
A Book of Tournaments and Parades from Nuremberg

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In 1922 the Metropolitan Museum acquired a fine late sixteenth- to mid-seventeenth-century German tournament book (*Turnierbuch*).¹ Not much is known about the manuscript's earlier history except that it came from the collection of Frédéric Spitzer (1815–1890) and, while in his possession, appears to have been shown in Paris at the Musée Historique du Costume at the fourth exhibition of the Union Centrale des Beaux-Arts Appliqués à l'Industrie in 1874.²

At present the manuscript consists of a total of 112 double-sided leaves of paper, including two leaves for a frontispiece and endpaper, and a body of 220 pages.³ Although often referred to as a tournament book, the Museum's manuscript is actually a compilation of five individual parts, with a total of 126 full-page illustrations in watercolor recording tournaments and parades held in Nuremberg from the mid-fifteenth to the mid-seventeenth century, accompanied by three additional pages of explanatory texts. According to recent examination undertaken in the Metropolitan's Department of Paper Conservation, the paper comes from three different batches, each bearing a slight variation of a watermark in the shape of the city arms of Nuremberg: *per pale, dexter, Or a dimittiated imperial Eagle Sable langued Gules, beaked and armed Or, sinister, bendy of 6, Argent and Gules* (divided vertically, in the first field in gold a halved black eagle with golden beak and claws and a red tongue, the second with six diagonal stripes of alternately silver and red).⁴ The watercolor illustrations use a variety of pigments, some metallic and all typical for the period; most were applied rather opaquely and have preserved a strong vibrancy. The underdrawing and text were mainly executed in pen and brown ink.

The first three sections of the volume are copied from older sources and depict participants in tournaments held

in Nuremberg between 1446 and 1561, as well as a costumed parade for a carousel that must have taken place in the late sixteenth century.⁵ The fourth section presents designs for extravagantly fanciful pageant sleighs, while the fifth is a record of an actual sleigh parade held in the winter of 1640. The three batches of paper, together with subtle differences in the style and execution of the illustrations and text, indicate that the various sections of this manuscript were produced either at slightly different times or, more likely, over a period of time, probably by a main artist and at least one additional hand. Nonetheless, all sections of the manuscript appear to have been bound into their present form at the same time. Although more reminiscent of Italian examples from that period, the manuscript's blind and gold tooled leather binding (Figure 1) is probably original, dating from the late sixteenth to the mid-seventeenth century.⁶



Figure 1. *Turnierbuch* (Tournament Book). Nuremberg, mid-17th century. 220 pages, including 126 full-page watercolor illustrations, from three batches of paper, in a blind and gold tooled leather binding (shown here). Cover: 10³/₈ x 14¹/₈ in. (26.3 x 36 cm), pages: each ca. 9⁷/₈ x 13⁵/₈ in. (25 x 34.5 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1922 (22.229)



Figure 2. Michael Wolgemut (1434–1519), Wilhelm Pleydenwurff (ca. 1460–1494), and workshop. *The City of Nuremberg*. Hartmann Schedel, *Weltchronik* (Chronicle of the World, or the Nuremberg Chronicle; Nuremberg, 1493). Woodcut, 18½ x 13¼ in. (47 x 33.5 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, transferred from the Library (21.36.145)

Tournaments were the most lavish and exciting spectator sport of the Middle Ages. Participation was reserved for knights, and in time it became a jealously guarded privilege to be considered *turnierfähig*, or a member of a noble family that could prove to have participated in tournaments for generations. Lists of participants and score records were kept by heralds, the professional organizers and masters of ceremonies of tournaments.

After the invention of the printing press, these tournament documents became available in print. Family pride led members to excerpt these official records and adapt them for their libraries, commissioning luxuriously illuminated manuscript volumes. For both the nobility and the city-dwelling patricians these manuscripts played an important role as part of the memorial culture (*Erinnerungskultur*) of individual families within the context of their surrounding society. Codifying legends, oral tradition, and personal research as family history, they served to legitimize a family's social status and social aspirations.⁷ There is good reason to believe that the Metropolitan Museum's tournament book is just such a family edition, because the caption to Plate 43 points out that the second prize in a 1446 tournament was awarded to Berthold Volckamer, without even bothering to mention who won the first prize. This theory is further supported by the fact that Berthold Volckamer apparently placed such importance on his victory that, according to a period document, he had the tournament commemorated in a fresco painted in the "great chamber" of his house. The fresco survived for generations and appears to have left a

considerable impression on fellow Nuremberg patricians. Nearly two centuries later the same subject was even selected to decorate the interior of Nuremberg's newly built city hall.⁸

Being a knight carried great prestige (indeed, almost a mystique). The code of chivalry created an elite class culture with its own rules of conduct and its own art forms. Among architectural structures a knight's castle is still seen as the most romantic of buildings; in decorative arts heraldry made the coat of arms a distinguishing mark of the prestige of nobility; and the knightly class culture brought forth an entire branch of literature, the romances of chivalry, which celebrated the Knights of the Round Table and their pursuit of the loftiest of spiritual goals in the Quest of the Holy Grail. These ideas and ideals were united in the glittering art form and spectacle of the tournament.

Originally a knight held the land that supported him and his men-at-arms as a fief from an overlord, in exchange for military service. The rise of cities with their money-based manufacturing and merchandising enterprises gradually eroded the agrarian-based economy of the feudal system, only too often leaving a knight with not much more than an old and proud coat of arms on the wall of his great hall, sadly in need of repairs.

The mystique of chivalry proved irresistible, nonetheless, to the upper strata of the city burghers, who strove to become nobility and participate in their events, many of which they could witness on a regular basis: tournaments were usually held in or near large towns and cities, which could furnish the food, drink, lodgings, and stables needed for the sizable gatherings. As relative newcomers, however, patricians were rarely welcome in prestigious "world league" tournaments organized by *Turniergesellschaften* (tournament societies), some of which were formed as early as the fourteenth century in order to forestall just this kind of intrusion by the nouveaux riches. In consequence, this new urban nobility had to organize their own tournaments, and they did so with gusto in their civic squares.⁹

In the Holy Roman Empire, which covered not only what is now Germany, Austria, Czechia, Belgium, the Netherlands, Luxembourg, and Switzerland but also parts of Poland, France, and northern Italy, there were several hundred *reichsfreie Städte*, or city-states with no allegiance to any overlord except the emperor himself. In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries the most important of these flourishing free cities in southern Germany were Nuremberg (see Figure 2) and Augsburg, both centers of commerce and industry. Nuremberg's wealth was such that a well-traveled Italian cardinal wryly remarked after a visit to southern Germany, "The kings of Scotland would wish to live like moderately well-to-do burghers of Nuremberg!"¹⁰ Naturally, this high standard of living created considerable civic pride, and Nuremberg's patrician families, whose ranks also provided the members of the city government, saw to it that



public festivals were held on a regular basis, both for the greater glory of the city and for the profits generated by these tourist attractions.

