Royal Armouries.³⁷¹

³⁶⁷ Graeme Rimer, Thom Richardson, John D. P. Cooper, *Henry VIII: Arms and the Man, 1509-2009* (Leeds: Royal Armouries, 2009).

³⁶⁸ Thom Richardson, 'The Royal Armour Workshops at Greenwich' in G. Rimer, T. Richardson and J. D. P. Cooper (eds.), *Henry VIII: Arms and the Man, 1509-2009*, pp. 1-8. A PDF of the article can also be accessed online at:

<http://www.royalarmouries.org/assets-uploaded/documents/TRichardson_Web.pdf> [Accessed 21 April 2015].

³⁶⁹ Blair, *European Armour: circa 1066 to circa 1700*, p.116.

³⁷⁰ Richardson, 'The Royal Armour Workshops at Greenwich', pp. 1-8.

³⁷¹ I will talk about each of these sets of armour in turn in this section.

A recent unpublished thesis by James Nobukichi recognises that armour in England developed its own design through Henry's ambition to make England an armour-producing nation.³⁷² Nobukichi recognises that armour was a valuable status symbol for Henry with his most spectacular armour being reserved for the tournament in which the king performed feats of arms in front of a vast crowd. In this most recent research it is apparent that armour is becoming more widely recognised in art history, but still has not received attention from historians studying the complexities of gender.

3.2.2: Henry VIII's Lifecycle in Armour

Armour was an essential part of a knight's equipment; whether on the battlefield or in the tiltyard a knight's protection was paramount. The *mêlée* style tournament had closely resembled real warfare, thus there was no need to wear anything other than the armour worn for battle. However the armour for jousting tournaments had to meet other criteria: the first and most important was to safeguard against the dangers particular to this type of martial combat and the second was to enhance the personal image of the knight.³⁷³ War armour provided general protection and was relatively light providing a good level of mobility for the knight, who might need to move quickly for long periods of time, or make a quick escape. In contrast for the joust protection was a priority and other considerations were less important, which serves to emphasise that jousting was certainly not simply a 'game'. To ensure the knight's safety his armour was much thicker and heavier, sometimes

³⁷² James Nobukichi 'England's Armor: Henry VIII's Armor and his Wars' (unpublished MA. Thesis, University Bozeman Montana, 2014) available online at <<http://www.lib.latrobe.edu.au/referencing-tool/oxfordother-sources#thesis-or-unpublished-work>> [12 August 2016], p.30.

³⁷³ Barber and Barker, *Tournaments: Jousts, Chivalry and Pageants in the Middle Ages*, p.151.

twice that of his war armour, but this was not problematic as jousting armour was only worn for a short time.³⁷⁴ Whilst most men could physically support the general-purpose armour worn on the battlefield, jousting required men of great strength to support the weight of the armour, thus only the best and strongest men could compete.

By the fifteenth century, the great majority of men of high status used plate armour, which in its finest form was an extremely expensive commodity. Since its manufacture was at the forefront of technological advance and on which some of the finest artists and craftsmen were engaged.³⁷⁵ The earliest surviving armour of Henry is the 'Silver and Engraved' field armour, on display at the Tower of London that is dated from around 1515, when the king only twenty-four years old (see Figure 13).³⁷⁶ It was the first known product of Henry VIII's new workshop at Greenwich. We know that this particular suit belonged to Henry as the base has "H&K" in gold gilded lettering commemorating the king's marriage to Catherine of Aragon six years previously. The engraving on the armour also consists of running rose foliage with roses and pomegranates - the badges of Henry VIII and Catherine, several of which are crowned. Referring to the 1547 inventory that incorrectly marked this suit as belonging to Henry VII, Blair argues that: 'being decorated with roses and pomegranates affords conclusive evidence that it could have only belonged to Henry VIII'.³⁷⁷

³⁷⁴ Capwell, *The Real Fighting Stuff*, p.32.

³⁷⁵ Ewart Oakeshott, *European Weapons and Armour: From the Renaissance to the Industrial Revolution* (2nd ed., Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2000), p.263.

³⁷⁶ 'The silvered and engraved armour of Henry VIII', *Royal Armouries* (Greenwich, 1515) <<http://www.royalarmouries.org/line-of-kings/line-of-kings-objects/single-object/349>> [Accessed 21 April 2015].

³⁷⁷ Claude Blair, 'The Emperor Maximilian's Gift of Armour to King Henry VIII and the Silvered and Engraved Armour at the Tower of London', *Archaeologia*, 99 (1965), 1-52.

The armour was suited for the field, but the elaborate nature of the decoration and steel base suggest that it was not really designed for this purpose, but primarily for parade.

On the breastplate is a large image of St George holding a broken lance, the point of which pierces the dragon's neck. The decoration on Henry's armour reveals his desire to emphasise a very specific version of English masculinity. St George had been England's patron saint since the fourteenth century; his name had been continually implored during the Hundred Years War with France. It was during the wars that another symbol of English chivalry, inextricably linked to St George, had been created: the Order of the Garter. By virtue of its association with the Order, Saul argues that: 'the English monarchy was imbued with strongly chivalric character which was to mark it to the end of the Middle Ages'.³⁷⁸ Indeed Henry's passion for ancient chivalric values led him to continue this tradition into the sixteenth century, so that the Garter was still England's most coveted order of chivalry.³⁷⁹ Henry used the order to create a loyal body of young, noble warriors, who could support him in his war aims with France, in the same way that the order's founder Edward III had honoured the men who were a part of his French campaign.³⁸⁰ In addition to Henry's armour being completely covered with engraved designs, it was also originally silvered and gilt. Because suits like this one were so lavish they were preserved intact and serve as another marker of Henry's legacy.

³⁷⁸ Nigel Saul (ed.), *St George's Chapel, Windsor, in the Fourteenth Century* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2005), p.1.

³⁷⁹ See Appendix seven for a list of knights advanced into the Order of the Garter in Henry's reign.

³⁸⁰ Wooding, *Henry VIII*, p.63.

As the armour would have fitted Henry's body closely, it illustrates his athletic physique at the start of his reign. Early on Henry displayed an impressive body as the Spanish ambassador Dr Roderigo de Puebla told the King of Aragon in October 1507: 'There is no finer youth in the world', 'he is already taller than his father and his limbs are of a gigantic size'.³⁸¹ Henry's physique is evident from the measurements derived from the Silver and Engraved armour.³⁸² The armour shows that in 1515 Henry's waist measured 34.7in and his chest 41.7in.³⁸³ The armour also weighed just a little over 30.1 kg.³⁸⁴ However, no accurate figure can be given for the king's height, as the legs are not attached to the cuirass of this suit.³⁸⁵ But we can still glean a good deal of information about Henry's dimension. The dimensions given for the king's left greave of his 'girth of calf' is approximately 15 ¾ ins and his right calf is also measured at 15 ¾ ins.³⁸⁶ It is clear from these measurements why Henry was so proud of his manly calves and was keen to show them off to his rival Francis.

In May of the same year that this armour was made for him (1515) Henry addressed Sebastian Guistinian, the Venetian Ambassador in England asking:

"the King of France, is he as tall as I am?" I told him there was but little difference. He continued, "Is he as stout?" I said he was not; and

³⁸¹ 'Spain: October 1507,' in *Calendar of State Papers, Spain, Volume 1, 1485-1509* (ed.), G. A. Bergenroth (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1862), pp. 433-441 <<http://www.british-history.ac.uk/cal-state-papers/spain/vol1/pp433-441>> [Accessed 2 November 2015]. Hereafter referenced as *CSP Spain* with volume and entry number.

³⁸² *CSP Spain* I no. 439.

³⁸³ Rimer, Richardson and Cooper (eds.), *Henry VIII: Arms and the Man*, pp. 170-175.

³⁸⁴ Blair, 'The Emperor Maximilian's Gift of Armour to King Henry VIII', 1-52.

³⁸⁵ However Henry's Greenwich Foot Combat armour of c.1515-1520 reveals that the king's height was about 6ft 2in.

³⁸⁶ Blair, 'The Emperor Maximilian's Gift of Armour to King Henry VIII', 1-52.

he then inquired, "What sort of legs has he?" I replied, "Spare".

Whereupon he opened the front of his doublet, and placing his hand on his thigh, said, "Look here! And I have also a good calf to my leg".³⁸⁷

It is obvious from this direct exchange between the two that Henry was aware of the striking and impressive nature of his physique. Though it is evident that he wanted Guistinian to confirm that he possessed a manlier frame than King Francis I of France his rival. Importantly for Henry this was not just about having a manly body; it was about what that body implied about what that man could do and was a means of establishing one's superiority over them. Jousting's bodies were demonstratively athletic, because of the long hours of training involved. Although Fallow suggests that a man had to be athletic in build, being slender and firm, rather than big and bulky.³⁸⁸ For those who were slender, athletic types it was their agility and fitness that made them tough opponents in the three forms of combat involved in the tournament.

³⁸⁷ Sebastian Giustinian, *Four years at the court of Henry VIII. Selection of Dispatches Written by the Venetian Ambassador, Sebastian Giustinian* in Two Volumes. Vol. I (trans.), R. Brown (London: Stewart & Murray, Old Bailey, 1854), p.90.

³⁸⁸ Fallows, *Jousting in Medieval and Renaissance Iberia*, p.175.



Fig.13. Silver and Engraved armour decorated by Paul van Vrelant, Greenwich c.1515, object number II.5, VI.1-5, height of armour as mounted 185cm, weight 30.11kg. Royal Armouries, Tower of London.

The next surviving armour of Henry's was the 'Foot Combat', which according to the Royal Armouries was made at Southwark for the Field of Cloth of Gold in 1520 (see Figure 14). Henry and Francis I met near Calais in order to strengthen the bond between England and France. As part of the extravagant diplomatic display the two kings and their entourages spent the time jousting, wrestling and feasting. Francis like Henry, it seems was happiest, when competing in a joust, out hunting with hounds, or performing in a masque and the same could be said for Henry.³⁸⁹ Henry set himself against his rival Francis, since both were of a similar age, tall and muscular and actively engaged in chivalry.³⁹⁰ It is evident that Henry took his competition with Francis seriously; it was not enough to compete against him in the series of combats that were held as part of the Field of Cloth of Gold as manhood was also based on the ideal of the male body, he needed to outdo his rival in appearance as well.

Henry, now twenty-eight years old, had expanded to a 37.7in waist and 44.5in chest, which represents the filling out of a younger, but still manly frame.³⁹¹ Unlike the previous suit height can be gauged here, and Henry was about 1.88m (6ft 2in) in height. The armour also weighs a staggering 42.7kg.³⁹² It is evident that Henry had become bigger and stronger by 1520. However despite the huge weight of the armour it was technologically advanced for its time, so that Henry was able to move around easily, which was essential as the foot

³⁸⁹ For a comprehensive account of the kingship of Francis I see Robert J. Knecht, *Renaissance Warrior and Patron: The Reign of Francis I* (2nd edn., Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), p.107

³⁹⁰ Glenn Richardson, 'Good Friends and Brothers? Francis I and Henry VIII', *History Today*, 44, 9 (1994), 22-26.

³⁹¹ 'Foot combat armour of Henry VIII', *Royal Armouries* entry found online at <<https://royalarmouries.org/line-of-kings/line-of-kings-figures-of-the-line/single-object/23>> [Accessed 6 September 2016].

³⁹² Henry VIII's foot combat armour online catalogue reference: <<https://collections.royalarmouries.org/object/rac-object-19.html>> [15 September 2016].

combat required him to be mobile and agile.³⁹³ Henry was completely covered with steel plates unbroken by any gaps. His bascinet is closed and locked over the rim of the collar. His suit shows a pair of laminated steel breeches shaped to the buttocks and fitted with a separate codpiece that locked over the tops of the cuisses enclosing his thighs completely. This suit in particular illustrates Henry's sculpted figure and accentuates his impressive male form, which is put on a display for all to witness. It is manifest from Henry's protective suit of armour that these contests were still hard fought competitions in his reign, thus tournament armour still served a very practical purpose.

³⁹³ Mark Brown, 'Henry VIII: Nasa examined his armour when they were designing space suits', *The Guardian* (1 April 2009) Podcast available online at <<https://www.theguardian.com/artanddesign/blog/audio/2009/apr/01/henry-viii>> [Accessed 6 September 2016] details how Nasa was so impressed by the overlapping design and mobility that they used it as a template for creating their first astronaut suits in the 1960s.



Fig.14. Foot Combat armour, Southwark c.1520, object number II.6, height 188cm, weight 42.6kg, Royal Armouries, Leeds.

Another suit for Henry was also made in 1520, as the French changed the rules before the Field of Cloth of Gold stating that the armour needed to have an attachable tonlet.³⁹⁴ Richard Wingfield wrote to the king on 16 March 1520 that there were some ‘little changes necessary’ [some lines are lost] touching the combat at the barrier ‘with pieces of advantage’ and instead there is set ‘in tonnelett and bacinett’.³⁹⁵ As a result there was no time to create a brand new suit of armour for the king, so the ‘Tonlet armour’ was constructed by using pieces of pre-existing armour supplemented with several new items and decorating the armour (see Figure 16).³⁹⁶ On this new suit of armour only the pauldrons that covered the shoulder area and the tonlet, were newly made.³⁹⁷ Further evidence of the haste of this execution is found on the back of the tonlet, which reveals a mistake in the pattern of this decoration.³⁹⁸ On an occasion that was centred on opulence and display it is evident that Henry was prevented from wearing his finest armour. However, efforts were clearly made to decorate Henry’s armour, so that it appeared as impressive as earlier suits, whilst also distracting from the refashioned pieces that made up the suit. Henry’s tonlet skirt was decorated with Tudor roses and English crosses, motifs of St George engraved on the crown of the helm and the Order of the Garter, which together emphasised a specifically English version of chivalrous masculinity that was significant given the context.³⁹⁹

³⁹⁴ Nobukichi, ‘England’s Armor: Henry VIII’s Armor and his Wars’, p.30 for a glossary of these terms see Appendix two.

³⁹⁵ LP III no. 685 I owe this reference to Richardson, ‘The Royal Armour Workshops at Greenwich’, p.3.

³⁹⁶ Richardson, ‘The Royal Armour Workshops at Greenwich’, pp. 1-8.

³⁹⁷ Ibid, pp. 1-8.

³⁹⁸ ‘Tonlet Armour’, *Royal Armouries* <<https://www.royalarmouries.org/leeds/leeds-galleries/tournament-gallery/tournament-top-ten/single-object/917>> [Accessed 24 March 2016].

³⁹⁹ Nobukichi, ‘England’s Armor: Henry VIII’s Armor and his Wars’, pp. 31-33. See Appendix seven for a list of the knights made in the reign of Henry VIII.

Why Francis decided to change the rules at the last minute and required Henry to wear a tonlet has been an area of great speculation. One might speculate that Francis deliberately changed the rules in order to cause trouble for Henry, who had to abandon work on his magnificent suit of armour and hastily have his armourers put together another suit. Another explanation is that of a practical nature as the tournament involved a range of activities such as jousting and tourneying on horseback, in addition to foot combats. Hence it was essential that the armour worn was suitable for each of these different styles of combat. The original suit of armour that Henry had made was not suitable for combat on foot involving fighting with swords at the barriers; it was only appropriate for friendly combat on foot using axes.⁴⁰⁰ In addition, the Tonlet armour was considerably lighter than the Foot Combat armour, weighing 29.3kg.⁴⁰¹ This made it easier to use for the fight on foot, whilst the detachable tonlet could also be removed for the fight on horseback. It is noteworthy that in the displays at the Royal Armouries the non-tonlet armour is shown holding a pollaxe shaft, whilst the Tonlet armour is presented carrying a sword. Perhaps it was the rules of the foot combat that Francis changed at the last minute, deciding to fight with swords rather than axes that meant a tonlet was needed as it offered protection for the upper legs. One might also speculate that Francis changed the nature of the fight because he was better with swords and wanted to be shown as the better fighter. Especially if he and Henry were to fight together there was a huge amount at stake in terms of the manly reputation of each and that of each nation.

⁴⁰⁰ A. Vessey, B. Norman and Guy Murray Wilson, *Treasures from the Tower of London* (Norwich: University of East Anglia, 1982) cat. no 2.

⁴⁰¹ 'Foot combat armour of King Henry VIII', *Royal Armouries* (Southwark 1520), <<http://www.royalarmouries.org/visit-us/leeds/leeds-galleries/tournament-gallery/henry-viii/foot-combat-armour>> [Accessed 21 April 2015].

Another important point about the two different suits of armour was that in the foot combat armour Henry had added locking gauntlets (see Figure 15), which would have made it impossible to disarm him. It is noteworthy that in Tiptoft's rules for the tourney he stated that: 'he that shall have a close gauntlet or any thing to fasten his sword to his hande, shall have no pryse'.⁴⁰² In view of this it is evident that Henry was also likely guilty of using devices to try and outdo his rival at the Field of Cloth of Gold. In contrast, in the Tonlet armour the locking gauntlet was detached, which removed this advantage, making Henry and Francis equal opponents.

There has been plenty of discussion of the rivalry between the two kings at the Field of Cloth of Gold but less has been done in relation to armour, or as a gendered contest.⁴⁰³ A final interpretation that has not been considered is the presence of a great codpiece on the Foot Combat armour and its concealment in the Tonlet armour. Though it is true that the bulk of Henry's armour was necessary to protect the king from blows in the tiltyard and on the battlefield, one cannot fail to notice the prominent codpiece that was in accord with the latest development in men's fashion.⁴⁰⁴ I would argue that in disguising his codpiece by the use of a tonlet skirt that Francis waged a further attack on Henry's ability to showcase his high status masculinity.

⁴⁰² BL Harley MS. 6064, f86v.

⁴⁰³ Glenn Richardson, *The Field of Cloth of Gold and Renaissance Monarchy: The Reigns of Henry VIII, Francis I and Charles V* (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2002).

⁴⁰⁴ I will say more about the codpiece in men's clothing below pp. 185-187.

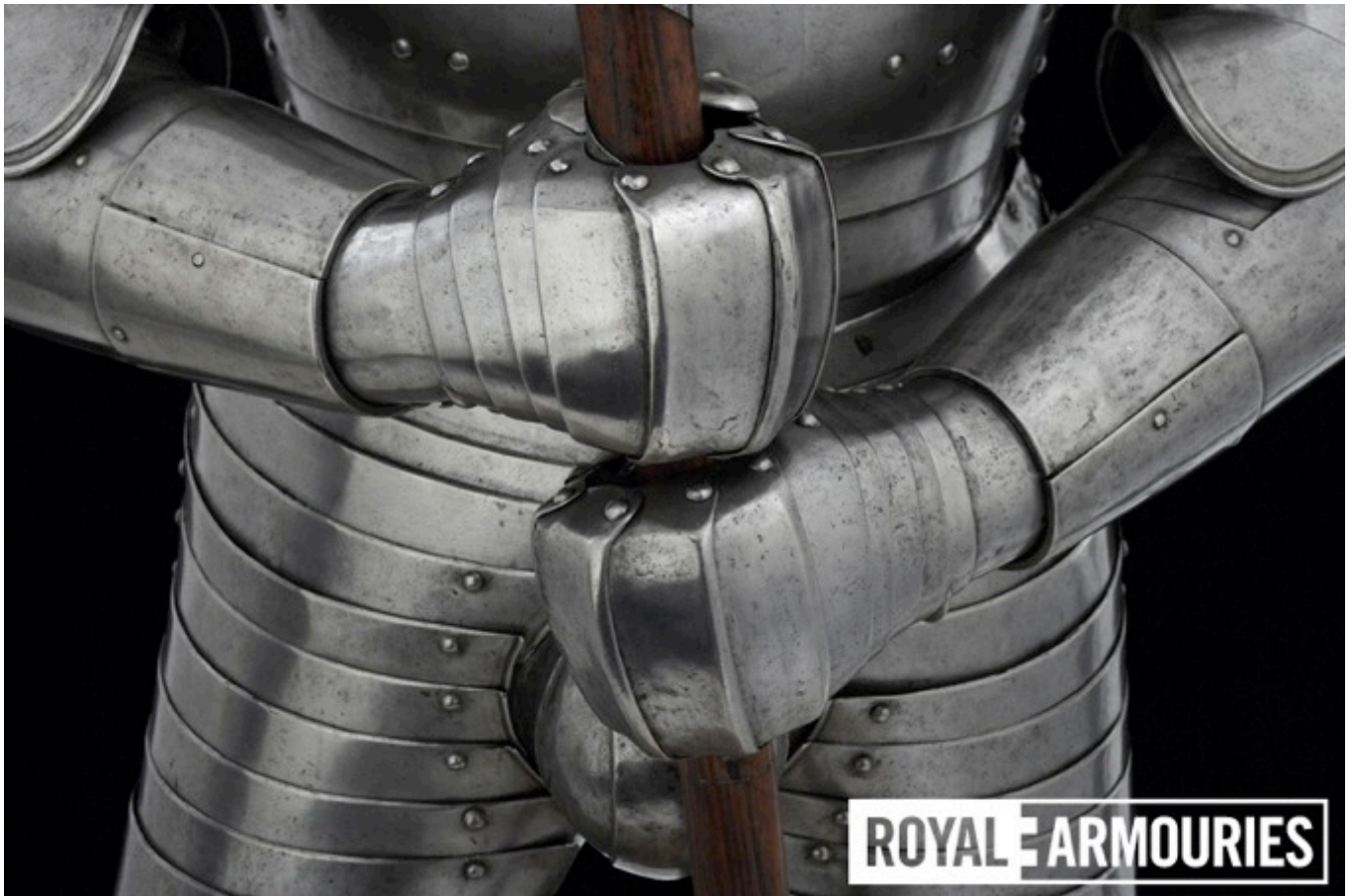


Fig.15. Henry VIII's foot combat armour showing the locked gauntlets holding a pollaxe shaft. II.6. Royal Armouries, Leeds.



Fig.16. Tonlet armour, Greenwich 1520, object number II.7, weight 29.3kg. Royal armouries, Leeds.

Henry's measurements from the Tonlet armour reveal a 36.1in waist and 41.7in chest.⁴⁰⁵ Having compared these measurements to those of the Foot Combat armour, it is evident that there is a noticeable discrepancy between the two sets of armour despite the fact that both are believed to have been made during the same period.⁴⁰⁶ Most noticeably Henry's chest measurements are much greater in the Foot Combat armour at 44.5in waist and his chest at 37.7in. In comparison to the Tonlet armour that was made slightly later and in which Henry's waist and chest are both smaller. It is problematic relying solely on the Armouries measurements, as it is difficult to know for certain if the present measurements were taken in the same way and are directly comparable. It would be useful to measure the greaves from both sets of armour as these had to fit precisely. Having compared Henry's waist and chest measurements of the Tonlet armour and Foot combat armour to those of the Silver and Engraved suit in c.1515, I would argue that the Tonlet armour is most likely representative of the king's body in 1520.⁴⁰⁷ In comparison the Foot Combat armour is bigger again at 44.5ins a measurement that I would argue seems too great for the king who was still fighting fit and regularly competing in tournaments. Thus I would conclude that a later dating of the Foot Combat armour is more likely.

⁴⁰⁵ Henry VIII's tonlet armour made for the Field of Cloth of Gold tournament. Online catalogue reference <<https://collections.royalarmouries.org/object/rac-object-20.html>> [Accessed 15 September 2016].

⁴⁰⁶ Inventory of 1547 compiled after Henry VIII's death specifically states that both armours were his see Transcripts of historical inventories and other records, 'Copies of Inventories and Papers relating to the Armouries of the Tower of London, etc., etc., made of H.M. Office of Works (1913 by Miss E.H. Fairbrother, London; Miss D.A. Garratt, Oxford) Includes inventories extracted from: 1542 S.P. Dom. Hen. VIII, 1542. fol. 64, British Library Ms. Harl. 1419, 1547 Brander Ms. Society of Antiquaries, 1561 and 2 Harl. 7457 pp. 11-3 and 19-, 1611 S.P. Dom. James I, Vol LXIV, p. 73, 1625 S.P. Dom. Charles I, XIII, 96 ? 1625, 1629 S.P. Dom. Charles I, 139, p. 94, 1660 Lord Dartmouth Mss, 1676 WO 55.1709, 1683 Lord Dartmouth Mss. Franklyn Remain and WO55/1722, 1688 British Library Ms. Harl. 7459 p. 2, 1691 British Library Ms. Harl. 7458 p. 2, 1693 British Library Ms. Harl. 7463 p. 1, Also extracts from Hewitt (1841); Meyrick (1842); various sale catalogues 1826-1853, 1630 S.P. Dom. Charles I, Vol. 179, no. 65: the Report on the Greenwich Armoury.

⁴⁰⁷ There is some discrepancy, but this is partly because we do not know exactly when the suits were made, or whether Henry's weight fluctuated.

The next suit of armour believed to have been Henry's is that held in the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York.⁴⁰⁸ It bears resemblance to that described by Hall of a tournament held on Shrove Tuesday on 6 March 1527 where the king appeared, 'in a new harness all gilte, of a strange fashion that had not been seen' (see Figure17).⁴⁰⁹ The armour is also dated 1527 in no less than five places and is etched and gilt overall and weighs 28.45kg.⁴¹⁰ The armour includes a right hand locking gauntlet and a reinforced pauldron with a lance rest, which demonstrates that this suit could be worn in the field, or in the tiltyard. The etching and gilding makes it one of the most richly decorated of all Greenwich armours.⁴¹¹ The huge costs involved in producing this decorative armour highlight that armour itself was another marker of social distinction amongst men of high status. In 1527 Henry was now thirty-six years old and still without a male heir, thus it is notable that his attention turned from jousting to trying to rectify that situation via annulment and remarriage. As noted above, Henry himself jousted less frequently in this period. So it seems as though Henry's armour was more embellished to ensure that he presented a spectacular figure on the occasions when he did joust. It is significant that Henry's suit is gilded gold in colour as it served to set him apart from others. After the Shrovetide tournament in 1527 there was a marked decline in tournament activity at court and Henry himself did not compete again for nearly a decade.⁴¹²

⁴⁰⁸ 'Armour Garniture, Probably of King Henry VIII of England', *The Metropolitan Museum of Art* (Greenwich, 1527), <<http://www.metmuseum.org/collection/the-collection-online/search/35775>> [Accessed 21 April 2015].

⁴⁰⁹ Hall, p.720.

⁴¹⁰ Thom Richardson, *The Armour and Arms of Henry VIII* (Leeds: Trustees of the Royal Armouries, 2002), p.23.

⁴¹¹ I have not been able to procure the chest and waist measurements from the Met museum for the Greenwich armour 1527.

⁴¹² See Appendix three for a chronology of tournaments held in the reign of Henry VIII.



Fig.17. Armour Garniture, probably of King Henry VIII decorated by Hans Holbein the Younger, Greenwich c.1527, object number 19.131.1a-r, height 1854.cm, 28.45kg weight. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

Henry's expanding physique is observable in a suit of armour made thirteen years later, probably for use at the May Day tournament in 1540 (see Figure 18).⁴¹³ From his armour Henry's body measurements reveal that the king's waist was now 51in and his chest 54.5in.⁴¹⁴ As one of the last surviving armours of Henry, it gives an exact depiction of the king's physique as he entered into the final stage of manhood. It is apparent when contrasting these vast measurements with those from the Silver and Engraved armour of 1515 that Henry no longer presented the slender and athletic build that he had done in his youth. His waist had grown by 16.3in and his chest by 12.8in. Though it was inevitable that the changing lifecycle of manhood meant that naturally the body evolved past youth, it was spurred on by Henry's enforced bouts of inactivity due to a tiltyard accident in 1536, which left him unable to joust and he was also eating a great deal.⁴¹⁵

For example, on 3 March 1541 Marillac, the French Ambassador, wrote from the English court that: 'he [Henry] is very stout and marvellously excessive in eating and drinking'.⁴¹⁶ Henry's addiction to rich food had implications for both his authority and his manhood. Henry's increasing weight gain made manifest his lack of self-control and in turn his declining manhood as he failed to master this essential component of elite masculinity. In a letter to Henry from Richard Pate, the Archdeacon of Lincoln, on 4 October 1540

⁴¹³ 'Armour of Henry VIII', *Royal Armouries* (Greenwich, 1540), <<http://www.royalarmouries.org/line-of-kings/line-of-kings-objects/single-object/350>> [Accessed 21 April 2015].

⁴¹⁴ Ibid.

⁴¹⁵ Elizabeth T. Hurren, 'Cultures of the Body, Medical Regimen, and Physic at the Tudor Court' in *Henry VIII and the Court: Art, Politics and Performance* (eds.), Thomas Betteridge and Suzannah (Surrey: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2013), pp. 65-92 suggests that Henry was neither a perfectly balanced man, nor someone who followed strict medieval advice, adding that the handsome prince needed to adopt a healthier lifestyle before middle age slowed his metabolism.

⁴¹⁶ LP XVI no. 590.

reporting from Brussels, he was asked by Fredrick, the count of Palantine: 'if Henry were not waxen fat'.⁴¹⁷ Having viewed a recent portrait Fredrick thought he saw a change for the worse in the king: 'his majesty, since being in England, was becoming much more corpulent'.⁴¹⁸ It is apparent that the combination of conspicuous consumption at Henry's court along with lack of exercise and physical training caused the king to become very overweight.⁴¹⁹ In failing to embody the ideal physique that chivalric masculinity required it is apparent that Henry could no longer lay claim to knightly status.

The May 1540 tournament, and one held earlier in January of that year, were the last staged by Henry. In the College of Arms a set of scores survive from the tilts that were held on the 1 May 1540 however, there is no record that Henry competed in these combats despite his existing armour.⁴²⁰ However, Henry had, had a suit of armour apparently made for it. Perhaps he had originally intended to compete, but had then realised that this would not be possible. Another alternative is that Henry had no intention of competing, but wanted to convey a splendid jousting appearance by wearing armour. Henry had been the handsomest potentate and the champion of the tiltyard, but could lay claim to these titles no longer.

⁴¹⁷ *LP XVI* no. 121.

⁴¹⁸ *Ibid.*

⁴¹⁹ I discuss this in great detail in 'Greater than any Caesar had known: sumptuous banquets and high status manhood at the court of Henry VIII', paper given at the International Medieval Congress, The University of Leeds, 4-7 July 2016 available online at <<https://hud.academia.edu/EmmaLevitt>> [Accessed 12 July 2016].

⁴²⁰ CA collection formerly in Box 37: now in a portfolio, tilting list, 6V. 46, May 1 1540.

This is made explicit in one humiliating episode that took place in January 1540, in which Henry hastened to meet his soon to be bride Anne of Cleves at Rochester in January 1540, where he reverted to the chivalrous patterns of his youth and came to her in disguise.⁴²¹ To add to the trickery Henry had five of his retinue dressing identically to him and bearing a gift, which he said came from the king; he went forward embracing and kissing Anne.⁴²² Chief herald Thomas Wriothesley kept a record of Anne of Cleves on her way to meet Henry in early 1540 recorded Anne's reaction as follows: 'she regarded him little, but alwaies looked out of the wyndow on the bull beating and when the king perceived she regarded his coming so little, he departed into other chamber'.⁴²³ Anne was clearly expecting a physically more impressive and attractive king, no doubt founded on the reports of Henry in his youth that had eulogised his handsome appearance. Yet this king was now approaching fifty and was far from the masculine ideal he had been-then; he had grown obese and had an ulcerated leg that had a foul odour about it. Nevertheless in spite of Henry's deteriorating manhood, he attempted to recapture his youth by going incognito as a knight errant to visit Anne.

As Henry was no longer able to compete in tournaments, it seems very likely that they disappeared from court because holding them only reminded him that he was unable to take part.⁴²⁴ Henry was never the type of king who was content to just watch jousting

⁴²¹ Retha M. Warnicke, *The Marrying of Anne of Cleves: Royal Protocol in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), Retha M. Warnicke, 'Anne [Anne of Cleves] (1515–1557)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2004) <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/558>> [Accessed 7 November 2016].

⁴²² Charles Wriothesley, *A chronicle of England during the reigns of the Tudors, from A.D. 1485 to 1559* (ed., W. Douglas (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1875), p.109.

⁴²³ Wriothesley, *A Chronicle of England during the reigns of the Tudors*, p.109.

⁴²⁴ Refer to Appendix three for a chronology of tournaments in Henry VIII's reign.

and not participate, unlike his father. From the start of his reign, he had made it clear that he was a king who was going to test and prove his chivalrous manhood alongside his men. These circumstances also help to explain why he returned to his youthful preoccupation with war with France in his last years, as a final attempt to recapture his manhood and to prove himself a warrior king in the same way as his grandfather Edward IV.



Fig.18. The 1540 Armour of King Henry VIII, Greenwich c.1540, object number II.8, VI.13, height 188cm, weight 35.33kg. Royal Armouries, Tower of London.

Henry's last surviving armour is displayed in New York's Metropolitan Museum of Art.⁴²⁵ According to the dimensions of the 'Field Armor' its height including the king's helmet was 72.5ins and it weighed 22.91kg (see Figure 19). Henry's greatly expanded body shape at age fifty-three is apparent from the armour. Constructed for use both on horse and on foot it was worn by the king during his last military campaign, the siege of Boulogne in 1544, where he commanded his army personally.⁴²⁶ Henry no longer possessed a body that would allow him to actually fight (or joust), but he could still command his troops so the armour here is an expression of his authority as general. One significant aspect of the later armour worn by Henry is his considerable codpiece; it does appear that as Henry got older his codpieces got bigger.

This may well be because Henry's marriage to Catherine Howard from 28 July 1540, until 23 November 1541 had not reflected well on his virility. Catherine had a sexual past, which was concealed from the king when she married him and her behaviour after their marriage, gave Henry every reason to suppose that she was in fact an adulteress.⁴²⁷ Catherine was condemned and executed for adultery with Francis Dereham and Thomas Culpepper on 13 February 1542.⁴²⁸ Thus she had cuckolded Henry with potentially ruinous implications for his virility and masculinity. Foyster states plainly that in early modern

⁴²⁵ 'Field Armor of King Henry VIII of England', *The Metropolitan Museum of Art* (Milan or Brescia, 1544) <<http://www.metmuseum.org/collection/the-collection-online/search/23936>> [Accessed 21 April 2015].

⁴²⁶ *LP XVIII* pt. II, no. 230 I examine Henry's involvement in the Boulogne campaign in the final chapter of the thesis pp. 352-356.

⁴²⁷ Lacey Baldwin Smith, *A Tudor Tragedy: The Life and Times of Catherine Howard* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1961).

⁴²⁸ Retha M. Warnicke, 'Katherine [Katherine Howard] (1518x24–1542)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Jan 2008) <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/4892>> [Accessed 7 November 2016].

England: 'cuckolds are defined as men who failed to give their wives pleasure'.⁴²⁹ As Retha Warnicke has argued, Catherine's alleged affair with Culpeper testified to the king's lack of manliness and imperilled his honour.⁴³⁰ To make matters worse, Culpeper had become a close friend of Henry and, notably, was a prominent jousting champion.⁴³¹ Culpeper had competed in the May Day tournament in 1540 and was defeated by Richard Cromwell, son of Thomas Cromwell.⁴³² Culpeper embodied the skills and qualities that Henry had excelled at in his youth. The betrayal served as a stark reminder of what he had lost and following on from Anne of Cleves, it would have been a further blow to his self-esteem. Henry liked to imagine that he was still impressive as a man, not just because he was king. He had already experienced this situation before in his earlier marriage to Anne Boleyn.⁴³³ Arguably Henry deliberately enhanced his codpieces following the Catherine Howard debacle as he aimed to quieten any ridicule concerning his virility and loss of manhood in his later years of kingship.

It is then not surprising that both Henry's 1540 suits highlight oversized codpieces built into the king's armour as a marker of his enduring virility.⁴³⁴ Thus it is evident that as armour was made to fit the shape of the body, it is a key indicator of the lifecycle of Henry's manhood from a young and athletic tournament champion, to a robust and bulky

⁴²⁹ Foyster, *Manhood in Early Modern England: Honor, Sex and Marriage*, p.67.

⁴³⁰ Retha M. Warnicke, 'Katherine [Katherine Howard] (1518 x24–1542)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Jan 2008) <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/4892>> [Accessed 26 March 2016] Warnicke contends that Catherine may not have actually cuckolded Henry, but she was trying to pacify an aggressive, dangerous and ambitious suitor in Thomas Culpeper.

⁴³¹ The *ODNB* entry for Thomas Culpeper is found in the Katherine Howard entry.

⁴³² A tilting list for this event and the scores and can be found in College of Arms box 37, Tilting list 6v, 46, 1 May 1540 Richard Cromwell acted as one of the six Challengers.

⁴³³ The situation with Anne Boleyn will be explored in the final chapter pp. 338-388.

⁴³⁴ 'Armour of Henry VIII', *Royal Armouries* (Greenwich, 1540) <<http://www.royalarmouries.org/line-of-kings/line-of-kings-objects/single-object/350>> [Accessed 21 April 2015]. Reputed to have been used as a charm in the late seventeenth century at the Tower; young women would stick pins into the lining in order to improve their prospects of conception.

commander. It is apparent the difficulties that Henry had in trying to maintain a masculine frame. In the next section, I turn to other evidence for Henry's appearance and physique that are better known: portraits.



Fig.19. Field Armour of King Henry VIII of England, Milan or Brescia, c.1544, object number 32.130.7a, height 184.2cm, 22.91kg. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

3.2.3: Portraying Henry VIII's Manhood in Art

Henry VIII came to the throne very young at seventeen years old; a decade younger than his father had been at his accession. Henry was thus similar in age to his grandfather, who had been nearly nineteen years old when he became king in 1461. As noted above, it is evident that Henry's looks attracted widespread and favourable comment from the start. In his final report based on four years spent at Henry's court between 1515 and 1519, Sebastian Giustinian, the Venetian ambassador, produced an impressive conclusion about the king: 'the handsomest potentate, I ever set eyes on'.⁴³⁵ Henry's portrait made when he was in his early twenties appears to present a slender frame, comparable to his father Henry VII, although most of his body is not visible (see Figure 20).⁴³⁶

⁴³⁵ Giustinian, *Four years at the court of Henry VIII* Vol I, p.86.

⁴³⁶ Unknown Artist, 'Young Henry', *The Berger Collection* < <http://www.bergercollection.org> > [Accessed 11 June 2015], John M. Fletcher, 'A group of English royal portraits painted soon after 1513. A dendrochronological study', *Studies in Conservation*, 21, 4 (1976), 171-178. Fletcher has identified a series of early portraits of Henry VIII that have been painted on boards cut from the same tree group of portraits showing Henry as a young man.



Fig.20. Unknown artist Young Henry VIII c.1513, oil on panel, 39cm x 25cm, The Berger Collection, Denver Art Museum.

It is this jousting figure at the start of Henry's reign that was put to the test in tournaments, rather than his famous portrayal in the Whitehall Mural from c.1537, when he had already retired from the tiltyard. This depiction of Henry is the one that most people call to mind when thinking of him, but it is important to note that he only became so large later in life. If we return to Henry's body measurements taken from his earliest suit of armour dated from c.1515, it is apparent that at the time this portrait was painted the king presented an incredibly athletic physique. This highlights the importance of using Henry's armour as the portraits alone do not effectively present the physical stature of the king.

Another portrait of Henry from c.1520 demonstrates a more mature image of the king, who was now approaching thirty, yet his frame apparently remained rather trim, although again his whole body is not visible (see Figure 21). This portrait coincided with the most famous tournament of the age: the Field of Cloth of Gold, where Henry played a leading role as one of the Challengers in the jousting tournament.⁴³⁷ Again Henry's suits of armour provide more accurate evidence of Henry's body in the flesh that are not transmitted in the paintings. It is necessary, then, to use both the portraits and the surviving pieces of Henry's armour together, in order to get a fuller sense of the young king's body. Moreover, being able to have an actual "cast" of Henry's body is significant for our understanding of what the ideal body type was for both jousting and high status manhood in the early sixteenth century.

⁴³⁷ Unknown Anglo-Netherlandish artist, 'King Henry VIII', *National Portrait Gallery* <<http://www.npg.org.uk/collections/search/portrait/mw03081/King-Henry-VIII>> [Accessed 11 June 2015].



Fig.21. Unknown Anglo-Netherlandish artist, Henry VIII c.1520, oil on panel, 58cm x 38.1cm, National Portrait Gallery, London.

It is evident from Henry's portraits that facial hair was also a marker of physical maturity, which was necessary for the achievement of manhood in the passage from boyhood to manhood, as argued by Tatiana String.⁴³⁸ The beard acted as an outward symbol of inner male characteristics. In addition thickness of the beard is understood as a sign and token of heat Cadden explains that: 'heat was the most fundamental physical difference between the sexes, and a cause of many other differences'.⁴³⁹ Cadden further notes that: 'the growth of the beard and the ability to produce semen created a bridge between sexual maleness and gender linked virility'.⁴⁴⁰ Thus as Cadden has summarised, prominent hair not only marked the male, but also signified masculinity.

In the early modern period Will Fisher argues that facial hair often conferred masculinity: 'the beard made the man'.⁴⁴¹ During the first years of Henry's reign men were clean shaven, as the young king's portrait from c.1513 illustrates. It was not until Henry was in his late twenties that he started to grow a short fluffy beard, which is depicted in the portrait of the king from the 1520s. This was also a reflection of a wider European fashion as both members of the Italian and French courts began to showcase beards. It was certainly enough of a fashion, for instance, that Baldassare Castiglione, amongst the most fashion conscious of the Italian courtiers, is depicted with a full beard in the famous portrait of him by Raphael, completed between c.1514 and 1515 (see Figure 22).⁴⁴² It is evident that by the

⁴³⁸ String, 'Projecting Masculinity: Henry VIII's Codpiece', pp. 143-160.

⁴³⁹ Cadden, *Meanings of Sex Difference in the Middle Ages*, p.171.

⁴⁴⁰ *Ibid*, p.172.

⁴⁴¹ Will Fisher, 'The Renaissance Beard: Masculinity in Early Modern England', *Renaissance Quarterly*, 54, 1 (2001), 155-187.

⁴⁴² Raffaello Sanzio, 'Portrait of Baldassare Castiglione', *Web Gallery of Art* <<http://www.wga.hu/frames-e.html?/html/r/raphael/5roma/3/01castig.html>> [Accessed 1 June 2015].

early sixteenth century that growing beards became popular because they were associated with manliness.



Fig.22. Unknown artist, Baldassare Castiglione c.1514-1515, oil on canvas, 82cm x 67cm, Musée du Louvre, Paris.

Indeed, one revealing episode highlights that Henry understood facial hair to be an expression of physical maturity and virility and that these notions were imperative to his manhood, at a time when he was competing against the virile Francis I. The Venetian ambassador Giustinian writing in 1519 on the king's appearance remarked: 'on hearing that Francis I wore a beard, he allowed his own to grow, and as it is reddish, he has now got a beard that looks like gold'.⁴⁴³ Another account given by an anonymous writer at the Field of Cloth of Gold on the 10 June describes the king of England as having, 'a red beard, large enough and very becoming'.⁴⁴⁴ The significance of this beard also relates to the fact that Francis, had initially requested that they meet a year earlier, which Henry had been unable to do. As a way to appease his rival Henry promised that he would not shave until the event took place as a way to prove his commitment to the agreement. This is stated in a letter from Sir Thomas Boleyn to Wolsey on 14 August 1519, 'as a proof of the King's desire, he had resolved to wear his beard till the said meeting'.⁴⁴⁵ Henry by displaying a physical feature of manhood that was also sported by Francis was showing the French king that he could be trusted in his commitment to this date. It was also an expression of manliness and competition in showcasing who had the bushiest beard.

It is noteworthy that all three European monarchs of the early sixteenth century Henry VIII, Francis I and Charles V were painted as clean shaven in their youths, but once established in their kingship each of their portraits illustrates them with beards (see Figures 23 & 24). Moreover it is apparent from their portraits that these beards were not unkempt

⁴⁴³ Giustinian, *Four Years at the court of Henry VIII*, p.27.

⁴⁴⁴ LP III no. 869.

⁴⁴⁵ LP III no. 416.

as though they had simply grown out their facial hair, but were deliberately styled and maintained. Arguably Henry, Francis and Charles were reflecting a more modern image and ideal of manliness in this new era of kingship, in attempt to re-fashion the face of monarchy for their own time.⁴⁴⁶ Perhaps this was also about presenting a more rugged version of manliness in contrast to their predecessors. For example Henry's father Henry VII and his grandfather Edward IV, had all been depicted clean-shaven. In addition Louis XII of France and Maximilian I, Holy Roman Emperor had also been painted without a beard. Hence from this period the beard became essential in a new formulation of masculinity.

⁴⁴⁶ Jean Clouet, 'Portrait of François I, King of France', *Web Gallery of Art* < <http://www.wga.hu/frames-e.html?html/c/clouet/jean/francois.html> > [Accessed 5 November 2016], Lucas Cranach, the Elder, 'Portrait of the Emperor Charles V', *Museo Thyssen-Bornemiza* < http://www.museothyssen.org/en/thyssen/ficha_obra/1117 > [Accessed 5 November 2016].



Fig.23. Jean Clouet Portrait of François I, King of France c.1525-1530, Wood, 96cm x 74cm, Musée du Louvre, Paris.



Fig.24. Lucas Cranach, the Elder, Portrait of the Emperor Charles V, 1533, oil on panel, 51.2cm x 36cm, Museo Thyssen-Bornemisza, Madrid.

Holbein's famous portrait of the majestic figure of Henry VIII is the most memorable image of a royal ever created. Henry also commissioned Holbein to make a wall mural for the privy chamber at Whitehall Palace, which was completed in 1537. The Whitehall Mural was a monumental life sized portrait of Henry, Queen Jane (Seymour), and Henry's parents, Henry VII and Queen Elizabeth of York.⁴⁴⁷ However the Whitehall Palace burned down in 1698 and the original painting was destroyed leaving only the preparatory drawing on display at the National Portrait Gallery (see Figure 24).⁴⁴⁸ This most iconic image was one of the first full-length life-size portraits of a monarch of England, not since that painted by Wilton Diptych of Richard II in c.1369, which now hangs in the nave of Westminster Abbey.⁴⁴⁹ For the study of manhood, it has the advantage of illustrating Henry's full frame. From his extraordinarily wide shoulders bulked out by padded clothing, to his oversized codpiece and legs astride, he presents an undoubtedly masculine presence.

In contrast, Henry VII represents an older version of kingship and manhood (see Figure 25). In this later image Henry is wearing his hair short, which indicates a change in fashion compared to the start of his reign, but it also highlights the king's maleness. Likewise his short robe has the effect of drawing attention to his strong calves that are decisively manly, whereas his father's body is covered up. It is apparent that Henry was all about drawing attention to his physicality.

⁴⁴⁷ Christopher Lloyd and Simon Thurley, *Henry VIII: Images of a Tudor King* (London: Phaidon Press, 1990), p.29; Roy Strong, *The Tudor and Stuart Monarchy; Pageantry, Painting, Iconography*, Vol. 1. Tudor (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 1995) and Xanthe Brooke and David Crombie, *Henry VIII: Holbein's portrait and its legacy* (London: Paul Holberton Pub, 2003), p.9.

⁴⁴⁸ Hans Holbein the Younger, 'King Henry VIII: Henry VII', *National Portrait Gallery* <<http://www.npg.org.uk/collections/search/portrait/mw03080/King-Henry-VIII-King-Henry-VII>> [Accessed 11 June 2015].

⁴⁴⁹ Wilton Diptych, 'The Westminster portrait of Richard II', *Westminster Abbey* <<http://www.westminster-abbey.org/our-history/royals/richard-ii-and-anne-of-bohemia>> [Accessed 7 November 2016].



Fig.25. Copied after Hans Holbein the Younger, The Whitehall Mural, Remigius van Leemput, c.1667, oil on canvas, 88.9cm x 99.2cm Royal Collection Trust.

More recently, historians such as String and Lipscomb have taken a gendered approach to explaining the manly characteristics of Henry's portrait in contrast to previous works that have concentrated on the power, dominance and majestic expression of the king. Everything about the way Henry's body has been depicted by Holbein, argues Lipscomb, is intended to convey masculinity and virility.⁴⁵⁰ String has examined the evident motifs of masculine prowess in the picture, drawing attention specifically to Henry's elaborately decorated and large codpiece, which she argues focused in on the royal genitals as potent and sexual.⁴⁵¹ Holbein's painting is an image of sexual prowess and accomplishment that highlights the potency of the royal body (see Figure 26). While codpieces also had a practical function, that is, to cover the outstanding part of the body, the point about courtly codpieces was that they became epic in proportion during Henry's reign.⁴⁵²

⁴⁵⁰ Lipscomb, *1536: The Year that Changed Henry VIII*, p.11.

⁴⁵¹ String, 'Projecting Masculinity: Henry VIII's Codpiece', pp. 143-160.

⁴⁵² For a recent discussion on the size of codpieces in an adaptation of Hilary Mantel's *Wolf Hall* see Alison Flood, 'Research confirms inadequacy of codpieces in TV version of *Wolf Hall*', *The Guardian* <<http://www.theguardian.com/books/2015/apr/30/wolf-hall-codpieces-too-small-says-literature-researcher>> [Accessed 1 June 2015]. The programme makers had to make the codpieces on screen smaller than we know that they were, because the real size would look ridiculous to a modern audience.