The most prestigious of these events were *Gesellenstechen*, jousts held in the market square and performed by junior members of the patrician families.¹¹ In order to moderate the expenses for the participants, the Worshipful City Council kept a number of jousting armors in the *Zeughaus*, the city armory or arsenal, to be rented out to the jousters; they, in turn, had to supply all the other paraphernalia, such as horse trappings, fancy crests, and costumed attendants, at their own expense. Seven of these armors are still in the Germanisches Nationalmuseum in Nuremberg; an eighth is now in the Higgins Armory Museum, Worcester, Massachusetts (see Figure 5).

In Germany, tournaments fought between two single combatants on horseback, as exemplified by the participants illustrated in this manuscript, were classified as either a *Gesteck* (joust of peace, or joust à *plaisir*) or a *Rennen* (joust of war, or joust à *outrance*). They were distinguished by the type of lance used: blunted with a three- or four-pronged head (the coronel) for the *Gesteck* and sharp lances with pointed heads or lances similar to those used in war (but not quite as sharp) for the *Rennen* (Figures 3, 4).

The origins of specialized armor for the tournament (where safety was more of a concern than mobility), such as the *Stechzeug* (Figure 5) and the *Rennzeug*, can be traced back to the fourteenth century. The head defense of a



Figure 3. Hans Burgkmair the Elder (1473–1531). Jousters Armed for the German *Gesteck*. *The Triumph of Maximilian I* (Augsburg, ca. 1515), pl. 46. Woodcut. Photograph: Appelbaum 1964, pl. 46

Figure 4. Hans Burgkmair the Elder. Jousters Armed for the *Schweifrennen*. *The Triumph of Maximilian I*, (Augsburg, ca. 1515), pl. 55. Woodcut. Photograph: Appelbaum 1964, pl. 55

Figure 5. Valentin Siebenbürger (1510–1564), and others. *Stechzeug* (armor for the joust of peace). Nuremberg, ca. 1480–1540. Steel, leather, and copper alloy; as mounted, h. 29¾ in. (75.5 cm), wt. 60 lb. 5 oz. (27.36 kg). Higgins Armory Museum, Worcester, Massachusetts (2580.a–l)

Figure 6. *Stechhelm* (helmet for a *Stechzeug*). Probably Nuremberg, ca. 1500. Steel and copper alloy, 18 x 11 in. (45.5 x 28 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Bashford Dean Memorial Collection, Gift of Edward S. Harkness, 1929 (29.156.67a)



Figure 7. Targe (horseman's shield). Probably Austria, ca. 1400–1425. Wood, leather, gesso, silver foil, polychromy; 26¾ x 21¼ in. (67.9 x 50.9 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of Clarence H. Mackay, 1930 (30.101)



Stechzeug was the *Stechhelm* (called somewhat irreverently a “frog-mouthed helmet” by Victorian antiquarians). Resting firmly on the shoulders of the jouster, the *Stechhelm* (Figure 6) was buckled or bolted to the breast- and backplate of the cuirass. This rigidity, together with the helmet's thickly padded lining that firmly enclosed the jouster's head, was designed to minimize whiplash.

From about 1420 to about 1450 it was fashionable, mainly in German-speaking regions, to wear breastplates that displayed a distinctly angular and boxed outline; when this vogue disappeared after the middle of the fifteenth century, breastplates of the *Stechzeug* took on an asymmetrical shape, with a rounded left side but retaining a boxed right side. The large and heavy jousting lance was supported by a sturdy hook, the lance rest, which was riveted to the boxed right side. The butt end of the lance was held in position by the *queue*, a long counterhook extending to the rear behind the right shoulder of the jouster. With the lance thus fixed in position and his head totally immobilized inside his *Stechhelm*, the jouster had to aim his lance by swiveling his entire upper body from the hips.

For maximum safety, the frontal plates of jousting armor were more than double the thickness of battle armor. Thus, the front plate of a *Stechhelm* was about one-half-inch thick, and an entire *Stechzeug* might weigh as much as ninety pounds. In order to reduce the overall weight, armor for less-exposed parts, such as backplates, was whittled down to not much more than sturdy braces, and jousters in the *Gesteck* wore no leg defenses of metal. Instead, they tucked legs and knees under a big bumper cushion (a *Stechkissen*, or *Stechsack*) tied around the horse's shoulders. Because of the weight and restricted range of motion imposed by this particular type of tournament armor, it was not unusual for a knight in *Stechzeug* to use a short stepladder when mounting his horse (or to don the heaviest part of his outfit, the *Stechhelm*, when already seated in the saddle). Contrary to a common misconception, it would have been out of the question to hoist a knight into his saddle. Not only was such a practice unnecessary, but any man-at-arms, especially a knight, would certainly have regarded the mere suggestion as utterly undignified.¹²

Although the shield had become all but obsolete in battle by about 1400 (owing to the gradual introduction of plate armor for the entire body), it continued to be vitally important equipment for the formal tournament, where safety mattered more than mobility. It had to cover the vulnerable left armpit, where an opponent's lance might slip through and break the arm.

Tournament shields for the *Gesteck*, called *targes* (see Figure 7), were more or less square: there was no need for the lower point, meant to protect the knee, that was found on older battle shields, since it was considered unsporting



Figure 8. Attributed to Kolman Helmschmid (1471–1532). *Rennhut* (helmet for the joust of peace) of Louis II, king of Hungary and Bohemia. Augsburg, ca. 1525. Etched and gilt steel, 10 x 15 in. (25.3 x 38 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Bashford Dean Memorial Collection, Gift of Mr. and Mrs. Alexander McMillan Welch, 1929 (29.153.1)



Figure 9. Matthes Deutsch (recorded 1485–1505). Vamplate for the *Scharfrennen*. Landshut, ca. 1490. Steel, 16 $\frac{3}{8}$ x 11 $\frac{3}{8}$ in. (41.5 x 28.9 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of William H. Riggs, 1913 (14.25.756)

to hit below the belt. Targes usually had a cutout, the *bouche*, in the upper dexter (right) corner to serve as an additional support for the lance. As a safety feature targes were concavely curved, in order to contain the point of the opponent's lance and make it snap.