Fig.26. Hans Holbein the Younger, Henry VIII White Hall mural c.1537, ink and watercolour 257.8cm x 137.2cm, National Portrait Gallery, London

Most recently Victoria Bartels is investigating the militaristic influences found in civilian male dress in sixteenth century Italy and Germany and the codpiece is a prevalent component of her research. It is apparent that earlier in the fifteenth century men's dress comprised of a doublet, or tunic and hose with a mantel or cloak. Yet it is evident that developments in men's fashion meant that doublets and men's cloaks became shorter, meaning that men's private parts became more visible. By the sixteenth century in Europe, Bartels points out that: 'codpieces were speedily hijacked for the purpose of proving masculinity in the most blatant of manners'.⁴⁵³ Having studied portraits from Europe in the mid-sixteenth century it is apparent, she argues, that no expense was spared: 'codpieces were made in luxury silk velvet, bejeweled or embroidered'.⁴⁵⁴ The king fashioned oversized codpieces in his every day dress because they were the most obvious signifier of the phallus, intimately linked to notions of manliness, sexual prowess and fertility. Henry's portraits and armour are significant examples of codpieces being a prominent aspect of men's costume and image in the sixteenth century

3.2.4: The Body of a Champion: Nicholas Carew

Holbein painted Henry's leading courtiers and this included men who were not of noble birth, something that had not been done in earlier reigns. Nobles from dominant families such as Thomas Howard, third Duke of Norfolk and his son Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey commissioned portraits from Holbein. During Holbein's first visit to England in 1526-

⁴⁵³ Victoria Bartels 'What goes up must come down: a brief history of the codpiece', *University of Cambridge* online at <<http://www.cam.ac.uk/research/features/what-goes-up-must-come-down-a-brief-history-of-the-codpiece>> [Accessed 29 March 2016].

⁴⁵⁴ Ibid.

1528, Thomas More, an early patron, commissioned two portraits.⁴⁵⁵ The half-length portrait of More and the other monumental portrait - 'The Family of Sir Thomas More', which showed him in the intimacy of his home with his family, but was lost in a fire in 1752.⁴⁵⁶ In this first visit to London, Holbein also sketched Carew, who sat for him again in the early 1530s.⁴⁵⁷ Henry Guildford, a prominent courtier, jousting and favourite of the king also commissioned a portrait by Holbein in c.1527.⁴⁵⁸ A later key patron of Holbein from Henry's court circle was Thomas Cromwell, who commissioned his own portrait in c.1532-33. It was a mark of how far he had risen that he had the most celebrated court painter of the age capture his authority.⁴⁵⁹ The presence of Carew and Guildford alongside the aristocrat Howard and the great ministers, More and Cromwell, indicate that the jousting were of equivalent status.

Significantly, Holbein's portrait of Carew c.1533 illustrates him in full jousting armour, holding a jousting lance and sword (see Figure 27).⁴⁶⁰ As we shall see, Carew was

⁴⁵⁵ David R. Smith, 'Portrait and Counter-Portrait in Holbein's. "The Family of Sir Thomas More" ', *The Art Bulletin*, 87, 3 (2005), 484-506.

⁴⁵⁶ Hans Holbein the Younger, 'Sir Thomas More', *National Portrait Gallery* <<http://www.npg.org.uk/collections/search/portrait/mw04514/Sir-Thomas-More>> [Accessed 28 March 2016] for a sixteenth century copy see Rowland Lockey, after Hans Holbein the Younger, 'Sir Thomas More, his father, his household and his descendants', *National Portrait Gallery* <<http://www.npg.org.uk/collections/search/portrait/mw01734/Sir-Thomas-More-his-father-his-household-and-his-descendants>> [Accessed 28 March 2016].

⁴⁵⁷ Derek Wilson, *Hans Holbein: Portrait of an Unknown Man* (2nd edn., London: Random House, 2006), p.226.

⁴⁵⁸ Hans Holbein the Younger, 'Sir Henry Guildford (1489-1532)', *Royal Collection Trust* <<https://www.royalcollection.org.uk/collection/912266/sir-henry-guildford-1489-1532>> [Accessed 28 March 2016] see LP IV no. 3097. Revels.

⁴⁵⁹ After Hans Holbein the Younger, 'Thomas Cromwell, Earl of Essex', *National Portrait Gallery* <<http://www.npg.org.uk/collections/search/portrait/mw02128/Thomas-Cromwell-Earl-of-Essex>> [Accessed 11 June 2015].

⁴⁶⁰ Hans Holbein the Younger, 'Nicholas Carew', Drumlanrig castle, Scotland.

famed for his fearlessness and jousting abilities in the tournaments.⁴⁶¹ Carew was placed in Henry's household when he was approximately six years old in 1501 and shared the king's upbringing and education. His father Richard Carew had been the captain of Calais and his forbears had been loyal servants of the crown. Carew had mastered the skills involved in jousting, achieved through the many hours he spent training in the tiltyard that the king commissioned for him at Greenwich, 'Mr. Carew keeps for a tilt to run at, and for a shed to arm in'.⁴⁶² This was a mark both of Henry's favour and Carew's status as a jouster.

Presumably Carew was not training in there alone, but was likely being mentored by the king and other jousting experts, enabling him to forge homosocial bonds with them. This also helps to explain why Carew was soon brought to prominence at Henry's court, being a close companion of the king and a member of the exclusive jousting fraternity.

On 7 July 1517 Henry held a great tournament at Greenwich in honour of the Flemish envoys. In the jousts Carew, only twenty-one years old, gave a notable solo performance.⁴⁶³ Niccolò Sagudino secretary of the Venetian ambassador Giustinian gives an account of the scene. After Carew had run as one of the Challengers on the king's team, he re-emerged with a lance that was 'some twenty feet in length and nine inches in diameter' and 'he ran a long way with the beam on his head, to the marvel of everybody'.⁴⁶⁴ It is

⁴⁶¹ Stanford Lehmborg, 'Carew, Sir Nicholas (b. in or before 1496, d. 1539)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Oct 2007) <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/4633>> [Accessed 8 August 2015]. I will highlight the jousting career of Carew in the next chapter pp. 305-316.

⁴⁶² LP II Revel Accounts 7 July 1517.

⁴⁶³ David Starkey, *Henry VIII: a European Court in England* (London: Collins & Brown, 1991), p.40.

⁴⁶⁴ LP II no. 3462.

apparent that Carew used the tiltyard as an opportunity to showcase his masculinity and jousting abilities in a very public setting.

Carew's distinctions came after the painting in 1533, thus the portrait itself is a key marker of his aspirant status. In 1536 Carew became a knight of the Order of the Garter.⁴⁶⁵ It is evident that it was through his jousting abilities that Carew gained high status manhood. Indeed, Graham Noble argues that: 'whereas other courtiers wanted to be remembered as pious, wealthy or scholarly, Carew simply wanted to be known as the celebrated hero of the tiltyard'.⁴⁶⁶ This likely explains why, out of all of the series of portraits of Henry's courtiers, he is the only one to be painted in his jousting armour. Starkey writes: 'he stands proud and erect, the hero of innumerable fantastic tournaments'.⁴⁶⁷ Thus jousting for Carew was a more fundamental aspect of his identity than it was for any of the other courtiers at Henry's court.

It is also noteworthy that Carew is depicted with his codpiece prominently on show. Carew's large bulging codpiece, alongside his muscular shoulders and heavy armour is a picture of virility, strength and power. Carew was around thirty-six when his portrait was painted maintained a muscular, but still athletic frame. Another marker of Carew's manly status is his 'Renaissance elbow', which is indicative of boldness and control. The assertive

⁴⁶⁵ LP X no. 752 Order of the Garter creation.

⁴⁶⁶ Graham Noble, 'Sir Nicholas Carew: Tudor Conspirator?', *History Review*, 54 (2006) <<http://www.historytoday.com/graham-noble/sir-nicholas-carew-tudor-conspirator>> [Accessed 15 September 2015].

⁴⁶⁷ Starkey, *The Reign of Henry VIII: Personalities and Politics*, pp. 51-52.

elbow on his hip represents an aggressive stance that is linked to the themes of the tiltyard, which requires a robust form of manhood. In a comprehensive study, Joaneath Spicer traces its history in Renaissance art, showing it to be an overwhelmingly male gesture.⁴⁶⁸ Carew wanted his masculine status to be conveyed through his stance. The portrait also underlines that Carew's career at Henry's court was above all centred on his skill as a jousting knight, which led to his advancement. In the next section, I will highlight how for young men, the tiltyard provided a training ground in knightly combat that was revered by both Henry VIII and his sister Mary.

⁴⁶⁸ Joaneath Spicer, 'The Renaissance Elbow', in *A Cultural History of Gesture. From Antiquity to the Present Day* in (ed.), J. Bremmer (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1991), pp. 84-128.



Fig.27. Hans Holbein the Younger, Nicholas Carew c.1532-1533, Tempera on panel, 91.3cm x 101.7cm, Drumlanrig castle, Scotland.

3.3: Sculpting the Male Body for Jousting Success

Sport provided a continuous display of men's bodies in action, thus in these contests, exercising superior skill to the opposition, enabled a man to attain high status manhood and associated rewards. It is apparent that in a sport which had such a short playing career, new men were constantly being trained to replace the more experienced jousters, who themselves acted as coaches in much the same way as in modern day sports. In the context of the tournament, the body was displayed undergoing great exertion; it required upper body strength and daily workouts to build up the shoulders, arms and core, vital to jousting. It was difficult for a man either young or old to sustain physical perfection without any effort on his part; even young men had to train daily. The men in Henry's reign practiced the skills needed for jousting by 'running at the ring' as a training exercise in precision and horsemanship. Men such as Brandon and Thomas Knyvet, who became expert jousters in the reign of Henry VIII, began their training in tournaments held during Henry VII's reign. Brandon's exploits in the joust brought him to the attention not just of the king, but also to one of the highest ranking ladies in the court: the king's sister Mary, which subsequently had implications for his status and rank and for his relationship with Henry.

3.3.1: 1507 Lady of May Tournament

Brandon's exploits at a tournament held to celebrate the Lady of May in 1507, in honour of Mary Tudor, is most likely where Mary's attention was first drawn to Brandon.⁴⁶⁹ Mary as Queen of May presided over the month long tournament from a stage built beside a hawthorn tree where she likely presented the prizes to the victors of the jousts, tourney and foot combats. Mary was clearly the focal point of this event; it showcased the young princess, now in her twelfth year, to the English court. Twelve was the age at which girls could marry according to canon law, and the tournament was held to celebrate her betrothal to Charles of Castile. The Challenge a letter sent by Lady May to the Princess Mary, established an allegorical setting for the proposed tournament:

Ladye Maie humbly beseech your grace to licence my poor servant
to exercise against all comers in maye of pleasure and pastime and
such articles as here after enseweth not doubting but your gracious
licence obetyned all gentle courageous estate will doe as great and
greater honour unto me the lusty ladye Maie comfort of all lusty
hearte as they lately to the servant of the ladye winter dame
Februarie.⁴⁷⁰

This episode reflects the first recorded feats of arms in England around a story setting.

Inspired by the Burgundian tradition, the tournament organisation had its roots in Philip I's

⁴⁶⁹ For contemporary documents describing events see BL Harley MS. 69, ff2v-3r printed in F. H. Cripps-Day, *The History of the Tournament in England and France* (London, 1918, reissued New York, 1985), see Appendix IV.

⁴⁷⁰ BL Harley MS. 69, f2v.

visit to England, a renowned joust, in the previous year.⁴⁷¹ The letter referred directly to the tournament held by Philip and his knights of the Golden Fleece in February by 'dame winter', thus Mary had come to license a tournament to celebrate the season of spring taking on the role of 'ladye maie'.⁴⁷² Aged twelve Mary had her first taste of being at the focus of tournament display. These martial combats were about keeping up with chivalric fashions and they also showed how the tournament had become a forum for international diplomacy.

The Challenge to all comers was one of the most important privately sponsored tournaments in Henry VII's reign.⁴⁷³ These jousts in May and June 1507 were held at Prince Henry's manor at Kennington, whilst Henry VII was still weak and recovering from illness. Henry had almost nothing to do with the joust's organisation, which was left to the new generation of courtiers and the prince. These combats were organised by the courtiers and Prince Henry as part of a longstanding Mayday tradition. The four Challengers: Charles Brandon, Thomas Knyvet, Giles Capel and William Hussey took part in combats that included jousts, tourneying on foot with sword and spear, archery, wrestling and casting at the bar. According to the tournament articles on 14 May 1507, certain gentlemen were to be armed at the tilt from, 'two of the clocke till five afternone to run to seide corner viii courses and thus answeare all'.⁴⁷⁴ Henry's hosting of this event was then a product of circumstances, but

⁴⁷¹ Thomas Penn, *Winter King: Henry VII and the Dawn of Tudor England* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2011), p.285 in the next chapter, I highlight the 1467 Smithfield tournament that had diplomatic overtones.

⁴⁷² BL Harley MS. 69, f2v.

⁴⁷³ Sydney Anglo, 'The Court Festivals of Henry VII: A study based upon the Account Books of John Heron, Treasurer of the Chamber', *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*, 43 (1960), 12-45.

⁴⁷⁴ BL Harley MS. 69, f2v.

it also reflected the young prince's enormous enthusiasm for jousting.⁴⁷⁵ However, while Henry was finally able to engage more fully in the chivalric culture at court, he was still not permitted to participate directly. The tiltyard provided a unique setting where the younger sons of nobles and ambitious men from non-noble backgrounds aggressively competed for the prince's attention. Thomas Penn shows that in Henry VII's last years 'courtiers and counsellors placed their sons where they could best impress him [Prince Henry]: in the tiltyard'.⁴⁷⁶ It is likely that there was a sense that the young prince would soon become king especially as Henry VII had been ill. According to the tournament Challenge those who participated included the younger sons of noblemen such as Edward Neville, Henry Stafford, Edward Howard and Edmund Howard.⁴⁷⁷ These young nobles were in direct competition with the newcomers at court, who, significantly, made up the team of four Challengers.

Hussey was the son of the royal counsellor Sir John Hussey, who as the king's Master of the Wards, was closely connected with financial payments to the king.⁴⁷⁸ John Hussey had "bought" himself into the nobility by marrying the sister of Richard Grey, Earl of Kent. Marriage also increased the status of Thomas Knyvet, who had married the daughter of Thomas Howard, Earl of Surrey, bringing him into one of the most influential noble dynasties in England.⁴⁷⁹ It is significant that both Knyvet and later Brandon were able to advance their positions through advantageous marriages. It highlights that not only was

⁴⁷⁵ Starkey, *Henry: Virtuous Prince*, p.221.

⁴⁷⁶ Penn, *Winter King*, p. 286.

⁴⁷⁷ BL Harley MS. 69, f3r.

⁴⁷⁸ Richard Hoyle, 'Hussey, John, Baron Hussey (1465/6–1537)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Jan 2015) <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/14266>> [Accessed 17 April 2015].

⁴⁷⁹ Steven J. Gunn, 'Knyvet, Sir Thomas (c.1485–1512)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Jan 2008) <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/15799>> [Accessed 15 April 2015].

marriage one route to high status in this period, but demonstrating a specific form of chivalric manhood was attractive to potential suitors. Both Knyvet and Brandon were accomplished jousts and both married high status women. No doubt it was Knyvet's impressive jousting abilities in the tiltyard that brought him to the attention of the Howards, thus earning him a place amongst this famously chivalrous clan. Brandon and Knyvet's martial abilities rendered them suitable partners for high status women and made up for a lack of innate nobility. This also supports the notion that chivalry (like gender) was performative.⁴⁸⁰

Giles Capel was the son of one of London's most affluent businessmen who had sent his son to gain a noble education in the household of Henry Bouchier, second Earl of Essex.⁴⁸¹ Gunn explains that: 'his London residence, in Knightriders Street, became a centre for the education of young courtiers'.⁴⁸² This was a commonplace route to social betterment for young men at the time, and Essex's household had an unrivalled reputation as a chivalric finishing school. Nicholas Orme provides insight into how boys learnt together in great households, practicing fighting against each other, learning to ride in the style of war, and tilting against each other in the tiltyard.⁴⁸³ Notably, these men were also up and coming jousts at court. Being trained together at this chivalrous school enabled them to form homosocial bonds with one another. The significance of these bonds of experience and

⁴⁸⁰ Karras, *From Boys to Men*, p.37.

⁴⁸¹ Penn, *Winter King*, p.286.

⁴⁸² Steven J. Gunn, 'Henry Bouchier, earl of Essex (1472, 1540)' in *The Tudor Nobility* (ed.), G. W. Bernard (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1992), pp. 134-79. Gunn's work provides the only detailed study of this key figure in early Tudor chivalric culture.

⁴⁸³ Nicholas Orme, *From Childhood to Chivalry: The Education of the English Kings and Aristocracy 1066-1530* (London and New York: Methuen, 1984), p.188

trust among jousting companions has not previously been given enough emphasis by scholars.⁴⁸⁴

Essex was the son of Sir William Bouchier and Anne Woodville his wife. Anne was a younger sister of Elizabeth Woodville.⁴⁸⁵ The number of Woodville descendants at the courts of Henry VII and Henry VIII is noteworthy, but it is important to point out that simply being a “Woodville” was not enough. Essex was an experienced jouster and became a frequent reveller at the court of Henry VII, regularly impressing both his peers and foreign envoys with expert displays. For example at the 1501 Westminster Tournament, Essex and his men entered into the tiltyard: ‘in a great mountain of green with many trees, herbys, stons and marvellous beasts’ surmounted by a ‘young lady in her haire pleasantly besent for his pavillion’.⁴⁸⁶ Essex was required to prove himself in the tiltyard in the same way that the sons of the gentry men whom he trained were expected to showcase their jousting credentials, if they wanted to secure a place in either king’s household.

At the accession of Henry VIII, Essex was made captain of the King’s Spears, dedicated to attending the king and since the reign of his father; the company now included fifty or more young men. The objective of the company was to train the young nobility in feats of arms, whilst reinforcing their bonds of loyalty to the king and creating homosocial

⁴⁸⁴ I owe this observation to Toby Capwell, personal communication.

⁴⁸⁵ Steven J. Gunn, ‘Bouchier, Henry, second earl of Essex (c.1472-1540)’ *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2004) <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/6451>> [Accessed 14 May 2015].

⁴⁸⁶ BL Harley MS. 69, f29r in the next chapter, I discuss the 1501 Westminster tournament through the use of the score cheques that highlight the men who were able to perform well pp. 257-296.

bonds with each other.⁴⁸⁷ This formalised Essex's status as an instructor of chivalry, which was already well established through his household and his role in training well-to-do young men in chivalric pursuits. Gunn explains that Essex's age soon began to take its toll however: 'Brandon and his generation, a decade, or more younger than the earl, eclipsed him in the king's company'.⁴⁸⁸ Brandon himself had also been trained in Essex's household, becoming his Master of the Horse just as Brandon later became Henry VIII's Master of the Horse.⁴⁸⁹ These young men went on to advance themselves significantly at the court of Henry VIII; having been trained by the Earl they assumed status beyond that of jousters. For example Brandon being seven years older than the prince became something of a chivalric hero figure for Henry. It is not surprising that Brandon assumed such a prominent position in the jousts held at Henry VIII's court, which brought him to the attention of Mary Tudor.

3.3.2: Knightly Bodies in Training

From the start of Henry VIII's reign it is apparent that he had begun training for jousting having been forbidden to participate in contests during his father's reign.⁴⁹⁰ In September 1509 Ambassador Andrea Badoer wrote home that the king had been 'tilting at the ring' at the palace of Westminster.⁴⁹¹ It was essential that young nobles practice riding techniques such as 'running, or tilting at the ring', where the competitor would attempt to

⁴⁸⁷ Wooding, *Henry VIII*, p.64.

⁴⁸⁸ Gunn, 'Henry Bouchier, earl of Essex (1472, 1540)', pp. 134-79.

⁴⁸⁹ Penn, *Winter King*, p.287.

⁴⁹⁰ Starkey, *Henry: Virtuous Prince*, pp. 230-233.

⁴⁹¹ 'Venice: September 1509', in *Calendar of State Papers Relating To English Affairs in the Archives of Venice*, Volume 2, 1509-1519, ed. Rawdon Brown (London, 1867), pp. 5-6 <<http://www.british-history.ac.uk/cal-state-papers/venice/vol2/pp5-6>> [Accessed 15 February 2016]. Hereafter referenced as *CSP Venice* with volume and entry number.

strike an object with his lance or sword. Running at the ring sought to develop accuracy in hitting a target. Participants took turns to ride along the barrier in the tiltyard before taking aim with their lance at a ring suspended from a post that replaced the opponent in a genuine contest. In a practice not dissimilar to scoring jousting, whoever speared the ring with his lance the most times after a set number of courses would be declared the winner. Likely having witnessed the expert performances of men in the tiltyard such as Brandon at his father's court, Henry knew that he had to put in some serious practice if he was to stand a chance of jousting against them. It also demonstrates that from the start of his reign Henry had every intention of competing in tournaments and proving his manhood within this chivalric context.

It is evident that Henry continued honing his jousting abilities by running at the ring well into his twenties. In the King's Book of Payments for 1516 Richard Gibson Yeoman of the Great Wardrobe records, 'velvets, damasks, satins, sarcenets and workmanship for the King's running at the ring, on 29 Jan. and 5 Feb'.⁴⁹² This training was also a means whereby Henry could form homosocial bonds with his men of the tiltyard, 'the Duke of Suffolk and 9 others on his side', who ran at the ring with the king on 29 January 1516 these bonds were crucial in tying these men together and to Henry's kingship.⁴⁹³ Presumably these training sessions also allowed Henry to pick out the most skillful jousters and horsemen who would make up his team of Challengers. It is no surprise to find Brandon, arguably the most proficient jousting at Henry's court and his closest companion, training alongside the king. Perhaps Henry was even hoping to pick up some jousting tips from his best friend.

⁴⁹² *LP II The King's Book of Payments 1516*, pp. 1469-1473.

⁴⁹³ *LP II Revels*, pp. 1490-1518.

3.3.4: A Chivalric Romance: Mary Tudor and Charles Brandon

On 9 October 1514, the eighteen-year-old Mary Tudor, sister of Henry VIII, married the fifty-two year old King Louis XII of France at Abbeville.⁴⁹⁴ France and England were actively at war until Mary's marriage with Louis XII helped to cement the peace treaty.⁴⁹⁵ Mary was crowned Queen of France on 5 November 1514, an occasion that was marked by great ceremony and a major tournament in which Brandon, the newly created Duke of Suffolk, put on an impressive display.⁴⁹⁶ As we shall see, given Louis' age and ill health, Mary exacted a promise from Henry before leaving England that she would be able to choose her second husband. Less than three months after his marriage to Mary, Louis died on New Year's Day 1515.⁴⁹⁷ Mary and Brandon then married in secret without Henry's permission. Although the exact date of their wedding remains unknown, it was sometime between the 15 and 20 February 1515.⁴⁹⁸ Five months later on 13 May 1515, Mary and Brandon formally married at Greenwich in front of Henry and Catherine of Aragon.⁴⁹⁹ It is important to look at these events in more detail as Mary was one of a very few high status women who was able to marry for love. And Brandon's status as a chivalric hero was clearly a crucial part of his attraction for her.

⁴⁹⁴ *CSP Venice* II no. 508.

⁴⁹⁵ *LP* I no. 3000 Surrey on the 14 June wrote to Henry that he had successfully burned all the lands around Cherbourg a town in Normandy, 'have burnt all the country four miles west of where I landed, and three miles eastward to the walls of Cherbourg, and two miles inland'.

⁴⁹⁶ Hall, p.572.

⁴⁹⁷ *CSP Venice* II no. 560.

⁴⁹⁸ Erin Sadlack, *The French Queen's Letters: Mary Tudor Brandon and the Politics of Marriage in Sixteenth century Europe* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), p.105 as I have argued on p.207 it seems that there is a discrepancy with the date of the marriage if we are taking Brandon's letter on 31 January 1515 to be dated correctly.

⁴⁹⁹ *LP* II no. 468.

Mary was known for her beauty and was even said to be the most beautiful woman in England. On 6 February 1512, theologian Desiderius Erasmus wrote to Anthony of Bergen from London that: 'nature never formed anything more beautiful; and she excels no less in goodness and wisdom'.⁵⁰⁰ By detailing Mary's beauty, virtue and wisdom, it is clear that Erasmus recognised her ability to embody both the physical and moral attributes of an ideal woman and queen. The Venetian Ambassador on 2 November 1514, wrote to the Bishop of Asti, French ambassador to Venice and described Mary Tudor as 'slight, rather than defective from corpulence, and conducts herself with so much grace, has such good manners, that for her age of 18 years—and she does not look more—she is a paradise'.⁵⁰¹ It is apparent from these descriptions that a woman's body was also understood to be a marker of femininity and the ideals associated with women's roles. According to Kim Philips 'a woman's perfect age was her maidenhood', comparable to adulthood for males.⁵⁰² A significant component of a woman's body was her reproductive capacity, which as Laura Gowing describes marked a girl's transition to womanhood.⁵⁰³ Therefore Mary's body went beyond just her physical attraction, it signalled her youthfulness and fertility. In the same way that a man's body acted as a symbol of his potency, a woman's body was a significant marker of her fertility. These were important characteristics recognised by her first husband Louis XII, who married her in the hope of fathering an heir to the throne.⁵⁰⁴

⁵⁰⁰ LP I no. 1050.

⁵⁰¹ CSPV II no. 511.

⁵⁰² Kim Philips, *Medieval Maidens: Young Women and Gender in England, c.1270-c.1540* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2003), p.17.

⁵⁰³ Laura Gowing, *Common Bodies: Women, Touch and Power in Seventeenth century England* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003), p.114.

⁵⁰⁴ LP I no. 3009 on 17 June, the Venetian ambassador in England, Andrea Badoer, wrote to his counterpart in Rome that Louis had told Francis (the future Francis I, heir presumptive to the throne) that he would remarry and have a son.

The idea that the king should have the opportunity to view his spouse in advance of the ceremony was already an accepted practice at the beginning of the sixteenth century.⁵⁰⁵ In 1514 Louis XII received a portrait of Mary on the eve of his wedding, thus he knew of her attractive appearance when marrying her. On 17 August 1514, the Milanese ambassador at Rome wrote to Massimiliano Sforza, Duke of Milan that: 'the King of France, having seen the portrait of his destined wife, says he is more pleased to have so beautiful a wife than half his state'.⁵⁰⁶ Although had she not been attractive the marriage would still have gone ahead. Mary's role as a royal princess was to act as the embodiment of an international alliance and to facilitate strong relations between her native and adopted countries.⁵⁰⁷ On 13 August 1514, Mary was married via proxy to Louis XII. The Duke of Longueville, who had been captured in the 1513 campaign of France, acted as proxy for the French king. Things moved swiftly for Mary after her proxy wedding. On 2 October 1514, Mary left Dover for France. At this time Mary would have no doubt been aware that the often ill and aging fifty-two year old Louis may not have long to live.

On 9 October 1514, Mary was formally married to Louis XII. Thomas Howard, second Duke of Norfolk and Thomas Grey, second Marquis of Dorset gave Mary away.⁵⁰⁸ On the 5 November Mary was crowned Queen of France in Paris. The whole court attended, including Brandon and those of his entourage. To celebrate his wife's coronation, Louis

⁵⁰⁵ Felicity Heal, *The Power of Gifts: Gift-Exchange in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), p.164.

⁵⁰⁶ 'Milan: 1514', in *Calendar of State Papers and Manuscripts in the Archives and Collections of Milan 1385-1618*, ed. Allen B Hinds (London, 1912), pp. 422-440. *British History Online* <<http://www.british-history.ac.uk/cal-state-papers/milan/1385-1618/pp422-440>> [Accessed 19 April 2016].

⁵⁰⁷ Sadlack, *The French Queen's Letters*, p.50.

⁵⁰⁸ LPI no. 3348.

hosted a five day grand tournament, which included three days of competition between the English delegation led by Brandon, and the French team, captained by Dauphin Francis (who ultimately succeeded his cousin and father-in-law Louis XII). It is evident from Hall's later description of the event that Louis and her marriage was in a sorry state. Hall records that the entering knights:

shewed them selves before the kyng and quene who were [o]n a godly stage and the quene stode so that all men might see her, and wondered at her beautie and the kyng was feble and lay on a couche for weakenes.⁵⁰⁹

Louis' age and incapacity was highlighted further by Brandon's expert performances in the tiltyard, which stood as a marked distinction to the feeble and aged French king, who was unable to participate alongside the youthful and fearless English and French knights.

Brandon represented Henry and received special mention from the Venetian ambassadors for performing remarkably well in the jousts against the French Challengers, 'especial mention that the English Duke of Suffolk, broke many spears and was one of the challengers'.⁵¹⁰ This occasion provided him with the opportunity to showcase the full extent of his skills before a European audience. On the second day of the contest, Francis withdrew from his duel against Brandon because he had hurt his hand. Dorset, also competing in the tournament wrote home that: 'he Dolphyn himself was a little hurt on his hand'.⁵¹¹ Arguably

⁵⁰⁹ Hall, p.572.

⁵¹⁰ *CSP Venice* II no. 518.

⁵¹¹ *LP I* no. 3461.

Francis was making his excuses in order to avoid competing against Brandon. It was less shameful for Francis as a prince, to withdraw from the competition than to be beaten by a man of lesser status. For Mary watching Brandon's displays of gallantry and prowess in the tiltyard, he must have appeared as though he had just stepped out a chivalric romance.

In contrast, the aging Louis did not pose an attractive alternative, but despite his old age he was determined to produce a male heir. Louis' marriage to Mary represented a final attempt to father an heir to his throne, for despite two previous marriages, he had no living sons and therefore his throne would pass to Francis. An Italian official reported in more detail and in euphemistic terms, Louis' attempts to achieve an heir, 'thrice last night did he cross the river and would have done more had he so desired'.⁵¹² The idea that he was worn out by enthusiastic sex suggests that Louis was potent, but with reduced fertility. After three months Mary was not pregnant. Although in general male fertility declined with older age.

However less than three months after he married Mary, reputedly worn out by his exertions in the bedchamber, Louis died suddenly on 1 January 1515. Despite the warnings from his physicians English chronicler Raphael Holinshed concludes:

'he so ferventlie loved [Mary] that he gave himselfe over to behold too much hir excellent beautie bearing then but eighteene yeares of age, nothing considering the proportion of his owne yeares, nor

⁵¹² *CSP Venice* II no. 508.

his decayed complexion; so that he fell into the rage of a fever,
which drawing to it a sudden flux overcame in one instant [his]
life'.⁵¹³

Louis had quite literally killed himself by having too much sex – although his determination to have an heir was likely as much to blame as simple lust. In contrast French sources suggest that Louis had died of gout. Louis' contemporary, Robert de La Marck, Seigneur of Fleuranges, Marshal of France and historian wrote, 'he had for a long time been very sick, particularly with gout, and for five or six years he had thought that he would die of it'.⁵¹⁴ It suited English prejudices to believe that their English princess had worn out the French king, a view that would be supported by her decision to marry Brandon, which must have been the result of her desire for him. Indeed Louis is a model of what Henry would become: fathering daughters, but struggling to produce a surviving male heir and marrying young brides in the hope that they would in turn restore his lost youth. Following Louis' death, Mary was placed into seclusion for forty days, as was the French custom, in case there was any chance that she might be pregnant and the child's paternity must be certain.⁵¹⁵ Closed off from the world Mary risked becoming once again a pawn in Henry's diplomacy.

Once news of Louis' death reached England it was Brandon who was sent to France to return the Dowager Queen. Brandon arrived in Paris on the 31 January 1515 and met

⁵¹³ Raphael Holinshed, *Holinshed's Chronicles of England, Scotland, and Ireland in six volumes vol. III* (eds.), J. Hooker, F. Thynne, A. Fleming, J. Stow, H. Ellis and J. Johnson (London, 1808), p.610

⁵¹⁴ Quoted in Leslie Carroll, *Notorious Royal Marriages: A Juicy Journey Through Nine Centuries of Dynasty* (London: New American Library, 2010).

⁵¹⁵ Sadlack, *The French Queen's Letters*, p.92.

Mary on his arrival; he reported: 'when I came to Paris the Queen was in hand with me the first day I [came]'.⁵¹⁶ While in France Mary was vulnerable since the new King Francis I could use her as a bargaining tool as she was still young and beautiful and able to marry again. Francis could have attempted to marry her to another French nobleman to continue the alliance with England, or even to another member of the nobility in another country to form an alliance. Francis may have also been worried that on her return to England, Henry would make an alliance with Rome and have Mary marry Charles of Castile, as noted above, a former suitor before her marriage to Louis.

But Mary took matters into her own hands. Loades argues that Mary had long sought to marry Brandon, who was a desirable partner and immediately available, and claims that the Dowager Queen virtually forced him to marry her secretly in mid-February.⁵¹⁷ Brandon's letter to Henry has been dated as 31 January 1515, but I would argue that this is incorrect giving his confession of marrying Mary, he must have written it late February. For Brandon writes that:

Sir, I never saw woman so weep; and when I saw [that] I showed unto her grace that there was none such thing [upon] my faith, with the best words I could: but in none ways I could make her to believe it. And when I saw that, I showed her grace that, and her grace would be content to write unto your grace and to obtain

⁵¹⁶ *LP* II no. 80.

⁵¹⁷ David Loades, 'Mary (1496-1533)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Jan 2008) <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/18251>> [Accessed 15 April 2015].

your good will, I would be content; or else I durst not, because
I had made unto your grace such a promise.⁵¹⁸

Brandon's letter emphasises Mary's tears, which gives the impression that she was desperate and vulnerable, thus serving to explain his capitulation. Yet Erin Sadlack has challenged views that Mary was a weeping hysteric and love-struck romantic, instead arguing that both Mary and Brandon used the rhetoric of chivalry to help excuse their defiance of royal authority.⁵¹⁹ Brandon, especially, was well accustomed to the conventions of chivalry, thus it was not beyond him to present himself as a heroic figure, rather than as a wrongdoer. It is important to bear in mind that these letters were not "private" in a modern sense but would be read by more than just Henry. Thus it seems likely that Brandon exaggerated Mary's emotional state to cast himself in the role of rescuer and appeal to Henry's goodwill.

Brandon was not, however, equipped to deal with the political ramifications of such a match, which were left to Mary and Wolsey to handle. In another letter, this time to Wolsey, on 5 March 1515, Brandon made it known that he had consummated his marriage to Mary, thus making it legally binding:

And the Queen would never let me [be] in rest till I had granted
her to be married; and so, to be plain with you, I have married
her harettylle and has lyen wyet her, in soo moche [as] I fyer me

⁵¹⁸ LP II no. 80.

⁵¹⁹ Sadlack, *The French Queen's Letters*, p.4.

lyes that sche by wyet chyld.⁵²⁰

It is evident from Brandon's letter that, being aware of the grievous situation that he had got himself into, he turned to Wolsey for advice. He 'entreats Wolsey not to let him be undone, which he fears he shall be without his help'.⁵²¹ It is apparent that Brandon was clearly aware that he owed Henry for his position at court. Having come from a gentry background, he had been raised to the peerage by the king, thus Henry could unmake Brandon as quickly as he had raised him.

Perhaps Mary was then forced to confess her strong feelings for Brandon to her brother, the king, in an endeavour to save the duke from punishment by Henry. In the same letter to Henry on 24 April cited as containing his promise she states:

now that God hath called my said late husband to his mercy and that I am at my liberty, dearest brother, remembering the great virtues which I have seen and perceived heretofore in my Lord of Suffolk, to whom I have always been of good mind, as ye well know, I have affixed and clearly determined myself to marry with him; and the same, I assure you, hath proceeded only of mine own mind, without request or labour of my said Lord of Suffolk, or of any other person.⁵²²

⁵²⁰ *LP* II no. 222.

⁵²¹ *Ibid.*

⁵²² *LP* I pt II preface p.32.

Mary makes it known that she had previously expressed her liking for Brandon to her brother. The duke no doubt had impressed the young princess with his displays in the tiltyard, which explains her attraction to him. She herself was very beautiful, as discussed above. However Brandon was also clearly swayed by his own ambition; marrying into the royal family would serve to elevate him even further than a dukedom. Moreover his recognised status as a 'second king' would arguably have served to make the marriage more appropriate.⁵²³ Furthermore Brandon was modeling his manhood on Henry, so if anyone was fitting to marry his sister no doubt it was his best friend.

There is much that can be said about gender roles in connection with this episode that has not been previously explored by historians. For example, Mary presents herself as the irrational and emotional female unable to resist temptation in contrast to Brandon who is presented as exercising rationality and self-control, acting out of mercy in marrying Mary. Caroline Walker Bynum articulates this distinction succinctly in a series of oppositions that explains the material under discussion: 'male and female were contrasted and asymmetrically valued as intellect/body, active/passive, rational/irrational, reason/emotion, self-control/lust, judgment/mercy, and order/disorder'.⁵²⁴ The letters give the impression that both Mary and Brandon deliberately drew on these distinctions in order to appease Henry.

Mary's letter to her brother actually follows a previous letter from Brandon to

⁵²³ LPI no. 2171.

⁵²⁴ Caroline Walker Bynum, *Fragmentation and Redemption: Essays on Gender and the Human Body in Medieval Religion* (New York: Zone Books, 1992), pp. 151-179.

Henry, written on the 22 April 1515. It is evident from Brandon's letter that he, like Mary is careful to give the impression that he was deeply sorrowful about the affair:

for, sir, your grace is he that is my sovereign lord and master, and he that had brought me up out of nought; and I am your subject and servant, and he that has offended your grace in breaking my promise that I made your grace touching the queen your sister.⁵²⁵

It is clear from Brandon's letter that Henry had extracted a promise from him before he left for France that he would not marry his sister. Evidently Henry was well prepared for his sister to marry Brandon and as such exacted this promise from him ahead of him going to France. However, it seems from Brandon's dramatic response that Henry was ready to deny all knowledge that he had any inclination of the romantic feelings between the two of them. Thus Brandon was forced to throw himself at Henry's mercy, acknowledging that he was and would be nothing without him. Nevertheless Brandon was not from a great noble family and he did not have any living relatives who could pose a challenge to Henry's authority. Consequently he was quite possibly the only man in England that could get away with marrying the king's sister. Especially given the great affection in which Henry held for him.

In the immediate aftermath of the marriage Brandon was certainly out of favour, Wolsey reported Henry's anger in a letter to Brandon on 5 March 1515 stating that: 'a

⁵²⁵ LP I pt II preface p.31.

sudden and unadvised dealing shall [not] have a sudden repentance'.⁵²⁶ It is important to recognise that Brandon had broken the promise between him and Henry not to marry Mary. Indeed Loades claims that it was Brandon's actions and broken promise that aroused the anger of Henry rather than the marriage itself.⁵²⁷ Wolsey reported that the king was livid at Brandon for marrying his sister without his consent and that it took much work on his part to calm Henry's wrath. Although Loades does note that Wolsey who was claiming the credit for having appeased him may have exaggerated Henry's wrath.⁵²⁸ In breaking his promise to Henry, Brandon had acted dishonourably, which was a fundamental attribute for men of high status, as honour was tied up with the image of masculinity.⁵²⁹

Brandon was able to redeem himself somewhat by extracting the balance of his wife's dower, the jewels that she claimed Louis XII had given her, and a continuation of her French income from Francis I.⁵³⁰ It seems that Henry's anger was more for show than reality. Henry manipulated his sister and Brandon in order to secure money from his rival Francis and to gain his sister's rich gifts. Essentially Henry was not motivated by anger, but by greed. Loades has argued that Henry's anger had largely evaporated by the time he met his sister on 3 May, he did not pretend to be pleased, but he attended their public wedding at Greenwich on 13 May 1515 and was publicly reconciled with his old friend.⁵³¹ Brandon was now the closest man to the throne in England; he was the king's brother-in-law and any heirs that were produced through his marriage to Mary would have a potential claim to the

⁵²⁶ LP II no. 224.

⁵²⁷ See ODNB entry Mary Tudor.

⁵²⁸ Ibid.

⁵²⁹ Foyster, *Manhood in Early Modern England: Honour, Sex and Marriage*, p.32.

⁵³⁰ Sadlack, *The French Queen's Letters*, p.121.

⁵³¹ See ODNB entry Mary Tudor.

throne. At this stage in his kingship Henry did not have any heirs; therefore there was a real possibility that Brandon and Mary's offspring could one day inherit the throne. Brandon's high status manhood had the potential to pose a real threat to the king's manly image. It is no wonder that Henry had to stage such an explosive reaction against Brandon, as he had to make it known that despite Brandon's almost royal status, as king he was still at the top of the male hierarchy. Subsequently, in the tiltyard Brandon had the difficult job of jousting against the king. While ensuring that he did not outperform Henry, as the next chapter demonstrates.

4: Scoring Masculinity in the English Tournament c.1460-c.1540

This chapter focuses on tournaments as one of the most important arenas in which public displays of chivalric masculinity were observable through fighting and pageantry. It considers the following questions: How did the realities of culture relate to representations of manhood found in other literary sources? How far was tournament success a means of manhood? This chapter identifies a wide corpus of men who dominated the tournament circuit at Edward IV, Henry VII and Henry VIII's courts, in order to further substantiate my central contention about the continuation of the medieval knightly ideal into the early sixteenth century. For those who moved within the orbit of the court circle, chivalry continued to be a way of life that was essential to maintaining a reputation of high status manhood. Shepard, studying the camaraderie displays of middling status men argues that fraternal bonds of comradeship conferred a form of manly status through the collective activity in which they were engaged.⁵³² The same applied to the tournament as a collective activity. Noblemen and gentry men alike were given an equal opportunity to prove their manhood in the tiltyard, which demonstrates the social cohesiveness of jousting society. Admittance into the tiltyard was based on skills and achievements, not simply on lineage and birth right. It was not enough to be noble in this context: a man had to prove his nobility through feats of arms. Nobility, like gender, had to be performed and acknowledged.

In this chapter, I shall describe the revival of chivalry that took place under Edward IV, when the tournament once again became a prominent feature of court culture. In this

⁵³² Shepard, *Meanings of Manhood*, p.100.

section, I discuss the 1467 Eltham tournament, in which the king competed alongside his group of new Yorkist men, who were also the leading members of his court. I focus specifically on the career of Woodville, who represented the king in one of the most famed tournaments of the age, held at Smithfield in 1467. The final tournament this section discusses is the 1478 Westminster tournament, in order to demonstrate that aggressive impulses could not always be channelled by Tiptoft's rules.

In the second section the status of tournaments in the reign of Henry VII will be analysed as an important marker of continuity between the late medieval and early modern period. I highlight this through the marriage tournament of Prince Arthur held in 1501, which accelerated the careers of courtiers later prominent at the court of Henry VIII. I have decided to focus on tournaments for which score cheques survive as this provides a means of measuring and comparing individual performances more accurately than the narrative accounts.

In the final section, two tournaments held in the reign of Henry VIII are analysed the 1511 Westminster tournament and the 1516 Greenwich tournament as each have surviving score cheques. The score cheques are used as a way of quantifying masculinity: an acknowledged system of scoring that established incontrovertibly who the most accomplished jousts were, and therefore the best manly knights. This was a means by which heralds judged the bouts, but also a system that the knights themselves adhered to. This acute analysis of men's scores in the joust has not been previously conducted in

connection with masculinity; it is the purpose of this thesis to examine the actualities of masculine performance.

4.1: Chivalric Handbooks

A starting point for this chapter is the fifteenth century conduct books owned and read by members of tourneying society, which prove that jousting constituted a specialised set of skills that had to be learnt. This is illustrated through tournament handbooks that deal specifically with techniques involved in the joust, such as the one written by Duarte, King of Portugal in 1434 and that of King René of Anjou c.1460.⁵³³ Though I have focused on English tournaments, it is important to recognise that throughout Europe the chivalric ideal continued to be established through conduct books that taught men how to master these skills. Duarte not only theorised about chivalry, he lived it, being a renowned horseman, hunter and jouster.⁵³⁴ Duarte distinguishes four principal causes for failure in the joust: not being able to see what one is doing, lack of technical control over the lance, problems relating to the horse and lack of the will to win. This chapter is particularly focused on the issue of the will to win; in fact it was not just a question of whether or not these men wanted to win, but if they had the necessary skills and physical body that enabled them to win.

⁵³³ Duarte, *The Royal Book of Jousting, Horsemanship, and Knightly Combat*, pp. 42-53 for a modern English translation of King René's tournament book see Elizabeth Bennett, 'King René's Tournament Book', online at <<https://www.princeton.edu/~ezb/rene/renehome.html>> [Accessed 8 June 2016].

⁵³⁴ Duarte, *The Royal Book of Jousting*, pp. 1-2.

Another intriguing explanation that Duarte gives for failure in the joust is that men deliberately chose weaker opponents to joust against as they assumed that this would enable them to secure an easy victory:

there are those who are good jousters but try to look not so good to have the opportunity to joust against weaker jousters; they are the ones that might make mistakes just because, being aware of their advantage, they might disregard important aspects such as: not properly evaluating his opponent or not preparing the horses or the weapons as they should.⁵³⁵

It is apparent that according to Duarte's theory this actually encourages riders to become over confident and as such, to make mistakes. I have used Duarte's analysis as a framework in order to assess how it might have affected concepts of masculinity, if men purposefully chose less able men to joust against. This chapter argues that jousting against weaker opponents actually did nothing to improve a man's reputation. It was essential for Henry VIII to compete against expert jousters such as Brandon, who regularly beat all other men. In this way if the king beat Brandon, it would confirm his place at the top of the hierarchy of manhood. There was nothing to be gained from competing against incompetent riders who gave the king an easy victory, as for manhood to be achieved his fights had to be presented as a hard fought battle.

⁵³⁵ Duarte, *The Royal Book of Jousting*, p.95.

René d'Anjou's famous tournament book is also significant for its advice on the conducting and holding of tournaments. René, like Duarte, was not only inspired by a nostalgic view of a chivalrous past, but also aimed to create an incentive for the nobility of his own day to perform feats of arms at tournaments and on the battlefield.⁵³⁶ René focused on how a tourney or tournament should be held at the French court, a model that was inspired by those organising tourneys in Germany and on the Rhine, and those ancient customs that had been followed in France and written down in manuscripts. The tournament described is a *mêlée*; unlike Duarte's book, jousts are only briefly mentioned (see Figure 28). René's own account of the tournament is a detailed etiquette book that focused on: how the tourney was to be announced, how knights were to arm and dress themselves and the horses, how knights were to enter into the tiltyard, rules and ceremonies, and how prizes were to be awarded and presented. His book was filled with detailed illustrations that portrayed the armour, entrances of knights, a mock battle with judges and ladies watching from above and a single duel.⁵³⁷ Its lavish illustration is arguably the best source of information today on how a medieval tournament actually unfolded from beginning to end.

For the purposes of this chapter, which is concerned with the individual achievement of men in the tiltyard, a key aspect of René's book is his section on 'how the lady, the knight

⁵³⁶ Vale, *War and Chivalry*, pp. 66-67.

⁵³⁷ The Bibliotheque Nationale in France, which owns several copies of the tournament book (including the copy made for King René himself), has digitised the images from two manuscripts found online at <<http://visualiseur.bnf.fr/Visualiseur?Destination=Mandragore>> [Accessed 8 June 2016].

or squire of honor and the judges give the prize'.⁵³⁸ Three prizes are awarded to the knights: the first to the knight who strikes the best blow with his lance who is given a 'wand of gold'; a second prize is given for the knight who breaks the most lances who is presented with 'a ruby worth a thousand ecus or less'; a third prize is awarded to the man that stays longest in the lists without losing his helm, who is granted 'a diamond worth a thousand ecus or less'.⁵³⁹ It is noteworthy that the three ways to win in the joust are very similar to those assigned by John Tiptoft in 1466, which might suggest an earlier date of René's book and that it influenced Tiptoft (see Figure 29). It seems that Tiptoft had based his scoring method for jousts on an international phenomenon that had established competitions and achievements.

⁵³⁸ *King René's Tournament Book: An English Translation* by Bennet online at <<https://www.princeton.edu/~ezb/rene/renebook.html#Customs>> [Accessed 8 June 2016].

⁵³⁹ *Ibid.*



Fig.28. René d'Anjou, livre des tournois c.1488-1489, Français 2692, ff67v-68r, Bibliothèque nationale de France.



Fig.29. René d'Anjou, livre des tournois c.1488-1489, Français 2692, ff32v-33r, Bibliothèque nationale de France

4.1.2: Spectators at Tournaments

Tournaments were one of the few occasions for subjects to see their king and his powerful men in action, as René d'Anjou's depiction of a *mêlée* illustrates. Whereas many pageants, banquets and masques, were staged to entertain only a select few, the tournament remained a public spectacle performed in the open air.⁵⁴⁰ Tournaments usually took place in the cities, and town officials were normally responsible for erecting the pavilions and stands for spectators in preparation for the spectacle.⁵⁴¹ At the Smithfield tournament, held on 11 and 12 June 1467, a public holiday was proclaimed and commoners unable to crowd into the enclosure climbed trees to obtain a glimpse of the pageantry and combats.⁵⁴² In the same way that singing and chanting is a core cultural element of modern sports games, it is apparent that the same was true of medieval sports events. In Paston's *Grete Boke* an account of the Smithfield tournament was recorded by the Chester herald who describes how on this occasion, Edward IV specifically ruled that no noise was to be heard from the crowd:

no maner of man of what estate degree or condicion he bee of,
aproche the listes, saufe such as be assigned, nor make any
noise, murmur, or shoute, or any othir maner tokyn' or signe
whereby the seide right' noble and worshupfull' lordes and

⁵⁴⁰ Young, *Tudor and Jacobean Tournaments*, p.25.

⁵⁴¹ See my conference paper 'Ideas of Chivalric Masculinity in the Context of English Urban Tournaments c.1500', paper given at Urban Cultures of Contest, Münster Institut für vergleichende Städtegeschichte, 20-22 October 2016 available online at <https://www.academia.edu/29581817/Ideas_of_Chivalric_Masculinity_in_the_Context_of_English_Urban_Tournaments_c.1500> [Accessed 7 November 2016].