Unlike the joust with blunted lances—which was universally popular throughout Europe—the joust with sharp lances, the *Rennen*, was almost exclusively limited to countries east of the Rhine. The *Rennzeug*, the equipment used in the *Rennen*, was based on the field armor of German light horsemen of the late fifteenth century. It differed from the *Stechzeug* mainly in its type of helmet, the *Rennhut* (Figure 8). Instead of a targe held by the left arm, a *Rennzeug* had the

Renntartsche (later called a *grandguard* in English), a special defense shaped anatomically to cover the left shoulder as well as the left side of the chest and chin up to the vision slit of the *Rennhut* (see Figure 4). The pointed lance was set into the same combination of lance rest and queue as in the *Gesteck*, but it also had an oversize handguard, the *vamplate*, that fitted with its straight side against the *Renntartsche* to form a solid defense for the upper body from shoulder to shoulder (see Figure 9). Again, because of its weight, *Rennen* armor usually did not have leg defenses. To cover and protect the thighs and knees in accidental collisions, shell-shaped steel elements, *Dilgen*, were attached to the saddle.

SECTION I

After *The Triumph of Maximilian I*
Plates 1–16 (on pages 135–37)

Title page (manuscript page 3; Figure 10)

*Hereafter are following, dedicated to the Most
Worshipful memory of the late Most Illustrious
and Great Mightiest Prince and Lord, Maximilian
First of his Name, Holy Roman Emperor, etc.,
sundry knightly games that were in part invented
and regulated by His Majesty himself and every
so often made use of by His Majesty for pastime
and entertainment.*

The introductory title of the first section of the manuscript refers to Emperor Maximilian I (r. 1493–1519), also known as *der letzte Ritter* (the Last of the Knights), who as a tournament enthusiast codified the various types of tournaments and set the standards for proper equipment. His achievements were celebrated in the monumental early sixteenth-century woodcut series *The Triumph of Maximilian I* (see Figures 3, 4). The *Triumph* was originally intended to comprise more than two hundred images, the designs for which were sketched by the court artist Jörg Kölderer from Innsbruck in the Tyrol, but only 137 individual plates were completed. The execution of this ambitious project was entrusted to the best graphic artists of Maximilian's time: Albrecht Dürer (1471–1528) and his pupils Hans Schäufelein (ca. 1480–1540) and Hans Springinklee (ca. 1490/95–ca. 1540) from Nuremberg, Hans Burgkmair (1473–1531) and Leonhard Beck (ca. 1480–1542) from Augsburg, Albrecht

Figure 10. Title page for
Section I of the *Turnierbuch*
(Figure 1, manuscript page 3)



Altdorfer (ca. 1480–1538) from Regensburg, and Wolf Huber (ca. 1485–1553) from Passau.

The most famous section of the *Triumph* is by Burgkmair and represents “knights” on parade equipped for the various types of tournament. In the descriptive text for the cycle, dictated in 1512 by the emperor himself to his secretary, Marx Treytzsaurwein, eighteen different kinds of equipment are mentioned, but only fifteen of them came to be published as woodcuts. The unfinished project was abandoned at the death of the emperor, in 1519.

In spite of the incomplete state of the series, these woodcuts instantly became textbook examples of how a knight should be properly attired for various types of the tournament. The first section of the Metropolitan Museum's tournament book is an adaptation of the authoritative *Triumph*. In comparing the illustrations of the manuscript with the woodcuts, however, it is easy to see that the illuminator did not work directly from Burgkmair's prints. In the *Triumph* woodcuts the figures are parading from left to right, five abreast, while in the Museum's manuscript they proceed in the opposite direction, two by two. This difference and a number of misunderstood details in the tournament equipment leave no doubt that the illustrator was working from an adapted or later copy, perhaps even the copy of a copy. This first section of the tournament book is a piece of nostalgia. By the time it was painted, at the end of the sixteenth century, tournaments had not taken place in Nuremberg for nearly three generations, the last one having been held in 1561.

Plate 1 (manuscript page 5). Herr Anthoni von Yffan, Imperial Master of Tournaments

The first equestrian figure shows a man in full armor on a barded, or fully armored, horse, bearing an empty tablet on a pole (for which the page had to be extended with a fold-out). It is a reversed and simplified version of woodcut number 41 of the *Triumph*, representing the Imperial Master of Tournaments, Herr Anthoni von Yffan (actually Antonio de Caldonazo, baron of Ivano).¹³

In the original sketch for the woodcuts the tablet was inscribed with a praise of Maximilian's achievements in the field of tournaments:

Much of his time was nobly spent
In the true knightly tournament,
A source of valor and elation;
Therefore, upon his instigation,
With knightly spirit and bold heart
I have improved this fighting art.¹⁴

In the woodcut, however, the tablet was left blank. In manuscript copies the empty tablets were retained, perhaps to provide space for the name of the book's owner.

The copyist, who reversed the image, has omitted the knight's sword.

Plate 2 (manuscript page 7). *Herr Wolffganng von Polhaim, Renn Vnnd Stechmaister* (Herr Wolfgang von Polhaim, Master of *Rennen* and *Gestech*)

This knight in *Rennen* armor and bearing a banner (again requiring a foldout) is identified as Herr Wolfgang von Polhaim, master of *Rennen* and *Gestech*. In number 44 of the woodcut series, he carries a tablet on a pole that was to bear the inscription:

Always promoting new advances
In jousting with blunt and pointed lances,
Thanks to His Highness, I unfurled
Skills never seen in all the world.
These jousts in novel styles and ways
Have earned for me great fame and praise.

In a copy probably painted in 1553 in Augsburg by Hans Burgkmair the Younger (ca. 1500–1559), son of the chief artist of the woodcut series, the tablet has been exchanged for a banner showing the double-headed eagle of the Holy Roman Empire. This version became the model for the picture of Herr Wolfgang in the Museum's manuscript; the multiquartered shield on the eagle's breast displays the arms of Maximilian's grandson, Emperor Charles V, as king of Spain.

For greater ease during the parade, Herr Wolfgang has exchanged his *Rennhut* for a wreath of roses and has discarded his *Renntartsche* in favor of showing off his fashionably puffed and slashed sleeves. Unfortunately, the painter—working without firsthand knowledge of the real thing—has drawn the hook of the queue bent the wrong way.

Herr Wolfgang's charger has its eyes and ears covered by the caparison to prevent shying and bears a collar with bells to drown out the roaring of the crowd.

Plate 3 (manuscript page 9). *Das Torniern Zu Roß* (The Tourney on Horseback)

The first pair of participants is equipped for the *Feldturnier*, or *Freiturnier*, performed in basic battle armor in the open field, with two courses, as an approximation of actual battle conditions. The first course was a joust with lances; after these were broken, the combatants fought the second course with swords.

One of the distinguishing features of the *Freiturnier* was the fact that the equipment had to be changed and adapted between the two courses. While the large *grandguards* were essential during the joust, affording further protection for the left shoulder and the left side of the chest, neck, and

chin, the elements seriously restricted movement and had to be discarded before the sword fight.

When the painter of the Metropolitan Museum's tournament book reversed the direction in which the pairs are marching, it became apparent that he had no clear idea of how *grandguards* (which are only partially visible in the woodcut) would extend over the men's left sides. In this picture they cover only breast and chin, and leave a dangerous gap between chest and arm exposed. The reversal of the images also caused the painter to forget to provide each figure with the sword needed for the second course.

Plate 4 (manuscript page 11). *Der Turnier Zu fueß auff einem Saal* (Foot Combat Indoors in a Great Hall)

Not all tournaments were fought on horseback. Foot combat employed a variety of weapons: swords, spears, or poleaxes. As the caption for this picture indicates, foot combat was especially prized as a diverting floor show at banquets. Originally the combats were rather rough-and-tumble affairs, and thoughtful organizers had stalwart attendants with quarterstaffs standing by to pry the combatants apart before serious damage could be inflicted in the heat of the fight. By the mid-sixteenth century, foot combats had become more formalized, with a given and agreed-upon number of blows and/or thrusts to be exchanged, often delivered across a separating barrier.

In addition to the regular field armor shown here, there was specially designed foot-combat armor. In order to allow free and nimble footwork, it came in two basic shapes: either with a knee-length flaring steel skirt, the *tonlet*, or with cunningly fitted "tights" of steel that encased legs and hips so flexibly as to allow even rolling falls. The knee-length



Figure 11. Attributed to Konrad Seusenhofer (d. 1517). Tonlet. Innsbruck, ca. 1510–15. Etched steel with traces of gilding, wt. 12 lb. 14 oz. (5.48 kg). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of William H. Riggs, 1913 (14.25.790)



Figure 12. Attributed to Kolman Helmschmid (1471–1532). Backplate, vambraces (sleeves), and hoguine from a costume armor probably commissioned for Duke Jerzy Herkules Radziwill. Augsburg, ca. 1525. Embossed, etched, and gilt steel, as mounted, H. 27 in. (68.6 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, backplate with hoguine: Gift of Bashford Dean, 1924 (24.179); vambraces: Mrs. Stephen V. Harkness Fund, 1926 (26.188.1, 2)

tonlet (see Figure 11) was a direct transformation of the pleated coat or skirt often worn over armor. The “tights,” or *hoguine*-armor (see Figure 12), one of the best preserved examples of which is the foot combat armor of Henry VIII in the Tower of London, were a triumph of the armorer’s art, although Shakespeare whimsically and somewhat disrespectfully dubbed them “hog-in-armor.”

Plate 5 (manuscript page 13). *Das Rennen mit fest angezogenen Wultzen Unnd Krenntzen* (Rennen with Firmly Fixed Bolsters and Wreaths)

This *Rennen* armor consists of only a large anatomically shaped shield with eye slits that was secured to a body armor with lance rest and queue and a pair of shell-shaped *Dilgen* suspended from the saddle to cover the knees and thighs. This particular composition of armor had probably been improved on, if not actually invented, by Maximilian himself. It was named for the thickly padded bolster (*Wulst*) tied around the jousters’ brows as a shock absorber. These had to be tied or wrapped very tightly (*anziehen/angezogen*, in German), and the armor was therefore also called the *Anzogenrennen* (according to another theory the term may refer to the tightly fastened screws by which the grandguard was secured to the armor). The thrilling aspect of this course lay in the courting of very real danger by leaving the jousters’ heads without the protection of a helmet.

Again, the painter deviated from reality by making the shield too narrow, thus leaving the left shoulders unprotected, and by turning the hook of the queue the wrong way.

Plate 6 (manuscript page 15). *Das Schwaiff Rennen* (The Schweifrennen or Scharfrennen)

The most popular form of the *Rennen* was usually called the *Scharfrennen* for its use of sharp lances. Its alternate name, the *Schweifrennen* (from *Schweif*, or tail), refers to the rear hook or queue that held the lance in position. For special effect the shield could be attached to the body armor in such a way that it flew off when hit in the right spot. The helmet, a *Rennhut*, had a special shell-shaped brow reinforce, snapped on just above the eye slit. See also Figure 4.

The device on the striped trappings of the first knight’s charger is an old woman carrying a basket on her back. Above her is a scroll, inscribed “MERGRAGEN” (a backpack of tales).¹⁵ This device refers to the custom of having elderly but hardy women make the rounds of farms and villages carrying merchandise and, more important, local tidings and gossip. One of the small scrolls spilling out of the woman’s basket bears the words “NEV O” (News, Oh), which makes her a wryly sardonic embodiment of how fame is spread.

Plate 7 (manuscript page 17). *Das Bund Rennen* (The Bundrennen)

The armor for the *Bundrennen* differed from that for the *Schweifrennen* in its lack of a *bevor*, the element protecting the throat, chin, and lower face, underneath the detachable shield. Instead, there was an open H-shaped contraption of two curved bars connected by a brace that held the top of the shield at a safe distance from the jousting face by locking into the *Rennhut*. Because the *bevor* was missing, this type of joust was almost as dangerous as the *Anzogenrennen*.