⁵⁴² Rosamund Mitchell, *John Tiptoft, 1427-1470* (London: Longmans, Green, 1938), p.108.

knyghtes which this day shall' doo their' armes within theise
listes, or eithir of them, shall' move, be troublid or comforted;
uppon payne of emprisonement and fyne and raunsome at
the Kynges will.⁵⁴³

The popularity of this event across all levels of society was no doubt enhanced because it was such a major occasion that provided a rare opportunity for English men and women to see Burgundian knights and the sporting elite of the English court in action. The reason Edward ordered everyone to be silent was in order not to frighten the horses, which could be disastrous for the riders. Edward was using the tournament as a means to establish strong relations with Burgundy as part of his diplomatic policy.⁵⁴⁴ He depended on a vast audience in order to showcase his Yorkist men to his Burgundian visitors who could witness the strength of his court and that of England. Few, if any, public occasion could have matched the tournament for sheer size as according to Young, at any major Tudor tournament thousands of spectators packed themselves in double tiered viewing stands around a rectangular area approximately the size of a soccer pitch.⁵⁴⁵

In comparison, another sense of audience size is gained from 1501 Westminster tournament held to celebrate the marriage between Prince Arthur and Catherine of Aragon. British Library Harley MS. 69 gives a sense of the vast numbers of spectators. The account explains that:

⁵⁴³ Bentley, *Excerpta Historica*, p.204.

⁵⁴⁴ This is discussed further below, pp. 230- 243.

⁵⁴⁵ Young, *Tudor and Jacobean Tournaments*, p.74.

uppon the walles were double stage of very thicke and many well builded and planked for the honest and comon people, the which by the great price and cost of the comon people were lyned the field unto the tilt was barred to the eschewing of the rudeners and their disturse and wandering amonge the speares horses.⁵⁴⁶

It is clear that hundreds and even thousands had turned out to the Westminster tournament, thus it is no wonder that the tournament ground was railed off to provide a buffer between the jousting and the crowd. A large audience had been anticipated probably on account of it being a major royal occasion allowing people a rare glimpse of the king and those of his court and household. Nevertheless, at both the Smithfield tournament, and the Westminster tournaments the crowd was segregated by social status.

College of Arms MS. M3 indicates that those who wanted to be seated in the purpose built stands had to pay an admission fee, 'by the greate price and coste of the seid comon people were hiryd'.⁵⁴⁷ Only those of some means could have afforded the high cost of these seats, which provided a better view of the fighting action and accompanying pageantry. In contrast those of lower status who could not afford to pay were made to line the field, but this did not put them off attending in order to see the knights of Henry VII's court. In the same account it is reported that the crowd was so thick that there 'was no

⁵⁴⁶ BL Harley MS. 69, f28v.

⁵⁴⁷ CA MS M. 3, f51v.

thyne to the yee but oonly visages and faces, without apperans of their bodies'.⁵⁴⁸ It is evident from these descriptions that the very public nature of the tournament and the size of these crowds added to the thrill of the tournament for the young knights in particular, who were encouraged to display impressive feats of arms in order to excite the spectators. Within this setting, knights were propelled to fame, as they became "sporting celebrities", a status that influenced their rapid rise at court.

⁵⁴⁸ CA MS M. 3, f51v.

4.2: Tournaments of Edward IV

Tournaments had effectively disappeared for over fifty years when Edward IV came to the throne.⁵⁴⁹ In the 1460s there was a major revival of the tournament with the joust becoming a regular court activity for the first time since the reign of Richard II. Richard was known for the great tournaments he held at Smithfield in the 1380s and 1390s, and though he did not take part himself, unlike his grandfather. He presided over them.⁵⁵⁰ Edward IV was in fact the first king to compete in the tournament since the reign of Edward III, who had set the precedent for a knightly king through his active participation in chivalric sport and ceremony.⁵⁵¹ There are no surviving score cheques from the reign of Edward IV, though we know that jousts were being scored during Edward's reign, as Tiptoft produced his rules for scoring jousts in 1466. In addition, I have also discovered one score cheque copied onto a manuscript revealing a set of jousting results, which I believe belongs to combats held in Edward's reign. Though the appeal of medieval chivalry in the late fifteenth century is often viewed as being profoundly nostalgic, it is apparent through the tournaments in Edward's reign that it was in fact a very current ethos.

⁵⁴⁹ Richard Barber, 'Malory's *Le Morte D'Arthur* and Court Culture' in *Arthurian Literature XII* (eds.), James P. Carley and Felicity Riddy (Cambridge: Boydell and Brewer, 1993), pp. 133-156.

⁵⁵⁰ Nigel Saul, *Richard II* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1999), pp. 342-345; Lindenbaum, 'The Smithfield Tournament of 1390', 1-20.

⁵⁵¹ Mark Ormrod, *Edward III* (London and New Haven: Yale University Press, 2011), pp. 102-104.

4.2.1: 1467 Eltham Tournament

Edward IV's participation in tournaments provided a unique opportunity to impress and showcase his martial abilities not only to those of high status within the orbit of the court, but also to the wider populace, who watched their king in action with awe. A sense of this excitement is captured in a letter written by John Paston in March 1467, in a letter to his brother John, where he describes Edward's participation in a tourney held at Eltham, 'I would that you had been there and seen it, for it was the goodliest sight that was sene in inglande this Forty yeares of so fewe men'.⁵⁵² Paston's delight is obvious from his letter, at the return of feats of arms in Edward's reign. It is likely that these combats served as practice for the Smithfield tournament later in 1467. Paston does not write how well Edward performed in this tourney and there are no other accounts that describe his exploits on this occasion.

In England, certain dedicated families dominated tournament society in the fifteenth century, though not all of these were originally of noble status. Paston's letter describing the tournament at Eltham lists the following:

there was upon one side the Kinge, My Lorde Scalles, My selfe,
and Sellenger and without, my lord Chamberlyn, Sir John
Woodvyle, Sir Thomas Mountgomery and Iohn AParre.⁵⁵³

⁵⁵² Davis, *Paston Letters and Papers of the Fifteenth Century* Part 1, p.396.

⁵⁵³ *Ibid.*

It is significant that John Paston competed in this tournament on the king's side as the Pastons were an established gentry family, but not noble. By jousting well John distinguished himself among his fellow courtiers. Thereby reinforcing his martial prowess and masculine identity demonstrating that despite not being born a noble, he possessed noble qualities and skills nonetheless. Barker has shown that tournaments were both exclusive in that only the chivalric classes could participate fully and also a great equalizer in that there was a tremendous divergence in wealth and social status.⁵⁵⁴ It is apparent that the 'equalizer' that Barker identifies is skill.

These men at Eltham were Edward's closest companions. By competing alongside his men, Edward was able to forge strong homosocial bonds with them. Edward was in the midst of the action, not a spectator, as was the case for Henry VII later. It is noteworthy that those on the king's team were all of a similar age to him. Woodville and Thomas St Leger were both twenty-seven and Paston was the same age as the king being twenty-five years old, thus all were in the youthful phase of manhood when they competed at Eltham. It was only natural that Edward as a young king wanted men around him who were the same age and shared his interests and hobbies. Significantly Woodville and St Leger were both the king's brother-in-laws, thus it was this familial connection that also secured them a place on his team.⁵⁵⁵ Notably Woodville and St Leger were both very loyal to Edward IV and protective of his interests; this prompted them to rebel against Edward's usurping brother Richard an action that led to their execution.

⁵⁵⁴ Barker, *The Tournament in England*, p.117.

⁵⁵⁵ Thomas St Leger married the king's elder sister Anne of York in 1474 following her divorce from Henry Holland, third Duke of Exeter the same year.

The opposing team of knights led by William Hastings consisted of John Woodville, Thomas Montgomery and John Parr. Hastings was from a Leicestershire gentry family, who had long served the house of York.⁵⁵⁶ He was an expert jouster and the king's closest companion, despite being more than ten years older than Edward, at thirty-seven he was still able to prove his masculinity in the tiltyard.⁵⁵⁷ Next John Woodville was the younger brother of Anthony and Elizabeth being only twenty-two in this his first tournament, but he must have sufficiently impressed Edward as he was later sent to compete at the tournament held to celebrate the marriage of the king's sister Margaret of York to Charles the Bold in 1468. Moreover Antoine the Bastard of Burgundy, who was the chief Challenger at the tournament, awarded him a prize on the second day for the tourney.⁵⁵⁸ Thomas Montgomery another close friend of Edward IV began his career in the king's household as one of his carvers. In the second half of Edward's reign, he was able to advance his status by fighting for the king at the battle of Barnet and Tewkesbury for which the king rewarded his loyalty and military service making him a Knight of the Garter in 1476.⁵⁵⁹ The final member of Edward's jousting fraternity was John Parr whose father, Thomas was an English landowner and frequently attended parliament during the reign of Henry VI. John's tourneying skills had made him one of Edward's main courtiers and he subsequently became the king's master of the horse in 1472. He was also knighted by Edward on the field at Tewksbury and became a knight of the king's body.⁵⁶⁰ It is apparent that none of these

⁵⁵⁶ Rosemary Horrox, 'Hastings, William, first Baron Hastings (c.1430–1483)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2004) <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/12588>> [Accessed 3 June 2016].

⁵⁵⁷ Introduced briefly here, as I will say more about Hastings in the next chapter pp. 338-243.

⁵⁵⁸ The wedding celebrations inspired a number of eyewitness accounts an English account is found in Add MS. 46354, ff41v-50v.

⁵⁵⁹ See Appendix six for a list of Knights made in the reign of Edward IV.

⁵⁶⁰ John Parr's entry is found inside Rosemary Horrox, 'Parr, Sir William (1434–1483)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Jan 2008) <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/21404>> [Accessed 29 November 2016]

men were from aristocratic families, but their ability to demonstrate high status masculinity through excellence in jousting superseded status that was merely inherited.

4.2.2: 1467 Smithfield Tournament

On 11 and 12 June in 1467 a tournament was held by Edward IV at Smithfield intended to play a central function in the diplomatic relationship between England and the Low Countries. Including negotiations regarding a marriage treaty between Duke Charles the Bold and Margaret of York, sister of Edward IV. The Smithfield tournament was also a way of emphasising the validity of Edward IV's rule, by impressing the Burgundian visitors and the city of London with the authority and splendour of England and the Yorkist court.⁵⁶¹ In addition it also proved that England could compete with the international glamour of the Burgundian court that was known for its decadent playing out of chivalry.⁵⁶² I would argue that Edward also aimed to restore English chivalrous masculinity following the disastrous reign of Henry VI, through the practice of chivalry that was presented as the antidote to England's humiliation. For Edward the tournament was not just a matter of entertainment; it had a real political and diplomatic value.

⁵⁶¹ Barber, 'Malory's *Le Morte Darthur* and Court Culture Under Edward IV', pp. 133-156; Keen and Barker, 'The Medieval English Kings and the Tournament', in *Nobles, Knights and Men-at-Arms in the Middle Ages* (ed.), M. Keen, pp. 83-101.

⁵⁶² Andrew Brown and Graeme Small, *Court and Civic Society in the Burgundian Low Countries c.1420-1530* (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 2007), p.36.

Indeed the combats on 11 and 12 June 1467 at Smithfield were so significant and memorable that four eyewitnesses have recorded accounts.⁵⁶³ I will describe each of these reports in more detail, but I will just briefly introduce them here. Two of these narratives derive from English accounts by Thomas Whiting, Chester Herald on duty within the lists, at the time of the combats and London chronicler Robert Fabyan who recorded his lively impressions in his *Great Chronicle*.⁵⁶⁴ The other two accounts are those of Burgundian commentators: Master of Ceremonies of the Burgundian household Olivier de la Marche and an anonymous Burgundian eyewitness who was likely a member of the Bastard's entourage.⁵⁶⁵ Although all four eyewitnesses offer remarkable insights into the combats and spectacles at Smithfield, it is also true that they produce vastly differing versions of the same fighting episodes, as we shall see.

4.2.3: The Four Eyewitness Accounts

Perhaps the most famous account is that found in John Paston's *Grete Boke*. Paston commissioned a detailed account of the Smithfield tournament for his records and as part

⁵⁶³ In addition the four sources cited, the following all mention the 1467 tournament: William Worcester, *Annales in Letters & Reign of Henry VI Pt II* (Roll Series: London, 1861-1864); *Chronicles of London* (ed.), Charles Lethbridge Kingsford (Clarendon Press: London, 1905); Hall's *Chronicles*; John Stow, *Annales* (London, 1631). Among more recent writings the account by Chester Herald found in Lansdowne MS. 285 is printed in Bentley, *Excerpta Historica*, pp. 176-212. Cora L. Schofield, *Life and Reign of Edward IV Pt I* (London: Routledge, 1923) pp. 414-420; Cripps-Day, *The History of the Tournament in England and in France*, pp. 96-98; Clephan R. Coltman, *The Tournament: its Periods and Phases*, pp. 76-77.

⁵⁶⁴ BL Lansdowne MS. 285, ff18r-24r, 29v-43r, 99r-100v, *Great Chronicle of London* (eds.), A. H. Thomas and I.D. Thornley (London, 1938), pp. 203-204.

⁵⁶⁵ Olivier de La Marche, *Memoirs* (Ghent, 1556), pp. 489-90 and unpublished MS is found in Utrecht MS. 1776, ff186r-225v.

of his self-tutoring.⁵⁶⁶ Written by Chester herald, the narrative is predominately concerned with the organisation of the Challenge and thus provides a detailed insight into the elaborate rules and rituals that governed the medieval tournament.⁵⁶⁷ The Smithfield tournament would have been a valuable addition to this compilation of chivalric material as it was one of the most famed tournaments of the age, as noted above. London dignitary Fabyan provides a full and rich report of the fighting activity that offers a different version of events.⁵⁶⁸ Truly much has been made in the historiography of this chivalrous occasion as the Challenge issued, the role of the women, and the fighting activity, together provide an exemplar of how a tournament should be held and conducted.⁵⁶⁹

An alternative Burgundian record of the Smithfield tournament is in the Royal Armouries codex comprising of three fifteenth century manuscripts, which are acknowledged as a chief source for the study of the medieval tournament.⁵⁷⁰ Inside is a copy of the account written by an anonymous Burgundian eyewitness that is originally recorded in Utrecht MS. 1776.⁵⁷¹ Item thirteen in the codex gives an extensive account of

⁵⁶⁶ BL Lansdowne MS. 285, ff18r-24r, 29v-43r, 99r-100v. In a case study of the feats of arms at Smithfield in 1467 Lester has shown how documents such as challenges, letters, rules of combat, lists and narratives were brought together in a clever assemblage produced in Paston's Grete Boke in Godfrey A. Lester, 'Fifteenth Century English Heraldic Narrative', *Yearbook of English studies*, 22 (1992), 201-212. The significance of this collection was also discussed above pp. 101-104.

⁵⁶⁷ Bentley, *Excerpta Historica*, p.175.

⁵⁶⁸ *Great Chronicle of London*, pp. 203-204.

⁵⁶⁹ Another English account has been transcribed into manuscript MS. L5bis held in the College of Arms that holds copies of fifteenth century material written in more than one sixteenth century hand.

⁵⁷⁰ Ralph Moffat's doctoral thesis which both translated and transcribed the fifteenth century codex, 'The Medieval Tournament: Chivalry, Heraldry and Reality, An Edition and Analysis of Three Fifteenth-Century Tournament Manuscripts II Volumes' (unpublished PhD. Thesis, University of Leeds, 2010) available online at <http://etheses.whiterose.ac.uk/1430/1/Ralph_Moffat_PhD_2010.pdf> [Accessed 5 January 2015].

⁵⁷¹ Moffat, 'The Medieval Tournament: Chivalry, Heraldry and Reality', p.93 reveals along with other passages in the codex that this was written by a courtier in the train of the Bastard rather than a herald.

the combat between Woodville and the Bastard.⁵⁷² The codex, as with so many heraldic collections, was a volume produced by heralds for heralds. It is not a random miscellany, but a carefully collected series of chivalric exploits that also had a didactic purpose, thus illustrating a working document for heralds.⁵⁷³ According to Anglo who has worked with the original manuscript found in Utrecht MS. 1776, he contends that the anonymous Burgundian eyewitness 'was a man well used to witnessing and to participating in court spectacles'.⁵⁷⁴ Another eyewitness was famous Burgundian Olivier de la Marche who was in England at the time of the Bastard's visit and has left arguably the fairest description of the combats at Smithfield.⁵⁷⁵

4.2.4: The Challenge of the two Champions

Woodville was selected as the English champion who stood in for the king, who had chosen not to compete, but instead to preside over the fighting activity. Hence it was important that Woodville embodied the chivalrous ideal as he essentially represented the honour and masculinity of both Edward and England. Therefore it was not just Woodville's manhood that was at stake here, but the manhood of England. The person selected to be Woodville's opponent in this Challenge was Antoine, the Bastard of Burgundy. He was publicly acknowledged as the natural son of Philip the Good, Duke of Burgundy and he had a

⁵⁷² Leeds Royal Armouries Library, Codex RAR.0035 (I.35), printed in Moffat, 'The Medieval Tournament: Chivalry, Heraldry and Reality', pp. 169-195. For further discussion of this combat see below pp. 238-244.

⁵⁷³ The Codex Leeds, Royal Armouries Library, Codex RAR.0035 (I.35) in the commentary on the authorship of the codex by Moffat, 'The Medieval Tournament: Chivalry, Heraldry and Reality', p.31

⁵⁷⁴ Sydney Anglo, 'Anglo- Burgundian Feats of Arms: Smithfield June 1467', *The Guildhall Miscellany*, 2, 7 (1965), 271-283.

⁵⁷⁵ Marche, *Memoirs*, pp. 489-90.

high reputation for chivalric exploits (see Figure 30). For example on 3 February 1462, the Bastard had jousted against Pedro Vásquez de Saavedra, a famed Spanish knight and Philippe de Crèvecoeur knight in the Order of the Golden Fleece.⁵⁷⁶ He had also just returned from crusade and was himself awarded the prestigious Order of the Golden Fleece in the same year. His father Phillip was also an enthusiastic jousting enthusiast and often took part in tournaments held at his court.⁵⁷⁷ The Bastard sent letters challenging Woodville to a joust before the 1465 Smithfield tournament Challenge, but the wars and divisions in England prevented Woodville from competing.⁵⁷⁸ Therefore it is apparent that Woodville also had an international chivalric reputation as a jousting enthusiast, as well as a national one. This adds a personal element into the contest; as for Woodville and the Bastard this was also about their individual reputations.⁵⁷⁹

⁵⁷⁶ Lansdowne MS. 285, ff48r-57v.

⁵⁷⁷ Richard Vaughan, *Philip the Good: The Apogee of Burgundy, Volume 3* (Longman, London and New York: The Boydell Press, 1970), p.145.

⁵⁷⁸ The entire text of the letter is given in the original French, in BL Harley MS. 4632, f88r, with another contemporary copy of the middle part of Woodville's letter found in French, in Heralds College Arundel MS. 48, f3487r, and a translation of the letter into English can be found BL Lansdowne MS. 285, ff22r-22v.

⁵⁷⁹ See my article 'Woodville versus the Bastard', p.6.



Fig.30. Nineteenth century engraving of the Bastard of Burgundy wearing the Order of the Golden Fleece based on the original portrait by Hans Memling reproduced by gracious permission of the Royal Armouries.

The Challenge for this tournament, issued by Woodville's sister Queen Elizabeth Woodville had happened two years previously on 17 April 1465. On his way back from mass, the ladies of the court surrounded Woodville. In his letter to the Bastard on 18 April 1465 Woodville relates the Challenge issued by the ladies:

and as I spake unto hir Highnesse kneeling, my cap oute of my hede,
as my dewte was, I wote not by what adventure ne hou it happyd,
but all the ladies of hir court came aboute mee; and I toke noon hede
than that they of their grace had tied aboute my thye a Coler of
goolde garnysshid with precious stone, and was made of a letter the
which, for to day trougth, whan I pecyvid was more nygh my harte
than my knee and tied a noble Floure of Souvenaunce enamelled
and in maner of emprise.⁵⁸⁰

The flower of the souvenance (forget-me-not) was likely chosen as a token flower to act as a reminder of the feats of arms that had been promised. Having obtained the king's permission to bring the adventure of the flower of souvenance to a conclusion, the gallant Woodville forwarded the articles and the enamelled flower to the Bastard, accompanied by the letter just quoted.

Woodville asked the Bastard to touch the letter with his knightly hand, in token of his accepting the Challenge. In his contest Woodville then took on the role of Challenger and

⁵⁸⁰ BL Lansdowne MS. 285, ff29v-30r.

the Bastard acted as Answerer. The involvement of the ladies within chivalry is significant here; it is they who are responsible for bestowing this Challenge on Woodville, whilst he gives the impression that he was not expecting it to happen. Within the convention of courtly love, Woodville willingly submits to the request of the ladies and allows them to take charge of the enterprise.⁵⁸¹ The fiction is presented that the women instigated this contest, but it was clearly already decided that Woodville and the Bastard would fight, because of the diplomat circumstances discussed above.

In Woodville's letter to the Bastard the articles given included running one course with a sharpened lance and without a tilt, followed by a tourney with sharp edged swords and a foot combat.⁵⁸² The articles relating to the foot combats highlight this:

the second chapitre is such that we shall be armed on foot as is suitable for noblemen in such a case, and may carry targes and pavises at the choice of each and we shall be armed with spears, axes and daggers and shall have only one throw of the spear. Then we shall fight wit the other weapons until one of us two be forced to the ground or disarmed at all points.⁵⁸³

Running both with sharp spears and without a tilt was an incredibly perilous and hazardous exercise not dissimilar from warfare.⁵⁸⁴ Jousting without a tilt was very dangerous since

⁵⁸¹ Karras, *From Boys to Men*, p.49.

⁵⁸² Codex RAR.0035 (I.35) f48r.

⁵⁸³ BL Lansdowne MS. 285, f31r.

there was nothing to prevent the opposing horses from colliding into one another; therefore it was important that the horse was under the command of the rider. A horse needed to gallop in a straight line, so that its rider's lance could hit the opposing rider, who had to be strong, accurate and in full control of his horse. The evidence of the articles relating to the Smithfield tournament thus do not support the conventional argument that the tournament by this period was increasingly removed from martial activity and tamed by themes of gallantry and courtliness.⁵⁸⁵

4.2.5: The Combats of Woodville versus the Bastard

It was not until two years later that the tournament took place on the 11 and 12 June 1467 as the Bastard was fighting in a civil war between Louis XI of France and the Dukes of Burgundy and Brittany, which delayed his arrival. Finally with the war concluded, the martial games could begin. According to the account transcribed into Paston's *Grete Boke*, on the first day, 11 June, Woodville and the Bastard charged against each other intent on making contact before the king's seat, but they completely missed each other and the perilous joust, fought with sharp spears and without a tilt was over.⁵⁸⁶ This made for a rather anti-climatic end to the jousts.

⁵⁸⁴ Vale, *War and Chivalry*, p.68 I focus on the skills gained from warfare in the next chapter.

⁵⁸⁵ Kilgour, *The Decline of Chivalry*; Huizinga, *The Waning of the Middle Ages* and Ferguson, *Indian Summer of English Chivalry*.

⁵⁸⁶ Bentley, *Excerpta Historica*, p.208.

Next it was the fight on horse with swords for the tourney and it was in this combat that an accident occurred, which confused both spectators and chroniclers. All four eyewitnesses are agreed that Woodville's horse collided with the Bastard's, but in some accounts there is a suggestion of foul play. Woodville, spurring his horse into action, was seen to ride violently against the Bastard and crash into him, the shock of the collision bearing the Bastard down to the ground, where he lay with his horse on top of him. The Bastard was not seriously hurt, but his horse was badly injured and died soon after. This was a breach of Tiptoft's ordinances where it was stated that: 'whoso striketh a horse shall have no prize'.⁵⁸⁷ The Bastard was offered another horse in accordance with the rules of Tiptoft, but he preferred to fight no more that day.⁵⁸⁸

The exact cause and effect of this collision is not clear. In Chester herald's account, this incident is put down to Woodville taking advantage of being ready first: 'not with stondyng the seide Lord Scales was sooner redy: wherefore he sought the Basterd ferthir to the grounde, and assailid hym wt a foyne aboute the nekke'.⁵⁸⁹ Setting off early down the tiltyard would have given Woodville an advantage against the Bastard's steed, as Woodville would have come at him with a stronger charge. Moreover Woodville would have been in a better position to strike at the Bastard with the extra time gained, which was not a chivalrous move.

⁵⁸⁷ BL Harley MS. 2358, f13v.

⁵⁸⁸ BL Lansdowne MS. 285, f41v.

⁵⁸⁹ Ibid.

However Woodville's mount, says the London chronicler, had on 'a pyke of iron, standynge upon the fore parte of the sadyll...wherewith the horse beyng blynde of the bastarde, was stryken into the nose thrylles'.⁵⁹⁰ Significantly English chronicler Fabyan is of the opinion that Woodville had tampered with his horse's trapper and attached a steel spike in order to gain unfair advantage over the Bastard. It is evident that Fabyan was not the only one who suspected misconduct as Woodville rode at once to the king, dismounted and removed his horse's trapper. This suggests that others in the crowd thought him guilty and thus he needed to prove his honourable manhood in a public display. Any suggestion of dishonourable behaviour in the joust reflected badly on Edward and the English court, both of whom Woodville represented.

Despite Woodville proving his innocence to the king and to those in attendance the anonymous Burgundian chronicle also reports of the English knight's malpractice. He is agreed that a collision between the two horses took place, which resulted in the Bastard's horse being taken into the care of the heralds, but being found dead the following day. There must have been a post mortem carried out, for the Burgundian reveals the extraordinary news that the Bastard's horse had 'an estoc inside its mouth'.⁵⁹¹ The 'estoc' referred to a sharp pointed European sword designed to thrust through chain and plated armour. It implies that Woodville had thrust his sword into the horse's throat, which would have made for an unmanly blow. However Burgundian chronicler, Olivier de la Marche,

⁵⁹⁰ Robert Fabyan was an English chronicler who died in 1512. Henry Ellis. Robert Fabyan, *New Chronicles of England and France, in two parts by Robert Fabyan, 1516* (ed.), H. Ellis (London: F.C. & J. Rivington, 1811), p.656.

⁵⁹¹ Codex RAR.0035(l.35) f63r.

wrote that: 'this fall happened by mischance, as I have described'.⁵⁹² It is noteworthy that this Burgundian account also exonerated Woodville: perhaps they were also keen to smooth over a potential diplomatic incident. Especially given that the Smithfield tournament was as much a diplomatic occasion as a demonstration of chivalry and prowess.⁵⁹³

On the second day, 12 June in the foot combats, both Woodville and the Bastard performed feats of arms as though in warfare. The vivid description of both the combat with swords on horseback and axes on foot make it clear that these were not done for show, but were taken seriously as military exercises by both men. In spite of the fact that Anglo has interpreted the use of axes as designed principally for 'showy fighting with the lists', it is apparent from the Chester Herald's account in Paston's *Grete Boke* that this contest was hard fought.⁵⁹⁴ According to this account, Woodville and the Bastard were able to strike each other with such force that they cut gashes in each other's armour and it seemed inevitable that the fight would end in the death of one or both combatants:

so they fought togidre; the Lord Scales with the hede of his axe
afore, the toothier with the small end; and smote many grete
combres and thik strokes; till at the laste that they fill towards a
close, at which tyme the Lord Scales stroke hym in the side of the
visern of his basenet. Then the Kyng pecyvng the cruell assaile, cast

⁵⁹² Marche, *Memoires*, pp. 491-492.

⁵⁹³ This kind of enforced restraint is comparable to the Field of Cloth in 1520 that was held as part of a wider display of Anglo-French relations.

⁵⁹⁴ Sydney Anglo, 'Le Jeu de la Hache: A Fifteenth-Century Treatise on the Technique of Chivalric Axe Combat', *Archaeologia*, 109 (1991), 113-28.

his staff, and with high voice cried, whoo! ⁵⁹⁵

Woodville is depicted thrusting his poleaxe into the side of the Bastard's bascinet, which likely caused injury to his head as it caught inside his visor. Woodville and the Bastard had lost all control of themselves, fighting as though on the battlefield in a very real and aggressive display of miniature warfare. ⁵⁹⁶

A fight of this nature ran the risk of appearing unmanly, hence Edward had to intervene to stop the fight and restore the masculine equilibrium, as we shall see below. Despite the obvious levels of danger, both were prepared to risk death and injury on behalf of their rulers as part of a wider display of Anglo-Burgundian relations. ⁵⁹⁷ In addition, the commitment of both men to embodying a distinct form of chivalrous manhood reliant on strength and bravery is unequivocal. The contest was evidently personal as well as political – the winner would be deemed the better man, with all the gendered connotations that this implied.

Opinion was divided on who performed best, but most of the English chronicles unsurprisingly agree that Woodville had rather the better of the fight before the king intervened. Fabyan's account records:

⁵⁹⁵ BL Lansdowne MS. 285, f43r.

⁵⁹⁶ See my conference paper 'In the field, bold and hardy': martial masculinity and the warrior ethos in the reigns of Edward IV and Henry VIII', paper given at the Medieval Culture and War Conference, The University of Leeds, 5-7 May 2016 available online at <<https://hud.academia.edu/EmmaLevitt>> [Accessed 2 July 2016].

⁵⁹⁷ 'Woodville versus The Bastard', p.6.

when the Kyng sawe that the Lord Scalys had avauntage of the
Bastard, as the point of his axe in the vysour of his enemyes
helmet, and by force thereof was lykly to have born hym ovyr;
the Kyng in hast cryed to such as had the rule of the field, that
they shuld departe theym.⁵⁹⁸

Thus Edward intervened at the point at which it was becoming clear that Woodville had the advantage. Edward likely did not want his political overtures to Burgundy ruined by a complete English victory over Burgundy's champion. By deciding on a draw between the two men, Edward exercised his diplomacy, showing respect for his guest by honouring the Bastard's reputation in the tiltyard. This episode also highlights another aspect of Edward's role in the revival of chivalry as he did not simply watch over the jousts at Smithfield, but acted as the arbitrator of the combats. So, although Edward did not fight himself, this incident therefore emphasised Edward's position at the apex of the chivalric hierarchy, as only he had the hegemonic status and authority to stop the fight.

One highly distinctive chivalric relationship amongst knights was brotherhood in arms: a close relationship established formally between two persons of military status.⁵⁹⁹ Despite the ferocious display of arms between the two men, it is significant that Edward: 'commaundid them ych to take othir by the handes and to love togedirs as brethirs in

⁵⁹⁸ Ellis, *New Chronicles of England and France, in two parts by Robert Fabyan, 1516*, p.656.

⁵⁹⁹ Keen, *Nobles, Knights and Men at Arms in the Middle Ages*, p.43.

armes; which they so did'.⁶⁰⁰ The foot combats at the Smithfield tournament marked the end of the encounters between Woodville and the Bastard as both contracted that they would not compete against each other in tournaments again.⁶⁰¹ It is noteworthy that usually brotherhood in arms meant a vow to exchange arms, but the chivalrous promise between the Bastard and Woodville meant that they would not fight again.

This was upheld a year later in a contest in Bruges in July 1468, at the tournament held to celebrate Edward's sister marriage to Charles the Bold. John Paston writing to his sister Margaret Paston on the 8 July 1468, wrote: 'this day my lord Scales jousted with a lord of this country, but not with the Bastard, for they made promise at London that none of them should never deal with other in arms'.⁶⁰² Woodville and the Bastard had kept their promise not to fight against each other again. Brothers in arms implied a close relationship between the two that may have helped to develop the relationship between England and Burgundy, which was cemented by the marriage. Therefore it was another kind of family making. Both Woodville and the Bastard had fought valiantly in the Smithfield tournament and they ended as acknowledged equals, which was made explicit by them not fighting again. It is significant that neither had been the victor and now never would be. Perhaps this was Edward's intention all along as it served his diplomatic purposes.

⁶⁰⁰ BL Lansdowne MS. 285, f43r.

⁶⁰¹ Bentley, *Excerpta Historica*, p.212.

⁶⁰² Davis, *Paston Letters and Papers of the Fifteenth Century, Part 1*, p.539.

4.2.6: Undiscovered Smithfield score cheques

In British Library Add MS. 46354, the fourth volume of Thomas Wriothesley's heraldic collection includes an account of the 'justus of pes' held in Smithfield in June 1467 and just discussed.⁶⁰³ Whilst working with this manuscript, I discovered a copy of a score cheque penned onto the same folio marked with the names and scores of the men who took part (see Figure 31).⁶⁰⁴ It is also significant that Tiptoft's rules were written down just before the Smithfield tournament took place. These cheques do not score the combat between the Bastard and Woodville at Smithfield, as Tiptoft's scoring method dealt only with jousting across the tilt, while Woodville and the Bastard only ran one course with lances and this was done without a tilt. Thus the cheque is likely a record of the martial combats that took place at Smithfield after the "headline" combats between Woodville and the Bastard had been held.

The English chronicles give no details of the combats performed on three successive days after the grand tournament between Woodville and the Bastard, but Fabyan does remark: 'that doon, were other poyntes of warre doon bitwene certayn gentilmen of England and dyvers seruauntes of the said Bastard. Wherof the Englisshemen had the

⁶⁰³ For further discussion of Wriothesley's status and role see p.276.

⁶⁰⁴ BL Add MS. 46354, f116v. A copy of the cheque can also be found in BL Stowe MS. 1047 'the Commonplace book' of Francis Thynne, the Lancaster Herald copied extracts from the notes of other officer of arms in the reign of Edward IV including: the marriage of Richard, Duke of York, the christening of Edward's daughter Bridget, Tiptoft's rules for the jousts of peace and jousts at Smithfield.

worship'.⁶⁰⁵ It is apparent from Fabyan's chronicle that jousting between lesser knights continued for days following the main tournament with the English winning most of the honours. Fabyan's account of further jousting activity at Smithfield, thus provides evidential context for the score cheque I found in Add MS. 46354, which reveals jousting scores pertaining to English and Burgundian knights. That these feats of arms did not arise out of the occasion, but were predetermined, appears from the correspondence before they took place.

⁶⁰⁵ MS Cotton Vitellius A XVI transcribed in *Chronicles of London*, p.179.

Louis de Bretailles a Gascone who was part of Woodville's household issued a Challenge to Jehan de Chassa, chamberlain of the Duke of Burgundy, for the articles to be done on horse and on foot written 16 June 1466.⁶⁰⁶ Bretailles letter of Challenge to de Chassa, together with the latter's reply, are preserved both in the anonymous Burgundian narrative Utrecht MS. 1776 and by Chester Herald found in Lansdowne MS. 285.⁶⁰⁷ The combats, according to the Challenge would take the form of running eleven courses at the tilt with blunted lances of equal length and then fighting three times on foot with axe and dagger.⁶⁰⁸

On Monday 15 June 1467 the jousts were the sole combat with the eleven courses being prescribed in the Challenge. Anglo notes that in total nineteen courses were run on account of Edward wanting to see more jousting.⁶⁰⁹ This highlights Edward's evident enthusiasm for the joust as a further eight courses were run by each of the knights. In his summary of the Burgundian account found in Utrecht MS. 1776, Anglo reveals that Bretailles only managed to break one lance, whilst de Chassa broke six lances: this result also corresponds to the score cheque in Add MS. 46354, which records Bretailles as scoring one broken lance.⁶¹⁰ However, Anglo made no reference to the score cheque found in Add MS. 46354. Apart from Godfrey Lester, who has identified the cheque as part of a descriptive index of Lansdowne MS. 285, no one else has drawn attention to these cheques,

⁶⁰⁶ French translation of the letters of Challenge of Louis de Brutallis and the letter of acceptance by Jehan de Chassa based on Lansdowne MS.285 is found in Bentley, *Excerpta Historica*, pp. 213-220.

⁶⁰⁷ A useful summary is found in Anglo, 'Anglo-Burgundian Feats of Arms', 281-282.

⁶⁰⁸ Godfrey A. Lester, 'Sir John Paston's Grete Boke: A Descriptive Index, with an Introduction of British Library MS Lansdowne 285', (unpublished PhD. Thesis, University of Sheffield, 1981) available online at <<http://etheses.whiterose.ac.uk/6114/1/DX244254.pdf>> [Accessed 17 May 2015].

⁶⁰⁹ Anglo, 'Anglo-Burgundian Feats of Arms', 281-282.

⁶¹⁰ BL Add MS. 46354, f116v, Utrecht MS. Ff221-5 quoted in Anglo, 'Anglo-Burgundian Feats of Arms', 281-282.

or used them to shed further light on the combats that took place between the Burgundian and English knights following the grand tournament at Smithfield.⁶¹¹ The score cheques used at the jousting tournament were individual documents, whereas this one has been written onto the manuscript. Still it is possible that it was copied from an original score cheque made at Smithfield in 1467.

Another piece of evidence which can be used to further substantiate the argument that score cheques were being in use in the reign of Edward IV is found in British Library Harley MS. 1776. This is a blank cheque; there are no marks on this score cheque to detail any scores and there are no marks to show the courses run. It is made up of two columns labelled the 'Chalengers' and 'Defendates' with names running down each side, one of whom is John Woodville, brother of Anthony Woodville who died in 1469, which dates the cheque firmly in the fifteenth century. Thus these two sources together strongly suggest that Tiptoft's scoring system was indeed being applied to jousts and recorded by heralds soon after its composition.⁶¹²

4.2.7: 1478 Westminster Tournament

It was nearly a decade before the next major tournament was held at Edward's court, which also turned out to be the last. The marriage of the four-year-old Prince Richard

⁶¹¹ Lester, 'Sir John Paston's Grete Boke'.

⁶¹² BL Harley MS. 1776, f47r.

to the five-year-old Anne Mowbray, the heiress of the deceased fourth Duke of Norfolk was celebrated by a spectacular tournament announced by Anthony Woodville on 15 December 1477. Six gentlemen were to be Challengers on 15 January 1478, there to answer that day all comers with a tourney, joust and strokes at the tilt. The six gentlemen Challengers were Thomas Grey, Richard Grey, Edward Woodville, James Tyrell, John Cheyne and Ferris.⁶¹³ Thomas Grey and Richard Grey were the sons of Elizabeth Woodville and half-brothers of Prince Richard. Edward Woodville was the tenth child, and youngest son of Richard, first Earl Rivers and Jacquetta of Luexmbourg. Edward Woodville had made his debut at the Burgundian court in 1468, at the marriage of Edward IV's sister Margaret of York to Charles the Bold and was just as committed to the chivalrous ideal as his elder brother Anthony.⁶¹⁴ It is notable that Elizabeth's brothers were so involved in the chivalrous culture at court, but whilst others have argued that it was her marriage to Edward that brought the Woodvilles to prominence, it is also true that Anthony had already established himself as a jouster in the reign of Henry VI.⁶¹⁵ It is not known when Edward and Elizabeth first met, but we might speculate that they encountered each other on social occasions at court. Especially given that the Woodville men were such active jousters, it was likely they who brought Elizabeth to the attention of Edward through the tourneying community.

In addition to Edward's knightly companions who took part in the 1478 Westminster tournament, it is evident from another account in Ashmole MS. 856 that those from the

⁶¹³ BL Harley MS. 69, ff1r-2r printed in Cripps-Day, *History of the Tournament*, see Appendix IV.

⁶¹⁴ Christopher Wilkins, *The last knight Errant: Sir Edward Woodville and the Age of Chivalry* (London: Tauris & Company, 2009), p.27.

⁶¹⁵ Ives, 'Marrying for Love', 48-53.

established nobility continued to play a central role in court culture.⁶¹⁶ Those listed included: Henry Stafford, Duke of Buckingham: John de la Pole, Duke of Suffolk, Henry Percy, Earl of Northumberland and Thomas FitzAlan, Earl of Arundel.⁶¹⁷ These men qualified for the tournament on lineage alone, but they also must have displayed a skill and enthusiasm for military pursuits. In relation to arguments already discussed about the alleged decline of chivalry, it is significant that chivalry remained an important undertaking to the established nobility, who readily signed their names to take part in feats of arms.⁶¹⁸ It was also important to those new men whom had been raised by Edward and who were distinguished by their chivalric accomplishments as it gave them the opportunity to impress the established nobility, on the nobility's terms.

The articles were announced by the four officers of Arms: Clarencieux King of Arms and Norroy King of Arms, and the Windsor and Chester heralds, who proclaimed the articles of the Challenge in several parts of England:

the tenth day the said officers did sett up the said articles of petition in the said place before named at two of the clocke at afternoone with Clarencieux at Windsor, at Westminster Norroy and Leicester at the standard in Cheap, Windsor and Chester at London bridge.⁶¹⁹

⁶¹⁶ OB Ashmole MS. 856 is a collection of tracts and documents chiefly relating to the Office of Earl Marshal of England and the Court of Chivalry.

⁶¹⁷ OB Ashmole MS. 856, ff94v-101v.

⁶¹⁸ Vale, *War and Chivalry*, p.79.

⁶¹⁹ OB Ashmole MS. 656, f94v.

It is evident that the tournament was to be a grand occasion with knights coming from all over the south and midlands to take part in the jousts. Although no official score cheques survive from the reign of Edward IV, it is clear from surviving heralds' accounts that they, in addition to announcing these combats, were also recording the number of courses and how spears were broken.

The account in Ashmole MS. 856 details the names of the men who competed in the tournament, the number of spears broken, and in some instances exactly where hits were made. One example of this record is the duel between Thomas Grey, Marquis of Dorset and William Day: 'the said lord marquis brake upon the said William day two speares well and laudably broken and the said William day broke upon him four speares well broken'.⁶²⁰ From this account it would not be difficult to compose a score cheque for the jousts royal on this occasion, especially given the level of detail that is provided in accordance with how scores are marked. It is likely that score cheques were produced for this tournament, despite the fact that none survive.

At the Westminster tournament Robert Clifford displaced part of John Cheney's armour, but refrained from attacking that spot, thus he showed chivalrous behaviour:

it fortuneth that Clifford of the party without to disvoid a rib
palfron of Cheney of the party within the said Clifford so doing

⁶²⁰ OB Ashmole MS. 856, f101r.

and ensuing as before is unheard under fought him where he was disarmed.⁶²¹

It was possibly for this action the new Princess Anne Mowbray awarded him the prize: 'M of gold for the tourney awarded to Robert Clifford for the best tourney'.⁶²² Honourable behaviour was then rewarded in tournaments alongside distinguished prowess in combat. Evidently Clifford could have administered further blows on Cheyne where his armour had been displaced causing serious injury, but instead he decided to put an end to the fighting activity. Thus Clifford demonstrated that he had acquired the qualities of self-mastery - an important test of honourable manhood.

In complete contrast to this episode, at the same tournament in a contest between Thomas Audley and Anthony Woodville, an unchivalric blow was made at Woodville after the duel had supposedly ended.⁶²³ It is apparent from the description in the account that Woodville was outraged:

then the said Thomas Audeley let flye a springe betweene the shoulder and the helme of the said Earle. Then the said Earle furiously ventured upon him, and so accomplished six strokes betweene them.⁶²⁴

⁶²¹ OB Ashmole MS. 856, f101v.

⁶²² OB Ashmole MS. 865, f103r.

⁶²³ OB Ashmole MS. 865, f101v this incident is also discussed by Malcolm Mercer, *The Medieval Gentry: Power, Leadership and Choice During the Wars of the Roses* (London: Continuum, 2010), p.38.

⁶²⁴ OB Ashmole MS. 856, f101v.

From this passage it is evident that Audley and Woodville both acted with a lack of self-control, fighting outside of the sanctioned bout until officials presumably separated them. This tells us that aggressive impulses could not necessarily be channelled by the “rules”. As much as Woodville tried to embody the knightly ideal expected in the tiltyard, he was also a “real” man and thus other aspects of masculinity have to be taken into consideration. As Karras explains, medieval masculinity existed within a complex interplay of competitions between men: in engaging in competition they defined what a man should be.⁶²⁵ If a fundamental aspect of masculinity was competition, sometimes the official rules of the tournament prevented this; and it is apparent that on this occasion Woodville and Audley’s passions, specifically the determination to be the winner got the better of them.

An important aspect of the artificial display in tournaments was that combatants exercised both strength, but also restraint central to ideas of kindness and mercy adopted as part of a knightly ethos. As part of the formality in tournaments men were expected to adhere to these rules, thus Woodville’s vicious attack on his opponent was not in keeping with the knightly display preferred in the tournament setting. Whereas Clifford acted with courtesy by refraining from attacking his opponent, thus his response was appropriate. In this way Clifford had demonstrated his manhood, whereas Woodville, in failing to uphold the knightly codes of conduct and letting his anger get the better of him, appeared unmanly by comparison; his aggression out of control, just as it had been at Smithfield in 1467. Unsurprisingly, neither Audley nor Woodville managed to gain a prize in the tournament.

⁶²⁵ Karras, *From Boys to Men*, p.2.

One valuable aspect of Ashmole MS. 856 is that the prizes presented at the tournament are clearly listed. For the jousts royal, Thomas Fynes received an A of gold, for the running at large Richard Hault got an E of gold, and for the tourney Robert Clifford was rewarded with an M of gold.⁶²⁶ It is not explained in the Ashmole manuscript what these letters of gold stood for, but it is possible that the 'A' and 'M' referred to Anne Mowbray, the new wife of Edward's son Richard, Duke of York as the celebrations were carried out in her honour. The 'E' could refer to Edward's wife Elizabeth Woodville, who presented the prizes at the tournament, or even to the king himself. A common feature of the prizes presented at tournaments was that they were regularly gifts that could be worn. Having studied the prizes presented at a few tournaments, it has become apparent that popular rewards included ruby and diamond rings, gold chains and gold clasps.⁶²⁷ All of these trophies could be prominently displayed on the victors as a symbol of having been made champion in a tournament. The prizes themselves were then a marker of high status manhood as those present at the tournament would have witnessed the prize giving and subsequently the visible reward would have acted as a reminder to all other men of how it was won. Letters, and other prizes could be suspended from the chains or collars that men wore about their necks, so that victory in more than one tournament could be made known through the wearing of multiple trophies.⁶²⁸ No doubt it acted as a good talking point for men when showcasing their prowess around the court. These were signs of high status manhood that could be read at a distance and removed the need for unmanly boasting.

⁶²⁶ OB Ashmole MS. 856, f103r,

⁶²⁷ BL Harley MS. 6064, f36v, CA MS M. 13*bis* f60r.

⁶²⁸ A modern example of sports men wearing jewellery to showcase their mainly achievement in physical activity is the players in the winning team of the Super Bowl. The Super Bowl ring typically made of yellow or white gold with diamonds is a lavish symbol of the victory of the men involved. For photographs see <<http://www.nfl.com/photos/09000d5d82618287>> [Accessed 17 November 2016].

Having studied the men in the reign of Edward IV who competed in the tournaments, it is evident that expertise in the joust led not just to trophies, but the greater prize of high status, as the career of Woodville illustrates. This is an argument that becomes all the more convincing in the reign of Henry VII and Henry VIII when surviving score cheques can be used to chart the rise of courtiers in the early sixteenth century, in relation to high scores achieved in the tournament. In the next section the number of jousting families from the reign of Edward IV, whose descendants continued this jousting activity into the reign of Henry VII, will also become apparent. It is mainly the descendants of the Woodvilles and Greys who were responsible for driving this culture forward, with many of the prominent jousters at the Tudor courts tracing their lineages back to these chivalrous clans.

4.3: Tournaments of Henry VII

Although Henry VII chose not to compete in the tournaments himself as king some of the major tournaments of the age were held during his reign. As we shall see, Henry VII is known to have patronized and watched jousts regularly, providing weaponry and prizes for tournaments.⁶²⁹ Unlike his son, who frequently held small-scale tournaments for their own sake, in the reign of Henry VII tournaments were always the backdrop to some other significant event. Tournaments were used by Henry VII to mark his coronation, the creation of his son Prince Henry as Duke of York, the marriage of Prince Arthur and the reception of foreign dignitaries. This reflects the respective interests and attitudes of both men. In this section, I focus specifically on the 1501 Westminster tournament, because, uniquely for Henry VII's reign, it has surviving score sheets that show the results of the men who took part. It was also in this tournament that the careers of jousting men such as Brandon came to prominence, as the Westminster tournament marks the first time he entered the lists. By highlighting jousting activity in Henry VII's reign this section supports the argument of continuity from the late fifteenth century into the early sixteenth century, through the practice of chivalry that remained important to ideals of manhood.

In contrast to his predecessor, Henry VII created a relationship with his men based on distance, which he thought best established his authority. On the other hand, for Edward IV and Henry VIII, their participation in tournaments formed a different kind of relationship

⁶²⁹ As discussed by Steven J. Gunn, 'Chivalry and the Politics of the Early Tudor Court', in S. Anglo (ed.), *Chivalry in the Renaissance* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1990), pp. 107-128.

with their men - one that was based on intimacy.⁶³⁰ It was up to the men in Henry VII's reign to drive forward the chivalrous culture at court and it is apparent that during the last few years of his reign there were more privately sponsored jousts, making for a noticeable increase in tournament activity compared to the start of the reign.⁶³¹ This increase is also a product of the fact that Henry's position had become much more stable by this point. The Wars of the Roses were effectively over and the nobles could spend time jousting again. According to Gunn there were at least thirteen tournaments at court in the last seven and a half years of Henry VII's reign, the same number as in the seven and a half years following his son's accession.⁶³² This demonstrates the popularity of jousting, which was evidently not satisfied by the royally sponsored jousts alone. In this sense there is more that can be said about the practice of chivalry in Henry VII's reign, which has often been disregarded in the historiography. Noticeably, scholarship on Henry's reign has predominately emphasised those councillors of the king who were lawyers and bureaucrats rather than jousters.⁶³³

4.3.1: 1501 Westminster Tournament

Arguably the first major tournament in the reign of Henry VII was the 1501 tournament at Westminster held 18 November for four days, to celebrate the marriage of Prince Arthur to Catherine of Aragon. It demanded an elaborate spectacle, as the marriage

⁶³⁰ David Starkey, *The English Court from the Wars of the Roses to the Civil War* (London: Longman, 1987), p.77.

⁶³¹ The most important of these privately sponsored tournaments as shown in the previous chapter were the feats of arms performed in May 1507 in honour of the Lady of May (Princess Mary), see above pp. 194-199.

⁶³² Gunn, 'Tournaments and Early Tudor Chivalry', 15-21.

⁶³³ The nature of Henry's court and its role in politics is explored in Steven J. Gunn, 'The courtiers of Henry VII', *English Historical Review*, 108 (1993), 23-49; see also Steven J. Gunn, *Early Tudor Government, 1485-1524* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 1995). His latest book on the low-born lawyers and courtiers who played a key role in Henry VII's government has just been published Gunn, *Henry VII's New Men and the Making of Tudor England*.

of his son Arthur would unite the new house of Tudor with a powerful and established European Dynasty. The Duke of Buckingham staged the tournament Challenge, but it was Henry VII who was the overall architect of this event. It was not just the four days of combat that made this tournament so significant, but the ceremonies and pageantries that accompanied the event; unparalleled in splendour to anything ever seen before at the English court. Taking inspiration from the Burgundian court, the tournament procession featured pageant cars, dwarves, giants, wild men, mountains and allegorical animals.⁶³⁴ The Burgundian court had first employed pageant cars as a part of chivalrous display, but they also had a practical use in transporting masquers and scenery into court.⁶³⁵ It is noteworthy that Henry VII's kingship has often been overlooked in terms of his involvement in chivalry, but in actual fact he, like Edward IV before him, adopted Burgundian chivalric models in an effort to project the image of a noble and honourable court.⁶³⁶ In fact Anglo places the period of most substantial Burgundian imitation in England under the early Tudors.⁶³⁷ It was Henry's reign that marked the start of a new and more lavish phase of English court pageantry and festivities, providing a model for his son, whose court experienced a decade of magnificent entertainments.

⁶³⁴ I focus on the fighting activity, but Anglo has written extensively on the accompanying pageants. Sydney Anglo, 'The London Pageants for the Reception of Katherine of Aragon: November 1501', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 26 (1963), 53-89 and Anglo, *Spectacle, Pageantry, and Early Tudor Policy*, pp. 57-97.

⁶³⁵ See Wim Blockmans, Till-Holger Borchert, Anne van Oosterwijk, Nele Gabriels, Johan Oosterman, *Staging the Court of Burgundy; Proceedings of the Conference "The Splendour of Burgundy"* (Harvey Miller Publishers, 2013); see also Roy C. Strong, *Splendor at court: Renaissance spectacle and the theater of power* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1973), p.49 and W. R. Streitberger, *Court Revels, 1485-1559* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1994), p.34.

⁶³⁶ See Gordon Kipling, *The Triumph of Honour: Burgundian Origins of the Elizabethan Renaissance* (Leiden: Leiden University press for Sir Thomas Brown Institute, 1977) and Gordon Kipling, 'Henry VII and the Origins of Tudor Patronage', in *Patronage in the Renaissance* (eds.), G. F. Lyte and S. Orgel (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1977), pp. 117-164. Anglo, *Spectacle, Pageantry, and Early Tudor Policy*, pp. 109-110 also mentions several more Burgundian inspired tournaments held by English nobles during the later years of Henry VII's reign.

⁶³⁷ Anglo, *Spectacle, Pageantry, and Early Tudor Policy*, p.98.

In British Library Harley MS. 69 a long and vivid transcript of the *Receyt of the Ladie Kateryne* describes the weeklong banquets, disguisings and jousts that marked this magnificent occasion.⁶³⁸ Henry VII commissioned this record of Catherine of Aragon's arrival, reception and marriage. Gordon Kipling argues that the writer was almost certainly a member of the king's household as 'the compiler characteristically reports his eyewitness experiences from a position very close to the king'.⁶³⁹ The narrative, designed in the first instance for a largely noble readership, focused on the elaborate pageantry Henry organised to celebrate the Anglo-English alliance.⁶⁴⁰ The account was also intended for publication in order to advertise the events to a much wider audience than had originally witnessed them.⁶⁴¹ The official version of the elaborate tournament Challenge is found in College of Arms MS M. 3 accompanied by copies of the score cheques for the entire tournament.⁶⁴² The score cheques reveal that Tiptoft's scoring method for jousts were still being employed in the early sixteenth century (see Figure 32). It is likely that actual score cheques were made on the day and that these were then copied down formally as part of this volume.

⁶³⁸ BL Harley MS. 69, ff28v-35r the author of the *Receyt* did not compile his account of the festival until several months after the funeral of Prince Arthur on 2 April 1502, the last event described in the narrative. Other accounts can be found in the BL MS Cotton Vitellius A. XVI, ff183r-195v and the CA, MS M. 13, ff1r-11r, 26r-67r, 27r-74v.

⁶³⁹ Gordon Kipling (ed.), *The Receyt of the Ladie Kateryne, Early English Text Society No.296* (Oxford: Boydell & Brewer, 1990), p.44.

⁶⁴⁰ Most recently the *Receyt* has been one of the sources used in Riddell's, 'A Mirror of Men: Sovereignty, Performance, and Textuality in Tudor England, 1501-1559'.

⁶⁴¹ Riddell, 'A Mirror of Men: Sovereignty, Performance, and Textuality in Tudor England, 1501-1559', pp. 86-87.

⁶⁴² College of Arms MS M. 3 John Writhe, Garter King of Arms who was possibly still the owner at the time of Prince Arthur's marriage, purchased the volume. His personal copy of the English version of Buckingham's Challenge, written in his own hand or that of his son, appears in 'Ballard's Book' a miscellaneous heraldic collection.

At the Westminster tournament Henry VII had erected a stage on the south side of the tiltyard. Although Henry did not compete in the tournament himself, it is clear that he observed from a place of prominence:

on the southside of this place ordered and addressed for this running there was a stage stronge and substantially builded with his pavilion in the middle who set uppon the right hand was apparelled and garnished for the kinge grace.⁶⁴³

Henry VII wanted his presence to be felt at tournaments, even though he chose not to participate directly. It was important that the king be clearly identified amongst the vast and varied crowd of spectators that had come to watch with awe at the combats taking place. Henry occupied the same position as Edward IV had done at the Smithfield tournament, demonstrating a sense of continuity with the past.

Henry was distant from both the tiltyard and the men within it; this serves to make him more important as the gulf between him and his men establishes his authority over them.⁶⁴⁴ The fact that Henry enabled the masculine display of his men demonstrates that he was a self-confident king, who had already proven his claim and manhood through his victory at Bosworth and as such stood head and shoulders above the rest of the nobility. It was potentially demeaning for Henry to fight against these men in tournaments given that he had already fought so hard on the battlefield alongside them. As Gunn puts it 'to be so

⁶⁴³ BL Harley MS. 69, f28v.

⁶⁴⁴ Starkey, *The English Court from the Wars of the Roses to the Civil War*, p.73.

regularly beaten about the head in tourneys derogated from the royal majesty which he had tried so hard to cultivate', and it also testifies to Henry's caution given that tournaments could be very dangerous.⁶⁴⁵ Moreover the first decade of his reign had been spent fighting against pretenders, thus he had continued to demonstrate his warlike abilities.⁶⁴⁶ However Henry was prepared to allow his men the opportunity to earn their manhood through tournaments, which he understood to be important to the prestige of his court and to masculine display.

Edward Stafford, Duke of Buckingham, who organised the tournament, was the chief Challenger on the first day.⁶⁴⁷ In 1501 Buckingham was in the golden age of manhood being young, active and virile and already a skilful jousting when he competed and arranged this tournament for Prince Arthur's wedding. Buckingham is considered one of the last great medieval English nobles being immensely rich and connected to several of the leading noble families in England: his lifestyle was that of a medieval magnate.⁶⁴⁸ Other jousting who made up the team of Challengers included: Buckingham's brother Henry Stafford, John Bourchier (Lord Berners), Sir Rowland de Velville and George Herbert. It is noteworthy that Berners like Woodville was both a fighter and an intellect being an author and translator of

⁶⁴⁵ Gunn, 'Chivalry and the Politics of the Early Tudor Court', pp. 107-128.

⁶⁴⁶ Henry VII twice faced serious challenges to his rule, headed by two men Lambert Simnel and Perkin Warbeck. Michael J. Bennett, 'Simnel, Lambert (b. 1476/7, d. after 1534)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Oct 2008) <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/25569>> [Accessed 3 November 2016], Steven J. Gunn, 'Warbeck, Perkin [Pierrehon de Werbecque; alias Richard Plantagenet, duke of York] (c.1474–1499)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Oct 2008) <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/28669>> [Accessed 3 November 2016].

⁶⁴⁷ Clifford Davies, 'Stafford, Edward, third duke of Buckingham (1478-1521)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Jan 2008) <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/26202>> [Accessed 7 May 2015].

⁶⁴⁸ Barbara Harris, *Edward Stafford, Third Duke of Buckingham, 1478-1521* (California: Stanford University Press, 1986), p.206.

chivalrous texts.⁶⁴⁹ For these men the literature of chivalry was just as important as an active military life.

Buckingham's Challenge contained in College of Arms MS M. 3 stated that Challengers were to, 'exercise and faictes of the necessary discipline of armes... to the enableing of noblesse and chivalry', according to the 'noble and laudable custome' of England.⁶⁵⁰ The Challenge also stated that the tournament would take place over two days, but in fact it was extended to cover four days. This was probably due to it being the first major tournament held in the reign of Henry VII: it attracted such a wide response from English knights that another two days had to be added. This in turn highlights that chivalry remained a popular ideal amongst those of the elite in this period, despite the fact that the king did not join his men in the tiltyard.

On the first day, Thursday 18 of November, Buckingham in his seventeen runs of the jousts royal scored three broken lances on the body, four attaints on the head and one lance broken on the head, earning him the highest score of the Challengers for the first day.⁶⁵¹ Though his result also reveals that in ten of his runs he failed to hit his opponent, which must have made for a rather disappointing show. Stafford in his twenty runs managed to score five broken lances on the body and one attaint on the head, but like his

⁶⁴⁹ James P. Carley, 'Bourchier, John, second Baron Berners (c.1467–1533)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2004) <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/2990>> [Accessed 3 November 2016].

⁶⁵⁰ CA MS M. 3 f24v.

⁶⁵¹ CA MS M. 3 f26v.

brother also missed his opponent in fourteen of his charges.⁶⁵² Lord Berners running only eight times managed only one attaint on the head and no broken lances.⁶⁵³ Next Velville, in his twelve runs managed to score two lances broken on the body. The final Challenger in Buckingham's team was Herbert, who according to the score cheque was actually hurt on the first day of the tournament and was forced to give up, a fact not mentioned in the herald's report.⁶⁵⁴ Even when jousting across a tilt as Henry's men did on the first day the joust was still a dangerous sport and accidents were common.⁶⁵⁵ The jousting results of the Challengers on the first day show that they did not perform as well. In fifty-seven runs by the Challengers, they failed to score in forty charges. In turn this result demonstrates that jousting was technically a very difficult sport to master with even those trained in arms struggling to achieve high scores. This makes a good score in these competitions all the more impressive, as it reveals that the rider must have given an expert display of both skill and strength.

On the first day, the team of Answerers included: Charles Brandon: Thomas Grey, Marquis of Dorset: William Courtenay, Earl of Devon; Henry Bouchier, Earl of Essex and Sir John Peche amongst others. Dorset, the grandson of Elizabeth Woodville and step-grandson of Edward IV, led the team of Answerers against Buckingham.⁶⁵⁶ Dorset scored two broken lances on the body of Buckingham and one attaint, but lost the match.⁶⁵⁷ Significantly it was

⁶⁵² CA MS M. 3 f26v.

⁶⁵³ Ibid.

⁶⁵⁴ CA MS M. 3 f26v and BL Harley MS. 69, f29r.

⁶⁵⁵ CA MS M. 3 f26v.

⁶⁵⁶ Robert Braddock, 'Grey, Thomas, second marquess of Dorset (1477-1530)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Jan 2008)

<<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/11561>> [Accessed 7 May 2015].

⁶⁵⁷ CA MS M. 3 f26v.

seventeen-year-old Brandon, who achieved the highest score in the team of Answerers on the first day. Brandon in this, his first tournament, managed to score two lances broken on the head and one lance broken on the body.⁶⁵⁸ Essex, his former trainer also scored one broken lance on the head, one attaint and one lance broken on the body.⁶⁵⁹ It is apparent that Brandon had learned well from his chivalrous mentor, whilst in turn Essex proved his jousting credentials. Significantly the last Answerer to compete in the jousts on the first day was a Spanish knight, de Azeveido, in the same way that Edward IV had used the tournament as part of his diplomacy, Henry was also calculated in his use of splendour. The Spanish knights had accompanied Catherine of Aragon to England as part of her train of courtiers as she prepared to marry Prince Arthur. As a further mark of his hospitality towards his foreign visitors Henry allowed them to compete in the tournament held as part of the marriage festivities.

Having rested from Friday to Sunday, on the second day of the tournament, Monday 22 November the score cheques reveal a marked improvement in the performance of the jousts. In fact in the Harley account the herald notes that: 'all rane well and brake many staves more then they did the first daye'.⁶⁶⁰ It is important that the herald's account notifies us of rest days as it signals that jousting was a highly physical sport that placed great demands on a man's body; given that those who jousts as Challengers on the first day participated in all four days of the competition, evidently their bodies needed time to recover.

⁶⁵⁸ CA MS M. 3 f26v.

⁶⁵⁹ CA MS M. 3 f26v note about Essex previous chapter pp.197-199.

⁶⁶⁰ Harley MS. 69, f31v.

On the second day the Challengers, for reasons unknown, switched teams and fought as Answerers. On this day it was Dorset who led the team of Challengers and Buckingham who led the team of Answerers.⁶⁶¹ Unlike his rather disappointing result on the first day, on the second day Dorset was back to his best. In his twelve runs he made eight hits. Dorset scored one lance broken on the head and six lances broken on the body, with one attain.⁶⁶² Essex also scored well in his twelve runs. He managed to make seven hits: four lances broken on the body, one lance broken on the head and two attains.⁶⁶³ One final joust, who performed nearly as well as Dorset and Essex on the Challengers team, was Courtenay, who scored four broken lances and one attain on the body of his opponent and managed two attains on the head in his six runs.⁶⁶⁴ In total, the team Challengers in forty-eight runs made hits twenty-eight times and only missed on twenty runs.⁶⁶⁵ It is evident overall that the Challengers had achieved better scores than the Answerers on the first day and individually the performance of certain men, in particular Dorset and Essex, was much improved. Perhaps competing for a second day in a row these men had now become well practiced in the jousts, or even more determined to score well after a disappointing first day.

Likewise on the second day, Buckingham now acting as chief Answerer was able to achieve the highest score of the day. In his twelve runs he scored three lances broken on the

⁶⁶¹ It is worth noting that Edmund de la Pole, the Earl of Suffolk was supposed to have led the Challengers against Buckingham's team of Answerers. Yet Suffolk had subsequently fled from Henry VII's court to Flanders and it was in these unsettling circumstances that Dorset was enlisted to take over Suffolk's role.

⁶⁶² CA MS M. 3 f26v.

⁶⁶³ Ibid.

⁶⁶⁴ Ibid. Courtenay later jousted at Westminster ten years later as one of the four main Challengers at the 1511 Westminster tournament I will highlight his results below pp. 276-305.

⁶⁶⁵ Ibid.

head and three attaints and then two lances broken on the body and one attaint.⁶⁶⁶ Stafford managed two lances broken on the body and one attaint on the head, thus proving their jousting credentials and nobility on the second day.⁶⁶⁷ However, it is also true that some men performed worse on the second day, e.g. Lord Berners who failed to make any hits in his six runs.⁶⁶⁸ Herbert had not recovered from his injury and did not compete. On the second day, another Spanish knight, Ferdinando Veillalobos, competed in the jousts scoring one lance broken on the head and two lances broken on the body, thus proving that the Spanish could compare with the jousting abilities of the English knights.⁶⁶⁹ In total on the second day, the Answerers missed on twenty-nine charges out of forty-eight runs.

Significantly on the third day of the tournament Wednesday 24 November, having rested again on Tuesday, the tilt was removed and space was made for the 'running at large'.⁶⁷⁰ It is apparent from the score cheque that because of the risks involved all knights were only permitted to run two courses. In Harley MS. 69 an account is given, 'of the noble runinges at the large with sharpe speares and turnaye with arming swordes'.⁶⁷¹ The seriousness of this type of combat is highlighted in the account as; 'the duke [Buckingham] and the L Marques [Dorset] ran together eagerly and with great courage in great jeopardy and feare of their lives'.⁶⁷² In this contest the level of danger was enhanced by the use of sharp weapons, thus for the men involved the potential of death was a very real possibility.

⁶⁶⁶ CA MS. M3 f26v.

⁶⁶⁷ Ibid.

⁶⁶⁸ Ibid.

⁶⁶⁹ Ibid.

⁶⁷⁰ BL Harley MS. 69, f31v see above for a description of the "running at large" p.43.

⁶⁷¹ BL Harley MS. 69, f31v.

⁶⁷² BL Harley MS. 69, f32r.

The martial mayhem of this tourney is also evidence as 'some of their swords, were broken out of their handes some horses, and man enclined to the earth'.⁶⁷³ Ironically, then, in the exact period that others have argued genuine fighting activity had been largely replaced by pageantry and spectacle, perhaps one of the most violent tournaments of the age took place.

On the score cheque for the third and fourth days no Spanish knights are listed, which suggests that Henry VII did not allow them to compete in these contests. Notably even the English knights who competed were cautious about striking each other, as all together in twenty charges only five hits were made by four knights. Arguably, given the acknowledged skill of these men in the jousts, on the first two days their low scores were a result of prudence rather than incompetence.

The following day, Catherine honoured the champions, Buckingham was awarded a 'point diamond' in an emerald setting as the 'prize of most price' and Dorset was awarded a 'ruby' for being the greatest Answerer.⁶⁷⁴ The score cheques demonstrate that Catherine had indeed awarded the men who had managed to achieve the highest scores in the tournament. This lent great prestige to both men and confirmed their hegemonic masculinity given the physically taxing nature of four days of competition.

⁶⁷³ BL Harley MS. 69, f32r.

⁶⁷⁴ CA MS M. 13*bis* f60r.

Catherine continued to present prizes to the victors in tournaments in the reign of Henry VIII, thus serving to confirm their achievements. Though this was not at her discretion, but always in accordance with the scores recorded by the heralds on the score cheques. A notable feature of the cheques in the reign of Henry VIII is that just as the Woodville clique were prominent in the jousting circle that surrounded Edward IV, so the new young king would begin his reign encircled by the jousting men of his father's reign. As Gunn points out, it was the chivalrous dynasties of Henry VII's court and council the Greys, Staffords and Howards, who encouraged the bellicosity of the young Prince Henry.⁶⁷⁵ It is apparent that the dedication of these men to jousting encouraged the continued practice of chivalry from the reign of Edward IV, to Henry VII and that of Henry VIII. The period from the late fifteenth century into the early sixteenth century showed a renewal of chivalry, rather than a decline, which reached its height in Henry VIII's reign as the next section demonstrates.

⁶⁷⁵ Gunn, 'Chivalry and the politics of the early Tudor court', pp. 107-128.

4.4: Tournaments of Henry VIII

Henry VIII wanted to joust like the lusty men he witnessed in the tiltyard, but his father had prevented him from doing so. In contrast to his father, Henry exercised a different style of kingship by competing alongside his men in the tiltyard; he was able to develop strong homosocial bonds with his jousting companions by becoming a fellow knight. For Henry, in his early years, tournaments were his only opportunity to display himself as a warrior. He would take on the role of chief Challenger leading his team into the tiltyard to perform feats of arms. This decision to compete as king in the tournament as his grandfather Edward IV and ancestor Edward III had done before him sent a clear message that Henry VIII was modelling his kingship on a traditional medieval archetype of manhood. Wooding rightly argues that the hours that Henry spent on the tournament field were not wasted; 'they were at the very heart of his identity and purpose as king'.⁶⁷⁶ It was also within the context of the tournament that the king's courtiers could display the virility and martial abilities that were celebrated as pertaining to English masculinity.

4.4.1: 1511 Westminster Tournament

The Westminster tournament was held on the 12 and 13 February 1511 in celebration of the birth of Henry's first heir Prince Henry. There are a wealth of sources pertaining to this event that include: the Westminster Tournament Roll, the Westminster Challenge and the Westminster score cheques, as well as additional entries in Harley MS.

⁶⁷⁶ Wooding, *Henry VIII*, p.67.

6079.⁶⁷⁷ The surviving evidence demonstrates that the Westminster Tournament was a spectacular moment in the reign of Henry VIII. The Great Tournament Roll in the College of Arms vividly depicts the proceedings at this tournament.⁶⁷⁸ It was extremely lavish and well recorded because it celebrated an important event: the birth of an heir. This confirmed the security of the Tudor dynasty as well as Henry's potency. Except that, sadly, the death of the prince showed that both were actually rather fragile.

Arguably the most famous image from this roll is the membrane that illustrates the king tilting at the barrier against one of the Answerers.⁶⁷⁹ Henry is depicted in the foreground running from the left and shattering his spear against his opponent's helm. However when comparing this representation to the score cheques from the Westminster tournament, it is evident that the king did not break a single lance on the head of his opponents on either of the two days.⁶⁸⁰ Riddell argues that Henry VIII commissioned the roll as a dynamic text, which portrayed him performing successfully in front of a live audience (see Figure 33).⁶⁸¹ Certainly it is apparent that the roll represented an idealised version of the jousting match, rather than reflecting what actually happened. Henry sought to cultivate a court that centred on him and his kingly and manly accomplishments, as the Tournament

⁶⁷⁷ Sydney Anglo, *The Great Tournament Roll of Westminster. A collotype reproduction of the manuscripts. Historical Introduction by Sydney Anglo. Foreword by Sir Anthony Wagner, Garter King of Arms.* II vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1968); The Westminster Challenge can be found in BL Harley MS. Ch 83 H1, CA box 37, Tournament Cheque 1a (12 Feb 1511) Tournament Cheque 1b (13 Feb 1511), BL Harley MS. 6079 contains material from the fourteenth to the sixteenth century of heraldic and genealogical tracts.

⁶⁷⁸ The manuscript, now in the College of Arms, is reproduced in facsimile and fully discussed by Sydney Anglo in *Great Tournament Roll*. Even in this reduced form, the colour reproductions show the dazzling richness and colour of the tournament.

⁶⁷⁹ Anglo, *Great Tournament Roll*, Plate XVII membrane 25-26.

⁶⁸⁰ Original score cheques are found in CA box 37, Tournament Cheque 1a (12 Feb 1511) Tournament Cheque 1b (13 Feb 1511) copies of the score cheques can also be found in BL Harley MS. 6079, ff37v-38v.

⁶⁸¹ Riddell, 'A Mirror of Men: Sovereignty, Performance, and Sexuality in Tudor England, 1501-1559', p.139.

roll illustrates. By choosing to compete in the tournament himself Henry wanted to prove he was not only like all other men, but that he was the best man. As manhood in the tiltyard was measured by the hits that men were able to make on the adversary's body or head, it is apparent that Henry wanted to be depicted scoring the highest points. In this way Henry constructed a visible template of exemplary masculinity for his courtiers to emulate even though the score sheets reveal that he was in fact not able to perform in this way at the tournament itself.



Fig.33. 'Westminster Tournament Roll', Plate XVI membranes 25-26, College of Arms, London.

4.4.2: Westminster Tournament Challenge

The Challenge for the Westminster tournament is found in Harley MS. CH 83 H.1, accompanied by a set of Tiptoft's guidelines.⁶⁸² Anglo contends that this Challenge is the only surviving original document that was actually used as part of the tournament proceedings, circulated amongst the knights, signed both by Challengers and Answerers and proclaimed by heralds (see Figure 34).⁶⁸³ The Challenge is written on a single piece of parchment measuring 46cm by 35cm, its large size making it suitable for presentation at the Westminster tournament.⁶⁸⁴ Judging by the lack of surviving Challenges, it is likely that this type of document was usually seen as ephemeral, being employed during the course of the tournament, but not something to be kept. Although the prominent fold line on this Challenge suggests that once the tournament was ended it was stored away by a herald. Perhaps because this was such a major event in Henry's reign, and the Challenge was so richly decorated an exception was made.

⁶⁸² BL Harley MS. Ch 83 H1.

⁶⁸³ Sydney Anglo, 'Financial and Heraldic Records of the English Tournament', *Journal of the Society of Archivists*, 2, 5 (1962), 183-195. BL Add MS. 6113, ff201v-202r, Harley MS. 6079, ff36v-37v.

⁶⁸⁴ BL Harley MS. Ch 83 H1.



Fig.34. 'Westminster Tournament Challenge' Harley MS. Ch 83 H1 reproduced by permission of the British Library, London.

Alison Walker makes a convincing case for the charter being the work of Thomas Wriothesley's workshop.⁶⁸⁵ In 1505 Wriothesley was appointed Garter King of Arms, over all the royal heralds.⁶⁸⁶ As King of Arms, he organised and took part in great ceremonial occasions including the funeral of Henry VII, the Westminster tournament, the creation of Henry VIII's illegitimate son Henry Fitzroy as Duke of Richmond, and was also present at the Field of Cloth of Gold. Wriothesley's collections are an essential link between the heraldry of the Middle Ages and that of the later College of Arms.⁶⁸⁷ In the case of the Westminster Challenge, Wriothesley produced an important surviving record of the ways in which Challenges were used in the early sixteenth century.

The Challenge for the tournament itemizes the rules and regulations the knights had to adhere to before agreeing to sign their names to the articles. In Tiptoft's ordinances, spears broken on the head were equal to two broken spears, a score that is repeated in the Westminster Challenge: 'Item who breketh his spere above the charnell to be allowed ii speres well broken ast the olde custume of Armes'.⁶⁸⁸ It is evident from the articles of Challenge set out in the charter that Tiptoft's ordinances had become common practice by the early sixteenth century. The signatures are divided into two sections: those who competed on the first day and those who competed on the second day, thus suggesting that the Challenge was used on both days of the tournament. It is noteworthy that the men

⁶⁸⁵ Alison Walker, 'The Westminster Tournament Challenge (Harley 83 H1) and Thomas Wriothesley's Workshop', *British Library Journal* (2011) found online at <<http://www.bl.uk/eblj/2011articles/pdf/ebljarticle92011.pdf>> [Accessed 14 May 2015].

⁶⁸⁶ Robert Yorke, 'Wriothesley, Sir Thomas (1505-1550)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2004) <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/30075>> [Accessed 14 May 2015].

⁶⁸⁷ Sir Anthony Wagner, *Heralds of England: a history of the Office and College of Arms* (London: H.M. Stationery Office, 1967), p.147.

⁶⁸⁸ BL Harley MS. Ch 83 H1.

signed up to the tournament as it illustrates that they pledged to adhere to the rules and to the results.

4.4.3: The Three Challengers

The four Challengers were each given names that formed part of a wider allegory, 'Cuer Loyall (Henry VIII), Bon Voloir (William Courtenay) Valiant Desyer (Thomas Knyvet), and Joyous Penser (Edward Neville)'.⁶⁸⁹ The fictional premise of the event was that a certain noble Queen Noble Renome having heard of the birth of a young prince to the King and Queen of England was sending four knights to accomplish feats of arms: 'loyal heart, good will, valiant desire and joyful thought'.⁶⁹⁰ It is significant that in the Challenge it states that the fictitious queen, well aware of the values, virtues and noble expertise, had chosen these stranger knights to demonstrate their skill of fighting.⁶⁹¹ In reality it was Henry who had chosen himself and his three Challengers: Courtenay, Knyvet and Neville to compete alongside him in the tournament all of whom were not strangers to the king, but his intimate jousting companions. I will provide a brief overview of the background of each of the king's three Challengers, as it is important to establish why Henry chose them to compete on his team at such a significant occasion.

⁶⁸⁹ BL Harley MS. 6079, f36v.

⁶⁹⁰ Janette Dilton, *The Language of Space in Court Performance, 1400-1625* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), p.143.

⁶⁹¹ BL Harley MS. Ch 83 H1.

Henry's distant cousin Neville shared his passion for the joust; he was one of the principal Challengers at court for over a decade. Neville first entered the royal service as an Esquire of the Body and Keeper of Sewer (official overseeing service) to Henry VIII's household.⁶⁹² It was these positions in the king's household that enabled men such as Neville to become intimate with the king and thus in turn he trusted them to fight alongside him.⁶⁹³ Neville was also the same age as the king and was known to resemble him in looks and build being confused for Henry at a banquet held by Cardinal Wolsey. George Cavendish subsequently claimed that the Cardinal was deceived, or pretended to be, in identifying Neville as the king, 'a comely knyght of goodly personage that mych resembled the Kynges person in that Maske than any other'.⁶⁹⁴ Neville was particularly active in the tiltyard during the early years of Henry VIII, fighting as an Answerer at the coronation tournament in June 1509.⁶⁹⁵ Neville's impressive reputation in the joust was recognised by Henry, hence his place on the Challengers team in 1511.

Next, was Courtenay who had been in prison since April 1502 and under attainder since 1504, charged with treasonable dealings with Edmund de la Pole.⁶⁹⁶ Courtenay was married to Catherine, the sixth daughter of Edward IV and Elizabeth Woodville. His previous

⁶⁹² Alasdair Hawkyard, 'Neville, Sir Edward (b. in or before 1482, d. 1538)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Jan 2012) <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/19930>> [Accessed 13 May 2015].

⁶⁹³ Starkey has published extensively on the informal power networks of the king's household, see: 'Intimacy and Innovation', in *The English Court: From the Wars of the Roses to the Civil War*, pp. 71-118, also see 'King's Privy Chamber', 'Representation through Intimacy', pp. 187-224 and *The Reign of Henry VIII: Personalities and Politics*, pp. 1-24.

⁶⁹⁴ George Cavendish, *The Life and Death of Cardinal Wolsey* (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, MDCCCXCV), pp. 27-28 found online at <<https://archive.org/details/TheLifeAndDeathOfCardinalWosley>> [Accessed 14 May 2015].

⁶⁹⁵ Hall, p.511.

⁶⁹⁶ Steven J. Gunn, 'Courtenay, Edward, first earl of Devon (1475-1511)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, January 2008) <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/6448>> [Accessed 14 May 2015].

court career had been successful; he had been made a Knight of the Bath at the coronation of Elizabeth of York in 1487 and had competed in the 1501 Westminster tournament on all four days.⁶⁹⁷ Significantly Courtenay regained prominence at Henry VIII's court through his skill as a jousting knight and he was subsequently pardoned and released. For example he fought in a combat at Greenwich in 1510 against Knyvet.⁶⁹⁸ Following the Westminster tournament, his father's lands and title were restored to him. Henry also created him Earl of Devon.⁶⁹⁹ His last appearance in the tiltyard was as an Answerer, in jousts held at Greenwich in May 1511, just a month before his sudden death at only thirty-six years old.⁷⁰⁰ Courtenay's career demonstrates the vital role which success in the tiltyard could play in elevating individuals in the king's favour. By jousting his honour and manhood were restored to him and he earned a coveted place at the Westminster tournament.

Lastly Knyvet came to attention at court towards the end of Henry VII's reign, serving as an Esquire for the king's body and jousting in the tournament of May and June 1507.⁷⁰¹ From 1509 he emerged as one of the new king's favourites and fought as one of the Challengers at Henry's coronation tournament in June 1509.⁷⁰² In June 1510 he fought again as one of the king's Challengers along with Edward Howard and Brandon at Greenwich.⁷⁰³ Knyvet was rewarded for his displays in the tiltyard being made Knight of the Bath at

⁶⁹⁷ CA MS M.3 f26v.

⁶⁹⁸ LP I ii Appendix IX.

⁶⁹⁹ LP I i 749, no. 23.

⁷⁰⁰ Hall, p.520.

⁷⁰¹ Steven J. Gunn, 'Knyvet, Sir Thomas (c.1485–1512)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Jan 2008) <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/15799>> [Accessed 8 May 2015].

⁷⁰² Hall, p.511.

⁷⁰³ LP I ii Appendix IX.

Henry's coronation and Master of the Horse in 1510.⁷⁰⁴ Another accomplished jousting, who held this position after Knyvet, was Brandon, who was promoted to the role in 1512. This shows a clear connection between the men that Henry jousting with and the men he trusted to take care of his prize possessions and himself. Knyvet's closeness to Henry and proven track record in jousting qualified him to fight on the king's side in 1511.

4.4.4: Westminster Score Cheques

The original surviving score cheques from this tournament are held in the College of Arms that distinguish between attainments on the body, spears broken on the body and spears ill-broken, using all three lines of the score grid. However in British Library Harley MS. 6079, a miscellaneous collection of heraldic and genealogical tracts, and copies of charters include the Westminster tournament Challenge and a copy of the two score cheques that were copied, presumably by a herald.⁷⁰⁵ I have converted the markings on the score cheques for the Westminster tournament into percentages, in order to illustrate that it was possible to give a numerical value to the scores. By using these statistics, it is easy to quantify who performed well in the jousting and who failed to achieve high scores and by what margin. I have identified the leading Challenger in the king's team of Challengers, in order to highlight those men who were able to outperform Henry. I have also calculated the overall scores of the teams of Challengers and Answerers, in order to assess any difference in ability between the two teams. My main reason for doing this is to assess whether Henry's chosen team of Challengers were actually able to outperform the team of Answerers.

⁷⁰⁴ LP I no. 370.

⁷⁰⁵ BL Harley MS. 6079, ff37v-38v.

According to the entries for the first day 12 February, Knyvet scored the highest out of all the Challengers (see Figure 35). The score cheque reveals that in his first duel against Sir William Parr, in his four runs, he broke three lances on the body and made one hit on the body.⁷⁰⁶ Knyvet was able to make contact on every single one of his four runs, which must have made for an impressive show. Overall Knyvet only failed to score in one of his ten runs, thus it is no surprise that he was awarded the prize on the first day for being the best Challenger, 'the price for the party with in valiant desyre Sr Thomas Knevet for the first daye'.⁷⁰⁷

In comparison in his nineteen runs Henry made twelve hits, but missed on seven of his runs. Although on closer inspection it is apparent that while Henry does not score as consistently well as Knyvet, he achieves more impressive hits managing to make contact with the head of his opponents twice in his four duels.⁷⁰⁸ In his duel against William Parr, Henry was able to score a hit on the head and managed to make contact with his lance on the head of his next opponent Robert Morton.⁷⁰⁹ For Henry jousting was about showcasing his hegemonic masculinity by scoring highly and the way to do this was to take risks. In contrast it seems that Knyvet appeared to aim for the body each time, which was an easier target to hit and more likely to ensure a consistent scoring record. What this highlights is that jousters had different techniques; for example Henry would target the head of his opponents as it made for a more exciting display and of course also gained the highest

⁷⁰⁶ CA Tournament Cheque 1a (12 February 1511).

⁷⁰⁷ BL Harley MS. 6079, f37v the result has also been copied into the *Letters and Papers* entry LP I no. 698, 'on the first day to Valiante Desyre'.

⁷⁰⁸ CA Tournament Cheque 1a (12 February 1511).

⁷⁰⁹ Ibid.

points.⁷¹⁰

Turning to the results of the Answerers it was Brandon who was chosen by Henry to head the team of Answerers. Among his fellow Answerers were Thomas Grey, Henry Guildford, Thomas Boleyn, Henry Stafford, Giles Capel and Sir Rowland who each entered wearing elaborate disguises and richly dressed.⁷¹¹ For the first day of jousts both the College of Arms cheque and its copy found in Harley MS. 6079 cite Richard Blount as achieving the highest score of the Answerers (see Figure 36 and 37). In his six runs Blount scores three broken lances against Henry who only scores one broken lance against him.⁷¹² Henry's men did not simply just let the king win, they gave him a hard fought match. Henry was prepared to lose in the jousts against his men. It demonstrates that in the tiltyard Henry wanted to be judged on his abilities in the same way as every other man and not on his kingly status. Ultimately Henry wanted his hegemonic masculine status to be genuinely achieved.

⁷¹⁰ I owe thanks to Toby Capwell for discussing jousting techniques with me at the Wallace collection in London.

⁷¹¹ For descriptions of the Answerers see Hall, p.518.

⁷¹² CA Tournament Cheque 1a (12 February 1511).

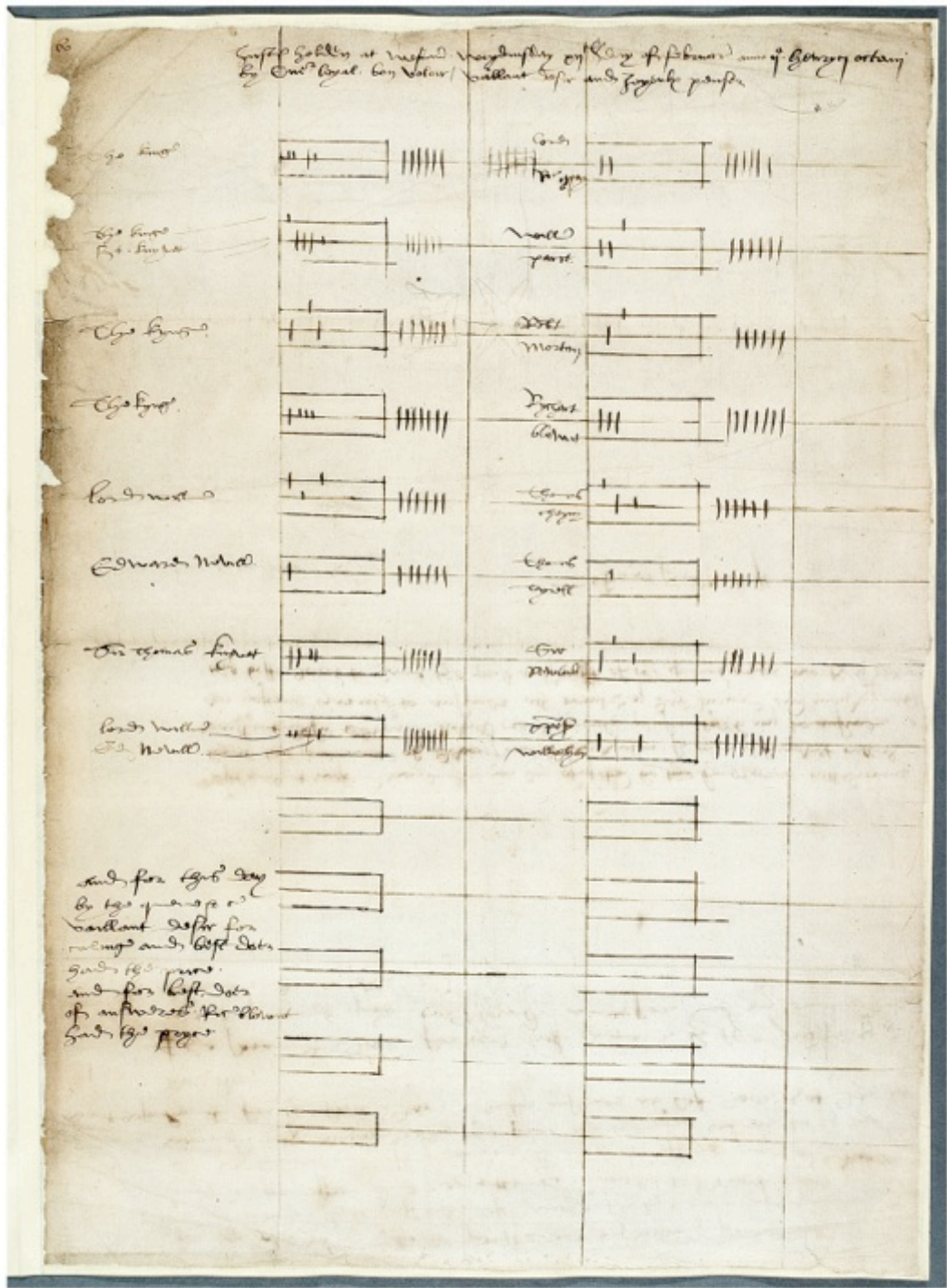


Fig.35. Tournament Cheque 1a (12 February 1511) reproduced by permission of the Kings, Heralds and Pursuivants of Arms.

One main advantage of combining the score cheques and the narrative accounts is that it sheds light on the assumption made in the historiography that Henry was often declared the winner, but did not necessarily deserve this accolade. For example Ffoulkes states that: 'it is a notable fact that Henry was always the winner at these entertainments'.⁷¹³ But in actual fact this was clearly not 'always' the case, as Ffoulkes argues, as on the very first day of the Westminster tournament it was Knyvet who was declared the winner of the four Challengers on the king's team. Although there were clearly clever courtiers who manipulated the results in the tiltyard in order to ensure that Henry was successful in the end. The king was only awarded a prize if his name was top of the leader board. According to Ffoulkes, Henry's success in the jousts was due in large part to the prerogative of Queen Catherine of Aragon, by whom he states: 'the contest could be stopped if there appeared to be a chance of failure'.⁷¹⁴ I have found no evidence to suggest that Catherine did intervene on Henry's behalf, thus I take issue with Ffoulkes' argument about her engineering the king's overall result and the implications for Henry's abilities as a joustier.

Indeed Rühl, studying the Tudor and Elizabethan score cheques, has argued that the ladies did not do the actual scoring, but were informed of the results by the heralds.⁷¹⁵ Scoring and stopping fights was not the queen's prerogative: it was the responsibility of attendant heralds and officers-of-arms to keep score and to record the course of events in

⁷¹³ Ffoulkes, 'Jousting Cheques of the Sixteenth Century', 34-39.

⁷¹⁴ Ibid.

⁷¹⁵ Rühl, 'Sports Quantification in Tudor and Elizabethan Times', pp. 65-86.

the tournament and the outcome of combats.⁷¹⁶ As we saw in relation to the Smithfield tournament, only the king had the authority to directly intervene. Rühl states that: 'the legend that the prizes were awarded at the discretion of the ladies...belongs to the realm of medieval fiction'.⁷¹⁷ Catherine did at times serve to confirm Henry's status by awarding him prizes as stated in the rules set out by Tiptoft, but there is nothing to suggest that she played a role in aiding any of his victories.

The presence and function of women is depicted in the Westminster Tournament Roll as the tilt gallery is divided into two sections; on the left are the noblemen of the court wearing gold chains around their necks and on the right is the queen seated under a golden canopy accompanied by her ladies richly clad.⁷¹⁸ Henry's performance was clearly being witnessed, evaluated and deemed successful by both sexes. Spectatorship was also clearly gendered as the males stand and look on from one side, whilst Catherine and her ladies dominate the other side of the gallery. Thus both sexes played a role in confirming Henry's chivalric status. Catherine acted as 'Queen Coeur Loyal' sitting on her throne, elevated above the crowd in the stage set for the gallery; the fertile new mother who had produced an heir. Catherine is part of this performance of chivalry, but her role was ceremonial rather than actual. Certainly the presence of women gave the men added incentive to fight; ladies presented prizes to victorious knights, which served as a public recognition of their prowess and desirability. But this does not mean that the ladies had any agency in this process.

⁷¹⁶ Though in the 1467 Smithfield tournament I have identified that Edward IV interjected in the fight between Woodville and the Bastard calling 'whoo' it is apparent that Edward as king and as top of the hierarchy of manhood acting, was acting as the arbiter of chivalry and manhood.

⁷¹⁷ Rühl, 'Sports Quantification in Tudor and Elizabethan Times', pp. 65-86.

⁷¹⁸ Anglo, *The Great Tournament Roll of Westminster*, Plate XVI membranes 25-26.

Indeed, Karras has shown that men displayed their superiority to other men through competition for women, as they became 'tokens in a game of masculine competition'.⁷¹⁹

Catherine was not responsible for Henry being successful in the jousts; in fact this role was the duty of the other men of the tiltyard. In this sense Ffoulkes was right to argue that some of the fights were manipulated, but not in the way that he suggests, as we shall see.

⁷¹⁹ Karras, *From Boys to Men: Formations of Masculinity in Late Medieval Europe*, p.51.

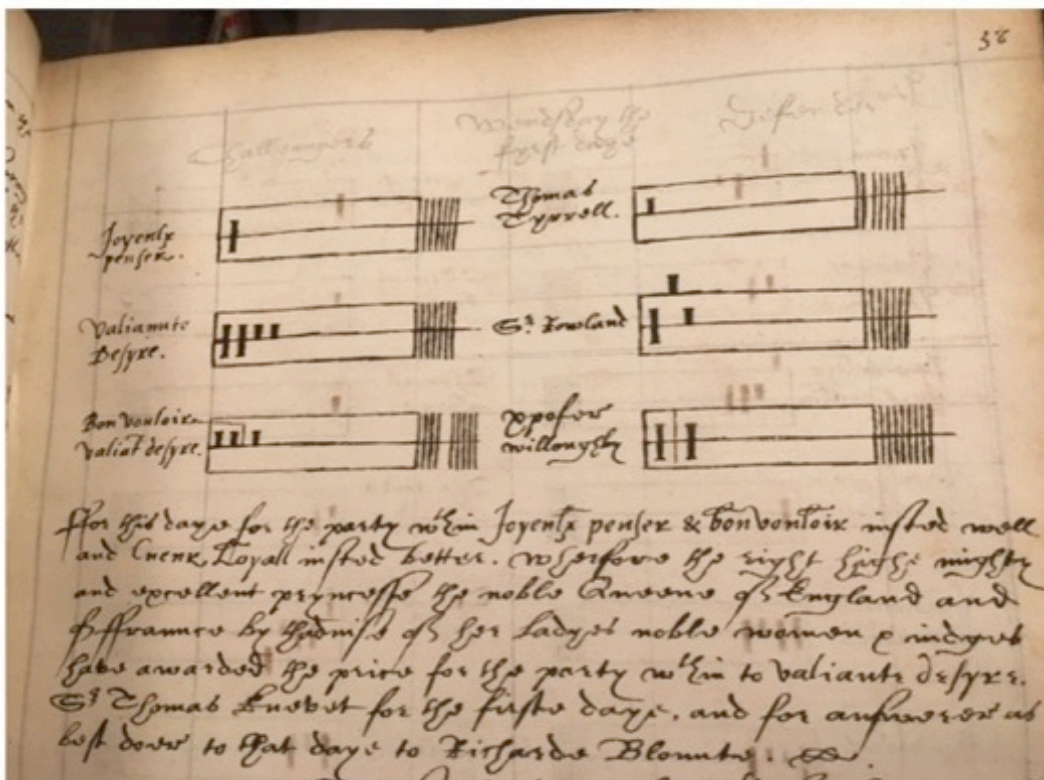


Fig. 36 & 37 Harley MS. 6079, ff38r-38rv. Reproduced by permission of the British Library, London.

In total on the first day of the tournament the Challengers were collectively able to break ten lances on the bodies of the Answerers and one lance was broken on the head. Therefore out of forty eight runs in total only eleven lances were broken, which is a disappointing result given that men selected to compete on the king's team were champion joustiers. Although taking into account the sixteen attaints were the Challengers made contact with their opponents, but did not break their lances does add another sixteen hits. In view of this result in twenty-one runs the Challengers had complete misses where they failed to make any contact with their opponents.

On the first day Knyvet and Neville both gained an average of 33% hits, but in Neville's case this was due to him only competing in one duel (see Table 2). Knyvet actually broke more lances than Neville, so it is right that he should have been awarded the prize for the highest scoring Challenger. It is notable that Henry achieves the lowest percentage of average hits for the first day with only 21%, but it also true that he competes more than any other Challenger (see Table 2). Though only running four more courses than Knyvet, his average number of lances broken is much lower with a 12% margin between the two. This can perhaps be explained by my earlier comments of the king aiming for a more difficult target (see Table 2). Ultimately it is important not to dismiss Henry as an incompetent joustier based on the results for the first day as other evidence suggests that the king was in fact a skilful competitor and indeed his scores for the second day are much improved.

Day 1 Westminster Tournament 12 February 1511				
Challengers	Courses	Points	Average Points per Course	Percentage of lances broken
Henry	19	4	0.21	21%
William Courtenay	9	2	0.22	22%
Thomas Knyvet	15	5	0.33	33%
Edward Neville	6	2	0.33	33%

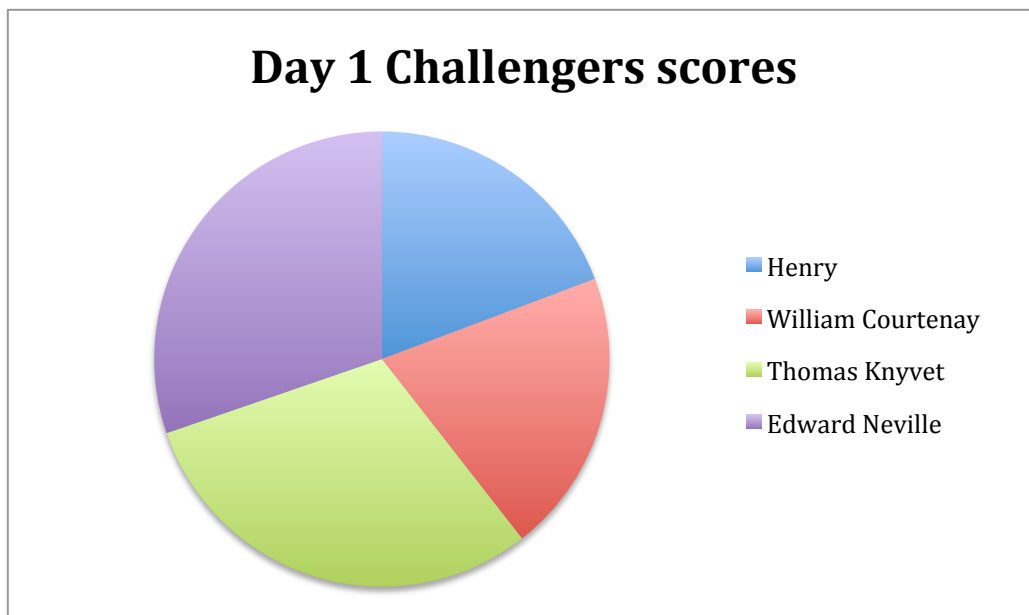


Table 2 showing calculations based on the College of Arms 1511 Tournament Cheque 1a (12 Feb 1511).