Plate 8 (manuscript page 19). *Das Pfannen Rennen* (The Pfannenrennen)

The *Pfannenrennen* (from *Pfanne*, or pan) was so called for the skilletlike steel plate, about twelve inches square, that was bolted to a minimal harness of suspender straps.

This plate’s thick raised rim and deep parallel grooves were meant to catch the point of the lance, ensuring that the lance would snap and not slip off the “pan.” Understandably, Hans Burgkmair the Younger, in his copy of 1553, captions this course as “gar besorglich” (extremely dangerous).

Protocol insisted that for the *Pfannenrennen* an open coffin (no doubt as much for the titillation of the spectators as for practical purposes) should be placed in the tiltyard. There is, fortunately, no evidence that the *Pfannenrennen* was ever actually performed. Most likely, it was a purely theoretical example of utter daredevilry in the context of the *Triumph*.



Plate 5 (manuscript page 13). *Rennen* with Firmly Fixed Bolsters and Wreaths

The emblem of an owl perched on top of a heart tortured by flames was surely an amorous or sexual pun: *Auf*, an old name for the Eurasian eagle owl (*Bubo bubo*), is a homonym of *auf* (up).

Plate 9 (manuscript page 21). *Das Teutsch gemäin Gesteck* (The Common German Gesteck)

As its name implies, the common German joust was the kind most often performed. It was fought with blunted lances, and its armor, the *Stechzeug*—in contrast to foolhardy contraptions such as those used for the *Wulstrennen* or the *Pfannenrennen*—was designed for maximum safety.

The *Gesteck* was run in the open field, and in order to protect the horses in collisions thickly padded *Stechkissen*,

or U-shaped straw-stuffed bolsters, were hung around the horses' necks and shoulders. These bolsters served also as a protection for the tucked-under legs of the jousts and made leg armor superfluous. See Figure 5.

Plate 10 (manuscript page 23). *Das Welsch Rennen in den Armentin* (The Italian *Rennen* with *Armet* Helmets)

Italian-style armor for jousts with sharp lances was quite different from *Rennen* armor in Germany. (The obsolete term *Welsch* refers to speakers of Latin-derived languages, specifically Italian.) It consisted of full field armor with visored *armet* helmets and special reinforcing elements, such as a prow-shaped chin defense, the *bevor*, fixed to the top of the breastplate, and a targe to cover the left shoulder

and upper arm. The fixed bevor immobilized the head, and the jouster therefore had to swivel his entire body from the hips in order to aim his lance. The targe was attached to the left side of the breastplate; a steel disk in its center covered and protected the point of attachment. The lances had conical handguards (vamplates) and were much lighter than those for the German-style *Rennen*; they could be handled with ease, supported only by the lance rest. The queues shown here were mistakenly included by the painter.

Since the *Welschrennen* was fought across a separating barrier, it was necessary for the jouster to wear leg armor, in case his horse accidentally swerved against the plank.

Plate 11 (manuscript page 25). *Das Feldrennen [in] den Bund mit Stahlen gliegern* (The *Feldrennen* with Full Horse Armor of Steel)

The equipment for the *Feldrennen* was full field armor, including complete armor made from steel plates and mail for the horses (known as a *Gelieger*, or *bard* in English). As a reinforce, the *Renntartsche*, reaching up to the eye slit of the *Rennhut*, is attached to the breastplate by a system of braces with rollers that allow the targe to fly off when properly hit. The lances were of the same lighter type as those for the *Welschrennen* and did not require a queue, again erroneously added here by the painter.

Plate 12 (manuscript page 27). *Das gestech in dem hohen Zeuch* (The *Gestech* in High Saddles)

The *Hohenzeuggestech* was already an archaic type of joust in Maximilian's time. It was named for the tall saddle, which had only a thin elevated support, instead of a proper seat, that forced the jouster to stand in his stirrups. This *Hohenzeug* had a saddle bow that came up to the rider's abdomen and wide downward extensions to cover the unarmored legs. Since there was no comparable rear support, it required great skill and stamina to control one's horse and lance and not to become unseated. The saddle's frontal extensions usually also secured a chest defense for the horse,¹⁶ which took the same U-shape as the *Stechkissen* but had a stiff inner support frame of wood instead of straw padding.

Plate 13 (manuscript page 29). *Das Tartschen Geschift Rennen* (The *Rennen* with "Exploding" Targes)

The feature that distinguished the *Geschifttartschenrennen* from the *Feldrennen* (Plate 11) was its targe with a cover of steel segments, the *Geschifte*, held in position by a central knob and designed to fly away in all directions after a direct hit on the release. This created a spectacular special effect

but was also a rather oversophisticated and artificial refinement. It probably was one of Emperor Maximilian's inventions proudly mentioned in the introductory text panel of this section.

Plate 14 (manuscript page 31). *Das gestech in Bein Harnischen und ledern Decken* (The *Gestech* in Leg Armor and Leather Bards)

In the regular *Gemeine Gestech* the breast and shoulders of the horse, as well as the unarmored legs of the jouster, were protected against accidental collisions by the huge padded *Stechkissen* (Plate 9). In the archaic *Hohenzeuggestech* (Plate 12) the oversize saddle with protective extensions kept the jouster safe without the need for leg defenses.

In the *Gestech im Beinharnisch* leg armor was worn, and the horse was protected by a bard of stiff leather. This material, especially when it was hardened, afforded good protection but was lighter than steel plates.¹⁷ The round bosses on the *peytrel*, the chest defense of the horse, served as additional protection, a kind of bumper, in collisions.

Plate 15 (manuscript page 33). *Das Welsch Gestech Vber die Thillen* (The Italian *Gestech* over the Barrier)

In Germany jousts were usually performed in the open field, but in western Europe and Italy a barrier (*pallia*, or *till*) separated the jousters and kept them from colliding. This barrier was an effective safety device, but a swerving horse might crush the rider's leg against the planks; therefore, leg armor was essential for this type of joust. As in the *Welschrennen in den Armentin*, the term *Welsch* refers to the fact that this *Gestech* across the barrier was originally introduced from Italy (see Plate 10).

The crests of the jousters—a bishop's miter and a broken (ostrich?) egg—are presumably obscure Shrovetide jests, now incomprehensible to us. On the other hand, the blindfolded Cupid bound to a tree carries an obvious message.

Plate 16 (manuscript page 35). *Das geschifft Scheiben Rennen* (The *Rennen* with "Exploding" Disks)

The armor for the *Geschifttscheibenrennen* was the same as for the *Geschifttartschenrennen* (Plate 13), except for a small circular disk (*Scheibe*) in place of the more protective targe. If properly hit, the disk's segments flew apart, but if missed, there was danger that the opponent's lance would break an arm. For this reason Burgkmair the Younger again labeled this joust as "gar besorglich" (extremely dangerous).

The anchor on the striped trappings of the near horse was a symbol of steadfast hope.



Plate 1 (manuscript page 5)



Plate 2 (manuscript page 7)



Plate 3 (manuscript page 9)



Plate 4 (manuscript page 11)



Plate 5 (manuscript page 13)



Plate 6 (manuscript page 15)



Plate 7 (manuscript page 17)



Plate 8 (manuscript page 19)



Plate 9 (manuscript page 21)



Plate 10 (manuscript page 23)



Plate 11 (manuscript page 25)



Plate 12 (manuscript page 27)



Plate 13 (manuscript page 29)



Plate 14 (manuscript page 31)



Plate 15 (manuscript page 33)



Plate 16 (manuscript page 35)



SECTION II

Costumed Parade for a Carousel Course
Plates 17–36 (on pages 140–43)

The carousel course was an equestrian game of skill that developed from a practice exercise for joustiers-in-training: the running, or tilting, at the ring. In this drill a ring about two inches in diameter was suspended between two posts at eye level of a man on horseback, who was to spear it at a full gallop with a needle-pointed lance.

In Europe this nonviolent form of tournament survives today as an entertainment during folk festivals. In the United States it continues not only as the brass ring to be caught on the merry-go-round but also in its original form as the Joust at the Ring, which by law has been Maryland's state sport since 1962.

The Bohemian affinity of Plates 32–36, together with the crown and orb carried by the little girls, might refer to the fact that in 1423, under the threat of the Hussite rebellion, Emperor Sigismund, who was also king of Bohemia and Hungary, entrusted the empire's regalia to Nuremberg "for safekeeping in perpetuity." The regalia had been kept at

Karlstein, the castle south of Prague that had been built by Emperor Charles IV (r. 1346–78) specifically as a repository for the imperial crown. The regalia remained at Nuremberg until 1796, when, under the threat of invasion by Napoleon, they were removed to Vienna for greater safety. The empire itself was dissolved by Napoleon in 1806 and the regalia stayed in Vienna.

Plate 17 (manuscript page 44). Two horsemen in tall hats carry batons as umpires of the game: they are followed by a kettledrummer on horseback. The drums bear decorative skirts emblazoned with griffins.

Plate 18 (manuscript page 45). Two trumpeters on horseback, their trumpet banners emblazoned with griffins, are followed by three men on foot carrying slender carousel lances.

Plate 19 (manuscript page 46). Two horsemen carry lances, and a third appears to be the captain of the team.



Plate 20 (manuscript page 47). Two squires on horseback bear oval shields emblazoned with griffins, and a groom leads a white parade horse fancifully dyed with red.

Plate 21 (manuscript page 48). Two grooms lead saddled horses as remounts.

Plate 22 (manuscript page 49). A groom leads a saddled horse, and a page boy leads a saddled pony.

Plate 23 (manuscript page 50). Four men—three of them playing musical instruments—are costumed as Bajazzi from the Italian commedia dell'arte: they include a drummer, a shaker of rattles called “bones” (the “tongs and bones” that, in Shakespeare’s *Midsummer Night’s Dream*, Bottom wants to hear when he lies in Titania’s arms), and one playing a *Bumbass*, a homemade stringed instrument with a pig’s bladder as sound amplifier.¹⁸

Plate 24 (manuscript page 51). Two horsemen dressed as Venetian noblemen are followed by a mounted official in old-fashioned German garb carrying a baton of command.

Plate 25 (manuscript page 52). A fifer and a drummer wear the puffed-and-slashed costume of the *Landsknechte*, German mercenary infantrymen, and a young man is dressed as a dandy.

Plate 26 (manuscript page 53). Two horsemen are dressed as German noblemen. Above the bearded rider on the white horse, a faint inscription, “HENRY VIII,” has been penciled in by a later hand.

Plate 27 (manuscript page 54). A drummer boy on horseback is followed by two trumpeters on horseback. Their segmented hats, the skirts of the kettledrums, and the trumpet banners are striped rose, silver, and lavender. In Hans Weigel’s *Trachtenbuch* (Book of Costumes), published in



Figure 13. Jost Amman (1539–1591). *Nobilis anglvs* (English Gentleman), woodcut from Hans Weigel's *Trachtenbuch* (Book of Costumes; Nuremberg, 1577)



Figure 14. *Ein Bohemin von Prag* (A Bohemian Woman from Prague). Jost Amman, *Frauentrachtenbuch* (Book of Women's Costumes; Frankfurt am Main, 1586). Woodcut, 7 1/2 x 5 3/4 in. (19 x 14.5 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 1941 (41.138)

Nuremberg in 1577 (Figure 13), these segmented hats are attributed to Englishmen (perhaps explaining the later commentary on the previous plate).¹⁹

Plate 28 (manuscript page 55). Two horsemen carrying their lances at the ready are followed by three boys with quarter-staffs. All wear the "English" segmented hats in the team colors.

Plate 29 (manuscript page 56). Three "Roman" horsemen wear classically inspired armor, their plumes in the team colors.

Plate 30 (manuscript page 57). Four "Arcadian" shepherds carry cudgels and play shawms as they march before a richly clad lady on horseback.

Plate 31 (manuscript page 58). A Spanish *caballero* on horseback, carrying a lance, is followed by his page boy on foot and by two deeply veiled ladies on horseback, all dressed in black.

Plate 32 (manuscript page 59). A woman in Bohemian costume, as documented in Amman's *Frauentrachtenbuch* (Book of Women's Costumes) of 1586, with a typical bell-shaped hat (Figure 14), carries a lance and a black "Bohemian" *pavese*.²⁰ She leads a procession of six girls, two by two. All the girls wear little bonnets with a huge ostrich feather; of the smallest girls, one carries on a red cushion a crown, and the other an orb. These regalia are probably for the crowning of the "king," or winner, of the tournament.