On the second day Henry won three out of his four matches proving himself to be a talented joustier. In his first match against Edward Howard, he scores one broken lance on the body and four attaints, beating Howard who manages only two attaints but no broken lances in the six runs.⁷²⁰ In his second match against Brandon, Henry scores three broken lances on the body and one attaint and one attaint on the head (see Figure 38).⁷²¹ Brandon scores only three attaints on the king's body and fails to achieve any broken lances. I would argue that this is quite a surprising result given that Brandon was known to be an expert joustier. However at this stage Brandon was not one of Henry's intimates like Knyvet and Neville, thus he competed on the team of Answerers, rather than on the king's team of Challengers, as he would subsequently do in the reign.⁷²² Arguably Brandon, in competition for Henry's favour at this stage of his kingship, engineered his result, so that the king was the victor. Thus confirming the king's manly dominance in the tiltyard, a status that Brandon clearly understood to be essential for a king. In fact Henry was awarded the prize, 'on the second day to Coeur Loyal, the King, for challengers'.⁷²³

⁷²⁰ CA Tournament cheque 1b (13 February 1511).

⁷²¹ Ibid.

⁷²² For example in the 1516 Greenwich tournament Brandon is depicted on the king's team of Challengers on the score cheque, pp. 323-324.

⁷²³ BL Harley MS. 6079, ff38r-38v cited also in *LP I* no. 698 'on the second day to Coeur Loyal'.

However it is also important to re-emphasise Henry's genuine skill, as demonstrated in his third match against Edmund Howard, he scored three broken lances on the body and three attaints only just losing against Howard who broke four lances on the king's body.⁷²⁴ Howard was one of the noblemen who had organised the tournament for Henry's coronation in 1509 and had proved his skills as a joustier.⁷²⁵ Perhaps Howard was trying to impress the king; by breaking so many lances against him rather than letting him win, he sought to impress him with his prowess.⁷²⁶ It is evident from the score cheques that Howard was able to achieve the highest score of all the Challengers and Answerers on both days.

According to the account in Harley MS. 6079, on the second day the prize for the Answerers was awarded to 'Edmond Howarde' (see Figures 39 and 40).⁷²⁷ It is notable that out of all the matches on the second day the most lances were broken in this duel between the king and Howard.⁷²⁸ This is not surprising given the abilities of both men in the joust and the fact that they were awarded the prize for Challenger and Answerer respectively. Significantly Henry selected Howard to run a further two courses of the tiltyard with him and Brandon, who, the king had admired for years. Arguably if Henry both wanted to win and to do so honestly, or to at least believe that he did so, he had to also accept that sometimes he should lose. So a man who could, on the right occasion, actually beat him would be respected for both his skill and his honesty.

⁷²⁴ CA Tournament Cheque 1b (13 February 1511).

⁷²⁵ Hall, p.511.

⁷²⁶ From the ambitious Howard family, Edmund was the third son of Thomas Howard, second Duke of Norfolk. It is noteworthy that his daughter Catherine Howard became Henry's fifth wife.

⁷²⁷ BL Harley MS. 6079, f38r cited in *LP I* no. 698 'Edmund Howard for defenders'.

⁷²⁸ I will expand on this argument below p.304. .

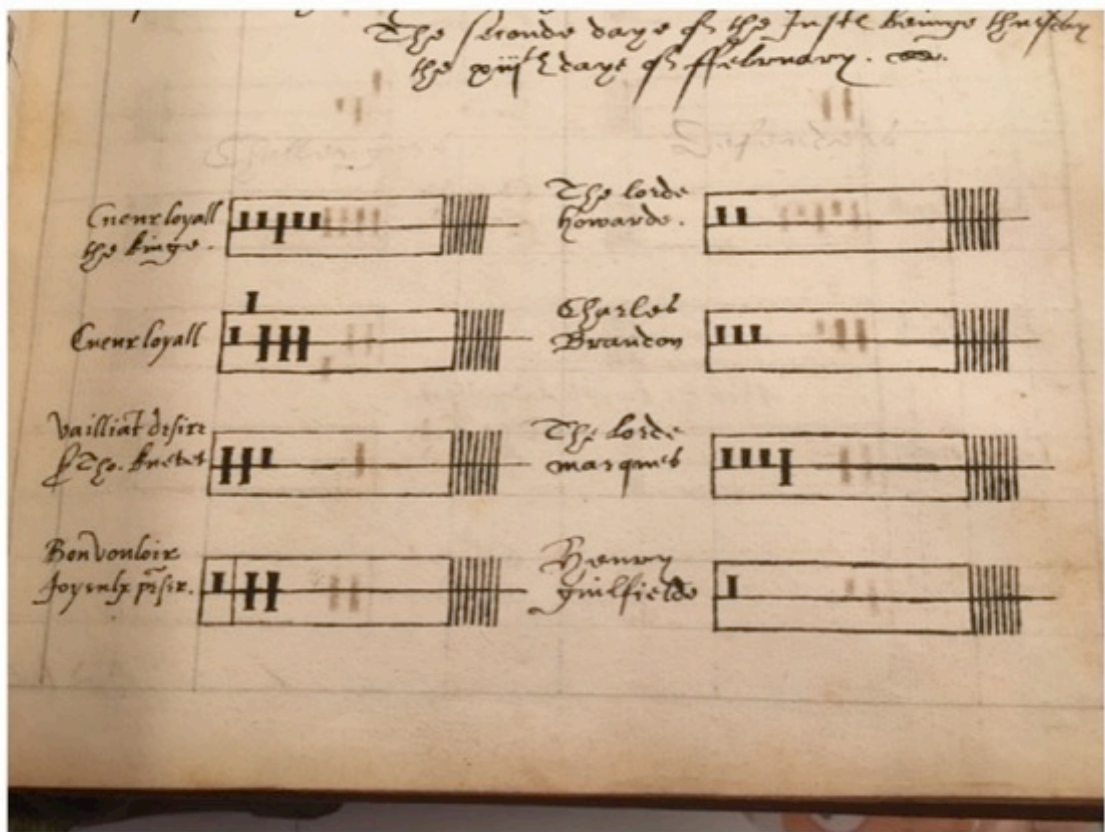


Fig.39. 'The Seconde daye of the Juste beinge Thursday the xiiith daye of February', Harley MS. 6079, f38v.

Reproduced by permission of the British Library, London.



Fig.40. 'The Seconde daye of the Juste beinge Thursday the xiiith daye of February', Harley MS. 6079, f39r.

Reproduced by permission of the British Library, London.

In his final match against Richard Tempest, Henry scores two lances broken on the body, whilst Tempest also scores two broken lances on the body of the king. However Tempest is also penalised a point which is shown by the strike in the bottom line of the scoring grid in accordance with Tiptoft's scoring method.⁷²⁹ This penalty marking is significant, as it is not found on any other Henrician cheques at the College.⁷³⁰ Richard Tempest was not one of the inner circle of companions, but he had been an esquire to both Henry VII and Henry VIII. He also took part in future court tournaments in 1516.⁷³¹ The fact he was asked back again to compete suggests that on this particular occasion Tempest was not performing to his best.

Another Answerer to be given a penalty on the second day was John Grey in his match against Knyvet. Grey was not well known in the jousting circuit at Henry's court and it is not known whether or not he competed again in a tournament following this appearance. The reason for penalties are given in Tiptoft's articles and in the Westminster tournament Challenge 'item who so stryketh his felowe benethe the waiste or in the sadell...shalbe disallowed of ii speres'.⁷³² It is evident that the main faults were to strike or hit the tilt, or to hit the adversary beneath the waist, or on his saddle. The two Answerers must have committed one or more of these faults for them to receive a penalty each in their grids. Moreover not only had they failed to score well, but their failure to properly adhere to the

⁷²⁹ In the Introduction I have provided an image of a sample cheque to show how each hit should be marked, p.107.

⁷³⁰ Anglo, 'Archives of the English Tournament: Score Cheques and Lists', 153-62.

⁷³¹ Richard Hoyle, 'Tempest, Sir Richard (c.1480-1537)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2004) <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/71864>> [Accessed 14 May 2015].

⁷³² BL Harley MS. Ch 83 H1.

rules implied that they had not properly mastered the chivalric skills that were such a key aspect of manhood.

On the second day the scores of all the Challengers are much improved although it is also true that they all ran more courses than the previous day. In particular Neville puts on an impressive display on the second day being the only Challenger to break a lance on the head of his opponent Henry Stafford, Earl of Wiltshire who was known to be a formidable contender in the jousts.⁷³³ Neville actually achieves a higher average percentage of hits than the king on the second day with a total of 39%, whilst Henry ends his second day with an average of 38% (see table 3). Though usually the score cheques could distinguish between knight's performances, on this occasion given that it was so close, the final decision was based on who had broken the most lances. Henry broke nine lances compared to Neville who broke six lances. Thus having failed to win the first day, Henry was declared the winner on the second.

⁷³³ CA Tournament Cheque 1b (13 February 1511).

Challengers	Day 2 Westminster Tournament 13 February 1511			
	Courses	Points	Average Points per Course	Percentage of lances broken
Henry	24	9	0.38	38%
William Courtenay	18	3	0.17	17%
Thomas Knyvet	18	6	0.33	33%
Edward Neville	18	7	0.39	39%

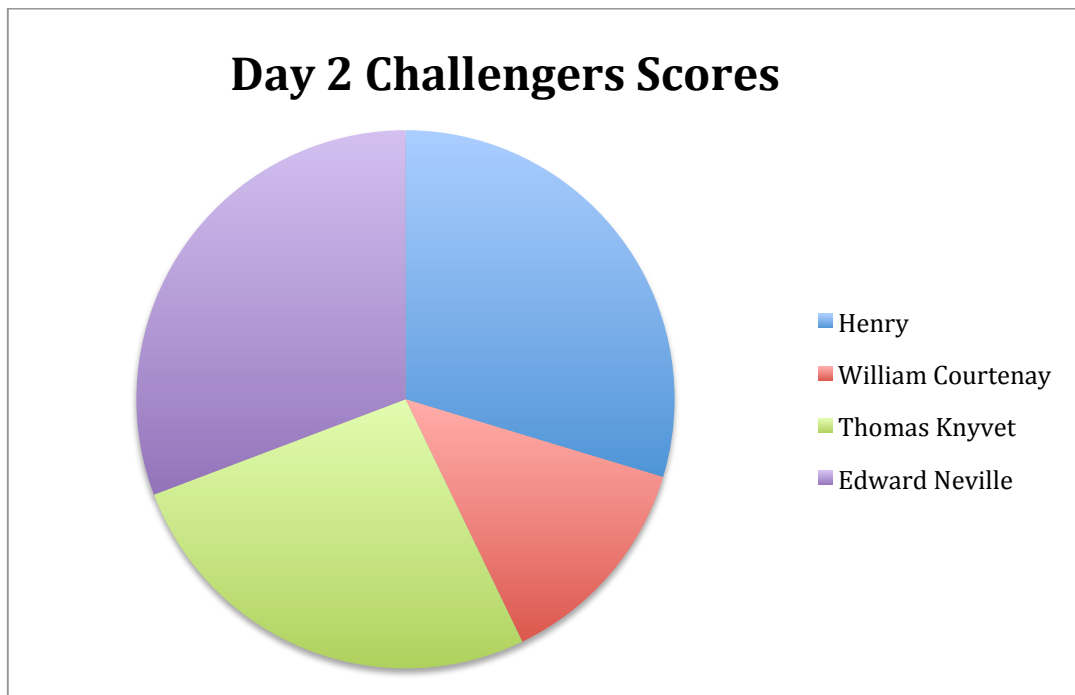


Table 3 showing calculations based on the College of Arms Tournament Cheque 1a (12 Feb 1511) and Tournament Cheque 1b (13 Feb 1511) Challengers and Answerers overall result.

Noticeably on the second day, Knyvet did not perform as well in the jousts. He ran twice as many times, but only managed to score one more point than the first day. It might be that Knyvet was having a bad day, but given his expert performance on the first day this is perhaps unlikely. Additionally, Knyvet won all three of his jousts on the second day, but not by the same impressive margin as the first day. Arguably then, Knyvet held back on the second day of the tournament in order to ensure that he did not outperform the king again. Gunn has noted that Brandon was able to manipulate the scores to ensure that the king won, but it is evident that there were other courtiers such as Knyvet, who were also experienced in managing the tiltyard for their own ends.⁷³⁴ The final Challenger on the king's team was Courtenay who for the second day in a row did not perform well. On the second day Courtenay broke only three lances in his eighteen runs giving him the lowest total average of hits only 17% and the fewest among the Challengers (see Table 3). Perhaps this can be explained by his ill health, as he died three months after the Westminster tournament from pleurisy.⁷³⁵ Given that the body was such an important factor in jousting success it is possible that this condition played a part in Courtenay's poor performance.

It is evident that across the two days of the tournament, in total the four Challengers do not actually score as well as might have been expected. Out of forty-eight runs Henry broke only thirteen lances across the two days of the competition all on the bodies of his opponents giving him a final result of thirteen points (see Table 4). Henry failed to break lances in thirty-five of his courses, which is why his total percentage of hits made across the competition is so low at 30% (see Table 4). Henry was clearly the most popular Challenger to

⁷³⁴ Gunn, 'Tournaments and Early Tudor Chivalry', 15-21.

⁷³⁵ See ODNB entry for William Courtenay.

joust against in the competition running twice as many times as Neville and almost twenty courses more than Courtenay and Knyvet. This was not surprising giving his kingly status; it provided a unique opportunity for men to impress the king and the spectators with their martial abilities. In terms of the performance of the Challengers no doubt Knyvet had proven his jousting credentials and masculinity to Henry, by scoring only two fewer broken lances than him but while running nineteen courses fewer. Knyvet was one of Henry's closest companions at this stage of his kingship and it is likely that had he not died unexpectedly in 1512, he would have continued in this position. Brandon clearly replaces Knyvet in Henry's circle of jousting companions; he succeeds him as Master of the Horse and takes his place on the king's team of Challengers.

Total score of the Challengers across the two days				
Challengers	Courses Overall	Points Overall	Total Average of Points	Percentage of lances broken
Henry	48	13	0.30	30%
William Courtenay	27	5	0.19	19%
Thomas Knyvet	29	11	0.33	33%
Edward Neville	24	8	0.38	38%

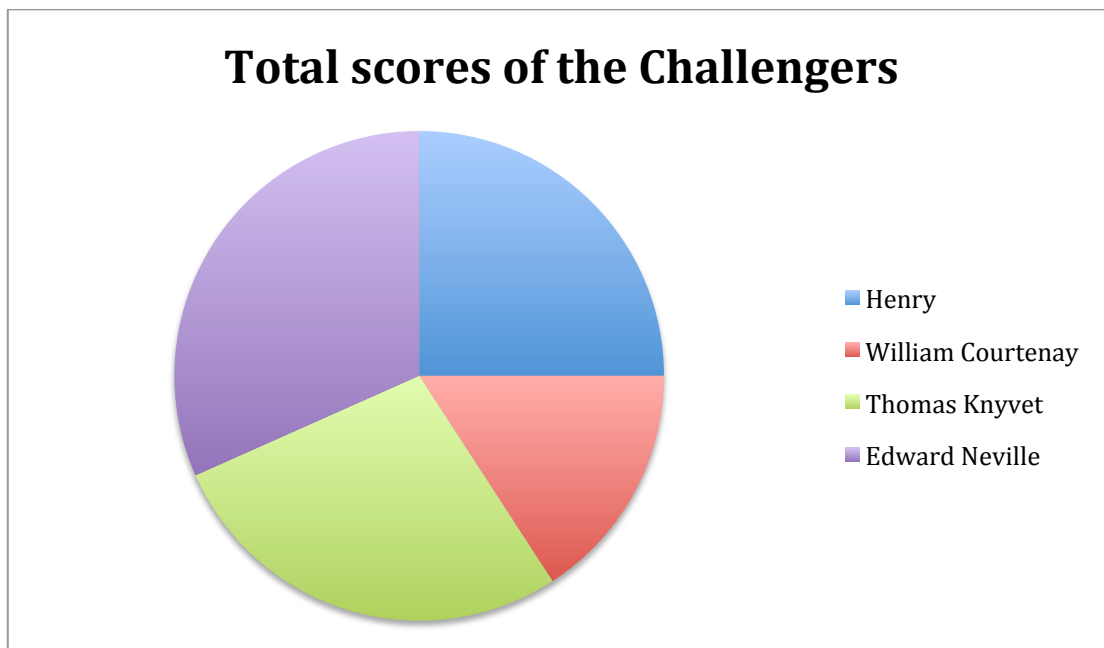


Table 4 showing calculations based on the College of Arms Tournament Cheque 1a (12 Feb 1511) and Tournament Cheque 1b (13 Feb 1511) Challengers overall result.

On the first day based on my calculations out of fifty courses, it is noteworthy that there is only a 1% difference between the two teams overall total number of hits (see table 5). It is evident that those men who made up the team of Answerers were not incompetent jousts, but were able to give the Challengers a well fought contest and at times even outperform them. By way of contrast on the second day out of seventy-eight courses it is clear that the Challengers have the lead with 32%, compared to the Answerers 23% of total hits. Possibly Henry gave his Challengers a talking to after a poor first day and this may have inspired them to great efforts on the second day. However it is important to remember too that jousting was an individual sport. Arguably as long Henry had well fought matches and confirmed his position at the top of the hierarchy of manhood, his men could be left to compete with each other and work out a masculine pecking order beneath him.

Day 1 Overall results				
Teams	Total Courses	Total Points	Average Points per Course	Percentages
Challengers	50	13	0.26	26%
Answerers	50	12	0.24	24%

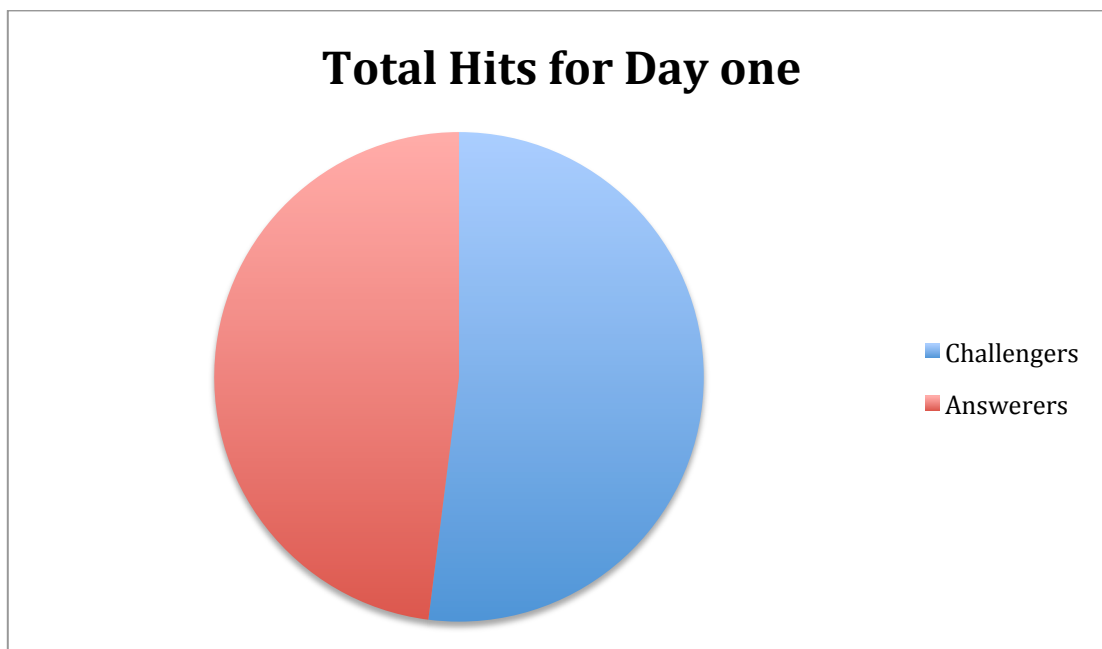


Table 5 showing calculations based on the College of Arms Tournament Cheque 1a (12 Feb 1511) and Challengers and Answerers overall result.

Day 2 Overall results				
Teams	Total Courses	Total Points	Average Points per Course	Percentages
Challengers	78	25	0.32	32%
Answerers	78	18	0.23	23%

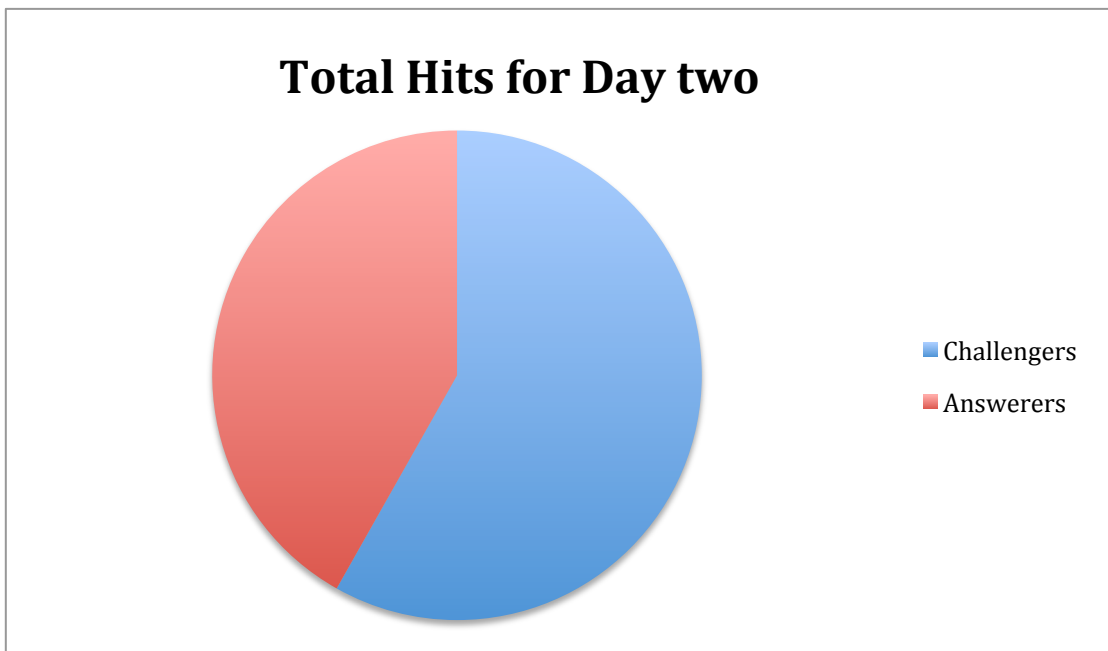


Table 6 showing calculations based on the College of Arms Tournament Cheque 1b (13 Feb 1511) Challengers and Answerers overall result.

A significant feature of the 1511 Westminster jousting cheques is that on the second day Brandon and Howard are shown running two courses against the king rather than the six courses that had been prescribed in the articles of the Challenge.⁷³⁶ It seems that, having completed the main jousts, the king, Brandon and Howard, ran two courses in favour of the 'king's lady' (the queen) to mark the end of the tournament. Certainly in Harley MS. 6079, these two duels succeed the results of the main jousting matches under the title 'for the kinges ladyes sake' (see Figure 41).⁷³⁷ These two runs happened after the main jousts had taken place with Henry insisting on running again with Brandon and Howard. Henry broke his spear on each of his two runs against Howard. Against Brandon, he scored one attaint and one broken spear, whereas Brandon managed to break his spear on both of his runs against the king. The fact that Howard and Brandon were given the honour of completing these two courses suggests that Henry considered them to be the best and most appropriate men to perform special runs in favour of his ladies and especially his wife, who had just performed the honourable duty of providing him with an heir.

⁷³⁶ BL Harley MS. Ch 83 H1.

⁷³⁷ BL Harley MS. 6079, f39r.



Fig.41. 'For the kings ladyes sake', Harley MS. 6079, f39r. Reproduced by permission of the British Library, London.

4.4.5: 1516 Greenwich Tournament

On 19 and 20 May 1516 jousts of honour were held to celebrate the visit of Henry's sister Margaret Queen of Scots. This was an elaborate spectacle, which involved two days of jousts, in which Henry was the captain of the Challengers. His team was made up of the jousting elite of the Tudor court, including three leading champions: Brandon, Essex and Carew. The more time that Henry spent jousting alongside the nobles in the tiltyard, the stronger homosocial bonds he was able to establish with his men, thus facilitating the rise of favourites such as Brandon and Carew. They were two key courtiers to emerge from a culture in which masculinity was evaluated according to the specific standards of a martial accomplishment, as demonstrated within the arena of the tiltyard. With the stress on vertical and horizontal bonds of knighthood came the expectation that prowess would earn recognition and reward. For Brandon, his meteoric rise at court is easy to chart as the higher he rose in the tournament culture, the further his status advanced at court. Brandon regularly jousted alongside the king as a team of two Challengers against all the other Answerers.⁷³⁸ It is telling that Henry preferred to have Brandon on his team, rather than to compete directly against him in the tiltyard; it was well established that Brandon was the best jouster at court.

The opposing team of Answerers then consisted of a dozen other jousting enthusiasts from Henry VIII's court including Sir Henry Guildford, Sir William Kingston and

⁷³⁸ Henry and Brandon challenged alone together from 1512, which was the pattern for the next two years according to Gunn, *Charles Brandon: Henry VIII's Closest Friend*, p.9.

Sir Giles Capel, another trainee of Essex.⁷³⁹ The jousting cheque that survives from this tournament is held in the College of Arms.⁷⁴⁰ Although it is mutilated it is most likely from the 1516 tournament as the jousting cheque shows twelve Answerers (with one missing) and the king with his three aides Brandon, Essex and Carew (see Figure 42). Henry's team were demonstrably the best men, but it was important that the men who competed against the king were also expert jousters, in order to create an exciting match.

In addition to the College of Arms score cheque another set of results are presented in British Library Harley MS. 69 collection that reveal very different results (see Figure 43).⁷⁴¹ The score cheque from Harley MS. 69 has been copied into the manuscript and as such it is not the original cheque that was used on the day. In comparison the score cheque in the College of Arms is drawn up on a single piece of parchment and clearly is the original cheque that was used to score the jousts. Although the College of Arms cheque remains undated, Anglo has dated it as the 19 May 1516 and the Harley cheque is explicitly dated as the 20 May 1516.⁷⁴² Thomas Alen writing to the Earl of Shrewsbury on the 24 May 1516, wrote of the 'great jousting at Greenwich on Monday and Tuesday last', so it is plausible that the two score cheques do indeed represent results from two separate days of contests.⁷⁴³

⁷³⁹ Hall, p.585.

⁷⁴⁰ CA Box 37 Tournament 1c (19 May 1516).

⁷⁴¹ BL Harley MS. 69, f16v, Anglo, 'Archives of the English Tournament: Score Cheques', 153-62.

⁷⁴² Anglo, 'Archives of the English Tournament: Score Cheques', 153-62.

⁷⁴³ LP II no. 1935.

However there is one key discrepancy between the results on the two cheques and the other contemporary evidence. In Hall's chronicle Henry was famed for unhorsing Sir William Kingston on the second day: 'the kyng and sir William kyngston ranne together, whiche sir William was a strong and a tall knight, and yet the kyng by strength overthrew hym to the ground'.⁷⁴⁴ However the Harley score cheque does not support Hall's account that Henry beat Kingston on the second day. It contends that Henry did not actually tilt against Kingston on that day, let alone unhorse him. Significantly it was actually Brandon, who competed against Kingston according to the cheque and the result was a draw as both earned six points. Hall is known to have often made mistakes when it came to presenting the details of the tournaments.⁷⁴⁵ In addition he is also known to present a highly celebratory account of Henry's rule; therefore it is likely that he altered this result to make the king appear as the victor.

⁷⁴⁴ Hall, p.585.

⁷⁴⁵ Sydney Anglo argues that Hall's account is often inconsistent in its evidence on tournaments held in the reign of Henry VIII, 'The Tournament in Renaissance France: a curiously neglected subject' paper given at The Real Fighting Stuff Conference, Kelvingrove museum and Art Gallery Glasgow, 12-13 March 2015.

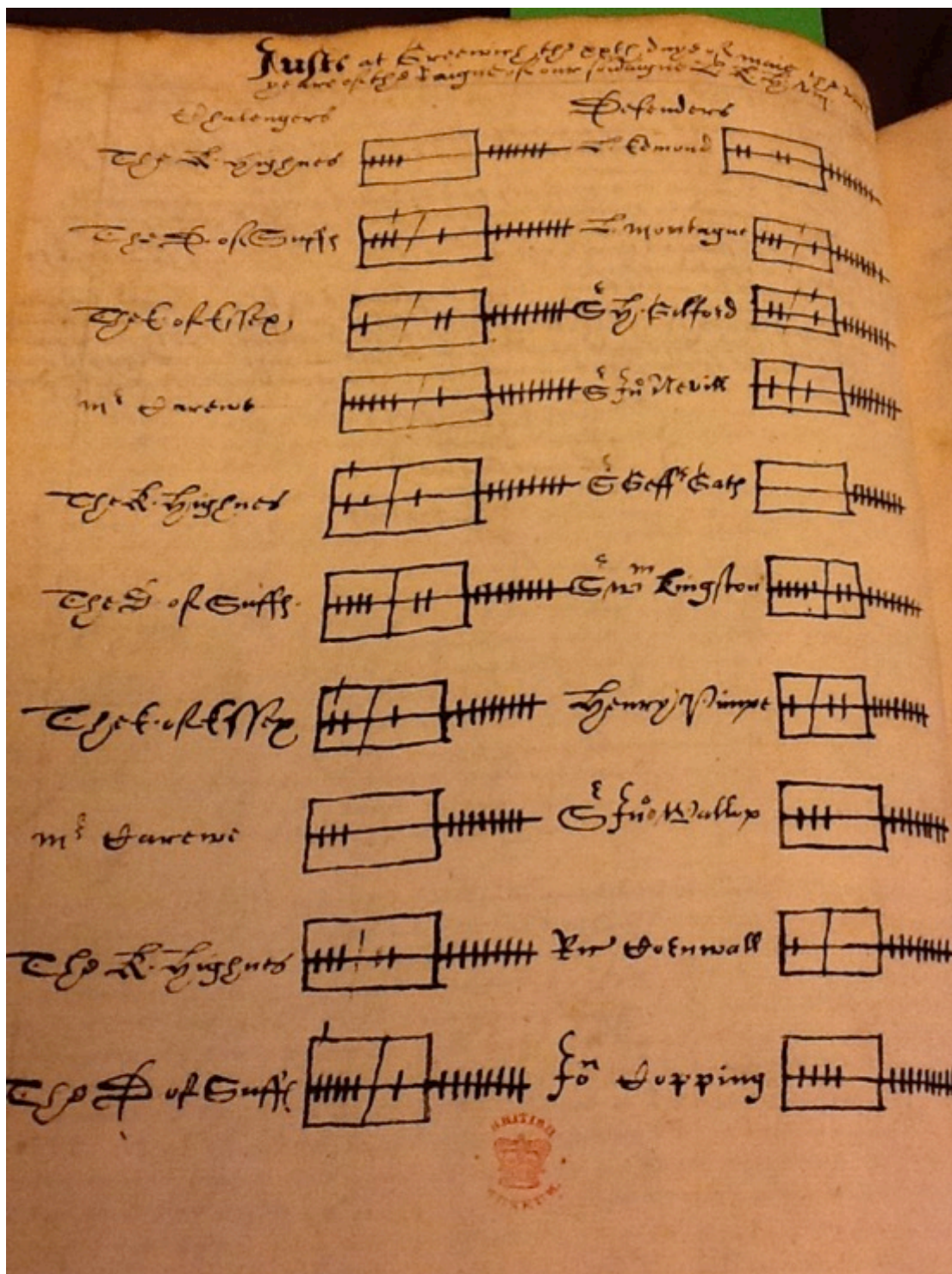


Fig.42. 'Justs at Greenwich the xxth daye of Maie' Harley MS. 69, f16v reproduced by gracious permission of the British Library, London.

On the College of Arms cheque, which is taken to illustrate the scores from 19 May, the first day of jousting, Henry and Kingston are listed jousting against each other. Henry is shown to score four broken spears on the body of Kingston, whilst Kingston is shown to only score two spears broken on the body of Henry. It is not clear on the score cheques, using points scored, if a man has managed to unhorse another, but you could expect to see a fewer number of courses ran if that was the case. Yet in this score cheque the number of courses completed by Henry and Kingston is eight runs, the assigned number in the Challenge, which suggests that Henry did not unhorse Kingston, or if he did, can only have done so the last run. Arguably if this cheque is the actual source that was produced at the tournament, it is likely that this duel between Henry and Kingston did in fact take place Hall who confused events and took it to be on the second day, rather than the first. This suggests an alternative to Hall's established narrative of Henry's victory over Kingston on the second day.

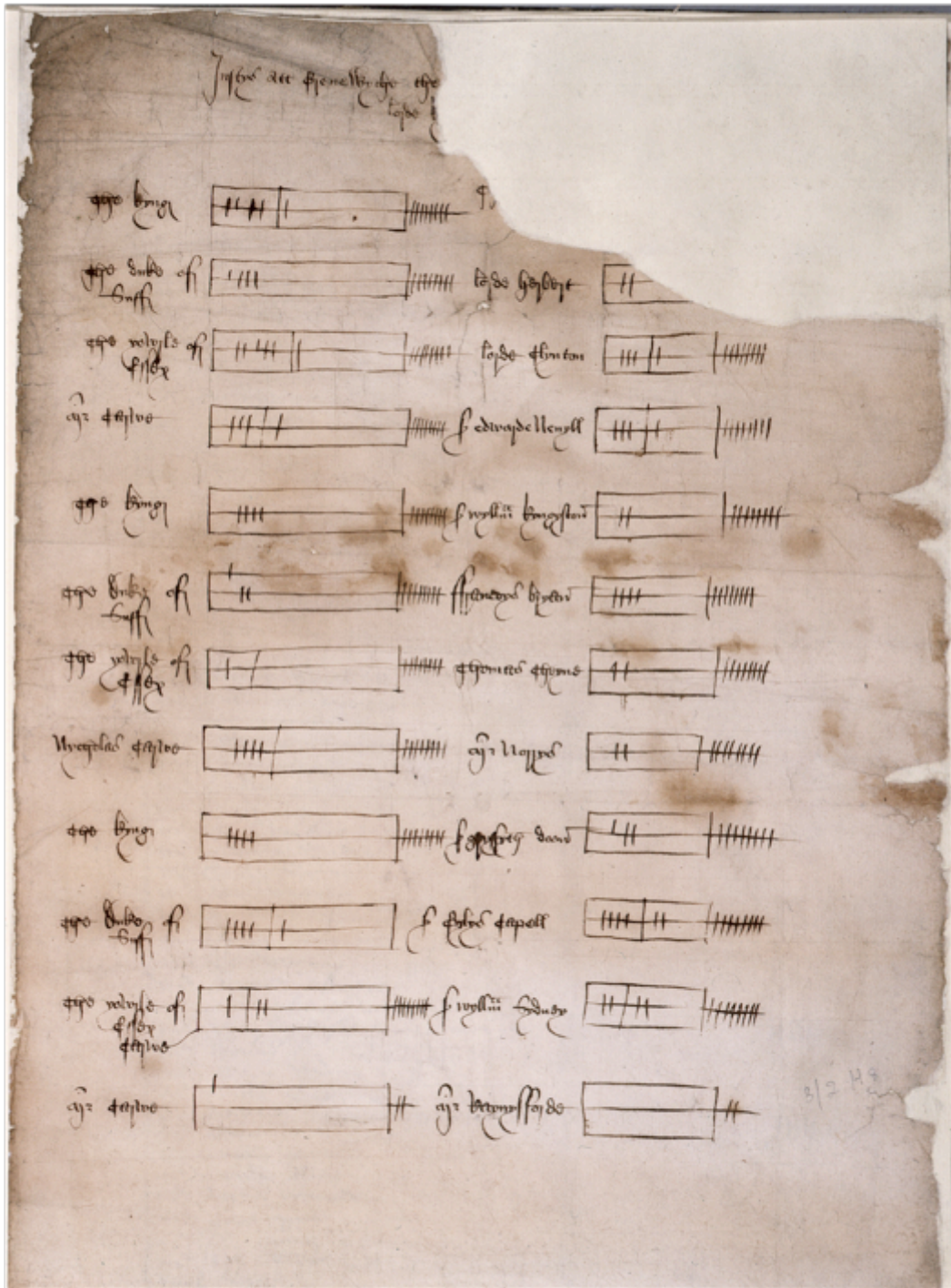


Fig.43. Tournament Cheque' 1c (19 May 1516) reproduced by permission of the Kings, Heralds and Pursuivants of Arms.

From the College of Arms cheque of the first day, it is evident that Henry managed to win all of his three duels by at least two broken lances, or more, scoring four points in each.⁷⁴⁶ In contrast the scores of his opponents are half the amount of the king. Though on the one hand Henry could read this as an impressive victory, it is also apparent that the king hated to win too easily. The Harley cheque from day two also highlights the dismal display of the Answerers, it reveals that in one of Henry's matches no points were scored against him and in another only one point was gained. In Alen's letter to the Earl of Shrewsbury written on 24 May 1516 Henry is depicted as visibly frustrated over his failure to score well in the jousts.⁷⁴⁷ The king, to save his reputation, blamed his contestants for all being inadequate, furiously promising 'never to joust again except it be with as good as man as himself'.⁷⁴⁸ Henry did not mean 'man' in a generic sense here, but the gendered implications of his outburst have been entirely looked over in previous discussions.⁷⁴⁹ As previously discussed, in order to prove that he was genuinely endowed with the properties and accomplishments of knightly masculinity, it was vital to Henry that he should engage in real competition with skilled jousters. In this way, if he won, his hegemonic masculinity would be confirmed. Hence his frustration is not just a petty explosion of anger, but attributable to a perception that his manhood was being undermined.

To make matters worse Henry's matches were not the same exciting contests as those against Brandon on the first day, a matter that obviously angered the king. Though on

⁷⁴⁶ CA Box 37 Tournament 1c (19 May 1516).

⁷⁴⁷ LP II no. 1893.

⁷⁴⁸ Ibid.

⁷⁴⁹ Gunn, *Charles Brandon: Henry's Closest Friend*, p.20; Gunn, 'Tournaments and Early Tudor Chivalry', 15-21.

the first day Brandon was able to equal Henry's final result, as both were able to gain twelve points across twenty-four runs. Brandon managed to break ten lances on the body, with one lance broken on the head, giving him a total of twelve points. Henry was able to break twelve lances on the body, giving him the same total as Brandon. Thus for the first day, it is clear that Brandon and the king performed as well as each other, distinguishing themselves from the rest of the other Challengers. It is evident from this result why Henry considered Brandon his equal in the tiltyard.

This helps to explain why, following the Greenwich tournament, Henry chose to joust against Brandon with the duke switching to the role of Answerer, so that the king would always be able to enjoy a well fought duel. In a letter from Francesco Chierigato, Apostolic Nuncio in England, on 10 July 1517, to Isabella d'Este, Marchioness of Mantua, he describes a tournament that was held at Greenwich a little over a year later where: 'the competitor assigned to the King was the Duke of Suffolk aforesaid; and they bore themselves so bravely that the spectators fancied themselves witnessing a joust between Hector and Achilles'.⁷⁵⁰ It is apparent that when the two were matched against each other it provided an impressive display of martial masculinity for those in attendance, a performance that was vital to Henry's sense of self-worth.

According to the Harley cheque, on the second day Brandon performed even better in the jousts securing a substantial victory over all four Challengers. Brandon ran twenty-four

⁷⁵⁰ *CSP Venice* II no. 918.

times, the same amount as the king, but he managed to score eighteen points. In practice this means it was more likely that Brandon would make a hit and score a point on each run that he made, than it was for him to miss completely, or fail to score. When broken down into individual duels, it is apparent that Brandon's matches were each close fought combats, which must have made for an impressive show for the spectators. In Brandon's first match he scored four broken lances on the body and one on the head. His opponent, Henry Pole, Lord Montague manages four broken lances against Brandon. Hence in total nine broken lances were achieved across the eight courses. Even more thrilling was Brandon's second match against William Kingston, in which both knights broke six lances each across the eight courses making for a gripping finish.

In total Brandon manages to break eighteen lances compared to Henry, who managed to break thirteen lances. Brandon was then able to score better than Henry; a result that was problematic as the two had been equals the day before, yet on this occasion Brandon was exposed as Henry's better. Fortunately for Brandon, given that the king had complained about inadequate opponents on the second day, his high scores could similarly be explained through the weak performance of his adversaries. It seems that so long as Brandon was not beating the king in a duel his position was safe. In fact the better that Brandon did against other opponents, the better that Henry looked when he beat him.

Gunn has also drawn attention to this episode detailing the scores the adversaries made against Suffolk and the king.⁷⁵¹ Through these results Gunn has demonstrated that Suffolk's contests had been exciting and Henry's combats had been dismal on account of the incompetency of his opponents. Gunn identifies that: 'Brandon had both the ability to perform consistently well in the lists and the common sense not to out do Henry'.⁷⁵² Gunn's analysis raises an important point; in the tournaments Henry was being measured against the best men, thus it was the duty of these men, who were often indebted to him, to ensure that he retained his honour in the jousts. Thus Henry was right in blaming his opponents for their inadequate display in the jousts as he had been let down by the men whom he had promoted and relied on to maintain his chivalrous reputation. In this sense there is far more to be gained from Henry's reaction than it simply being understood as an expression of petulance.

It is undeniable that in the joust Brandon managed to exert his dominance over all other men in the tiltyard. Remarkably the ambassador Philippe De Bregilles writing about Margaret of Savoy in August 1513 wrote of Brandon she 'is aware he is a second king and it would be well to write him a kind letter'.⁷⁵³ It is apparent from this quotation that Brandon's high status was recognised by those within the court and those ambassadors visiting England, which highlights how far his status actually went beyond the court. Brandon's

⁷⁵¹ Gunn, *Charles Brandon: Henry VIII's Closest Friend*, p.67.

⁷⁵² *Ibid*, p.9.

⁷⁵³ *LP I* no. 2171. It is important to note that Thomas Wolsey was also referred to as 'ipse rex', it is apparent that multifaceted nature of kingship was such that Wolsey could be shown representing Henry in one area of his kingship, whilst Brandon led another aspect of his rule. Neither of them presented a challenge to the others authority as both continued to rule separate dominions. Although the religious aspect of Henry's rule is beyond the scope of this thesis, it is noteworthy that Brandon was not the only 'second king' during Henry's reign.

political and cultural significance to Henry's kingship has not been credited in recent secondary works, and yet at the time he was regarded as a kingly figure.⁷⁵⁴ It was this knightly model of medieval masculinity which Henry upheld that asserted Brandon as the best man at court and even as the 'second king'.⁷⁵⁵ Thus the score sheets help to explain why a non-noble man, who was not born for high office could achieve high status manhood in this period. Brandon regularly broke the most spears and gave the greatest strokes, thus proving to Henry that he was the only man, 'as good as himself'. As already noted, from this point on Brandon joined the opposing team of Answerers thereby competing directly against the king, and on occasion it seems allowing him to win.⁷⁵⁶ Although it seems certain that Brandon was also careful to stage these contests, so that Henry's victory appeared to be the result of a hard fought battle. Thus it appears that Brandon was Henry's only reliable partner in his performance of kingly masculinity.

Ultimately the results of the Challengers and Answerers in tournaments suggest that the joust was technically very difficult; it was clearly not easy to score well even by those considered champions of the sport. Breaking spears on the body and head was not an easy feat when travelling at high speed and with limited vision; it proved difficult to make those important hits. In order to participate, a man must already be an experienced and confident rider as horsemanship and targeting were what made jousting so difficult. Thus jousting was

⁷⁵⁴ This does not include the valuable work of Gunn, *Charles Brandon: Henry VIII's Closest Friend*, who is one of the few historians to recognise the significance of Brandon in Henry's reign.

⁷⁵⁵ See my conference paper 'A second king: chivalric masculinity and the meteoric rise of Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk (c.1484-1545)', paper given at the Gender and Medieval Studies conference, The University of Winchester, 9-11 January 2014 available online at <<https://hud.academia.edu/EmmaLevitt>> [Accessed 2 February 2016].

⁷⁵⁶ Gunn, *Charles Brandon: Henry VIII's Closest Friend*, p.20.

a particularly difficult sport to master, which helps to explain why handbooks such as Duarte were created exclusively for the tournament and why young men were sent to learn from established jousting masters. Jousting demanded a unique set of skills and energies from the mounted knight. Importantly these skills were individual rather than collective, as were the rewards on offer. In the tiltyard manhood was judged according to a definite set of rules and a scoring system that was followed by all men including the king. The men within the tiltyard pursued a vigorous and constant career of fighting activity that identified them with honourable manhood and served to distinguish them and gain them significant positions at the courts of Edward IV and Henry VIII. The jousting men were rewarded because of their reputation for martial masculinity that was gained through the demonstration of arms. Vital to this is the fact that the tournament was still used as a training ground for warfare as it equipped men with many of the skills that were required on the battlefield. This is something discussed in more detail in the next chapter.

5: Warrior kingship: knightly bonds on the battlefield and in the privy chamber

In this chapter, I further my argument that there continued to be a strong identification between the warrior ethos and notions of manhood and kingship in the late medieval and early modern period. Edward IV and Henry VIII both embodied the archetype of the warrior leader, which was the hegemonic model of masculinity for men of high status, but in different fashions. Examining the relationship between martial and chivalric masculinity and the status of men within Edward IV's and Henry VIII's court raises a number of important questions: What is the dominant model of masculinity that these groupings exhibit? What exactly were the ideals of masculine behaviour that they were expected to follow? England's loss of territory in France and ultimate defeat in the Hundred Years War, followed by civil wars made the English throne and kingdom look very vulnerable. What this chapter highlights is that there was some contemporary anxiety surrounding the perceived quality of English masculinity. While it is true that Henry VII was a successful warrior, going to battle first to gain his throne and then to defend it, he preferred to avoid war when he could, and did not present an image of himself as a warrior king in the same way. It is the aim of this chapter to argue that Edward IV and Henry VIII adhered to an established warrior model of kingly masculinity, which was last embodied by Henry V, given Henry VI's unwarlike status.

In the first section of this chapter, I examine the military career of Edward IV. Edward was eighteen when he led Yorkist troops to victory at the battles of Mortimer's

Cross and Towton in February and March 1461. Edward was initially forced to fight battles; he did not seek them out. Thus when Edward first came to the throne, he did not need to prove himself as a warrior, because he had already won his crown by warfare. Edward's men emulated this model of manhood by taking a prominent role in the king's wars and were greatly rewarded, as this chapter illustrates. Men such as William Hastings, Henry Stafford and William Herbert were able to gain entry into the nobility because they exemplified the warrior ideal that was being embodied by the king. It was this shared version of manhood that established strong homosocial bonds between these men and Edward, who trusted them because they followed him into battle at Mortimer's Cross and thus demonstrated their loyalty to the Yorkist cause.

In the second section of this chapter, I analyse Henry's hardy display of masculinity in waging war in France from the start of his reign, in a deliberate attempt to align his kingship with the legendary Henry V. The term 'hardy' will be further discussed below. Henry did not have to fight to win his throne like his predecessors Henry VII and Edward IV and this in itself helps to explain why he held such enthusiasm for warfare and made aggressive overtures to France from the start of his reign. I will demonstrate that as soon as there was just cause for Henry to go to battle with France in 1513, his hardiness was fittingly channelled into a pursuit that in turn brought him much renown. Henry won a victory in battle capturing the towns of Therouanne and Tournai both of which were personally rewarding triumphs. For Henry, who thought of himself as a warrior king after his medieval ancestors, the renewal of war against France in the 1540s saw him quite consciously exercising the qualities of the 'hardy' man. This war, was essentially waged due to his

enduring desire for glory as Henry sought to recapture his masculinity, thus he exposed himself to the dangers of an ambitious campaign without good political cause. This reveals the extent to which a king's reputation was bound up with his status as a successful warrior leader, and for an English king in particular, war against France was a crucial dimension of this.

Building on the standards of masculinity that were established by both Edward and Henry, in the final section of this chapter I will explore the hardy display of men from Henry's privy chamber. These men were able to establish strong homosocial bonds with the king as they ate, dressed and slept alongside him. These were also the same men who jousted with Henry, as he wanted men around him who shared his love of chivalrous pursuits. However Henry's preferential treatment of his intimates in this role proved problematic on one significant occasion in 1519, when on account of the disgraceful behaviour they displayed while on a diplomatic mission to France they were removed from the privy chamber. In applying the qualities of the hardy man to this heavily debated episode in Henry's reign, it is my intention to offer another reading of why the king was forced to expel these companions from the privy chamber. One final event that this thesis tackles in the historiography is the downfall of the men within the chamber alongside Anne Boleyn. Significantly in shifting the focus to the status of the men and their relationship with Henry, rather than Anne I take a different approach to most studies of this well-known event. I question if whether the downfall of these men associated with Anne Boleyn can be more fully understood through a gendered approach? Despite the fact that this episode has

been well contested, I will demonstrate that there are still new aspects to be addressed in connection with models of manhood and issues of lifecycle.

5.1: Hardy Man vs. Manly Man

During the medieval period English writers drew a distinction between the rashness of the 'hardy' man and the prudence of the 'manly' man. These contrasting versions of male conduct structure this chapter on military prowess and its significant role in the construction of an elite and secular masculinity.⁷⁵⁷ This section draws on a couple of chivalric handbooks written in England in the later fifteenth century, namely William Worcester's *Boke of Noblesse* (1475) and William Caxton translation of Ramon Llull's *The Book of the Order of Chivalry* published by (1484). Both texts outlined what was needed to turn armed men into a successful fighting force. I use these texts as evidence of the attempts to inculcate the right sort of qualities needed for the creation of the successful noble military leader.

Worcester's Boke of Noblesse (originally written in the early 1440s and reissued in the early 1470s, as discussed further below) provides a useful framework for defining the terms 'manly' and 'hardy', which structure this chapter.⁷⁵⁸ Worcester's importance rests on his cultural interests and writing, which were patronised by his master Sir John Fastolf a knight

⁷⁵⁷ Other scholars have commented on the significance of this distinction, eg. Lewis, *Kingship and Masculinity in Late Medieval England* and Karras, *From Boys to Men*.

⁷⁵⁸ Nicholas Orme, 'Worcester, William (1415–1480x85)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, (Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Oct 2006) <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/29967>> [Accessed 17 November 2016].

with extensive lands and interests in England and France.⁷⁵⁹ Worcester remained his loyal secretary until his death and accompanied Fastolf on campaign twice to northern France in the early 1440s. Following Henry V's death, Fastolf formed with other professional captains under regent John, Duke of Bedford who carried forward the conquest in France. Worcester's most ambitious literary work was *The Boke of Noblesse*, written first in 1451 and revised in 1472 and 1475, it argued for renewed military efforts to recover the lands that had been lost by Henry VI in France.

Although Worcester was not a soldier himself, he offered practical advice gained from his master Fastolf on the two kinds of fighting man the 'hardye man' and the 'manly man'.⁷⁶⁰ Hardy men were associated with violent force and committing acts of individualistic courage and strength without advice or council:

for the hardy man that soddenly bethout discrecion of
gode avysement, avauncyth hym yn the felde to be hadde
couragouse and wyth grete aventur he scapyth, voidith the
felde allone, but he levyth his felyshyp detruessed.⁷⁶¹

Thus the 'hardy man' acted on impulse: such a man tended to forget who was fighting with him and was concerned too much with his own glory. Hardiness defined in these terms, as Lewis has shown, was a form of unmanliness 'widely believed to pertain to younger men,

⁷⁵⁹ G. L. Harriss, 'Fastolf, Sir John (1380–1459)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2004) <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/9199>> [Accessed 17 November 2016].

⁷⁶⁰ Worcester, *The Boke of Noblesse*, p.63.

⁷⁶¹ Ibid.

who were eager for distinction in battle and ignorant to the potential consequences of their vainglorious actions'.⁷⁶² Though cowardice was to be avoided, the properly masculine knight also knew how to avoid its opposite of being impulsive and aggressive. To progress to adult manhood, a knight had to exercise patience and restraint. These qualities were associated with a more mature version of masculinity.

The evidence that a man had reached maturity was the fact that he practiced the qualities of the 'manly man':

the manly man, hys policie ys that (if) he avaunce hym
and hys felyshyp at skirmish or sodeyn racountre, he
wulle so discretely avaunce hym that he wulle entend
to hafe the over-hand of hys adversarye, and safe himself
and hys felyshyp.⁷⁶³

It is apparent that the 'manly man' thought first about the best way of approaching war. This could also take a pragmatic form in knowing when to fight, but also when to retreat. Any man could fight, but strength alone was not enough as Lewis argues: 'a king could only mark himself out as deservedly superior by marrying his martial accomplishments with a redoubtable intellect'.⁷⁶⁴ As discussed by Taylor, Worcester states that Fastolf advised young nobles and knights to heed the example of the 'manly man', who relied upon caution

⁷⁶² Lewis, *Kingship and Masculinity in Late Medieval England*, p.24. The nature and significance of the 'hardy' man is also discussed by Karras, *From Boys to Men*, p.40.

⁷⁶³ Worcester, *The Boke of Noblesse*, p.63.

⁷⁶⁴ Lewis, *Kingship and Masculinity in Late Medieval England*, p.24.

and good sense, rather than the 'hardy man', who was courageous, but too rash, often leaving his men to pay the price.⁷⁶⁵ These two differing stages of the lifecycle could prove problematic if those men who were expected to act as manly men continued to behave as hardy men.

Despite Worcester's disapproval of the 'hardy' man it is apparent that young men themselves habitually acted in 'hardy' fashions as a means of trying to establish reputations of themselves. Indeed, the fact that Worcester emphasised that young men should not be hardy is in itself evidence that they usually were, otherwise why the need to forbid this conduct? Clearly in the tiltyard young men's actions were frequently rather reckless as they sought to prove their courage and skill, but this was valued and admired by their peers. Nevertheless, these displays of hardiness in the tiltyard could also pose a threat to the standing of those older men who had been forced to retire from jousting, which sheds important light on the case of Henry VIII and the men surrounding the fall of Anne Boleyn.

5.1.2: Melancholia and Masculinity in the Late Medieval England

Another theme that this chapter explores is nostalgia; it is my contention that Edward, a proven warrior, provided a unifying figurehead for the aristocracy that had been missing for decades. Indeed, as we shall see, Caxton and Worcester both lamented the decline of chivalry amongst the elite in this period. Indeed, Caxton published his translation

⁷⁶⁵ Taylor, *Chivalry and the Ideals of Knighthood in France During the Hundred Years War*, p.148.

of Lull's *The Book of the Order of Chivalry* (1484) explicitly in the hope of reviving the knightly customs proper to noblemen.⁷⁶⁶ Caxton in his epilogue addresses Richard III thus:

I wold it pleasydoure sovreyne lord that twyes or thryes in a yere
or at the lest ones he wold do crye justes of pees to th'ende that
every knyght shold have hors and harneys and also the use and craft
of a knyght, and also to torne one ageynste one or ii ageynst ii and
the best to have a prys, a diamond or jewel, to resorte to th'auncyent
custommes of chivalry to greet fame prynce whan he shalle calle them
or have need. Thenne late every man that is come of noble blood and
entendeth to come to the noble ordre of chivalry reded this lytyl book
and doo thereafter in kepyng the lore and commaundements therin
compysed. And thenne I doubte not he shall atteyne to th'ordre of
chyvalry et cetera'.⁷⁶⁷

It is apparent that in the late fifteenth century that regular jousting was still viewed as a way to prepare men for warfare, thus Caxton makes this plea to Richard to hold regular tournaments. Holding tournaments would also mean that these men were readily trained to serve Richard in warfare when he needed them to do so. Richard would also be able to select the best men based on the number of prizes that they had achieved in the tiltyard. Caxton makes it clear that these competitions were to be judged and scored with men being ranked in terms of their abilities on horseback in the joust and tourney. It is intriguing that

⁷⁶⁶ William Caxton (trans.), *The Book of the Order of Chivalry* (ed.), A. T. P. Byles (Routledge: London and New York, 2010), p.125 [f109r].

⁷⁶⁷ Norman Blake (ed.), *Caxton Prose* (London: Andre Deutsch, 1969), p.127.

Caxton made this plea at the start of Richard's reign when Edward had held regular tournaments. Yet it is also true that he held the last in 1478, so by the time Caxton was writing there had not been a tournament for about six years.⁷⁶⁸ Perhaps Caxton's awareness of Richard's lack of participation in jousts led him to express concern that England would return to its former fragile and weak state.⁷⁶⁹ Caxton used his epilogue to remind Richard that England had suffered emotional loss before and it required a strong leader to retain its national pride that was predicated on foreign conquests.

As noted above, England's reverses abroad in the 1440s and early 1450s and civil war at home in the later 1450s and 1460s, had resulted in a heightened sense of social and political tension and emotional loss.⁷⁷⁰ The loss of the English territories was a tremendous blow to national pride. Indeed Worcester's work presented the perspective of those who had been astounded and ashamed by the English defeats in France under Henry VI. It is evident that Worcester, originally writing in the mid-1450s, in the period immediately following the final loss of Henry VI's French territories in 1453, saw chivalry and martial ability as in decline amongst the noble classes and believed that this explained the loss. Hence he looked back to a golden age found in the reign of Henry V.

⁷⁶⁸ See Appendix three for a list of tournaments held in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.

⁷⁶⁹ See above pp. 331-333 for discussion of this point.

⁷⁷⁰ For further reading on the Hundred Years War see Christopher T. Allmand, *The Hundred Years War: England and France at War c.1300-c.1450* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988 revised edition 2001); Anne Curry, *The Hundred Years War* (Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003); Catherine Nall, *Reading and War in Fifteenth-century England: From Lydgate to Malory* (DS Brewer, 2012); David Green, *The Hundred Years War: A People's History* (New Haven and London, Yale University Press). For an overview of the Wars of the Roses see Carpenter, *The Wars of the Roses*; Lander, *The Wars of the Roses*, David Grummit, *A Short History of the Wars of the Roses* (London: Palgrave Macmillan 2014).

According to Worcester, England needed a ruler who would provide personal leadership and who could restore the monarchy back to its former historic glory and fight with the 'worshipfulle men of the Englishe nacion'.⁷⁷¹ It is understandable why Worcester saw the restoration of English prestige to be found in fighting France as he had devoted most of his life to furthering and defending English interests in France. He had been at least twice to northern France on Fastolf's business.⁷⁷² Moreover he had witnessed first-hand the resentment experienced by those English who had failed in the wars against the French. Ultimately when he wrote his *Boke of Noblesse* in the 1450s, Worcester was seeking to explain the reasons for the English defeat, and he essentially blamed the English themselves for having not acted with proper 'noblesse'. England's inability to respond effectively after the 1450s explain Worcester's fears about the diminishing of English status and manhood, which was tied up with images of conquest and heroic victories.⁷⁷³

Henry VI did not renew war with France however. Subsequently Worcester's rededicated the *Boke* and it was presented to Edward IV on the eve of his French campaign in 1475. As we have seen, the new king's reign had been characterised by a revival of chivalry through the return of the tournament at court, martial activities and the warrior ideal. But significantly, Worcester wanted to go further than this and regain England's reputation on the international stage by declaring war on France and recovering English

⁷⁷¹ Worcester, *Boke of Noblesse*, p.11.

⁷⁷² See ODNB entry for William Worcester.

⁷⁷³ See my conference paper 'The greater pity is!': Restoring English masculinity and pride in the reign of Edward IV', paper given at the Royal Historical Society, Emotion and Evidence in the late Medieval and Early Modern World, Cardiff University, 6 May 2016, available online at <https://www.academia.edu/25153131/_the_greater_pity_is_restoring_english_masculinity_and_pride_in_the_reign_of_edward_iv> [Accessed 1 July 2016], see Lewis, *Kingship and Masculinity in Late Medieval England*, p.218.

territories there. That is why a book originally written for Henry VI twenty years earlier could still be presented to Edward IV in 1475. Worcester in his dedication to Edward writes that the *Boke of Noblesse*: '[is] compiled to the most hyghe and myghety prince Kynge Edward the iiiij for the avauncyng and preferryng [of] the comyn publique of the Royaumes of England and of Fraunce'.⁷⁷⁴ According to Worcester, a vital quality of 'noblesse' was fighting war in the interests of the common good. Vale demonstrates that much of the didactic literature in the fifteenth century emphasised honour and virtue as the qualities of 'true nobility' that were demonstrated and tested in war.⁷⁷⁵ Worcester felt it was not enough for a man to have chivalric accomplishments and skills unless he employed these in warfare to serve the kingdom.

Worcester's concerns regarding English masculinity and martial ability are evident throughout the text as he indicates his anxiety about the contemporary decline of English male prowess. He bemoaned that these lost territories could have been held, if only there had been sufficient men of arms: 'of the lyonns kynde as to have bene of soo egrir courage and so manly and stedfast as they were before this tyme'.⁷⁷⁶ Worcester also lamented the contemporary lack of military training for young English noble men, whom he believed were more likely to practice law, or take administrative roles than to be expert in warrior skills. Worcester wrote of the great pity it was that:

many that be descended of noble blood and born to arms,

⁷⁷⁴ Worcester, *The Boke of Noblesse*, p.1.

⁷⁷⁵ Vale, *War and Chivalry*, p.30.

⁷⁷⁶ Worcester, *The Boke of Noblesse*, p.48

as the sons of knights and esquires and of other gentle blood,
set themselves to singular practice and to straunge facultes as
to learn the practice of law or custom of lands, or of civil matter.⁷⁷⁷

Worcester's comments are paralleled in Caxton's similar remarks a decade later. Caxton laments the decline of chivalry; he looks back to past examples of chivalry and compares them to the knights of his day. Worcester used Roman models to provide parallels with the English experience, whereas Caxton spoke of the noble acts done in the days of the fourteenth century kings and knights, he urges 'loke in latter dayes of the noble actes syth the conquest as in Kyng Rychard dayes Cuer du Lyon, Edward the Fyrste and the Thyrd and his noble sones'.⁷⁷⁸ Caxton also mentions Henry V in his list of those whose achievements should be emulated: 'that vycторыous and noble kyng, Harry the Fyfthe, and the captayns yner hym'.⁷⁷⁹ In comparison to the exemplar of chivalry set by these medieval kings, it is evident that Caxton views the men in the reign of Richard III as having neglected the skills and attributes proper to the office of knighthood. Evidently there is a constant harking back to a perceived golden age of chivalry and chivalric manhood as a benchmark against which to measure contemporary men.

Thus Worcester and Caxton identified a decline not just in chivalry, but in the warrior accomplishments, which were essential to its maintenance and which were tied up with notions of English masculinity. It is important to consider why both authors thought there

⁷⁷⁷ Worcester, *The Boke of Noblesse*, p.77.

⁷⁷⁸ Blake, *Caxton Prose*, p.126

⁷⁷⁹ Ibid.

was a decline in military training; arguably because it provided an excuse for England's failures in France and held out hope of a redress; if the youth are properly trained, then England will return to greatness. Edward IV's actions in reviving the war with France in 1475 can be placed in this context as he arguably sought to revitalise the traditional style of chivalric kingship characterised by Worcester as being associated with England's heyday on the international stage. Indeed, it is significant that this only happened in the mid-1470s when Edward was finally firmly established on the throne, in a way that he had not been in the 1460s.

But Edward's French campaign was not a success and England's international standing in the early 1480s was thus rather precarious.⁷⁸⁰ This would explain why Caxton continued to lament a decline in chivalry due to a lack of military accomplishments into the reign of Richard III. Although Richard did not joust, he was deemed to be a paragon of martial qualities by his supporters. Having fought in battles during the Wars of the Roses, he had proven himself an accomplished military leader.⁷⁸¹ It was his military prowess that qualified Richard for kingship. This further helps to explain why Caxton asked him to sort out the young men of England.

⁷⁸⁰ Ross, *Edward IV*, pp. 254-255.

⁷⁸¹ Rosemary Horrox, *Richard III: A Study of Service* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989).

5.2: Edward IV: Warrior King

Edward IV was the very model of a warrior king. As Edward grew to manhood, the pattern of his future career was already being shaped by the political ambitions of his father. Edward's family belonged to the house of Plantagenet and his ancestors had sat on the English throne since 1154. However the house had split into two opposing factions- the house of Lancaster and the house of York, both keen to claim the throne for themselves.⁷⁸² Whilst the Lancastrians had ruled since 1399, Henry VI had become the last surviving male in the direct line of the house of Lancaster.⁷⁸³ Henry VI's weak rule and subsequent illness prompted Edward's father to pursue his own claim to the throne. Edward's father became the leading Yorkist, in a dynastic struggle against the Lancastrians, which would later become known as the Wars of the Roses.⁷⁸⁴ When his father was killed at the battle of Wakefield on 30 December 1460, Edward inherited his claim. The eighteen-year-old Edward, Earl of March proved himself a capable soldier in a succession of battles before he became king defeating a Lancastrian force at the battle of Northampton on 10 July 1460. However his victory at the battle of Mortimer's cross on 3 February 1461 was especially significant, as it was the first battle in which Edward took charge, following the death of his father at the end of 1460.⁷⁸⁵ Edward knighted a number of men at the battlefield at Mortimer's cross, who had distinguished themselves in the fighting, as we shall see.

⁷⁸² See Appendix one for a family tree of the houses of York and Lancaster.

⁷⁸³ See ODNB entry for Henry VI.

⁷⁸⁴ John Watts, 'Richard of York, third duke of York (1411–1460)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, May 2011) <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/23503>> [Accessed 14 November 2016].

⁷⁸⁵ See Appendix five for a list of battles in the Wars of the Roses.

One of the major historical narratives of the period, Gregory's *Chronicle* describes how at Mortimer's Cross, 'he took and slew of knights and squires and others to the number of 3,000'.⁷⁸⁶ It was Edward's decisive victory at Mortimer's cross, which confirmed that he had the right qualities to be king. Edward was always presented in the thick of battle sharing with his men the extreme dangers of mortal combat.⁷⁸⁷ The fortunes of the Yorkists rested on Edward IV's ability to exercise effective military leadership. So, on 29 March 1461 at Towton the greatest battle of the Wars of the Roses took place.⁷⁸⁸ It was a decisive victory for Edward, still only eighteen years old, who proclaimed himself king in London and had now secured his kingship with victory in battle.⁷⁸⁹ It is noteworthy that Edward came to prominence as a warrior in his teens as the last king to have done so was Henry V, who was immortalised as a triumphant warrior king.⁷⁹⁰ Edward had defeated his Lancastrian opponent, King Henry VI, but although his predecessor may no longer have been king, he was still very much alive. I would argue that this unique situation is at the very heart of why Edward was so keen to project a specific form of knightly masculinity that intentionally contrasted with the unwarlike image of Henry VI, in an effort to consolidate his kingship.

⁷⁸⁶ *Gregory's Chronicle* (ed.), J. Gardiner (London: Camden Society, 1876), p.208. Available online at: *British History Online* <<http://www.british-history.ac.uk/camden-record-soc/vol17/pp210-239>> [Accessed 28 October 2015].

⁷⁸⁷ Corbet, *Edward IV, England's Forgotten Warrior King*, p.229.

⁷⁸⁸ See Appendix five for a list of battles in the Wars of the Roses.

⁷⁸⁹ See my conference paper, 'In the flowering of his age': knightly masculinity and the establishment of the Yorkist dynasty under Edward IV (first reign 1461-1470)', paper given at Royal Studies Network, University of Lisbon, June 2015 available online at <https://www.academia.edu/13998080/_In_the_flowering_of_his_age_knightly_masculinity_and_the_establishment_of_the_Yorkist_dynasty_under_Edward_IV_1461-1470_> [Accessed 18 November 2016].

⁷⁹⁰ Christopher Allmand, *Henry V* (Yale University Press, New Haven and London, 1968); Keith Dockray, *Warrior King: The Life of Henry V* (Gloucestershire: The History Press, 2007); Desmond Seward, *The Warrior King and the Invasion of France: Henry V, Agincourt, and the Campaign That shaped Medieval England* (Cambridge: Pegasus, 2014) and Teresa Cole, *Henry V: The Life of the Warrior King & the Battle of Agincourt 1415* (Gloucestershire: Amberley Publishing, 2015).

Although not all Edward's contemporaries acknowledged his military prowess, Commynes stated that: 'he was a king very fortunate in his battles, for nine great battles at least were won'.⁷⁹¹ Commynes' reference to 'fortune' suggests that Edward was lucky to win in his battles. Yet Edward was the most successful general of the Wars of the Roses. Edward set a heroic example to his men, by being fierce in battle and proving himself a warrior, there could be no suggestion that Edward lacked courage, or ability in the field.⁷⁹² It is significant that Edward IV embodied the same brand of knightly masculinity as Henry V, who was still very much revered in the later 1400s, even by the Yorkists. Other comparisons are the fact that the accession of both men was met with a sense of a fresh start and confidence in them, precisely because they were both proven warriors.⁷⁹³ Henry VI had no interest in military affairs; therefore, in embodying the warrior ideal, Edward then restored this martial form of kingship that had been absent during the reign of Henry VI. Edward's commitment to the warrior ideal meant that warfare remained central to the identity of high status manhood in this period, in part because it enabled men to act out aggression and display courage.

⁷⁹¹ Philippe de Commynes 'The Reign of Louis XI 1461-83', *The Richard III Society* available online at <http://www.r3.org/bookcase/de_commynes/decom_5.html> [Accessed 13 August 2014].

⁷⁹² Santiuste, *Edward IV and the Wars of the Roses*, p.76.

⁷⁹³ Lewis, *Kingship and Masculinity in Late Medieval England*, p.21.

5.2.1: Re-thinking the 'favourites' of Edward IV

Rather than solely focusing on Edward IV's kingship, this thesis considers the masculine reputation of the men who surrounded him. Edward's men have not received adequate attention in the historiography, yet their relationships with the king were clearly meaningful. Men such as Anthony Woodville, William Hastings, Henry Stafford and William Herbert have too readily been dismissed as the king's favourites. For example Hicks argues that: 'every king had favourites, who benefited unduly both from royal patronage and from those who used them as intermediaries'.⁷⁹⁴ For Hicks, the advancement of men such as Hastings and Herbert proves his stance that royal power conferred political power as these favourites were well placed in the king's service.⁷⁹⁵ Ross also contends that: 'Stafford and Herbert were the principle channel of Edward's patronage', to the extent that it was, 'to an almost unprecedented degree and hence beyond their just deserts'.⁷⁹⁶ The views of Hicks and Ross that Edward wasted his generosity on his 'favourites' is problematic, as it implies that these new men were not worthy of the king's attention. Significantly Edward did not think it was beyond their 'just deserts', as the king rewarded their displays of loyalty as another aspect of male bonding that included martial valour and chivalric feats.

It is the purpose of this thesis to offer a re-reading of Edward's decision to appoint these men. Historians such as Linda Clark have tended to argue that positions of the highest nobility became more precarious, whilst the king's new men rose to the top at court and in

⁷⁹⁴ Michael A. Hicks, *English Political Culture in the Fifteenth Century* (London: Routledge, 2003), p.104.

⁷⁹⁵ Hicks, *English Political Culture in the Fifteenth Century*, p.104.

⁷⁹⁶ Ross, *Patronage Pedigree and Power in Late Medieval England*, p.72.

council.⁷⁹⁷ Yet it is not simply the case that new men replaced great medieval magnates such as Richard Neville, Earl of Warwick and George, Duke of Clarence.⁷⁹⁸ Without a standing royal army Edward had no choice but to use these men. It is true that some of the king's most trusted advisors on the council were not of noble birth, but he was prepared to make full use of the learned accomplishments of men of the middling rank. Edward rewarded their loyalty and he elevated them, which was a way of trying to ensure their continued loyalty, as their position was dependent upon him. Edward's reliance on this group of men has been branded by Pugh as a singular error of judgement on his part, on the grounds that these newly created magnates were considered unpopular upstarts, who were unable to attract any binding loyalty from the gentry.⁷⁹⁹ Yet it was essential to any king who was attempting to establish a new dynasty that he had men around him on whom he could rely in times of crisis.

In addition, Edward was careful to appoint not just Yorkist men, but also some who had supported Henry VI for balance. Even men who had close personal association with the households of Henry VI and Margaret of Anjou, Ross identifies, 'were given a chance- often more than one- to enter the service of the new king'.⁸⁰⁰ For example Henry Beaufort, Duke of Somerset who was a former favourite of Margaret of Anjou and newly taken into

⁷⁹⁷ Linda Clark, *The Fifteenth Century VIII: Rule, Redemption and Representations in Late Medieval England and France* volume 8 (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2008), p.166.

⁷⁹⁸ Anthony J. Pollard, 'Neville, Richard, sixteenth earl of Warwick and sixth earl of Salisbury [called the Kingmaker] (1428–1471)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Jan 2008) <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/19955>> [Accessed 29 June 2016].

⁷⁹⁹ Thomas Pugh, 'The Magnates, Knights and Gentry' in *Fifteenth Century England, 1399-1509: Studies in Politics and Society* (ed.), S. B. Chrimes, C. Ross and R. Griffiths (Manchester University Press: Manchester, 1972), pp. 86-128.

⁸⁰⁰ Michael K. Jones, 'Beaufort, Henry, second duke of Somerset (1436–1464)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Jan 2008) <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/1860>> [Accessed 28 June 2016] See also Ross, *Edward IV*, pp. 64-65.

Edward's allegiance. Gregory's Chronicle reflects the full extent of their relationship: 'the King, we are told, made full much of him; insomuch that he lodged with the King in his own bed many nights, and sometimes rode a-hunting behind the King'.⁸⁰¹ It is apparent that Edward did not just make peace with Somerset, but actually made a real effort to befriend him, inviting the duke to hunt and to sleep in his bed, which is a very important mark of trust. Edward was trying to establish a homosocial bond with Somerset allowing him into his most intimate spaces, despite the fact that he had played a prominent role fighting in the Lancastrian army. Though fighting on the opposite side it demonstrated his masculinity and made him worthy of Edward's company. In this way Edward showed that he was not vengeful, which was considered a very unmanly quality.

Edward also sought to re-invigorate the nobility, by advancing new men and restoring those from noble families that had been previously side-lined in preparation for his war aims. Two men who made up Edward's close circle of intimates were Humphrey Stafford thirty-six and William Herbert thirty-eight.⁸⁰² Although Stafford and Herbert were much older than the king on his accession in 1461, both are significant as they achieved high status based on their service in warfare to the crown. Stafford, like Hastings also joined Edward on his march from Mortimer's Cross to London and was knighted with Hastings

⁸⁰¹ 'Introduction', in *The Historical Collections of A Citizen of London in the Fifteenth Century* (ed.), J. Gairdner (London, 1876), pp. i-xli. *British History Online* <<http://www.british-history.ac.uk/camden-record-soc/vol17/i-xli>> [Accessed 6 May 2016].

⁸⁰² Michael A. Hicks, 'Stafford, Humphrey, earl of Devon (c.1439–1469)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Jan 2008) <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/26208>> [Accessed 23 July 2015]; R. Griffiths, 'Herbert, William, first earl of Pembroke (c.1423–1469)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Jan 2008) <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/13053>> [Accessed 23 July 2015].

following the battle of Towton in 1461.⁸⁰³ Following this victory Stafford enjoyed the absolute confidence of the king. Stafford was showered with local offices and forfeited estates in 1469, he achieved the height of his ambition when he was raised to the earldom of Devon.⁸⁰⁴ Ross has described him as ‘a greedy and ambitious man’, but the king was making use of those lands fortified by Henry Courtenay, who had been executed for treason earlier that year.⁸⁰⁵ Edward then redistributed these lands as patronage to reward his supporters and those whom he could trust, which was an important concern of a new king in the first years of his reign.

Herbert was also rewarded for his military service in helping Edward to win his first victory at Mortimer’s Cross in 1461, he was one of seven barons created by Edward in 1461 and was made chief justice and chamberlain of south Wales.⁸⁰⁶ Herbert was also the first Welshman to enter into the English peerage being rewarded with the title of Earl of Pembroke on 8 September 1468, by which point he had made his family the most powerful in Wales.⁸⁰⁷ In less than ten years Pugh states that: ‘this grossly ambitious and grasping well country squire had turned himself into an English magnate, with an annual income of some 2,400’.⁸⁰⁸ Yet it is important to note that men such as Herbert were not simply favoured because of their relationship with the king. Edward recognised military men as providing a social function that was given a specific value. Herbert was also amongst the first to be

⁸⁰³ Cora Scofield, *The Life and Reign of Edward IV*, volume I (London: Longmans, Green & Co, 1967), p.168.

⁸⁰⁴ Ross, *Edward IV*, p.78.

⁸⁰⁵ Ibid.

⁸⁰⁶ Pugh, *The Magnates, Knights and Gentry*, p.91.

⁸⁰⁷ See ODNB entry William Herbert.

⁸⁰⁸ Pugh, *The Magnates, Knights and Gentry*, p.91.

elected to the Order of the Garter in 1461.⁸⁰⁹ It is significant that John Tiptoft was also one of the earlier peers who was advanced to the Order on 22 April 1467, since he was heavily involved in chivalrous culture at court, it is apparent that he fitted the model of chivalrous masculinity being revived at Edward's court.⁸¹⁰

Significantly, Edward selected Stafford and Herbert to present the weapons that were to be used at the Smithfield tournament in 1467: 'the Lorde Hereberd, and the Lorde Sattforde, ev'ych' of them [beryng] oon of the wepens; that is to say the twoo speres, and the two swerdes'.⁸¹¹ This occasion, used to demonstrate the wealth and status of the Yorkist court and England, evidently also sought to highlight the men within the court who embodied the ideal of chivalric masculinity promoted by Edward.

For Edward IV, as the first Yorkist king, it was important that he established a loyal body of men who would support his claim to the throne especially following the turbulent circumstances surrounding his accession. It is unsurprising that Edward formed close bonds with the men who had helped him to attain the crown in particular those present at the battle of Mortimer's Cross. Edward was not just recognising these men's prowess in arms, but their trustworthiness and the fact that they had shown loyalty to him and his cause before he was even king. It is also true that loyalty was essential to knighthood as it managed the competitive nature of individual prowess that was also expected in knightly

⁸⁰⁹ G. Beltz, *Memorials of the Order of the Garter* (London, 1841), pp. clxii-clxiv for see Appendix six for a list of Garter knights made in the reign of Edward IV.

⁸¹⁰ Beltz, *Memorials of the Order of the Garter*, pp. clxii-clxiv.

⁸¹¹ Bentley, *Excerpta Historica*, p.205.

men. Edward knew that he could rely on these men to support his kingship, which was essential in a court of divided loyalties. Men such as Herbert and Stafford, who were favoured by Edward early on in the reign, predated the Woodville connection. It illustrates that Edward honoured other men in his first reign aside from the Woodvilles, who have been traditionally recognised as being inordinately promoted by the king.⁸¹²

5.2.2: William Hastings: Edward IV's Best Friend

Of all Edward's councillors, none stood closer to him personally than Hastings.⁸¹³ A loyal supporter of the house of York, Hastings had fought alongside Edward at the battle of Towton on 29 March 1461 and was knighted by him on the field.⁸¹⁴ In 1462 he was invested with the highest chivalrous honour being made a Knight of the Garter. Soon afterwards in 1462, he was promoted to the peerage as Baron Hastings.⁸¹⁵ Hastings became one of the most important courtiers of Edward, few if any had more influence over the king. For Hastings too his remarkable rise at court was due entirely to his relationship with Edward that was importantly founded on their shared commitment to the chivalrous ethos.⁸¹⁶ Comynnes described Hastings as 'a man of great sense, virtue and authority', which was evidently an opinion shared by many.⁸¹⁷ Hastings had clearly developed a reputation for chivalry: writing later Sir Thomas More considered Hastings 'an honourable man, a good

⁸¹² Michael A. Hicks, 'The Changing Role of the Wydevilles in Yorkist Politics to 1483', in *Patronage, Pedigree and Power in Late Medieval England* (ed.), C. Ross (Sutton Publishing: Gloucestershire, 1979), pp. 60-86.

⁸¹³ Ross, *Edward IV*, p.73.

⁸¹⁴ See Appendix five for a list of battles in the Wars of the Roses.

⁸¹⁵ *Calendar of Close Rolls, Edward IV: Volume 1, 1461-1468* (ed.), W. Bird and K. Ledward <<http://www.british-history.ac.uk/cal-close-rolls/edw4/vol1>> [Accessed 4 August 2015].

⁸¹⁶ In the previous chapter, I highlighted Hastings participation in the tourney held at Eltham, see above pp. 227-230.

⁸¹⁷ Comynnes, *Memoirs: The Reign of Louis XI 1461-83*, p.241.

knight'.⁸¹⁸ It is notable that despite receiving little attention in the secondary works, Hastings was recognised by his contemporaries as being a constant presence around Edward IV from an early stage in his reign. John Paston the youngest reported that Hastings was 'greatest about the kyngs person'.⁸¹⁹

The attitudes of some modern historians towards Hastings are somewhat dismissive of his status, as he is reduced to being Edward's foolhardy friend who encouraged his boyish behaviour rather than helping him to attain the manly ideal.⁸²⁰ This approach draws much of its substance from Edward and Hastings's moral conduct. Dominic Mancini observed that: 'he was also the accomplice and partner of his [Edward's] privy pleasures'.⁸²¹ Thus both men exhibited a lack of manly self-control when it came to temptations of the flesh. Edward's excessive indulgence in sexual activities could have made him a target of manipulation as it did with Edward III.⁸²² It is said that Hastings even procured mistresses for the king.⁸²³ It is apparent that Edward's relationship with Hastings enabled him to act out his desires as a young virile man as they likely urged one another to carry out sexual pursuits as well as physical activities. It is noteworthy that though Worcester's ideal of manhood counselled young men to emulate the 'manly' ideal, in reality men of high status did at times choose to follow their boyish impulses. Yet it is apparent that in the case of Edward this indulgence of

⁸¹⁸ More, *The History of King Richard the Third*, p.22.

⁸¹⁹ James Gardiner, *The Paston Letters, A.D. 1422-1509, Volume 4* (Cambridge, 2010), p.61.

⁸²⁰ Crawford, *The Yorkists: The History of Dynasty*, p.53.

⁸²¹ Mancini, *The Usurpation of Richard III*, p.69.

⁸²² For more on this see Lewis, *Kingship and Masculinity in Late Medieval England*, p.255.

⁸²³ Jonathon Hughes, *The Religious Life of Richard III: Piety and Prayer in the North of England* (Sutton: Sutton Publishing, 1997), p.96.

his sexual appetites did not prevent him from sustaining the 'manly' ideal and had little or no bearing on his ability to rule.⁸²⁴

Homosocial bonding played a major role throughout the Middle Ages in the transfer of power and prestige between the king and his men at court. Like Arthur, Jonathan Hughes argues, that Edward attempted to bring together 'feuding barons in jousts of peace where in sharing danger they formed bonds of friendship'.⁸²⁵ In particular the bond between knights at the courts of both Edward IV and Henry VIII was expressed as a form of ennobling love. Edward IV and Henry VIII clearly chose to prioritise these male friendships above their male-female relationships and they formed a strong emotional attachment to these men.

Strikingly, Edward arranged for his best friend Hastings to be buried next to him at St George's Chapel, Windsor. This final honour that Hastings received from Edward following a lifetime of service, is representative of the status that he had acquired during Edward's reign. Hastings is one of a small number of non-royals to be buried at Windsor Castle; it is a mark of Edward's affection for him and the subsequent status he had acquired. Moreover, another non-royal to be buried in the chapel was Henry VIII's closest companion Brandon, who was buried at the king's expense. It is also significant that Hastings was buried there despite having been summarily executed for treason by Richard III in 1483.⁸²⁶ Yet Hastings'

⁸²⁴ Ross, *Edward IV*, pp. 315-316.

⁸²⁵ Jonathon Hughes, *Arthurian Myths and Alchemy: The Kingship of Edward IV* (Sutton: Sutton Publishing, 2002), p.182.

⁸²⁶ Ross, *Richard III*, p.83; Paul Murray Kendall, *Richard the Third* (London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd, originally published 1955), pp. 190-196.

executors were able to prove his will, and shortly after his execution he was buried as he had wished, near Edward IV and a chantry was founded for him there in 1503.⁸²⁷ It is revealing that Richard still allowed Hastings to be buried at Windsor despite his execution. It suggests that in spite of his own feelings towards Hastings, he recognised the relationship that his brother, Edward shared with Hastings and was prepared to honour it. Together with other aspects of Hastings status and achievements such as, his post as a Knight of the Garter that had strong ties with St George's chapel. Thus Hastings' place of burial symbolises the close bond between the two men, as likewise Hastings preferred to be buried alongside his royal master, rather than beside his wife near his home. Evidently the homosocial bond forged in youth between the two men and sustained in adulthood was expected to continue beyond death.

It is noteworthy that though men such as Herbert, Hastings and Stafford wielded considerable power during the reign of Edward IV, they have not received the same attention in the historiography as other powerful magnates such as Warwick.⁸²⁸ Yet it was these men who were closest to the king, despite their non-noble backgrounds, thus they deserve more recognition in the historiography as being significant to the kingship of Edward IV, as well as to Edward personally. Edward obviously saw the value of promoting men who shared his accomplishments and experiences. It was the men who were like him who were best qualified to support his rule. They may not have been born as nobles, but their exemplary manhood and bravery on the battlefield qualified them for the nobility. In

⁸²⁷ See ODNB entry for William Hastings.

⁸²⁸ Paul Murray Kendall, *Warwick the Kingmaker* (London: Allen & Unwin, 1957); Michael A. Hicks, *Warwick the kingmaker* (Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 1998); Anthony J. Pollard, *Warwick the Kingmaker: Politics, Power and Fame During the War of the Roses* (London: Continuum, 2007).

addition there was also pragmatic reasons for promoting men who embodied noble qualities despite not born noble, as they were dependent on the favour of Edward. In the next section I explore Henry VIII's status as a warrior king, despite the fact that unlike, Edward, he had inherited his throne, Henry was determined to go to war with France and to situate his kingship in the same warrior milieu as his ancestors.

5.3: Henry VIII: the last Medieval King

Henry VIII was the last medieval king. Nowhere is this statement truer than in the context of his warrior ambitions with France. Henry attempted to explicitly demonstrate his manliness through his first war campaign with France in 1513, where he was keen to prove his manhood in a traditional setting. From his accession Henry's aim was to recover France, which required him to embody the hardy ideal of manliness. I argue that despite arguments in the historiography that Henry's display of hardiness towards France was rash and foolish, it was in fact necessary for him to espouse this ideal if he was to be victorious. Henry's intent also demonstrates another theme of this chapter: the significance of recuperative masculinity as he felt compelled to equal or surpass his medieval heroes. For Henry his kingship and manhood was measured by his ability to revive the chivalrous and military exploits of his ancestors. If Henry was successful in this endeavour his status alongside Henry V as a warrior king could be established. Henry's commitment to this ideal throughout his lifecycle saw him return to war in the 1540s; at a point in his kingship when he was no longer able to joust, thus he attempted to recapture his masculinity through warfare. This section concludes at the end of the king's lifecycle by exploring the theme of retrospective masculinity as Henry recalled his earlier triumphs in France and aimed for the same success again, in an effort to confirm his status as a warrior king.

5.3.1: The English Life of Henry the Fifth

Henry VIII's literary tastes also reflected his military ambitions; in particular the works that he commissioned and those that were dedicated to him indicate an enthusiasm for medieval warfare and chivalric glory that came through conquest in France. Dedicated to Henry was *The English Life of Henry the Fifth* that was anonymously translated into English in c.1513.⁸²⁹ It was largely a translation of Tito Livio's *Vita Henrici Quinti* (c.1438) probably commissioned by Henry V's younger brother Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester in order to stimulate renewed interest in the French war, particularly on the part of Henry VI, to whom the work was addressed.⁸³⁰ Written by the Italian humanist fifteen years after Henry V's death it detailed his martial valour and stressed the duke's own courage and impressive contribution to Henry V's military success. The martial Henry V is presented as an exemplum of manhood, thus it is apparent why the *Vita* would have relevance for Henry VIII, who wanted to embody this same heroic model of manliness.

The translator of *The English Life of Henry the Fifth* urged Henry VIII to emulate Henry V, 'to ensue the acts of this so noble, virtuous, and excellent prince'.⁸³¹ The purpose of *The English Life of Henry the Fifth* was clearly didactic detailing Henry V's life and manners, the importance of English chronicles and Henry VIII's noble ancestors. It was in

⁸²⁹ Tito Livio dei Frulovisi, *The first English life of King Henry the Fifth* (ed.), C. L. Kingsford (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1911), available online at <https://archive.org/stream/cu31924027928047/cu31924027928047_djvu.txt> [Accessed 22 October 2015] Scarisbrick, *Henry VIII*, p.23.

⁸³⁰ Anne Curry, 'Livio, Tito, dei Frulovisi (fl. 1429–1456)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/16813>> [Accessed 21 June 2016].

⁸³¹ *The first English life of King Henry the Fifth*, p.4.

fact essential to Henry VIII that his reign was viewed as a continuation of the past rather than a break with it.⁸³² Henry wanted to align his new dynasty with his royal ancestors, thus he glorified the kingship of Henry V.⁸³³ It is certainly possible that the work was used as part of Henry's propaganda campaign for his military expedition to France in 1513. Dale Hoak argues that: 'there can be no doubt how Henry VIII viewed Henry V's legacy in France'.⁸³⁴ Henry longed for his own legendary victory in France to compare with the magnificent Agincourt, which still occupied Tudor imaginations nearly a hundred years later.

From the start of his reign, Henry had made it clear that he wanted to be a different type of king to his father. Though Henry VII was a proven military leader, he realised that England's resources were insufficient for an expansive foreign policy on the scale of Henry V.⁸³⁵ By way of contrast Henry VIII was set upon war with France, despite the fact that war could have been avoided if he had wished. The chronicler Polydore Vergil explicitly stated that the king was, 'not unmindful that it was his duty to seek fame by military skill'.⁸³⁶ It seems that Henry had a shrewd instinct that a victory over France would still hold an important status for the English nation at all levels. David Trim argues that unlike his father: 'Henry VIII's commitment to the martial ideal and chivalric ethos was unequivocal, he quite consciously modelled himself on Henry V'.⁸³⁷ Henry anxious to recreate the chivalrous

⁸³² Wooding, *Henry VIII*, p.70.

⁸³³ Peter C. Herman 'O, tis a Gallant King: Shakespeare's Henry V and the Crisis of the 1590s', in *Tudor Political Culture* (ed.), D. Hoak (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), pp. 204-222.

⁸³⁴ Hoak (ed.), 'Introduction', *Tudor Political Culture*, p.7.

⁸³⁵ Mark R. Horowitz (ed.), *Historical Research: Who was Henry VII? The 500th Anniversary of the Death of the first Tudor King* (London: Wiley-Blackwell, 2009).

⁸³⁶ Polydore Vergil, *Anglican Historia* (ed.), Hay (Camden society., 3rd series, 1940), p.161.

⁸³⁷ David Trim, 'Knights of Christ? in *Cross, Crown & Community: Religion, Government, and Culture in Early Modern England 1400-1800*' (eds.), David. J. B. Trim, Peter. J. Balderstone and Harry Leonard (Oxford: Peter Lang Pub Inc, 2004), pp. 77-113.

identity of the English monarchy, embarked on an unprovoked and aggressive campaign against France. For Henry military success abroad was a desirable end in itself, as Gunn has shown.⁸³⁸ Indeed martial pursuits added to Henry's manly reputation, thus aside from the material rewards that could be gained from war, it profited his warrior image.

It is apparent from the description given of Henry V at the battle of Agincourt in 1415 that he quite literally embodied the knight in shining armour:

this noble king was armed with sure and beauteous
shining armour, and upon his head was a bright helmet,
whereupon was set a crown of gold replete with pearls
and precious stones, marvellous rich; and in his shield
he bare the arms of England and France.⁸³⁹

It is evident from his glorious attire that Henry V personified the ideals of chivalrous masculinity, clad in his suit of armour, mounted on horseback and addressing his troops, his manliness was on public view. It was known that Henry V was the head of the hierarchy of manhood from his gold crown, down to his jupon emblazoned with the arms of England and France; his kingly status must have been distinguishable even in the thick of battle. It is likely

⁸³⁸ Steven J. Gunn, 'Henry VIII's Foreign Policy and the Tudor Cult of Chivalry' in *François Ier et Henri VIII: deux princes de la renaissance* (ed.), Charles Giry-Deloison (Lille: Cahrls de Gualle Université-Lille III, 1996), pp. 25-35, 'The French Wars of Henry VIII', in *The Origins of War in Early Modern Europe* (ed.), J. Black (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1987), pp. 28-51.

⁸³⁹ *The first English life of King Henry the Fifth*, p.54.

that Henry VIII based his kingship on the exemplar set by Henry V, in part, in order to highlight the seriousness of the Tudor claim to the French throne.

5.3.2: Henry VIII: Chivalric King

Henry VIII's reign began following in the footsteps of his medieval ancestors through war with France, which he hoped would set him on route to his own magnificent victory to rival that of Crecy and Agincourt. Henry was determined to equal and surpass the success of Henry V in his imperial ambitions; perhaps as Wooding suggests, 'he even glorified in the memory of the young Henry VII, who had risked everything in a daring invasion of England and been sanctioned by God and military glory at Bosworth'.⁸⁴⁰ Henry VIII was only too aware that his grandfather and father had secured their thrones on the battlefield. He had inherited the throne, unchallenged, but he wanted the glory that accompanied victory in battle. Henry's claim to France was in many ways an ambitious claim, but he was eager to have a campaign in France as past English kings had done before him.⁸⁴¹ In a letter on 26 April 1509, the Venetian ambassador reputed that after the death of Henry VII on 21 April, 'his son was created [king] and swore...immediately after his coronation to make war on the King of France'.⁸⁴² Henry undoubtedly wanted to inaugurate his kingship in spectacular fashion, demonstrating that despite his youth, he had all the necessary qualities to rule.

⁸⁴⁰ Wooding, *Henry VIII*, p.36.

⁸⁴¹ Clifford Davies, 'Henry VIII and Henry V; The Wars in France' in *The End of the Middle Ages? England in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries* (ed.), J. L. Watts (Gloucestershire: Sutton, 1998), pp. 235-262.

⁸⁴² *LP I* no. 281.

Gunn estimates that: 'he spent roughly a quarter of his reign in open war with France'.⁸⁴³ In this context Henry should perhaps be taken more seriously as a would-be warrior king.

The majority of the historiography on Henry VIII's kingship is tied explicitly to the idea of Henry as an early modern king, who should implicitly have been putting the medieval ideals of the warrior king behind him. Scarisbrick argued that rather than following his father's new model of kingship choosing peace over war, Henry chose the old way. It is evident that Scarisbrick disapproved of his choice, 'Henry VIII would lead England back into her past, into Europe and its endless squabbles, into another round of that conflict misleadingly defined as merely a Hundred Years War'.⁸⁴⁴ Other historians in the past have taken a similar approach, Dominic Baker-Smith argues that it was Henry's council, 'who worked consistently to deter the king and his advisers from the path of militaristic vainglory'.⁸⁴⁵ In this context Henry's behaviour in seeking war has been considered reckless, warlike and irrational, resembling the actions of the 'hardy' man as understood by Worcester. This view reproduces old arguments that Henry's councillors manipulated him into war with France.⁸⁴⁶ In fact it seems more likely, as Wooding notes that: 'Henry's council responded with respect to the unequivocal intentions of their new ruler, and that any delays or detours were part of the complexities of the diplomatic game'.⁸⁴⁷ I have also made it

⁸⁴³ Gunn, 'The French Wars of Henry VIII', pp. 28-51.

⁸⁴⁴ Scarisbrick, *Henry VIII*, p.21.

⁸⁴⁵ Dominic Baker-Smith, 'Inglorious glory': 1513 and the humanist attack on chivalry', in *Chivalry in the Renaissance* (ed.), S. Anglo (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1990), pp. 129-132.

⁸⁴⁶ Eric W. Ives, *Henry VIII* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), p.6 and Starkey, *The Reign of Henry VIII: Personalities and Politics*, p.34.

⁸⁴⁷ Wooding, *Henry VIII*, p.72.

clear that Henry far from being bullied into war with France from the start of his reign had every intention of waging war himself.

It is also important to note that Henry could not just go to war merely for his own self-aggrandisement, despite the fact that warfare remained central to ideals of kingship and nobility. There were three acceptable justifications for war: the pursuit of dynastic claims, the defence of true religion and defence against foreign aggression.⁸⁴⁸ Pope Julius II was the victim of French aggressors who had been dictating developments within Italy since 1494.⁸⁴⁹ Louis XII of France direct challenge to papal authority provided the basis for war against France. In November 1511 Henry aligned with the pope, Margret of Savoy and his father-in-law Ferdinand of Aragon as part of a 'Holy League', against Louis XII King of France.⁸⁵⁰ Thus Henry's war with France then met all three criteria. He was claiming ancestral lands in Normandy and Aquitaine, defending the Pope, and responding to French aggression in Italy. In this context at least Henry was able to combine, 'self- interest with self-righteousness', since it was based on the pretext of the good of the Roman Catholic Church.⁸⁵¹ The driving force behind Henry's French campaign might have been for his own dynastic aspirations as the 'hardy man', but this individual glory alone was not an acceptable justification for warfare. Hence Henry's conquest of France should not be read simply in terms of him acting out a 'hardy' portrayal of manhood, as his pursuit was a traditional policy with a good pedigree.

⁸⁴⁸ Wooding, *Henry VIII*, p.72.

⁸⁴⁹ Charles G. Cruickshank, *Henry VIII and the Invasion of France* (Stroud: Sutton, 1990), p.4.

⁸⁵⁰ *LP I* no. 939.

⁸⁵¹ Richard Rex, *Henry VIII* (Gloucestershire: Amberley Publishing, 2009), p.19.

In June 1513, Henry crossed the sea to Calais accompanied by hundreds of members of his household. After much preparation in Calais, Henry's army set out to do battle on 21 July; Emperor Maximilian joined him with a small Burgundian force. Despite Henry's pursuit, the French did not want to engage in combat and apart from one or two minor collisions, there was no fighting until the English army laid siege to the town of Th rouanne. On 16 August, a body of French cavalry faced the English and after some exchange of fire, turned and fled. Yet it would later become known as the glorious 'Battle of the Spurs' because of the haste of the French to leave the battlefield. Hall notes that it was the French, who 'call this battaile the iourney of Spurre because they rone away so fast on horsbacke'.⁸⁵² Th rouanne fell on 24 August 1513 with the Earl of Shrewsbury welcoming Henry to the town and giving him the keys. Hall describes how Henry entered again in grand array, 'his persone was apparelled in armure gilt and grauen, his garment and barde purple veluel full of borders'.⁸⁵³ It is apparent that Henry made the most of this victory as he tried to establish his European status by war against the traditional enemy France, which had had been his priority in these early years of kingship.

After Th rouanne fell, Henry launched a second siege this time on the French city of Tournai that was fortified by strong walls and a ring of great towers, thus the king and the English artillery set about besieging the city for eight days until it surrendered. Hall describes how Henry led the attack on Tournai:

the king in person had thus in ieopardie auetured hym self

⁸⁵² Hall, p.550.

⁸⁵³ Hall, p.552.

and vewed the toune, he caused immediatly. xxi. peces of
great artillery to be brought in a plain feld before the towne,
and when they were charged, they were, Immedially shotte,
& the most parte of the stones fel with in the citee, & so they
shotie diuerse shottes on after another.