Plate 33 (manuscript page 60). An old "Bohemian" woman carries on her back a large kettledrum, beaten by a young girl wearing a bonnet with an ostrich feather. The drummers are followed by a lady on horseback, wearing half armor and a tall Bohemian man's hat.

Plate 34 (manuscript page 61). An old "Bohemian" woman riding a donkey dressed in a speckled cowhide holds a pyrotechnical contraption on a pole. She is followed by another "Amazon" on horseback, in armor, with plumed helmet, shield, and lance.

Plates 35 and 36 (manuscript pages 62 and 63). Each plate shows two saddled horses, each of which is led by a woman in Bohemian dress.



Plate 17 (manuscript page 44)



Plate 18 (manuscript page 45)



Plate 19 (manuscript page 46)



Plate 20 (manuscript page 47)



Plate 21 (manuscript page 48)



Plate 22 (manuscript page 49)



Plate 23 (manuscript page 50)



Plate 24 (manuscript page 51)



Plate 25 (manuscript page 52)



Plate 26 (manuscript page 53)



Plate 27 (manuscript page 54)



Plate 28 (manuscript page 55)



Plate 29 (manuscript page 56)



Plate 30 (manuscript page 57)



Plate 31 (manuscript page 58)



Plate 32 (manuscript page 59)



Plate 33 (manuscript page 60)



Plate 34 (manuscript page 61)



Plates 35 and 36 (manuscript pages 62 and 63)



SECTION III

Gesellenstechen (Bachelors' Jousts)

Gesellenstechen offered a sporting pastime for Nuremberg's *jeunesse dorée*, the bachelor sons of patrician families. These patricians were divided into twenty "old families" and seven "new families," with fifteen more new families added in 1440. In the hierarchy of the city there were also the "honorable families," who were quite often even wealthier than some of the old or new patricians but were distinctly seen as one rung lower on the social ladder. By 1521 the city's social register was closed, when in the so-called Dance Statute the number of families that could be invited to balls at the city hall was fixed once and for all.

The old families were Behaim, Dörrer, Ebner, Geuder, Groland, Gross, Grundtherr, Haller, Holzschuher, Koler, Mendel, Muffel, Nützel, Pfintzing, Schopper, Schürstab, Stromer, Tetzl, Tucher, and Volckamer. The older "new" families were Paumgartner, Imhoff, Kress, Pirckheimer, Pommer, Rieter, and Rummel, while the new families admitted in 1440 were Fürer, Fütterer, Harsdörfer, Hegner, Hirschvogel, Löffelholz, Meichsner, Prunsterer, Rehlinger, Reich, Topler, Welser, Wolf, Zingel, and Zollner.

The very last of the *Gesellenstechen* was held in 1561.

SECTION IIIA

Gesellenstechen (Bachelors' Joust) of 1446 Plates 37–60 (on pages 154–57)

Foreword (manuscript pages 64–65; Figure 15)

In the year after the birth of Christ our Lord and Savior, 1446, on Monday after Herrenfastnacht,²¹ which then was the 28th of the month of February,

with permission granted by the Worshipful Magistrate of the City of Nuremberg an honorable Gesellenstechen in the Hohenzeug was held by several heirs of old families of long ancestry and bachelor sons of noble houses at Nuremberg, with their coats of arms and crests, such as were borne on shield and helmet, and were equipped as well, as should be, with their own horses, harness, and accoutrement.

And there were permitted in the lists four persons for each joust, who were: two men on horseback, as an assisting armorer and a squire to hold the lances ready, and two men on foot dressed in jester's garb, who had to assist their masters, and each one had their master's escutcheon and coat of arms emblazoned and sewn on in front on his breast and on his back also, and those on foot were dressed in the same colors as their master's horse trappings, which were emblazoned with those escutcheons sewn on in front and on either side.

In the aforesaid Gesellenstechen there showed up nine and thirty jousts with their Hohenzeug harness, armorial trappings, and crests. Also, there was done many a good joust, and there was good order kept and obedience of the rules in all things, as it is only proper in such knightly games, and there was impartial judgment meted out, in such way that nobody was slighted or that anybody had cause to complain about another's unfair advantage.

There were in each course five jousts against five, and each one of them had his own harness and saddle gear.

Figure 15. Introduction to Section III of the *Turnierbuch* (Figure 1, manuscript pages 64–65)



And there was one man trampled to death in the throng in the lists, and there was one horse of Wilhelm Hirschvogel's left dead too.

At the aforementioned Shrovetide Monday, the 28th of February of the year 1446, was the wedding of Wilhelm Löffelholtz, son of Hans Löffelholtz born by Lady Haydin, with Kunigunde, the daughter of Conrad Paumgartner, and the bride had donated three jewels as prizes in honor of the tournament. To wit, the first prize was a brooch worth twelve guldens, the other a golden ring for eight guldens, and the third a golden wreath in the value of four guldens.

These said jewels and prizes were handed out according to merit in the aforesaid tournament at the dance that was held afterward in the city hall.

Plate 37 (manuscript page 67). Six attendants carry lances and stepping boards as mounting aids for their jousters. Besides assisting their masters in mounting and dismounting, and handing them a new lance, when needed, they also had the job of crowd control. To avoid spoiling the happy holiday mood they were dressed in jester's garb, a parallel to the clowns in today's parades, and were selected for their sharp wits and tongues, to keep the crowds amused and to offer quick repartee, preferably in rhyme, to any heckler or unruly drunk. An indispensable tool was a club of sausage skin stuffed with wool, used to mete out impressive-looking but harmless beatings to troublemakers.

The coats of arms borne by the jesters in this picture are Haller (repeated twice): *Gules, a Pile Argent in bend, with an inset Sable* (in red a diagonal silver pile with a black inset);²² Waldstromer (repeated twice): *Gules, two Oven Forks Argent in saltire* (in red two silver oven forks diagonally crossed);²³ Rummel: *Or, two fighting Cocks Sable addorsed* (in gold, two black fighting cocks back to back);²⁴ and Schopper: *Gules, a Fess Argent, charged with three Links of a Chain Sable* (in red a silver horizontal stripe, charged with three black chain links).²⁵

Plate 38 (manuscript page 68). Two horsemen carry lances, followed by a fifer and a drummer. The horsemen are labeled *Stangenführer*, officials in charge of the lances (*Stangen*). The German expression "jemandem die Stange halten" (literally, to hold the lance ready for someone), meaning to be a faithful helper in need, derives from this office of *Stangenführer*.