For Henry the capture of Tournai on 23 September was the climax of a brilliant campaign and it was a remarkable achievement given that it was England's first victory in France within living memory. Trim contends that modern historians have treated Henry VIII's war with contempt, but at the time 'Henry VIII was perceived as a successful warrior king'.⁸⁵⁴ In contrast John Guy remarks that: 'if Henry VIII's wars satisfied his honour and exercised his manhood, they were still wasteful and ineffective'.⁸⁵⁵ In agreement Charles Cruickshank adds that Henry's 'honour was satisfied – at a staggering price'.⁸⁵⁶ Henry clearly thought that he was being valiant in exercising the qualities of the hardy man by trying to recover Lancastrian glory in France, but it is evident that others have viewed his actions as being foolhardy. However at the time it likely seemed possible that Henry would extend these conquests further. Arguably only as time went on would Henry's wars have been perceived as a waste of time and money as historians have noted. Indeed the fact that Henry promoted these victories for the rest of his reign is telling in itself, as he had nothing else to replace them with. Perhaps in this context it is more appropriate to define Henry as a chivalric king, rather than a real warrior king as his victories in France were just not

⁸⁵⁴ Trim, 'Knights of Christ?', pp. 77-113.

⁸⁵⁵ Guy, *Tudor England*, p.192.

⁸⁵⁶ Cruickshank, *Henry VIII and the Invasion of France*, p.163.

comparable with those of his ancestor Henry V. Although this moment would prove nostalgic for Henry in his later years of manhood when he would celebrate his earlier victories as a hardy man.

5.3.3: The Recapture of France and Traditional Masculinity

Having structured this work around lifecycle, in this section Henry's final war against France in the 1540s is argued as being a deliberate attempt by him to recapture his youthful masculinity. Henry joined Emperor Charles V in 1544 in a combined invasion of France; he landed at Calais on 14 July 1544 using it as a launch pad since it was still part of English territory.⁸⁵⁷ Henry took a central role in the siege supervising every move and appearing in better spirits and health than he had been seen him in for years. At Calais on 21 July Chapuys observed that: 'never saw him [Henry] more joyous; he could hardly show it more if he had certain news of the capture of the said places'.⁸⁵⁸ A couple of months later Edward Seymour, Earl of Hertford writing to the council and Queen Catherine Parr on the 2 September expressed that: 'his Highnes is mery and in a good helth as I have (*sic*) senne his Gras att eny tyme this vij ye[re]'.⁸⁵⁹ It is apparent that Henry had regained his vigor by involving himself in the war campaign; to some extent he had overcome his aged body and proved that he was still capable of manly activity.

⁸⁵⁷ Hall, p.861.

⁸⁵⁸ LP XIX, I no. 955.

⁸⁵⁹ LP XIX, II no. 174.

Arguably the defeat of the French and the fall of the city on 18 September signalled the most spectacular military victory of Henry's wartime career. Though it was not at all comparable to Agincourt, it was designed so that Henry appeared like his hero Henry V, helping to facilitate the surrender. Hall's records in his chronicle Henry's splendid entrance into the town of Boulogne:

the. xviii. day, the kinges highnes hauyng the sworde borne
naked before him, by the Lorde Marques Dorset, like a noble
and valyaunt conqueror rode into Bulleyn, and the Trompetters
standyng on the walles of the toune, sounded their Trompettes,
at the time of his entering.⁸⁶⁰

With this final conquest Henry had marked the start and end of his reign through warfare with France, thus attempting to confirm his status as a warrior king, but it was not how he was commemorated.

Tellingly, towards the end of his life Henry had two enormous paintings commissioned of him in battle. Dale Hoaks argues that these paintings including, 'the Battle of Spurs' proved how much Henry VIII still dreamed of war.⁸⁶¹ In this first depiction Henry is presented at the centre of the fighting, clad in a black harness with gold decoration on horseback, acknowledging the surrender of the French chevalier Bayard, who kneels before

⁸⁶⁰ Hall, p.861.

⁸⁶¹ Dale Hoaks, 'Legacy of Henry VIII' in *Henry VIII and his After Lives* (eds.), M. Rankin, C. Higley and J. King (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), pp. 53-73.

him (see Figure 44).⁸⁶² It is telling that Henry is portrayed in the thick of the battle as it highlights where he wanted to be and more importantly where he wanted others to remember him.⁸⁶³ It also had significant implications for Henry's manly and kingly image; if he was not presented actually taking part, he could hardly stake claim to the title of warrior king. Another painting entitled: 'The Meeting of Henry VIII and Emperor Maximilian I' depicts the king and the emperor greeting each other for the first time at the beginning of the invasion of France (see Figure 45).⁸⁶⁴ They are depicted in the middle distance, on horseback, between divisions of artillery and cavalry. Just above them the Battle of the Spurs is taking place, while in the background the towns of Thérroune and Tournai are under siege. It is notable that the battle is depicted as a grand confrontation, but it was arguably more of a skirmish. Hence these paintings offer an exaggerated depiction of Henry's French campaign, which were utilized as part of his image as a warrior king.

Henry also wanted a monumental effigy of him on horseback that would have immortalized his martial image and celebrated his horsemanship abilities, as his jousting scores illustrate that he was a skilled rider.⁸⁶⁵ Having these paintings commissioned at the end of his reign supports the argument that Henry wanted to be remembered as presenting an idealised portrait of manhood in posterity. By taking a lead role in the Boulogne campaign Henry had demonstrated that, unlike the tournament, warfare was an activity

⁸⁶² The painting of 'The Battle of Spurs' is found online at *Royal Collection Trust* <<https://www.royalcollection.org.uk/collection/406784/the-battle-of-the-spurs>> [Accessed 20 October 2015]

⁸⁶³ Contrary to this representation as Hall's *chronicle* reveals Henry was not actually present at the Battle of the Spurs.

⁸⁶⁴ 'The Meeting of Henry VIII and the Emperor Maximilian I' is found online at *Royal Collection Trust* <<https://www.royalcollection.org.uk/collection/405800/the-meeting-of-henry-viii-and-the-emperor-maximilian-i>> [Accessed 20 October 2015].

⁸⁶⁵ Dale Hoak, 'The iconography of the crown imperial', in *Tudor Political Culture* (ed.), D. Hoak (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), pp. 55-103.

that could be continually exercised as he could still function as a general, even if he did not take part in the fighting.

Yet in the 1540s Henry had grown old and was overweight, due to an accident in the tiltyard, which explains both his waistline and the foul-smelling open wound on his leg. Shortly before he landed at Calais to lead the siege of Boulogne, at the age of fifty-three, Chapuys said that: 'besides his age and weight, he has the worst legs in the world', so much so that: 'those who have seen them are astonished that he does not stay continually in bed'.⁸⁶⁶ The fact that Henry rode a great courser to the siege of Boulogne illustrates how determined he was to participate in the campaign in spite of ill health and his declining body. Even more so for Henry was Boulogne particularly important as now being unable to take part in jousts, it was his only opportunity to display those attributes that were associated with chivalrous masculinity such as physical prowess, strength and heroism. In the next section I will examine Henry's tiltyard accident in more detail and highlight how the impact it had on his masculinity, had implications for those men who continued to demonstrate hardy behaviour away from the battlefield, which was problematic for the king's manly image.

⁸⁶⁶ LP XIX I no. 529.



Fig.44. Unknown artist, The Battle of Spurs c.1513, oil on canvas 131.5cm x 242.2cm Hampton Court Palace.



Fig.45. Unknown artist, Meeting of Henry VIII and the Emperor Maximilian I c.1513, oil on panel 99.1 x 205.7cm Hampton Court Palace.

5.4: Male Friendships and Intimacy in the Reign of Henry VIII

This section seeks to use gender to shed further light on two key episodes that led to the disgrace of certain men in the privy chamber: the expulsion of the so-called minions in 1519 and the downfall of certain men alongside Anne Boleyn 1536. I will analyse the fall of these men in connection to ideals of masculinity that they either failed to embody, or continued to exemplify, thus offering a differing perspective to some of the established arguments in the historiography. Studying the men in the privy chamber raises some further questions: what positions did Henry's new men hold within the privy chamber? Were these posts responsible for their rise? For Henry V, as for Edward IV, it was not necessary that those close to him were born noble. In fact, as the backgrounds of the men who were advanced prove, most were of non-noble descent. Nevertheless, it was important that these young intimates of Henry VIII did continue to uphold his image by demonstrating honourable manhood. I will demonstrate that the hardy version of manhood was not an appropriate model outside of the tiltyard, thus arriving at the conclusion that hardiness amongst young men was only appropriate in specific contexts. It is also true that once Henry was no longer able joust, even in the tiltyard hardiness became an undesirable quality. To date, traditional approaches have placed emphasis on the workings of faction being instigated by both of Henry's chief ministers Thomas Wolsey and then Thomas Cromwell. What my work adds to this is the consideration of the lifecycle of the men involved and the relationship they shared with the king.

5.4.1: Henry VIII and his Privy Chamber Men

To begin it is first necessary to set out the structure and workings of the privy chamber in Henry VIII's reign in order to establish the posts that were available to men, before an analysis of the men who took on these roles can be instigated. The privy chamber was a household department set up by Henry VII around c.1495, to deal with the private needs of the monarch. It was a private royal apartment to which entry and thus access to the king was strictly limited. Starkey, who has written extensively on the privy chamber, argues that the ordinance of c.1495 represented a key development in a process whereby Henry VII became more distant from even his leading subjects.⁸⁶⁷ As we have seen, Henry VII exercised a policy of distance; he chose not to compete in tournaments. Henry VIII, however, limited the number of those required, or permitted to give attendance on him.⁸⁶⁸ Yet through reducing the number of those around the king, under Henry VIII the men in the chamber assumed a new significance, as it became an elite and sophisticated power base. As a specialised branch of the chamber, it provided Henry VIII in his early years with his most intimate body of servants, who took over the most personal service of the king.

As we shall see most of these men also shared the same lifecycle stage as the king and as such the bonds that they had established with Henry in the tiltyard were responsible for their promotion into the privy chamber. Henry wanted men around him with whom he could identify in terms of age, and interests and accomplishments. If Henry could trust these

⁸⁶⁷ For politics of distance see Starkey, 'Intimacy and Innovation: The Rise of the Privy Chamber, 1485-1547', in *The English court from the Wars of the Roses to the Civil War*, pp. 71-119.

⁸⁶⁸ I have shown in the previous chapter how Henry VII observed tournaments from a place of prominence but was not involved in the fighting action.

same men not to kill or injure him in the dangerous arena of the tiltyard, he could also trust them to attend on him. The chamber's staff then became the king's boon companions and they performed every personal service for him, thus they were in a strong position to influence political affairs and act as Henry's chief advisors.⁸⁶⁹ It is apparent that they became important agents of royal policy acting, as diplomats, military commanders and special messengers. Moreover the chief gentleman of the privy chamber undertook important secretarial duties, organising the king's signature and operating the dry stamp. In addition to these administrative duties, Starkey emphasises that the gentleman of the privy chamber would also carry, 'the indefinable charisma of monarchy'.⁸⁷⁰ Another dimension to the role of these men, which Starkey does not consider, is the performance of manhood. In choosing his companions Henry VIII made sure that they embodied the chivalrous ideal on which he modelled his kingship. Hence this thesis makes an important contribution to the historiography surrounding Henry's privy chamber, as the role of gender in the appointment, advancement and prominence of these men has not previously been considered.

Having studied Henry VIII's men in the privy chamber it is apparent that his earliest companions had been taken from noble families, such as Edward Howard and brother-in-law Thomas Knyvet; Buckingham's brother Henry Stafford, his cousin Edward Neville and the Grey's family descendant Thomas Grey as gentlemen of the privy chamber and all were in constant attendance on him. However others intimate with the king included men from non-noble backgrounds such as Henry Guildford, Charles Brandon and William Compton

⁸⁶⁹ Starkey, 'Representation through intimacy', pp. 187-224.

⁸⁷⁰ Starkey, 'Intimacy and Innovation', pp. 71-119.

who shared his passion for chivalrous pastimes: they were all impressive jousters.⁸⁷¹

Brandon and Guildford's origins lay at least within knightly service, but Compton came from a most humble background, his father being a small country farmer of no particular standing.⁸⁷² Following the death of his father Edmund in 1493, Compton inherited his manor in Warwickshire and became a ward of the crown.⁸⁷³ According to William Dugdale he became a page to Prince Henry when he was around twelve years old at the time Henry was only three years old.⁸⁷⁴ Despite the nine-year age gap the two boys became close friends. Indeed, Henry chose Compton to be his Groom of the Stool (they royal sanitary attendant), thus his most important body servant.

George Bernard notes that while Henry VII was still alive Compton appears to have been simply a servant, he writes: 'there are no signs of any grants before the accession of Prince Henry to the throne in 1509'.⁸⁷⁵ Henry first jousted with Compton in January 1510 in a tournament held at Richmond. In November of the same year he also acted as one of the king's Challengers alongside Brandon at a tourney that was held against all comers.⁸⁷⁶ He remained Groom of the Stool till 1526, serving for a decade and a half as one of the most important and intimate of the king's servants. Early on in the reign, his Groom of the Stool was the first man that Henry turned to when he wanted something done, especially if

⁸⁷¹ In addition I have included these men from non-noble backgrounds into my cohort of jousters for what their careers reveal about the advancement of status at Henry VIII's court.

⁸⁷² George W. Bernard, 'Compton, Sir William (c.1482–1528)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Jan 2008) <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/6039>> [Accessed 8 August 2015].

⁸⁷³ George W. Bernard, 'The rise of Sir William Compton early Tudor Courtier', *The English Historical Review*, 96, 381 (1981), 754-77.

⁸⁷⁴ William Dugdale and William Thomas, *The Antiquities of Warwickshire* (2nd ed., London, 1730), p.547 I owe this reference to Bernard, 'The rise of Sir William Compton early Tudor Courtier', 754-77.

⁸⁷⁵ Bernard, 'The rise of Sir William Compton early Tudor Courtier', 754-77.

⁸⁷⁶ Refer to Appendix three tournament chronology.

confidential, it was Compton who he confided in.⁸⁷⁷ This closeness alone made it likely that the groom would be the king's confidant, but the effect was heightened when Compton was also an expert joust.

5.4.2: 1510 Richmond Joust

On the 12 January 1510, nine months after his accession to the throne, Henry jousted for the first time openly at a private event held at Richmond Park. Hall writes that the king and 'one of his privie chamber, called William Compton' had heard 'secretly' that 'diverse gentlemen' had organised a joust at Richmond.⁸⁷⁸ The king decided that he would take part in the joust, but he would do so in disguise, 'unknowen to all persones, and unloked for'.⁸⁷⁹ Hall makes it known that this was Henry's first public participation in the jousts, 'the kynge ranne never openly before'.⁸⁸⁰ Though "openly" implies that the king may have jousted privately in one of his palaces, or in secret before, but this was his first time jousting with an audience. It is apparent that in this, his first public tournament, that Henry proved himself to be an accomplished joust. Hall recounts that: 'there were broken many staves, and greate praise [was] geven to the two strangers, but specially to one, whiche was the kyng'.⁸⁸¹ Henry was not the first king to enter into the tiltyard in disguise, the last king (before Henry VIII and Edward IV) to compete in tournaments, as king was Edward III who

⁸⁷⁷ MacCulloch, *The reign of Henry VIII: politics, policy and piety*, p.20.

⁸⁷⁸ Hall, p.513.

⁸⁷⁹ Ibid.

⁸⁸⁰ Ibid.

⁸⁸¹ Ibid.

styled himself and his court on that of Camelot and King Arthur.⁸⁸² It is significant that all three kings came to the throne as teenagers as jousting was predominantly the sport of young men as discussed earlier.⁸⁸³

In 1334 Edward III appeared at a great tournament at Dunstable in the guise of Sir Lionel, a relative of Guinevere's Sir Lancelot, when he was still in his early twenties and not yet at war with France.⁸⁸⁴ Romance literature remained extremely popular among a wide readership in the later fifteenth century and early sixteenth centuries, containing instances of disguised jousters. Works such as *Le Morte d'Arthur* first published by William Caxton in 1485, was a compilation of traditional tales by Thomas Malory about the legendary King Arthur and the Knights of the Round Table.⁸⁸⁵ In the story of the Maid of Astolat, in order to attend a tournament at Winchester, Lancelot slips out of Camelot in disguise.⁸⁸⁶ This stratagem permits Lancelot to test his martial prowess against his own kinsmen. He goes on to win the jousting tournament, still in disguise, fighting against King Arthur's party and beating forty of them in the tournament.⁸⁸⁷ Chivalric incognito was a means by which a

⁸⁸² Barker, *The tournament in England*, p.66.

⁸⁸³ See Table 1 p.138.

⁸⁸⁴ Ormrod, *Edward III*, p.99 relates how in the early 1340s the king was in fact much more inclined to cast himself as one of the simple knights of the round table and developed a particular abiding association with the figure of Sir Lionel.

⁸⁸⁵ BL Add MS. 59678 this sole surviving manuscript copy known as the Winchester manuscript of Thomas Malory's version of the legends of King Arthur and his knights was made within a decade of the author's death in 1471 before the earliest printed version was published by Caxton. Thomas Malory's *Le Morte Darthur* is available online through Electronic Text Center, University of Virginia
<<http://web.archive.org/web/20080925231822/http://etext.lib.virginia.edu/toc/modeng/public/Mal1Mor.html>> [Accessed 11 April 2015].

⁸⁸⁶ Thomas Malory, 'Chapter IX. How Sir Launcelot rode to Astolat, and received a sleeve to wear upon his helm at the request of a maid', *Le Morte D'Arthur*, Vol. II (ed.), W. Caxton (1485) online ebook
<<http://www.gutenberg.org/files/1252/1252-h/1252-h.htm>> [Accessed 11 April 2015].

⁸⁸⁷ Malory, 'Chapter XI. How Sir Launcelot and Sir Lavaine entered in the field against them of King Arthur's court, and how Launcelot was hurt', *Le Morte D'Arthur*, Vol. II (ed.), W. Caxton (1485) online ebook
<<http://www.gutenberg.org/files/1252/1252-h/1252-h.htm>> [Accessed 11 April 2015].

knight could seek honour and glory without being accused of being given an easy pass because of his status.⁸⁸⁸ In this way when a knight was revealed, the performance was made all the more dramatic as he has achieved praise on account of his skill rather than his status. This explains why Henry jousted in disguise in 1510; he clearly sought to gain acclaim for his skill and performance alone, rather than his royal standing.

From an episode that transpired in these jousts and from the reaction of those in attendance, it appears that the audience had indeed been fooled by Henry and Compton's disguise. Compton's next opponent was Edward Neville who had been appointed as one of the King's Spears under Henry VII.⁸⁸⁹ Neville was an accomplished joustier.⁸⁹⁰ He also shared Henry's height and physique making him a formidable force in the tiltyard. The combination proved too much for Compton as Neville, 'hurte hym sore, and [Compton] was likely to dye'.⁸⁹¹ One of those who knew Henry was jousting in disguise was not sure whether the knight in question was Compton or the king and so cried 'God save the king'.⁸⁹² Hall reports that 'all the people were astonished'.⁸⁹³ The king was forced to remove his disguise to show everyone that he was unhurt, which was 'to the greate comferte of all the people'.⁸⁹⁴

Arguably, had Compton not been injured, there would have been some other device

⁸⁸⁸ It is notable that Charles IV, King of Bohemia and Holy Roman Emperor also loved taking part in tournaments. Charles also participated incognito in a tournament in Rothenburg in January 1348. For more on this see 'Charles IV- Boisterous Youth and Crippled King', *Medieval Histories* (27 August 2016) available online at <<http://www.medievalhistories.com/charles-iv-boisterous-youth-and-crippled-king/>> [Accessed 5 September 2016] I owe thanks to Dr Pat Cullum for sharing this post with me.

⁸⁸⁹ See ODNB entry for Edward Neville.

⁸⁹⁰ In the previous chapter Neville was shown competing as one of the four Challengers at Westminster Tournament in 1511, pp. 271-305.

⁸⁹¹ Hall, p.513.

⁸⁹² Ibid.

⁸⁹³ Ibid.

⁸⁹⁴ Ibid.

employed to unmask Henry. It is apparent from my earlier comments that Henry was performing well in the jousts, but this chivalrous display was irrelevant unless his identity was revealed. It was no accident that someone in the audience knew that the king was jousting as Henry and Compton had clearly carefully staged the whole episode down to them wearing identical disguises. Yet to others witnessing this event, it clearly came as quite a shock to find their king competing in the tiltyard. It had been over forty years since a king had competed in a tournament, which would not have been a sight that those watching were likely able to recall.⁸⁹⁵

Compton clearly used his influence with Henry to secure rewards, by the time he had died in 1528, at the age of forty-six, he had amassed a large collection of royal offices and a vast landed patrimony.⁸⁹⁶ Compton's position relied completely on the favour of the king to whom he owed everything, which perhaps calls into question the nature of their relationship, at least from Compton's perspective. It is remarkable, states Bernard, how many of the grants of offices, crown lands and leases of royal properties to him were made in Henry's early years.⁸⁹⁷ Compton's career at Henry's court arguably throws light on the possibilities for advancement open to an ambitious royal servant willing to exploit the king's affections.

⁸⁹⁵ I highlighted in the previous chapter that Edward IV had been the first king to compete in a public tournament at Eltham in March 1467, pp. 227-230.

⁸⁹⁶ Bernard, 'The rise of Sir William Compton early Tudor Courtier', 754-77.

⁸⁹⁷ Ibid.

5.4.3: Hardy behaviour and the 'minions' removal 1519

This thesis offers a re-interpretation of the events leading up to what is known as the 'minions' removal, as while this episode has been well debated in the historiography, it is apparent that explaining it in terms of hardy behaviour and manliness adds a new perspective.⁸⁹⁸ By 1517 a new set of boon companions dominated the tiltyard replacing many of the older men who had made up Henry's first group of intimates. This new set of boon companions were high born, high spirited and hugely indulged by Henry, who by now in his later twenties, was apparently trying to hang onto his youth. Hall referred to 'these young menne whiche were called the kynges minions', whom he linked to improper sovereignty as one revealing episode illustrates.⁸⁹⁹ Hall stressed the term 'minion' using it to express his disapproval of these men. The Middle English dictionary defines its meaning as 'a darling, or a favourite'.⁹⁰⁰ Starkey has translated the use of the term minion to mean the king's 'pretty boys'.⁹⁰¹ It is apparent that Starkey's formulation implicitly effeminises them and by rendering them not yet adult, downplays their importance, thus it is my intention to restore their importance to the king.

Perhaps the most notorious 'mignons' were the openly effeminate courtiers of Henry III of France in 1570s and 1580s, roughly his own age, who shared his interests and

⁸⁹⁸ Ives, 'Faction at the court of Henry VIII', 168-188 and 'Stress, faction and ideology in early Tudor England', 193-202; Starkey, 'Intimacy and Innovation', pp. 102-104, *The Reign of Henry VIII: Personalities and Politics*, pp. 61-63; see however the alternative view of this incident put forward by Greg Walker, 'The Expulsion of the Minions of 1519 Reconsidered', *The Historical Journal*, 32 (1989), 1-16.

⁸⁹⁹ Hall, p.598 see below pp. 367-376.

⁹⁰⁰ *Middle English Dictionary Entry* <<http://quod.lib.umich.edu/cgi/m/mec/med-idx?type=byte&byte=115226521&egdisplay=compact&egs=115227012>> [Accessed 15 November 2016].

⁹⁰¹ Starkey, *The English Court: from the Wars of the Roses to the Civil War*, p.79.

tastes.⁹⁰² In fifteenth century France the word 'mignon' meant simply companion, but Robert Knecht has shown that by the mid-sixteenth century it took on a pejorative meaning.⁹⁰³ There is no suggestion in the contemporary sources that there was a sexual element to Henry's relationship with his 'minions' but Hall's use of the term is clearly pejorative. According to Hall, these men had become overfamiliar with the king: 'so familier and homely with hym, and plaid suche light touches with hym that they forgat themselves'.⁹⁰⁴ What Hall means is that the 'minions' conduct disrupts established hierarches because they presume on their closeness to the king and are perceived as getting 'above' themselves as a result.

The 'minions' who Hall refers to are men such as Edward Neville, Nicholas Carew and Francis Bryan who made the transition from being the king's boon companions and jousting partners to staffing his private apartments and becoming key political agents and advisors.⁹⁰⁵ Neville had competed on the king's team at the Westminster tournament in 1511 and Carew on the king's team at Greenwich in 1516, it is apparent from these positions that not only were both expert jousters, but each shared a close bond with Henry. Bryan, a keen joustier at Henry's court, had lost an eye due to a splintered lance at a tournament held at Greenwich on Shrove Tuesday in 1526.⁹⁰⁶ In Henry's eyes this made Bryan even more impressive; his manhood was visible to all other men as he proudly

⁹⁰² Katherine B. Crawford, 'Love, Sodomy, and Scandal: Controlling the Sexual Reputation of Henry III', *Journal of the History of Sexuality*, 12, 4 (2003), 513-542.

⁹⁰³ Robert J. Knecht, *Hero or Tyrant? Henry III, King of France, 1547-89* (London and New York: Routledge, 2014), pp. 111-117.

⁹⁰⁴ Hall, p.598.

⁹⁰⁵ T. A. Morris, *Tudor Government* (London and New York: Routledge, 1999), p.24.

⁹⁰⁶ Susan Brigden, 'Bryan, Sir Francis (d. 1550)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Jan 2008) <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/3788>> [Accessed 15 November 2016] see also Hall, p.707.

displayed his battle wound, which acted as a physical reminder of his involvement in martial combats. In the previous chapter I discussed how the victors in tournaments might have worn their prizes as a marker of high status manhood. Another dimension to consider is if men also proudly displayed any cuts, or gashes gained from competing in tournaments as an alternate indicator of manhood. Jousting was still incredibly dangerous and accidents were not uncommon, thus it is for this reason that the king formed a close attachment to his jousting companions as they risked their lives together.

Henry and his new favourites formed a recognisable subculture within the court as some of his men were still in a distinct and youthful phase of manhood. At the time of their French embassy in 1519, Carew was only twenty-three, but Bryan was older at twenty-nine and closer in age to the king. In accordance with contemporary models Henry at twenty-eight had passed 'adolecence', which was only to age twenty-five and entered into 'juventute', but it was a stage that still held the body to be at its physical peak and was at times overlapped and interchanged with youth.⁹⁰⁷ It was this version of typically youthful masculinity that dominated the tiltyard and in turn Henry's privy chamber as he valued athletic ability in others. Hall thought that Henry's companions should be replaced by what he called the 'sad an auncient knightes', in order to reform what he regarded as Henry's immoral court.⁹⁰⁸ These terms referred explicitly to moral qualities of stability, maturity and steadfastness.⁹⁰⁹ By implication Hall viewed Henry's companions as immature and unmanly, and thus unsuitable for positions of close proximity to the king because of their potential

⁹⁰⁷ Refer back to Ages of Man model pp. 136-138.

⁹⁰⁸ Hall, p.598.

⁹⁰⁹ Seth Lerer, *Courtly Letters in the Age of Henry VIII: Literary Culture and the Arts of Deceit* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), p.64.

influence upon him. But Henry clearly had quite a different opinion and thought these men were deserving of his favour because of their abilities in the tiltyard, which were enabled by their youthful vigour.

Hall's chronicle claims that the real reason for the 'minions' removal was on account of their boyish behaviour, whilst on a diplomatic mission to France in February 1519:

duryng this tyme remained in the Frenche courte Nicholas Carew
Fraunces Brian, and diuerse other of the young gentle men of
England and they with the Frenche kyng road daily disguysed
through Paris, throwyng Egges, stones and other foolish trifles at
the people, whiche light demeanoure of a kyng was muche
discommended and jested at. And when these young gentlemen
came again into England, they were all Frenche, in eatyng, drynkyng
and apparell, yea, and in Frenche vices and brags, so that all the
estates of Englande were by them laughed at: the ladies and
gentlewomen were dispraised, so that nothing by them was praised,
but if it were after the Frenche turne, whiche after turned them
to displeasure as you shall here.⁹¹⁰

This episode reflects a negative characterisation of hardy behaviour as Carew's and Bryan's immature and rather silly behaviour had implications for Henry's manhood.⁹¹¹ It is also

⁹¹⁰ Hall, p.597.

noteworthy that the French were also involved in this frivolity, which makes the French king appear immature and foolish too. This was problematic for Henry as these men were known to be some of his closest companions and thus by association the criticism of these men had the danger of reflecting on the king's own character and respectability. Henry at twenty-eight by contemporary standards was now in a second phase of manhood, but it is apparent that in the Middle Ages there was no absolute meaning of youth and thus at times the period of 'juventute' was extended right from birth.⁹¹² In this context it is evident that these terms only had a tenuous link to the reality of men's behaviour and bodies. The ideal of high status manhood was for men to exhibit self-control and to conduct themselves with prudence. In practice these expectations were not always met as men continued to act in what was identified in conduct literature as youthful ways. Yet it is likely that Henry was persuaded to accept a manlier image and to discipline the offending individuals. In order to distance himself from their conduct and adopt a hegemonic, admonitory position that emphasised his maturity. Hence Henry was encouraged to undertake a determined renovation and upgrading of his privy chamber in spite of his own personal fondness of these men.

It is widely claimed in the contemporary accounts that it was Wolsey who had a number of Henry's young boon companions removed from the court. Guistiniani in May 1519 suggested that: 'the perceived aforesaid gentlemen are to be so intimate with the king

⁹¹¹ In Starkey's words they had, 'behaved rather like a visiting rugby team' whilst in France quoted in *The English Court: from the Wars of the Roses to the Civil War*, p.103.

⁹¹² Burrow, *Ages of Man*, pp. 12-36.

that in the course of time they might have ousted him [Wolsey] from the government'.⁹¹³

This gives the impression that Wolsey had them removed because he perceived that they could be a threat to his own position, so he used the incident in France as a convenient excuse to carry out this dismissal. Yet the start of the report makes it clear that the 'true' reason for their removal was unknown, thereby encouraging the ambassador to add his own speculations.⁹¹⁴ The Italian's opinion was supported by the fact that the ousted men were replaced with courtiers of Wolsey's own choosing, who were loyal to the cardinal and shared his work ethic.

The four knights of the body in the privy chamber that were chosen by Wolsey included: Richard Weston, Richard Jerningham, Richard Wingfield and William Kingston.⁹¹⁵ Yet it is far too simplistic to argue that all were simply followers of Wolsey, or in favour with him alone. In fact the Italian perception underrates the independent status of these men as courtiers, diplomats and soldiers. Moreover if Wolsey were trying to rid the chamber of those that were seen to be too familiar with Henry then he would have surely replaced them with those deemed to be less well known to the king.

⁹¹³ *LP* II no. 235.

⁹¹⁴ *CSP Venice* II no. 1220.

⁹¹⁵ Stanford Lehmborg, 'Weston, Sir Richard (c.1465–1541)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, (Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Jan 2008) <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/29124>> [Accessed 16 November 2016], Luke MacMahon, 'Jerningham, Sir Richard (d. 1525)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2004) <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/70794>> [Accessed 15 November 2016],

Mary L. Robertson, 'Wingfield, Sir Richard (b. in or before 1469, d. 1525)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Oct 2008) <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/29739>> [Accessed 16 November 2016], Stanford Lehmborg, 'Kingston, Sir William (c.1476–1540)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, May 2015) <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/15628>> [Accessed 16 November 2016].

Yet Jerningham had been a close personal servant of the king from as early as March 1512, when he had been created an Esquire for the Body for life.⁹¹⁶ Prior to that he was one of a select group of courtiers that had formed the King's Spears.⁹¹⁷ He also accompanied the king on his French campaign in July 1513 and was knighted by Henry at Tournai in September 1513.⁹¹⁸ In essence Jerningham was an accomplished courtier, thus if it had been Wolsey's intent to neutralize the privy chamber from Henry's chivalrous companions then it is apparent that Jerningham was the wrong choice. The other appointees such as Weston could trace his service back long before Wolsey's emergence as Henry's chief minister. Weston had gained favour at the court of Henry VII, to whom he was made an Esquire of the Body for life.⁹¹⁹ Further offices and titles followed under Henry VIII, he was knighted by the king in 1514, and from 1516 was in personal attendance on the king as a Knight of the Body.⁹²⁰ It is evident that Weston had already long established a career at court prior to Wolsey, thus he was not reliant on him to advance his status.

Likewise Wingfield had served in Henry VII's household as an Esquire of the Body from 1500.⁹²¹ Significantly Wingfield was also married to Catherine Woodville sister of Elizabeth Woodville, sister-in-law to Edward IV.⁹²² Hence it was through his marriage that Wingfield had already achieved high status by the start of Henry VIII's reign. Kingston's career had also begun in attending Henry VII as yeoman of the chamber, so that from the

⁹¹⁶ *LP I* no. 1123.

⁹¹⁷ *LP The King's Book of Payments*, 1512 July.

⁹¹⁸ See ODNB Richard Jerningham.

⁹¹⁹ *LP I* no. 158.

⁹²⁰ *LP II* no. 4556, 4409.

⁹²¹ Gairdner, *Letters and papers illustrative of the reigns of Richard III and Henry VII* Volume II, p.89.

⁹²² See ODNB Richard Wingfield.

start of Henry VIII's reign, he was serving in his household as an Esquire of the Body from 1510.⁹²³ Kingston was also a prominent participator in court culture and a champion jousting competing as an Answerer against the king's team at Greenwich in 1516.⁹²⁴ Thus it is apparent that far from being the protégés of Wolsey that each of these men had acquired a status in Henry's household independent of the cardinal's patronage. It seems that Wolsey in fact appointed these men because of their experience in court service, which qualified them to take on the role of Gentleman of the Privy Chamber. Furthermore it is evident that these men had a relationship with the king as well being already in attendance on him and jousting alongside him, so they were actually well placed in his company.

In fact a similar conclusion is drawn by Greg Walker who has reviewed this episode, shedding new light on the conventional view of faction undertaken by Ives and Starkey.⁹²⁵ The assumption, until Walker's article, had been that the removal from court of Henry's boon companions was something that Wolsey strongly desired. Yet Walker's perspective is that rather than viewing this 'as a piece of political factioneering', it seems to be 'a quite straightforward administrative expedient', which might he adds be the case with the expulsion as a whole.⁹²⁶ Walker also questions why Wolsey would choose May 1519 as the moment to strike. In addition why would he choose to expel some of the 'minions' and not others? In total only four were removed Neville, Carew, Bryan and William Coffin who was a household servant of the king and later became Master of the Horse to Queen Jane

⁹²³ See ODNB William Kingston, *Calendar of the Patent Rolls, Henry VII, II*, p.109, 122, 354.

⁹²⁴ Refer back to 1516 Greenwich tournament pp.306-308 see Kingston's results CA Box 37 Tournament 1c (19 May 1516).

⁹²⁵ Ives, *Faction in Tudor England*, p.13 and Starkey, *The Reign of Henry VIII Personalities and Politics*, p.80; Walker, 'The Expulsion of the Minions of 1519 Reconsidered', 1-16.

⁹²⁶ Walker, 'The Expulsion of the Minions of 1519 Reconsidered', 1-16.

Seymour.⁹²⁷ Though it is evident that many of the king's gentlemen of the privy chamber were unscathed such as Norris, Guildford, Compton and Brandon, who were long serving companions of the king and those who arguably exercised the most influence over him. Therefore if it was intimacy of Henry and his privy chamber men that made them a threat to Wolsey, it is questionable why Compton who held the most intimate position as Groom of the Stool was kept? It is also noteworthy that Brandon was not one of the men removed when he was the most likely candidate, if Wolsey was in fact trying to rid the court of Henry's jousting companions. Perhaps being the king's brother-in-law is what saved Brandon from being expelled as Wolsey may have conceded that it was too politically risky for his own standing with Henry to have Brandon removed.

Walker has put forward an alternate explanation by arguing that it was the council who decided on the 'minions' removal from court.⁹²⁸ According to Walker, the minions were proving themselves to be 'conceited and obnoxious young men', whose inclination to follow the French fashion coupled with their 'overfamiliarity' with the king was irritating the more 'conservative members' of the court.⁹²⁹ Walker concludes that the removal of the courtiers was a social and cultural reaction rather than politically motivated by Wolsey. Although Walker's arguments are valuable for the perspective taken on Wolsey, it is apparent that there is more that can be said regarding the debate surrounding the 'overfamiliarity' of the minions with Henry. It is important to consider the identity of those men of the council who

⁹²⁷ Catharine Davies, 'Coffin, Sir William (*b.* in or before 1492, *d.* 1538)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Jan 2008) <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/70721>> [Accessed 16 November 2016].

⁹²⁸ Walker, 'Expulsion of the Minions of 1519 Reconsidered', 1-16.

⁹²⁹ *Ibid.*

displayed some anxiety about Henry's boon companions in the privy chamber. It is likely that those more 'conservative members' of the council as Walker writes, were actually anxious about their lack of proximity to the king.

I would also argue that the lifecycle of these councilors was part of the reason for these men not sharing a close relationship with the king. For example Thomas Howard, second Duke of Norfolk, acting as Lord Treasurer was in his late seventies, thus he was almost twice the age of these men.⁹³⁰ Weston was also in his fifties when he took up his privy chamber appointment and Wingfield was at least fifty.⁹³¹ As a result, the lifecycle of the men on the council prevented Henry from forming the same homosocial bonds that he had readily established with his boon companions. In consequence, in considering this episode in terms of the characterisation of the hardy man, it reveals an alternative understanding of the 'minions' removal. In essence the councilors thought the minions were immature and thus unmanly, but this was not how the minions themselves felt. This is best understood as a generational conflict that revolved around different ideas of ideal masculine behaviour.

⁹³⁰ David M. Head, 'Howard, Thomas, second duke of Norfolk (1443–1524)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Sept 2012)

<<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/13939>> [Accessed 19 November 2016].

⁹³¹ See ODNB entries for Richard Weston and Richard Wingfield.

5.4.4: The fall of Anne Boleyn and the king's men re-visited

Following the expulsion of the minions in 1519, the next major change in the privy chamber occurred in 1536 as part of the downfall of Anne Boleyn. This event has been well contested in the historiography, but it is not the focus of this work to enter into the debate regarding whether or not Anne Boleyn, or the men accused were guilty. Instead I will explore the role that the performance of masculinity played in the downfall of these men. To begin, I will provide a brief overview of the historiography surrounding Anne's fall, in order to demonstrate how my thesis situates itself within this field and in turn provides an original contribution to this well contested subject.

One traditional approach has been to view Anne's demise as part of the political environment of Henry's court. Ives has emphasised the importance of faction as the force behind Henrician politics; in his reading it is Cromwell who is the main architect in planning and arranging the downfall of Anne.⁹³² Ives also takes into account new evidence, which came to light since the 1980s, of Anne's attack on Cromwell's policy towards the funds of the dissolution of the smaller monasteries as another cause of their disagreement that exacerbated problems between the two.⁹³³ Starkey also believed that Henry's choice to marry Anne had 'triggered faction', whilst his marriage to Jane was accompanied by the destruction of 'a whole court faction'.⁹³⁴ Scarisbrick takes another line of argument that Anne became intolerable to her husband; he argued: 'what had once been infatuation had

⁹³² Ives, 'Faction at the court of Henry VIII', 169-88.

⁹³³ Ives, *The Life and Death of Anne Boleyn*, pp. 309-312.

⁹³⁴ Starkey, *Six Wives: The Queens of Henry VIII*, pp. 554-569.

turned into bloodthirsty loathing'.⁹³⁵ This argument places less emphasis on the role of Jane as an instrument of faction and instead Scarisbrick presents a natural decline in Henry and Anne's relationship, which was no doubt fuelled by the fact that she had failed to produce a son as promised.

In the late 1980s a controversial theory put forward by Retha Warnicke was that a deformed foetus resulting from Anne's miscarriage in January 1536 was the root cause for Anne's downfall.⁹³⁶ The sixteenth century belief that infant deformity reflected the sins of the parents led Warnicke to also draw a connection to the subsequent accusation of Anne being adulterously promiscuous. Warnicke also puts forward the view that Henry actually believed his second wife was a witch. Bernard has asserted that whilst there was insufficient evidence to prove definitively that Anne and those accused with her were guilty, this does not mean they were innocent.⁹³⁷ In his re-assessment of the downfall of Anne, Walker discusses the conventions of courtly love between the queen and her group of male courtiers. Unlike Bernard who has suggested that Norris and Anne were indeed lovers, in contrast Walker argues, that this is uncertain, but what is clear is that Anne had transgressed the boundaries of both courtly etiquette and political safety.⁹³⁸ In Walker's re-assessment it is not so much what Anne did, but what she said that condemned her. In agreement with Walker, Lipscomb acknowledges that Anne had gone too far in imagining

⁹³⁵ Scarisbrick, *Henry VIII*, p.12.

⁹³⁶ Retha Warnicke, 'The fall of Anne Boleyn: a reassessment', *History*, 70 (1985), 1-15, 'Sexual heresy at the court of Henry VIII', *Historical Journal*, 30 (1987), 247-68 and *The Rise and Fall of Anne Boleyn: Family Politics at the Court of Henry VIII* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989).

⁹³⁷ George W. Bernard, 'The fall of Anne Boleyn', *English Historical Review*, 106 (1991), 584-610 and 'The Fall of Anne Boleyn: A Rejoinder', *English Historical Review*, 107, 424 (1992), 665-74.

⁹³⁸ Greg Walker, 'Rethinking the Fall of Anne Boleyn', *The Historical Journal*, 45, 1 (2002), 1-29.

the king's death and actually speaking of it.⁹³⁹ It is this conversation that forced Henry's hand and according to Lipscomb it convinced him that Anne was guilty.

Lipscomb has further argued that the events of the fall can be better understood if situated in the gender and honour culture of the period.⁹⁴⁰ The great difficulties and insecurities of the early modern period Lipscomb argues, 'led to tensions over gender roles and fraught sexual politics'.⁹⁴¹ In all the writing about Anne's fall it is apparent that Henry's behaviour has never been adequately explained, which is why Lipscomb sought to explain the king's reaction in terms of masculinity and patriarchy. Anne's very behaviour, if assumed to be true, testified to the king's lack of manliness argues Lipscomb, since contemporary thought made a clear link between a man's sexual potency and a wife's infidelity.⁹⁴² In light of Anne's devastating assault on his masculinity, Lipscomb has argued that Henry acted in an effort to 'restore the patriarchal order and to prove his manhood'.⁹⁴³ It is my intention to use Lipscomb's gendered approach to assess Anne's downfall, but rather than focusing on Anne's attack on Henry's honour, I will focus instead on the impact of the men's alleged transgressions on Henry's manliness.

⁹³⁹ Lipscomb, *1536: The Year that Changed Henry VIII*, p.80.

⁹⁴⁰ Suzannah Lipscomb, 'The Fall of Anne Boleyn: A Crisis in Gender Relations?' in T. Betteridge and S. Lipscomb, *Henry VIII and the Court: Art, Politics and Performance*, pp. 287-327 and *1536: The Year that Changed Henry VIII*, pp. 65-90.

⁹⁴¹ Lipscomb, 'The Fall of Anne Boleyn: A Crisis in Gender Relations?', pp. 287- 327.

⁹⁴² Lipscomb, *1536: The Year that Changed Henry VIII*, p.89.

⁹⁴³ *Ibid.*

In addition my thesis uses the framework of Henry's lifecycle and that of his men to explain the breakdown of these relationships. I would argue that historians have not taken sufficiently into account the fact that Henry was suffering a crisis over his masculinity, following an incident in his tiltyard in January 1536. This accident, discussed further below had damaging effects not just on the body, but also on his manly image as he was forced to retire from jousting. In addition it is notable that nearly all of the men accused alongside Anne were Henry's tiltyard companions. They also dominated the privy chamber, following in a long tradition of jousting men being advanced into the king's personal suite. It is my argument that Henry's accident altered the way in which he viewed his once favoured jousting companions. Instead they became a visible reminder that he could no longer exercise the attributes that defined youthful masculinity. I will also argue that the king resented Norris, in particular, because he was still able to joust at an older age than was usual, something Henry himself was unable to do.

5.4.5: 1536 January 24: Henry VIII's tiltyard accident

Riding in his tiltyard at Greenwich on the 24 January 1536 the forty-four year old king was thrown from his horse, which in turn fell upon him, causing a two-hour loss of consciousness. Many modern commentators still commonly mistake Henry's fall, as happening during a tournament, yet there is no recorded evidence of a jousting tournament taking place at Greenwich in January 1536.⁹⁴⁴ There are three main contemporary reports of

⁹⁴⁴ Hurren, 'Cultures of the Body, Medical Regimen, and Physic at the Tudor Court', pp. 65-92 refers to the event as Henry's jousting accident. Lipscomb, 1536: *The Year that Changed Henry VIII*, p.58 describes Henry being unhorsed by the blow of his opponent's lance, which suggests his accident was the result of a jousting

the accident: one from the Spanish ambassador Eustace Chapuys, another from chronicler and herald Charles Wriothesley and one from Dr Pedro Ortiz, Charles V's ambassador in Rome. Arguably Wriothesley's chronicle is the most revealing on this point, he writes: 'for the King ranne that tyme at the ring and had a fall from his horse, but he had no hurt'.⁹⁴⁵ According to Wriothesley, the king was training in his tiltyard at Greenwich, as he had been known to do from the start of his reign by 'running at the ring'. It is apparent from Wriothesley's description that Henry was practicing his jousting skills, not in fact competing in a live joust.⁹⁴⁶ The basic mistake that most historians tend to make is assuming that presence in the tiltyard equalled armour and jousting, but this was not always the case.

Another point of debate is therefore whether or not Henry was wearing his jousting helmet as it was not until quite modern times that men would wear helmets for general riding, or training.⁹⁴⁷ As a result the likelihood is that Henry was not wearing his jousting helmet, if he had been wearing armour he would not have sustained such serious head injuries as micro concussions are possible through armour, but not as great as the one apparently suffered here.⁹⁴⁸ As it was, it seems that the king had taken a huge blow to the

match. More recently Suzannah Lipscomb, *A Visitor's Companion to Tudor England* (London: Penguin Random House, 2012), p.239 explicitly states 'an accident while jousting in 1536'. John Guy, *Henry VIII: The Quest for Fame* (London: Penguin Random House, 2014), 'after his terrible jousting accident in 1536'. Muhammad Qaiser Ikram, Fazle Hakim Sajjad, Arash Salardini, 'The head that wears the crown: Henry VIII and traumatic brain injury', *Journal of Clinical neuroscience*, 189, 7 (2016) argues that Henry suffered 'traumatic brain injuries' following a jousting accident in his 40s.

⁹⁴⁵ Wriothesley, *A chronicle of England during the reigns of the Tudors, from A.D. 1485 to 1559*, p.33.

⁹⁴⁶ Tobias Capwell suggested to me that Henry was schooling with one of his expensive, fiery, Spanish horses and the horse panicked at something and fell over backwards on top of the king. Personal communication.

⁹⁴⁷ I owe thanks to Toby Capwell to bringing this point to my attention.

⁹⁴⁸ Emma Mason, 'Henry VIII: brain injury caused by jousting to blame for erratic behavior and possible impotence', *BBC History Extra*, 5 February 2016 <<http://www.historyextra.com/article/henry-viii/brain-injury-jousting-blame-erratic-behaviour-impotence>> [Accessed 21 February 2015] in an interview lead researcher Salardini stated that: 'the best treatment for traumatic brain injury is prevention, so wearing helmets was as important then as it is now'.

head and badly injured his legs.⁹⁴⁹ Chapuys reported to Nicolas Perrenot de Granvelle, one of Charles V's trusted advisors on 29 January 1536 that: 'the king being mounted on a great horse to run at the lists, both fell so heavily that every one thought it a miracle he was not killed'.⁹⁵⁰ Dr Ortiz reported to the Empress on the 6 March 1536 that he had received a letter from the ambassador in France, who had heard from England, that: 'the king of England had fallen from his horse and been for two hours without speaking'.⁹⁵¹ Unlike a jousting accident in March 1524 against Brandon from which Henry sustained no long term effects, this time his body was unable to recover fully, probably because his physique was, by now, becoming corpulent.⁹⁵² It is apparent that even in the early modern period the joust was still hazardous as Henry II of France died in 1559, a few days after his opponent's lance struck his helmet and a long splinter pierced his face.⁹⁵³ Henry II's incident was almost identical to that experienced by Henry VIII in 1524, thus highlighting the potentially life-threatening quality of that event.

Contemporary accounts indicate that Henry's fall in January 1536 was the beginning of debilitating health problems that constantly and painfully affected him until the end of his reign. Certainly this fall marked the end of Henry's jousting career. By 12 June 1537 it was clear that both legs were still badly affected and Henry's condition was serious enough

⁹⁴⁹ Debates surrounding possible brain damage following Henry's accident are still on-going for most recent discussion see Tracy Borman, 'Leg pain, not brain damage, to blame for Henry VIII's anger problems claims Tudor historian', *BBC History Extra* 5 February 2016 available online at <<http://www.historyextra.com/article/feature/leg-pain-not-brain-damage-blame-henry-viii-anger-problems-tudor-historian-tracy-borman>> [Accessed 21 February 2016].

⁹⁵⁰ *LP X* no. 200.

⁹⁵¹ *LP X* no. 427.

⁹⁵² Space does not allow for further discussion of this incident in March 1524, but a detailed account can be found in Hall's *Chronicle*, p.674.

⁹⁵³ Richard Cavendish, 'Henry II of France dies of tournament wounds', *History Today*, 59, 7 (2009), 12.

for him to confess to the Duke of Norfolk that: ‘a humour has fallen into our legs, and our physicians advise us not to go so far in the heat of the year, even for this reason only’.⁹⁵⁴ It is significant that Henry asked Norfolk ‘to keep to yourself’ this information; not wanting others to know of his deteriorating health highlights how tied up images of his body were with his kingship and manhood.⁹⁵⁵ Then on 14 June 1538 when one of the ulcers closed up, it was reported that: ‘for 10 or 12 days the humours which had no outlet were like to have stifled him, so that he was sometime without speaking, black in the face, and in great danger’.⁹⁵⁶ Henry was lucky to be alive, but the effects of his tiltyard accident on his body were very apparent. It was ironic that the sport, which confirmed Henry’s manhood in his youth, was also the same activity that hastened his loss of manhood in his later reign.

Though there has been wide discussion about the effects of Henry’s medical conditions on both his personality and kingship there has been less work on the effect of his fall on his manhood.⁹⁵⁷ For Henry, his failing health was problematic for his image of manliness as it affected his ability to perform in the tiltyard, such a vital arena for proving elite masculine accomplishments. Most recently, Lipscomb has considered Henry’s masculinity in the noble and chivalric world in which he operated, she argues: ‘the paramount place for demonstrating physical strength and manly courage was in the joust, and until 1536, this was where Henry’s untroubled sense of masculinity had most glorified

⁹⁵⁴ *LP XII pt. II no. 77.*

⁹⁵⁵ *Ibid.*

⁹⁵⁶ *LP XIII pt. I no. 995.*

⁹⁵⁷ See medical articles by Milo Keynes, ‘The personality and health of King Henry VIII’, *Journal of Medical Biography* 13, 3 (2005), 174-183 and C. Chambers E. Chaloner, ‘500 years later: Henry VIII, leg ulcers and the course of history’, *Journal of the Royal Historical Society of Medicine*, 102, 12 (2009), 514-517.

itself'.⁹⁵⁸ In contrast, after the fall his inability to pursue such activities led Lipscomb to believe that: 'Henry compensated for his loss manhood in display'.⁹⁵⁹ Henry's accident marked the decline of his manhood, as he never regained his vigour. It must have also made him aware of his own mortality and the fact that he had yet to produce a son to secure his succession. For Henry his failing health was problematic not only was he past the golden age of manhood, but he was from now on unable to prove otherwise through participation in the tiltyard. Henry's masculine image had been based on his ability to embody the model of the knight, who was still heralded in the early sixteenth century as epitomising high status manhood. To sustain knightly masculinity the king needed to be continuously engaged in chivalry, but this proved difficult for him when he was no longer able to compete in the most recognised chivalric arena.⁹⁶⁰ Henry's accident signified that while other men might joust well into their forties, or even beyond his kingship could not be marked by a long-term commitment to chivalrous masculinity.⁹⁶¹

5.4.6: 1536 May Day Tournament

Central to my argument surrounding Henry's crisis of manhood and his relationship with his jousting men is the May Day tournament in 1536, which was held just prior to the arrest of men condemned with Anne Boleyn. The May Day tournament should have been an exciting affair, but Henry was left sitting out for one of the first times in his reign due to his

⁹⁵⁸ Lipscomb, *1536: The Year that Changed Henry VIII*, p.55.

⁹⁵⁹ *Ibid*, p.62.

⁹⁶⁰ Refer back to table 1 p.138 detailing the ages at which other men stopped jousting.

⁹⁶¹ Appendix three showing the chronology of tournaments in Henry VIII's reign highlights a noticeable decline in tournament activity during the 1530s.

accident in January. The queen's brother George Boleyn, Lord Rochford led the Challengers and Henry Norris led the Answerers.⁹⁶² Norris was fifty-four when he competed in the May Day Tournament, nearly ten years older than the king who was forty-five. But despite being so much older, Norris, unlike Henry, could still joust, whilst the king had been forced to retire. Henry must have resented the fact that Norris could do so when he was so much older than him. Indeed, Henry had doubtless assumed that he would still be jousting in his fifties like Norris, not having to stop in his forties. It is apparent that Norris was an exception to the lifecycle of manhood model that understood masculinity to be confined to a certain age. Norris proved that if a man still had the abilities and was physically able, he could compete beyond his 'golden years' of manhood.⁹⁶³ Whereas the king surely felt somewhat emasculated by his inability to joust.

Significantly Norris had been one of Henry's closest jousting companions. He was born into a long-serving court family. His grandfather Sir William Norris had been a Knight of the Body to Edward IV.⁹⁶⁴ Norris was a formidable opponent in the joust; he had competed in the grand tournament held at the Field of Cloth of Gold in 1520 and was prominent in court revels. Norris was known to have been 'best loved of the King'.⁹⁶⁵ Starkey characterises Norris as having, 'a universal affability an emollient charm', which made him 'the best liked figure at court'.⁹⁶⁶ It is not surprising that Henry would single him out for

⁹⁶² Wriothesley, *A chronicle of England during the reigns of the Tudors, from A.D. 1485 to 1559*, p.23.

⁹⁶³ Shepard, *Meanings of Manhood*, p.9.

⁹⁶⁴ Eric W. Ives, 'Norris, Henry (b. before 1500, d. 1536)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, May 2009 <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/20271>> [Accessed 2 December 2015].

⁹⁶⁵ LP X no. 1036.

⁹⁶⁶ Starkey, *The Reign of Henry VIII Personalities and Politics*, p.70.

favour and responsibility making him his Groom of the Stool, succeeding Compton. Norris was also as Gentleman of the Bedchamber, sleeping at the foot of the king's bed.⁹⁶⁷ Being in such close physical proximity to the king, it is no wonder that Henry formed such a strong emotional attachment to Norris, with whom he spent more time than with his wife Anne Boleyn.⁹⁶⁸ According to Ives, 'he was perhaps the nearest thing Henry had to a friend'.⁹⁶⁹ All too often historians have overlooked Henry's homosocial bonds with other men and focused their attention on Henry's relationships with women. Yet it was men such as Norris with whom the king shared a real intimacy, as it was these men who slept, dressed and ate with him on a daily basis. It is therefore significant that Norris was among those accused of adultery with Anne. Evidently something in the relationship between Henry and Norris had changed.

As argued above, Norris' ability to keep jousting in his older years of manhood was problematic as Henry was forced to retire from the tiltyard and was apparently jealous of Norris' participation in the May 1536 tournament. It was after Norris had jousted that Henry unexpectedly left the tournament arena. Hall records that: 'sodainly from the justes the kyng departed hauing not aboute vi persons with him, and came in the euenyng from Grenwyche in his place at Westminster'.⁹⁷⁰ Arguably it was watching Norris and these other

⁹⁶⁷ LP X no. 1939.

⁹⁶⁸ See my conference paper 'Best loved of the King: homosocial bonding and male friendships at the courts of Edward IV and Henry VIII', paper given at the Gender and Medieval Studies Conference, The University of Hull, 6-8 January 2016 available online at <https://www.academia.edu/20105466/_Best_loved_of_the_King_homosocial_bonding_and_male_friendships_at_the_courts_of_Edward_IV_and_Henry_VIII> [Accessed 17 June 2016].

⁹⁶⁹ See Ives, ONDB entry 'Norris, Henry (*b.* before 1500, *d.* 1536)'.

⁹⁷⁰ Hall, p.819.

men compete heroically in the tiltyard while Henry could only look on that was the catalyst for Henry's sudden departure.

Other men who competed in the tournament included Francis Weston and William Brereton who were both involved in the charges against Anne along with Rochford.⁹⁷¹ Rochford's demise is easy to account for, as it was inevitable that he would fall out of favour as his sister was overthrown. However it is also true that at his trial Rochford condemned himself to death. He was handed a piece of paper that addressed the question of Henry's sexual ability. Although he was told not to read it out aloud to the court, he did so, and this was said to have sealed his fate. George Constantyne who was in the service of Norris at the time of his arrest and also knew Brereton personally provides a unique insight into Rochford's trial. Constantyne wrote that: 'he [Rochford] had escaped had it not been for a letter', which suggests that it was his own hardy behaviour that had fixed his death sentence.⁹⁷² On 18 May 1516 in his letter, Chapuys reported it in gleeful detail what Anne had reportedly said to Rochford that: 'he [Henry] has neither vigour nor virtue'.⁹⁷³ Mocking the king's potency was a serious blow to Henry's manly pride and this seems to have been something about which he was increasingly anxious. Henry had still failed to produce a male heir in his marriage to Anne and to make matters worse he had been forced to retire from

⁹⁷¹ Joseph S. Block, 'Boleyn, George, Viscount Rochford (c.1504–1536)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2004) <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/2793>> [Accessed 17 June 2016], Jonathan Hughes, 'Weston, Sir Francis (1511–1536)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2004) <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/29121>> [Accessed 17 June 2016] and Eric. W. Ives, 'Brereton, William (c.1487x90–1536)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Jan 2008) <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/70865>> [Accessed 17 June 2016].

⁹⁷² *Archaeologia: or Miscellaneous Tracts relating to antiquity published by the Society of Antiquaries of London* Volume XXIII (London: J. B. Nichols & Son, 1831) printed a transcript of the conversation that Constantyne had with the Dean of Westbury in 1539, but it is important to note that the original document has never been produced so must be used with caution.

⁹⁷³ LP X no. 901.

the sport that had confirmed his masculinity from the start of his reign. In view of this Henry must have been aware that he was no longer the hegemonic man that he once was. Anne's reported insult about the king's virility lends a further dimension to Henry's wish to have her and her male companions removed quickly. He was then free to remarry and try with a new wife to restore this manhood by procreation.

Perhaps to a certain extent the king did genuinely believe that Anne would have cuckolded him with these glamorous, vigorous men who were still able to embody chivalric masculinity by competing in jousts. Certainly Weston became caught up in the game of courtly love with the queen, along with Norris, which was a dangerous dalliance, especially given his youthfulness.⁹⁷⁴ Weston was only twenty-five when he competed in the May Day tournament, thus twenty years younger than the king. In his prime of manhood by contemporary standards, Weston must have served as a reminder to Henry that he was well past this youthful phase of masculinity. Evidently being youthful was problematic, but equally being of middling age and still competing in the tiltyard was a tricky role to negotiate now the king had retired from the tiltyard. We have already seen this in the case of Norris. In addition another of the accused, Brereton was forty-nine when he competed in the May Day tournament, being only a few years older than the king. Ives has identified that Brereton did not belong to Anne's close circle and he argues his 'innocence in respect of Anne is beyond question'.⁹⁷⁵ Taking the faction argument out of the equation in relation to Brereton's downfall, it is likely that Henry allowed him to be added to Cromwell's list of suspects, as like Norris his continuing displays of manhood humiliated the king.

⁹⁷⁴ See ONDB entry for Francis Weston.

⁹⁷⁵ See ONDB entry for William Brereton.

Norris' downfall has been explained by Walker and Lipscomb as being the result of his infamous exchange with Anne, who said: 'y]ou loke for ded men's showys', which is argued as prompting the angry scene at the May Day jousts at Greenwich.⁹⁷⁶ It is clear that Anne had gone too far, which prompted Norris to cry out that: 'yf he [should have any such thought] he wold hys hed war of'.⁹⁷⁷ To save his reputation, Norris attempted to reinforce the king's authority and power over him, which was wise considering that this had been a public outburst with many witnessing his and the queen's exchange. An important point to emphasise regarding Norris' downfall in contrast to the other men is that he had shared such a close homosocial bond with the king, as described above. Thus it is likely that Henry was more upset to believe that Norris had betrayed him than that his wife had. Henry now viewed Norris not as a friend, but as a rival, made all the more obvious by his own inability to joust. This, in addition to the treasonous exchange with Anne, helps to explain why Norris was prosecuted as one of her alleged lovers. Arguably it was an opportunity for Henry to rid his court of the men who challenged his masculinity. In this sense my approach puts the emphasis on the king, as opposed to Cromwell, clearing out his court, which has been the traditional perspective to date. I would argue that Norris continuing to occupy a position at the top of the manly hierarchy, despite his relatively advanced age, proved problematic for Henry, who as king was naturally assumed to be at its head. In turn this explains why my study has concentrated on both Edward and Henry's relationships with other men. Since in order to construct a hegemonic version of masculinity, it was essential that the men of the court remained subservient to the king's overarching model of manliness.

⁹⁷⁶ LP X no. 793 for a re-examination of the case see Greg Walker, 'Rethinking the Fall of Anne Boleyn', *The Historical Journal*, 45, 1 (2002), 1-29.

⁹⁷⁷ LP X no. 793.

To conclude, Edward was a warrior king because he had experience of battle and leadership from a young age and warfare was how he took his crown. For Edward's men who fought alongside him it is apparent that their military service brought royal favours. Furthermore it was participation in warfare that justified their privileged position in society, despite the fact they came from non-noble backgrounds. For Henry, the warrior version of masculinity was a model of kingship that he aspired to achieve, but apart from a few brief encounters, he was never really a warrior king in the same way as Edward. Hence I have suggested that perhaps it is more appropriate to consider him as a chivalric king, rather than the warrior type. Henry's privy chamber was also militarised in nature, from the younger sons of noblemen to his young jousting companions. Although the hardiness of these men also proved problematic when in his middling years of manhood, Henry looked to establish a mature version that was more appropriate to his lifecycle. These men's continuing display of hardiness within the tiltyard when Henry was no longer able to compete must have been difficult for the king. Henry displayed a continued enthusiasm and skill for the joust, but ultimately had been let down by his body. Hence Henry was no doubt encouraged to remove these men from his chamber and to put an end to tournaments at his court, so that any challenge to his manly image was swiftly removed. Therefore it is obvious why Henry towards the end of his life would return to war with France, it was a clear attempt to recapture his masculinity and to firmly situate his kingship in this martial and manly context.

6: Conclusion

The continuation of the medieval tournament into the early sixteenth century demonstrates that a chivalrous version of masculinity remained essential to ideals of kingship and high status. To date there has not been a single study that has used the tournament to draw conclusions about the relationship between the performance of masculinity within the tiltyard, or the significance of gender ideals to the attainment of high status at royal courts. Neither has there been a comprehensive study that has explored high status masculinity amongst a group of courtiers connected by common interests and pursuits and by their relationship to the king. Specific tournaments in the reign of Edward IV, Henry VII and Henry VIII have provided the focus for this work. This thesis has identified that the relationship between jousting and masculinity is a very fruitful topic by focusing on key themes such as homosocial bonds between men, the importance of maintaining a manly physique, and men's abilities to attain noble qualities. These themes could be explored further in relation to jousting activities in other places (especially later fifteenth-century Burgundy) and in later time periods (the later sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries). By applying these themes to an analysis of the kingship both of Edward IV and Henry VIII, this thesis has revealed that there are still new things to be said about each of their reigns and different perspectives from which to view some well known areas of the historiography. Applying differing frameworks such as the lifecycle of manliness and the model of the knight to both reigns has enabled this work to analyse the issue of chivalry and its status from an original perspective.

Using the tournament to document chivalrous activity across the late fifteenth and early sixteenth century clearly illustrates the continuation of chivalry into the early modern period. Thus in order to avoid creating an artificial division between medieval and early modern I arranged the thesis thematically, rather than chronologically as this highlights the parallels between ideals and practices in Edward IV's reign and the reign of Henry VIII. It seems that many modern scholars are not fully aware of the level of tournament activity in Edward IV's reign, or that the king competed in them. By comparison Henry VIII's enthusiasm for tournaments has been widely acknowledged and the importance of medieval models of kingship to him has also been discussed. However, historians have not considered his performance and embodiment of a medieval version of masculinity. Adding in the perspective of gender allows this study to make an original contribution to the notion of Henry VIII as essentially a medieval king, made explicit through his ambitions for war with France and his vigorous tourneying from the start of his reign. Henry's ambition to model his kingship and manhood on his idol Henry V is clear evidence of his desire to have his rule viewed within this same warrior milieu. Henry's participation in tournaments also formed an important part of this martial image, thus I have argued throughout the thesis that these knightly pursuits are another important contributor to his high masculine status and that of his men who competed.

To determine the processes governing men's attainment of high status manhood I have made use of several primary materials, which illustrate how these competitions were scored and judged and what these men had to accomplish in order to succeed. In particular, this thesis has drawn attention to Tiptoft's rules for jousts, which have not been used as a

means of assessing the acquisition of high status manhood. Despite them being a valuable source for showing how jousting required genuine skill and a particular physique. Another important finding of this thesis is the number of extant copies of Tiptoft's rules. We can conclude from this that Tiptoft's rules were widely circulated and treated as an essential document by the tourneying society. Tiptoft's rules should be considered not just by scholars of the English tournament, but by those working on gender too as they have a wider use as measures of manhood. The fact that these rules were still being copied into the early seventeenth century further evidences the central argument of this thesis: that the practice of chivalry continued to be highly relevant to concepts of manhood in the early modern period. The same can also be said of the herald's accounts and tournament Challenges, which provided details of specific jousts. These are original sources for the reign of Edward IV, particularly its socio-cultural aspects, which have only been considered by scholars of the tournament, even though sources for his reign are scarce. In producing a study of Edward IV that provides an extensive discussion of the king's tournaments, using original heraldic materials, it is clear that this thesis makes a contribution to knowledge. In addition many of the individual tournament Challenges of Henry VIII's reign have not previously been used by historians of his reign, yet they are significant records for evidencing the continued practice of chivalry into the early sixteenth century.

Central to my archival research has been my use of other material such as the score cheques that have previously only been discussed in technical terms as evidence for the conduct of jousts. Nevertheless, they have enabled me to draw some important conclusions on chivalrous activity and the performance of masculinity in the early sixteenth century. In

particular, no previous study has analysed these score cheques from a gendered perspective. In these competitions men were measured and assessed by a quantifiable method, which calculated a hierarchy of manliness based on bodily performance. The existence of score cheques also clears up misplaced beliefs that ladies had a role in deciding the victors in these contests. It is evident from the score cheques that heralds scored these competitions using an objective method, thus we can argue with some surety that the victors truly had proven their masculinity and abilities in the jousts. This thesis has also made some noteworthy discoveries, revealing previously unknown score cheques from the reign of Edward IV, thus evidencing that tournaments were being scored in England before the early sixteenth century. In studying the score cheques for what they reveal about the attainment of manhood based on the results jousts were able to achieve, I have shown the value of these records beyond a simple set of scores. In actual fact they offer an explanation as to why men of non-noble birth such as Brandon and Carew were able to advance their status at Henry VIII's court, which is significant, as these promotions have often been left unexplained.

Other important sources for this work have been the knightly handbooks and 'how to' guides for holding tournaments, which demonstrate that jousting demanded specific and well established energies and skills from the mounted knight, not easily learnt. However it was not just the reading of these handbooks that made a difference to a knight's performance, as daily training was required in order to put these skills into practice. It was essential that a man was not only physically strong, but also mentally prepared to sit fearlessly in the saddle and to make accurate hits on his opponent's body and head. One of

the misconceptions that this thesis has corrected is that jousting was simply a case of charging down the tiltyard and knocking a man off his horse. The skills necessary to successful jousting were trained and acquired over time, through the instruction of qualified trainers who were already experienced jousters. This thesis has identified that these trainers embodied the model of chivalric masculinity expected in the sons of kings and noble men, thus they were carefully selected on account of their manly accomplishments. The few scholars who have acknowledged the individual performance of jousting men have rarely considered how these men became so skilled, or who trained them in this type of combat. Yet in each generation men were not simply born with these skills, but were taught by reigning jousting champions such as the Earl of Essex. In particular given that the stage in a man's lifecycle when he was physically able to joust could be rather fleeting, it was essential that these skills were transmitted to the next generation.

Indeed one of the significant contributions that this thesis makes to the historiography on gender is through arguing that high status masculinity was embodied; it required a particular physicality to be successfully performed. In beginning this study of masculinity with an examination of the male body, this thesis has concluded that physique was a factor in determining tournament success. In general the bodies of jousting men have not been analysed for what they reveal about how certain bodily characteristics, such as stature and build, could provide a natural advantage for some men in the tournament. In particular this thesis has used Henry VIII's surviving armour as a close measure of an embodied aspect of masculinity, but one that could be manipulated for performativity. Historians have previously used Henry's armour to explain his expanding girth and its

implications, but my analysis is the first to go further in using the king's suits of armour as evidence of his lifecycle and how this is reflected on his manhood. What this thesis has concluded from Henry's armour is that the point at which a man's body attained this ideal form of chivalrous masculinity was usually only a temporary stage when jousts were mainly in their twenties. Though if a man did remain active and continued to hone his body through vigorous exercise then he could joust into his thirties and even forties and fifties as the career of Norris demonstrates. In view of this I intend at a later date to extend this project into a broader study of armour in the early modern period in order to examine more fully the embodiment of masculinity, both in terms of ideas and practices.

Despite the flourishing of work about medieval masculinity, it has only relatively recently been used as a means to explore homosocial bonds between lay men. In drawing attention to the tiltyard as a centre for the formation of these bonds this thesis has shed new light on the role that male friendships played in the formation of chivalric masculinity. In particular, in training together in the tiltyard and on the estates of noblemen, these jousts were able to establish friendships early on in their lives. Indeed as Henry was such an avid participator in jousts he was not exempt from training in the tiltyard, thus those being schooled in that same space had unique access to the English king. In relation to this shared masculine space, another theme that has been highlighted in this thesis is that of the lifecycle of manhood, since as well as sharing Henry's love of sports these men also shared his same life stage. Naturally Henry was more likely to make friends with those of his age, despite degree, or status. Though it is also true that as Henry got older he still surrounded himself with younger men in an attempt to stay in their lifecycle stage, rather than

acknowledging the fact that he was ageing. In light of this I have concluded that skill in the tiltyard was a great equaliser amongst men, although the men had to be of at least substantial status to be competing there in the first place. Indeed, for the majority of men, operating in such a powerful space would not have been possible if it were not for their sporting abilities as many were from gentry, not noble families. In this way nobility was a status that could be earned; thus those not born into noble families, but equally accomplished in arms were given an opportunity to advance their rank as the career of Brandon evidences. Therefore another central conclusion underpinning this thesis is that nobility, like manhood, was not conferred by birth alone. Both had to be earned and continually performed.

It became apparent during the course of my research that this group, mostly of gentry origins, have been neglected in the wider historiography. In tracing the families of those men who dominated tourneying society from the late fifteenth to the early sixteenth century, one of the important conclusions of this thesis is that in each reign the descendants of these families were actively involved in chivalric activities. Many of Edward's jousting men have not received adequate attention within the historiography; in fact not one of the king's companions is the subject of a dedicated biography, even Woodville. In raising the profile of expert jousters such as Woodville this thesis has identified major gaps in the literature surrounding Edward IV and the men within the Yorkist court. Likewise I have highlighted how in the reign of Henry VII jousts continued to be held by enthusiastic gentry men, who had become well practiced in this elite sport and who were looking to advance at court. Although not the focus of detailed analysis here, Henry VII's kingship is nonetheless

vital to this study as there was still a jousting clique within his reign committed to the chivalrous ideal although the king did not embody it. Importantly Henry VII's reign has also been shown to help facilitate the careers of many men prominent in the reign of his son. Thus supporting arguments regarding continuity in ideals and practice from the late medieval into the early modern period and likely beyond as well. Significantly a number of men in the reign of Henry VIII were descended from the Grey and Neville families who dominated tournaments held at Edward IV's court.

Another intimate space occupied by Henry's jousting companions was the privy chamber, examined in order to determine the influence of these men beyond the tiltyard. An important conclusion that this thesis has drawn is that it was the men who jousted with the king who also served, dressed, fed and slept with him. In this intimate setting I have identified the formation of strong homosocial bonds between Henry and his men based on a shared commitment to the chivalric ethos of manhood. It is noteworthy that though several studies have been published on the power dynamics of this exclusive space, this thesis is the first to include the role of gender and lifecycle as a key dimension in the appointment and elimination of men within this context. Indeed it is by reviewing episodes that have been so fiercely contested by historians in the past that this work has been able to position itself within the established historiography and make original contributions to it. Of particular significance has been the downfall of the men around Anne Boleyn, which in view of my work on masculinity and male friendships has placed emphasis on the role of the men. Previously all discussions have focused on these men's interactions with Anne, but my approach analysing the king's homosocial bonds with these men as an alternate

methodological framework, has shed new light on the breakdown of these relationships and thus the accusations of adultery. I have placed emphasis on the effect that these men's jousting careers had on the king's masculine identity when he was no longer able to joust himself. By identifying men older than Henry such as Norris who was still jousting in his fifties, an important conclusion of this thesis is that: age was not the only determining factor in the lifecycle of manhood. I have concluded that it was this revelation that was the true betrayal for Henry, who no doubt believed that he would also be jousting into his late years of manhood overcoming the effects of old age.

Finally it has been the purpose of this thesis not just to engage with traditional episodes within the historiography, but also to add original material and new findings to the current work being carried out on masculinity and kingship in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth century. It is my intention in the future to extend this research further by analysing the expression and embodiment of masculinity in the reign Elizabeth I. It is noteworthy that under Elizabeth, frequent jousts were still being held with many more score cheques surviving from her reign, allowing for further analysis of the assessment of chivalrous activity in the late sixteenth century. It is apparent that the joust became more formalised under Elizabeth, for instance six courses were tallied as being run each time and only lances broken on the body were permitted. It appears as though the ferocity of the tournament, in contrast to those in the reign of Henry VIII, had calmed. Extending this research forward into the reign of Elizabeth would support arguments that I have made regarding the tournament remaining dangerous under Henry VII and Henry VIII. In this way jousting in Elizabeth's reign would make for another useful comparative project. Having a

female monarch unable to compete in tournaments, but still holding and presiding over them also adds another dimension to the discussion of gender. Having established the men who made up the tourneying society under Edward IV, Henry VII, Henry VIII, it would be a useful exercise to trace the sons of these men into the reign of Elizabeth I, in order to observe whether they inherited their father's jousting abilities.

Another rationale for extending this project into the reign of Elizabeth I is that, given the professionalisation of war by the late sixteenth century, it is difficult to argue that the tiltyard still remained a training ground for warfare in this period. In light of this it would be beneficial to question: why were men still holding jousting contests under Elizabeth? Were tournaments now simply a part of the fabric of court entertainment, or did the fighting activity and competition remain important? It would also be valuable to explore how the changing nature of warfare affected the design and wearing of armour, in particular given that more suits in England survive from the late sixteenth century. In addition, given that field armour was no longer in use by this period it would be interesting to consider whether parade and ceremonial armour became more overt as noblemen's role on the battlefield were reduced.⁹⁷⁸ To conclude, this work has only touched on the possibilities of how this material can be used for a study on masculinity in the early sixteenth century and beyond, which has hitherto rarely been the focus of scholarship to date.

⁹⁷⁸ Thanks to Amanda Vickery for raising this question with me.

7: Bibliography

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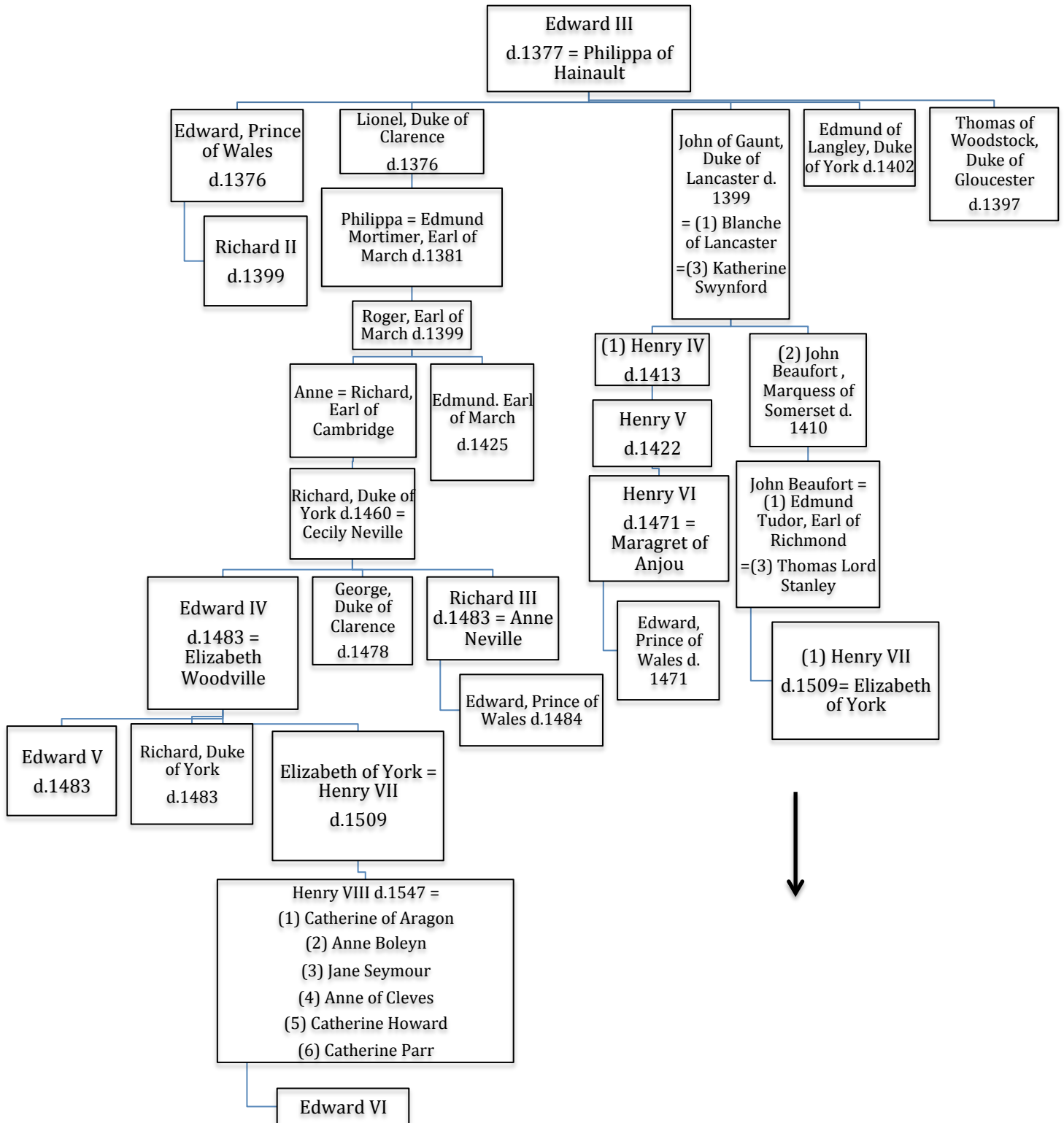
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8: Appendices

Appendix 1: The Houses of York and Lancaster



Appendix 2: Arms and Armour glossary

Arming doublet:	quilted garment worn under armour from the early fifteenth century.
Bard:	a full horse armour.
Bases:	cloth skirts worn over armour in the sixteenth century.
Breastplate:	plate armour protecting the front of the torso.
Charnel:	a hinged staple or bolt that secured the fourteenth century helm or great bascinet to the breastplate and backplate.
Close-helmet:	a full visor that completely encloses the head and face.
Cod-piece:	on a suit of armour, a shape plate armour usually used for covering the groin.
Comb:	on the top of the helmet, often very pronounced conferring extra strength and rigidity.
Crossbow:	a horizontal bow made of horn and wood, and later steel.
Curiass:	a backplate and breastplate designed to be worn together.
Cuisses:	defences for thighs.
Estoc:	a thrusting sword with a long stiff blade designed purely for fighting with the point.
Field armour:	armour for war.
Garniture:	a complete suit of armour with up to twenty or thirty interchangeable pieces and additional parts.
Gauntlet:	defence for the hand in the form of a glove. It could be a mitten type or individually fingered made of plate.
Great helm:	a helmet that enclosed the entire head and face reaching almost to the shoulders.
Greaves:	a defence for the legs.
Lance:	a horseman's spear.

Longbow:	the traditionally English self bow, in use until the sixteenth century.
Pauldron:	a plate defence for the shoulders.
Pollaxe:	a long-handled footman's warhammer.
Rerebrace:	plate armour for the upper arm.
Sabatons:	a plate defence for the foot.
Shaffron:	defence for a horse's head.
Spear:	the oldest form of staff weapon, intended for thrusting an opponent.
Tassets:	protection for the hips and upper legs.
Tonlet:	a skirt of steel worn on armours designed for the foot combat from the late fifteenth century to the early sixteenth century.
Trapper:	a textile or leather cover for a horse leaving only the eyes and nose uncovered.
Vambrace:	armour designed for the lower arm.
Vamplate:	a circular plate of steel set in front of the grip of a lance to protect the hand.
Visor:	a hinged piece of steel that contained openings for breathing and vision.

Appendix 3: Tournament Chronology

Edward III 1327-1377

- 1328 (May) Tournament held at London for the entry of Queen Philippa of Hainault.
- 1328 (June) Hereford tournament for the Mortimer family marriage.
- 1329 (March) Guildford Shrovetide tournament.
- 1329 (June) Amiens tournament, Edward's homage to Philip.
- 1329 (October) Dunstable tournament.
- 1330 (July) Woodstock tournament.
- 1330 (June) Stepney tournament for the birth of Prince Edward.
- 1331 (May) Dartford tournament held for Edward's return from France.
- 1331 (September) Cheapside tournament.
- 1332 (July) Woodstock churching of Queen Philippa.
- 1334 (January) Dunstable tournament.
- 1334 (May) Burstwick tournament.
- 1334 (December) Royburgh tournament.
- 1334 (January) Dunstable tournament.
- 1334 (June) Woodstock tournament.
- 1334 (July) Nottingham tournament.
- 1334 (all before September) Guilford, Westminster and Smithfield tournaments.
- 1337 Christmas festivities.
- 1338 (December) Tournament held at Antwerp for the churching of Queen Philippa.
- 1339 (November) Brussels tournament.
- 1340 (April) Windsor Easter grand tournament.
- 1340 (October) Ghent truce of Esplechin tournament.
- 1341 (February) Norwich Shrovetide tournament.
- 1341 (February) Langley knighting ceremony.
- 1341 (June) Langley tournament for the churching of Queen Philippa.
- 1341 Melrose tournament.
- 1342 (February) Shrovetide Dunstable tournament Edward III fought in disguise.
- 1342 (April) Northampton tournament.
- 1342 (May) Eltham tournament for the visit of William IV of Hainault.
- 1343 (June) Smithfield midsummer Pope and Cardinals joust.
- 1344 (January) Windsor Round Table tournament.
- 1348 (February) Reading tournament.
- 1348 (February) Bury St Edmunds tournament.
- 1348 (April) Lichfield josted materials issued for the king to wear.
- 1348 (June) Windsor tournament churching of Queen Philippa.
- 1348 (July) Canterbury tournament.
- 1349 (April) Windsor tournament on St George's Day, Garter assembly.
- 1350 Norwich tournament.
- 1351 Bristol tournament.
- 1352 Combat between Otto of Brunswick and Henry, Duke of Lancaster.

- 1353 Christmas Eltham tournament, including Edward the Black Prince and others.
- 1355 (February) Woodstock tournament held following the churching of Queen Philippa.
- 1357 (May) Smithfield tournament.
- 1358 (April) Windsor tournament St George's Day, Garter assembly.
- 1359 Smithfield tournament.
- 1361 (April) Windsor tournament St George's Day, Garter assembly.
- 1363 (November) Smithfield tournament, kings of France, Cyprus and Scotland.
- 1372 (January) Cheapside tournament.
- 1375 Alice Perrers riding as 'Lady of the Sun' to Cheapside Smithfield tournament.

Richard II 1377-1399

- 1377 Tournament held as part of the celebrations for Richard II's coronation.
- 1380 Combat between John Annesley and Thomas Katrington.
- 1381 Henry Bolingbroke's first joust.
- 1382 (January) Westminster, Anne's coronation Henry Bolingbroke showed his jousting abilities in his first tournament.
- 1382 Hereford May Day joust, Henry Bolingbroke impresses.
- 1384 (November) Westminster joust between John Walsh and Navarrese opponent Martigoin.
- 1385 Westminster tournament.
- 1386 (March) Smithfield tournament where Henry Bolingbroke was shown as the best jouter.
- 1387 Sir Reginald de Roye competed in à outrance against Sir John Holland.
- 1388 (December) Eltham tournament as part of the Christmas festivities.
- 1389 (December) John Hasting Earl of Pembroke killed at a joust held at Woodstock Palace.
- 1390 (May) David Lindsay and John Welles jousted.
- 1390 (May) St Inglevert jousted
- 1390 Windsor tournament.
- 1390 (July) Kennington tournament, Henry Bolingbroke took part.
- 1390 (October) Waltham tournament, Henry Bolingbroke took part.
- 1390 (October) Smithfield tournament - rivalled the jousts put on by Charles of France for Isabella's entry, where Henry Bolingbroke took part.
- 1391 (December) Tournament as part of the Christmas festivities at Hertford.
- 1393 Scottish and English knights jousted.
- 1393 Earl of Mar Challenged the Earl of Nottingham to a joust.
- 1393 (December) Christmas festivities Hertford.
- 1395 (December) Christmas festivities Hertford.
- 1397 (January) Annual tournament for the Hertford festivities.
- 1397 Isabella's coronation tournament.
- 1398 (April) London Bridge, the Earl of Crawford jousted à outrance against Lord Scales.
- 1398 Smithfield joust at all comers bearing the device of a white falcon.

- 1398 Coventry duel between dukes Henry of Lancaster and Thomas Mowbray, the first of its kind in England.
- 1398 Lichfield jousts.
- 1399 (April) St George's day, last tournament of Richard's reign held at Windsor.

Henry IV 1399-1413

- 1400 (January) Plot to kill Henry IV at Windsor Castle twelfth night tournament.
- 1400 John Cornwaille awarded hand of Henry's sister for efforts in the joust.
- 1401 (January) Jousts held for the Emperor's visit.
- 1401 Seven deadly sins tournament.
- 1401 Westminster Hall joust for Princess Blanche's marriage arrangement.
- 1401 Joust at Eltham.
- 1403 (February) Queen Joanna's coronation jousts by Richard Beauchamp the Earl of Warwick at Westminster.
- 1406 Smithfield jousts with knights bearing a silver griffin.
- 1408 Richard Beauchamp combat against a Veronese knight.
- 1409(July) Smithfield tournament Garter knights and seneschal of Hainault.
- 1409 Jousts at Smithfield between two esquires Gloucester and Arthur.
- 1410 Henry's son Thomas of Lancaster accepts a Challenge à outrance against Jean de Clermont.
- 1412 (April) Planned combat between Sir Richard Arundel and Sir John Cronewall.

Henry V 1413-1422

- 1418 Jousts and tourney with the Earl of Arundel and the Bastard of Sent Pole.

Henry VI 1422-1461, 1470- 1471

- 1430 (January) Smithfield John Upton and John Downe
- 1431 (December) Paris joust to celebrate the coronation of Henry VI as king of France.
- 1440 (November) Spanish knight arrived to joust with Richard Woodville.
- 1442 (January) Smithfield joust between Sir Phillip la Beaufe of Aragon and John Ansley.
- 1445 (May) Westminster Margret of Anjou coronation jousts.
- 1446 (January) Smithfield joust between John David and William Catur.
- 1458 (March) Anthony Woodville held jousts following the reconciliation between Henry VI and the Earl of Warwick.
- 1458 (Whitsun week) Duke of Somerset and Anthony Woodville joust before the Queen at the Tower of London and again at Greenwich.

Edward IV 1461-1470, 1471-1483

- 1461 Louis de Gruthuyse and Ralph Grey joust.
- 1463 Jousts to entertain Henry Beaufort Duke of Somerset.

- 1465 (March) Tournament held at the coronation of Elizabeth Woodville.
- 1467 (April) Eltham tourney, King Edward competes.
- 1467 (June) Smithfield tournament between the Bastard of Burgundy and Anthony Woodville followed by jousts between the English and Burgundian knights.
- 1478 (January) Westminster tournament for the marriage celebrations of Richard Duke of York and Anne Mowbray.

Henry VII 1485- 1509

- 1485 (November) Henry's coronation jousts palace of Westminster.
- 1486 (between June and September) jousting took place.
- 1487 (November) Coronation jousts for Queen Elizabeth palace of Westminster.
- 1489 (November) Creation of Arthur Prince of Wales, mock battle at London.
- 1492 (May) Sheen jousts, Sir James Parker was slain by Hugh Vaughan.
- 1494 (November) Tournament at Westminster as Henry is made the Duke of York.
- 1501 (May) Tournament at the Tower of London
- 1501(November) Tournament held as part of the welcoming of Catherine of Aragon into England and marriage celebrations to Arthur Prince of Wales.
- 1502 (January) Richmond tournament for the betrothal of Princess Margaret to James IV of Scotland.
- 1502 A joust was held at the Tower of London.
- 1505 (July) Richmond jousts.
- 1506 (February) Jousts were held for the visit of the Archduke Phillip and the betrothal of Princess Mary.
- 1507 (April) St George's Day at Carew Castle jousts and feasts.
- 1507 (May) Kennington jousted with Charles Brandon, William Hussy, Thomas Knyvet and Giles Capel in honour of Princess Mary.
- 1508 (June) Greenwich jousts with the king present.

Henry VIII 1509-1547

- 1509 (June) Henry's coronation jousts at Westminster Palace.
- 1509(August) Running at the ring for the Spanish ambassadors at Westminster.
- 1509 (January) Henry, in disguise, tilted in public for the first time against William Compton at Richmond.
- 1510 (March) Running at the ring.
- 1510 (May) Feast of Pentecost Challenge of all corners at Greenwich.
- 1510 (May and June) Joust for Maying festival at Greenwich.
- 1510 (Summer) king's progress at Windsor including jousts and tourneys.
- 1510 (October) Foot combats at Greenwich.
- 1510 (November) Richmond tourney with the king, Brandon and Compton.
- 1511 (February) Westminster tournament to celebrate the birth of Henry's first son.
- 1511(May) Jousts at the king's manor at Greenwich.
- 1511 (May) Jousts with the king and the Earl of Essex.
- 1512 (January) Assault on mock castle 'Le Fortresse Dangerus' at Greenwich.
- 1513 (June) Greenwich joust with fountain pageant and the Dolorous Castle.

- 1513 (September) Jousts to celebrate military campaign in France at St Omers.
- 1513 (October) Jousts to celebrate defeat of Tournai.
- 1514 (May) Charles Brandon and Henry jousted disguised as hermits.
- 1515 (February) Joust with the marquis of Dorset at Greenwich.
- 1515 (April) Joust of pleasure at Richmond.
- 1516 (January) Running at the ring with Brandon and nine others.
- 1516 (February) Running at the ring at Greenwich.
- 1516 (May) Shooters Hill May Day joust.
- 1516 (May) Joust in honour of Henry's sister Margaret Tudor.
- 1516 Joust for the birth of Princess Mary.
- 1516 (July) Joust of honour at Greenwich with the king, Brandon, Essex and Carew.
- 1517 (May) May Day jousts, Henry and Brandon duelled as Hector and Achilles.
- 1517 (June) Jousts to entertain the Flemish ambassadors and Charles V at which Nicholas Carew was dressed as the Blue knight.
- 1517 (July) Joust at Greenwich with fourteen knights and gentlemen.
- 1518 (October) Jousts to celebrate the Treaty of Universal Peace and to entertain the French ambassadors at Greenwich.
- 1519 (March) Jousts to entertain the French hostages.
- 1519 (October) Jousts for Earl of Devonshire's wedding at Greenwich.
- 1520 (February) Jousts for Shrovetide at Greenwich.
- 1520 (June) Jousts, tourneys and foot combats at the Field of Cloth of Gold.
- 1521(February) Jousts and tourney at Greenwich with the Earl of Devonshire.
- 1522 (March) Jousts to entertain the Imperial ambassadors at Greenwich.
- 1522 (May) Jousts to entertain Charles V at Greenwich.
- 1524 (March) Henry suffers an accident in a joust against Brandon.
- 1524 (December) Greenwich Castle of Loyalty tournament, Henry and Brandon dress up as two ancient men.
- 1526 (February) Greenwich tournament in which Sir Francis Bryan loses an eye.
- 1526 (December) Greenwich Christmas festivities joust.
- 1527 (February) Shrovetide jousts.
- 1527 (May) Greenwich, the French envoys were entertained.
- 1527 (November) Jousts to entertain the French delegation and to celebrate Henry's investiture of the Order of St Michael at Greenwich.
- 1528 (December) Jousts and tourney to entertain Papal legates at Greenwich.
- 1530 (December) Christmas jousts at Greenwich.
- 1533 (June) Jousts for Anne Boleyn's coronation held at the new tiltyard at Whitehall Palace.
- 1536 (May) Greenwich joust before Anne Boleyn's arrest.
- 1540 (January) Jousts for Anne of Cleves' arrival.
- 1540 (May) Whitehall jousts against Henry's new favourite challenger Thomas Culpeper.

Appendix 4: Surviving score cheques

Repositories	References	Tournaments
College of Arms	MS M. 3	1501, 14 November tilting and running at large, marriage festivals of Prince Arthur and Catherine of Aragon.
College of Arms	Box 37- collection of Score Cheques SC. Tilt, 4v 8 SC. Tilt, 4v 13	1511, 12 and 13 February Westminster tournament, earliest original examples of this class still surviving.
Bodleian	Ashmole MS. 1116 f109r-110v	1511 Westminster Tournament copy of the cheque in the College of Arms.
College of Arms	Box 37 SC. Tilt 4v 12	1516, 19 May tournament held to celebrate the visit of Henry VIII's sister Margaret Queen of Scots.
British Library	Harley MS. 69, f16v	1516, 20 May, second day of the tournament.
Society of Antiquaries	Heraldic MS no. 135	1520 June Field of Cloth of Gold an emblazoned original of the French and English knights jousting scores.
College of Arms	Box 37 Tilting list, 6v 46	1540 1 May tournament held on May Day involving tilts, tourneys and foot combats over the barrier. The last tournament that Henry VIII was known to have held.

Appendix 5: **Battles in the Wars of the Roses**

Year	Date	Event
1455	22 May	First Battle of St Albans
1459	23 September 12 October	Battle of Blore Heath Battle of Ludford Bridge
1460	10 July 30 December	Battle of Northampton Battle of Wakefield
1461	2 February 17 February	Battle of Mortimer's Cross Second Battle of St Albans
	28 March 29 March	Battle of Ferrybridge Battle of Towton
1464	25 April 15 May	Battle of Hedgeley Moor Battle of Hexham
1469	26 July	Battle of Edgecote Moor
1470	12 March	Battle of Losecote Field
1471	14 April 4 May	Battle of Barnet Battle of Tewkesbury
1485	22 August	Battle of Bosworth Field
1487	16 June	Battle of Stoke Field

Appendix 6: Installation of the Order the Garter in the reign of Edward IV

Knights of the Garter made by Edward IV	Date of Installation
George Plantagenet, first Duke of Clarence	1461
William Chamberlaine	1461
John Tiptoft, first Earl of Worcester	1462
William Hastings, first Baron Hastings	1462
John Nevill, first Baron Montagu	1462
William Herbert, first Baron Herbert	1462
John Astley	1462
Ferdinand I, King of Naples	1463
Galeard de Durefort, Seigneur de Duras	1463
John Scrope, fifth Baron Scrope of Bolton	1463
Francesco Sforza, Duke of Milan	1463
James Douglas, ninth Earl of Douglas	1463
Robert Harcourt	1463
Richard, Duke of Gloucester	1466
Anthony Woodville, Baron Scales	1466
Charles, Duke of Burgundy	1470
William FitzAlan, sixteenth Earl of Arundel	1472
John de Mowbray, fourth Duke of Norfolk	1472
John Stafford, first Earl of Wiltshire	1472

Walter Devereux, seventh Barron Ferrers of Chartley	1472
Walter Blount, first Baron Mountjoy	1472
John Howard, first Baron Howard	1472
John de la Pole, second Duke of Suffolk	1473
Thomas Fitzalan, Baron Maltravers	1474
William Parr, first Baron Parr of Kendal	1474
Henry Stafford, second Duke of Buckingham	1474
Federico da Montefeltro, Duke of Urbino	1474
Henry Percy, fourth Earl of Northumberland	1474
Edward, Prince of Wales	1475
Richard Shrewsbury, first Duke of York	1475
Thomas Grey, first Marquess of Dorset	1476
Thomas Montgomery	1476
Ferdinand II, King of Aragon and Castile	1480
Hercules d'Este, Duke of Modena and Ferrara	1480
John II, King of Portugal	1482

Appendix 7: Installation of the Order of Garter in the reign of Henry VIII

Knights of the Garter made by Henry VIII	Date of Installation
Thomas Darcy, first Baron Darcy	1509
Edward Sutton, second Baron Dudley	1509
Thomas Howard	1510
Henry Marney	1510
Thomas West, eighth Baron de La Warr	1510
George Neville	1513
Edward Howard	(died before installation)
Charles Brandon	1513
Edward Stanley	1514
Thomas Dacre, second Baron Dacre	1518
Henry Courtenay, tenth Earl of Devon	1521
Ferdinand I, Holy Roman Emperor	1522
Richard Wingfield	1522
Thomas Boleyn	1523
Walter Devereux, ninth Baron Ferrers	1523
Arthur Plantagenet, first Viscount Lisle	1524
Robert Radcliffe, tenth Lord FitzWalter	1524
William FitzAlan, eighteenth Earl of Arundel	1525

Thomas Manners, fourteenth Baron de Ros	1525
Henry Fitzroy	1525
Ralph Neville, fourth Earl of Westmorland	1525
William Blount, fourth Baron Mountjoy	1526
William Fitzwilliam	1526
Henry Guildford	1526
Francis I	1527
John de Vere, fifteenth Earl of Oxford	1527
Henry Percy, sixth Earl of Northumberland	1531
Anne de Montmorency, Duc de Montmorency	1532
Phillip de Chabot, Comte de Neublance	1532
James V	1535
Nicholas Carew	1536
Henry Clifford, first Earl of Cumberland	1537
Thomas Cromwell, first Baron Cromwell	1537
John Russell, first Baron Russell	1539
Thomas Cheney	1539
William Kingston	1539
Thomas Audley, first Baron Audley of Walden	1540
Anthony Browne	1540
Edward Seymour, first Earl of Hertford	1541

Sir John Gage	1541
Anthony Wingfield	1541
John Dudley, seventh Viscount Lisle	1543
William Paulet, first Baron St John	1543
William Parr, first Baron Parr	1543
Henry FitzAlan, nineteenth Earl of Arundel	1544
Anthony St Leger	1544
Francis Talbot, fifth Earl of Shrewsbury	1545
Thomas Wriothesley, first Baron of Wriothesley	1545