Plate 39 (manuscript page 69). A pair of trumpeters are on horseback, their trumpet banners emblazoned with the city arms of Nuremberg.²⁶

Plate 40 (manuscript page 70). Two horsemen with batons of command, labeled *Ristmaister* (modern German: *Rüstmeister*), were officials in charge of armor and equipment (*Rüstung*) and responsible for its compliance with rules and regulations.

Plate 41 (manuscript page 71). The first pair of jousters in the tournament of 1446, in *Hohenzeuggestech* armor. Left: *Conrath Haller Conrath Hallers vnd der Dandörfferin Sohn*; right: *Herr Hanß Waldstromer Hanssen Waldstromers Sohn von der Grundtherrin geboren*

Conrad Haller, son of Conrad Haller and his wife, née Dandörfer, bears the family arms (see Plate 37) on shield, saddle, and horse trappings. On his helmet he bears the family crest: a blackamoor girl's torso robed in red, with a long braid and a headband of red and white. In typical German heraldic custom, the figure's robe blends into the helmet mantling.

Hans Waldstromer, son of Hans Waldstromer and his wife, née Grundtherr, bears the family arms (see Plate 37). His crest is a pair of wings charged with the oven forks of the shield.

Plate 42 (manuscript page 72). Two jousters armed for the *Hohenzeuggestech*. Left: *Herr Frantz Rummel Ritter Hainrich Rummels Sohnn von der Köpffin*; right: *Lorenz Rumell Wilhelm Rumels Sohn von der alten Pfinzingin*

Herr Franz Rummel, knight, son of Heinrich Rummel and his wife, née Kopff, bears the Rummel family arms (see Plate 37) on shield and saddle. As his crest he has a single golden wing charged with the two cocks. Because Franz Rummel had been actually knighted (*Ritter* means "knight"), he was entitled to the honorific prefix *Herr*.²⁷

The caption identifying the second jousting as Lorenz Rummel is a later addition in a different scribe's hand, and clearly in error. The coat of arms on the shield, saddle, and horse trappings is that of the Schopper family (see Plate 37). Also the crest of a man's torso, dressed in red with a fools-cap with donkey's ears, is that of the Schoppers.

Plate 43 (manuscript page 73). Two jousting armed for the *Hohenzeuggestech*. Left: *Bertholdt Volckamer Petter Volckamer vnd der Hallerin Sohn. Diesem ist der ander danck vnd Cleinot, Nemlich ein Ring verehrt worden*; right: *Lamprecht Groß Philips Grosen vnd der Schürstäbin Sohn*

The arms of Berthold Volckamer, son of Peter Volckamer and his wife, née Haller, are *Per fess, in chief Argent, a halved Wheel Gules, in base Azure, a Fleur-de-Lis Argent*



Plate 43 (manuscript page 73). Two jousters armed for the *Hohenzeuggestech*

(divided horizontally the upper field of silver containing a red halved wheel, the lower field of blue with a silver fleur-de-lis);²⁸ his crest is the halved wheel topped by a plume of black cock's feathers.

The fact that the caption records him as the winner of the second prize, the ring, without mentioning the first- or third-prize winners, might be an indication that this book was made for a member of the Volckamer family.

The arms of Lamprecht Gross, son of Philipp Gross and his wife, née Schürstab, are *Argent, on a Mount Vert a Crosslet Gules surmounted by a Linden Tree proper* (in silver on a green mount a red crosslet surmounted by a naturally colored linden tree),²⁹ and his crest is a pair of silver horns edged with green linden leaves.

Plate 44 (manuscript page 74). Two jousters armed for the *Hohenzeuggestech*. Left: Leopoldt Haller Ulrichen Hallers Sohn von der Forstmaisterin oder Kolerin sohn; right: Hannß Schürstab Leboldten Schürstab vnd der forstmaisterin oder Kolern Sohn

Leopold Haller, on the charger with blue trappings, bears the red shield of the Haller family with its silver-and-black pile. Its crest of the blackamoor maiden is on his helmet.

Hans Schürstab's arms are *Or, two Ragged Staffs Sable in saltire, their tips aflame* (in gold two black ragged staves, crossed, with burning tips).³⁰ These are canting (punning) arms, playing on *schüren* (to stoke a fire) and *Stab* (staff or stick). The Schürstab crest is a red-gowned blackamoor wearing a bishop's miter.

The late sixteenth-century writer of the captions was apparently uncertain about the finer details of mid-fifteenth-century Nuremberg patrician genealogy. The identification indicates that he was unsure whether Leopold Haller's mother was a Forstmeister, and Hans Schürstab's a Koler, or vice versa.

Plate 45 (manuscript page 75). Two jousters armed for the *Hohenzeuggestech*. Left: *Herr Sebaldt Pfintzing Ritter Sebaldt Pfintzings vnd der Hallerin Sohn*; right: *Erckeprecht Koler N. Kolers Sohn von der Füchslin geboren*

As a dubbed knight (*Ritter*), Sebald Pfintzing, son of Sebald Pfintzing and his wife, née Koler, is titled *Herr*. His arms are *per fess, Or and Sable* (divided horizontally of gold and black); his crest, a pair of horns, is equally tinctured of gold and black.³¹

Erckeprecht Koler bears the arms *Gules, a Ring Argent* (in red a silver ring). His crest is a red ring fringed in white swan feathers. The caption indicates that the first name of Erckeprecht's father has been forgotten over time, but it was still known that his mother's maiden name was Füchsl.

Plate 46 (manuscript page 76). Two jousters armed for the *Hohenzeuggestech*. Left: *Hanß von Locheim Hannsen von Lochaim Sohn geboren von der Graserin*; right: *Steffen Haller Leopoldten Hallers vnd der Stromerin Sohn*

Hans von Locheim, son of Hans von Locheim and his wife, née Graser, bears the arms *per bend sinister Or and Sable, two Rings counterchanged* (divided diagonally toward the left of gold and black, in each field a ring in the color of the other field).³² His crest is a single wing *bendy* (striped diagonally) of gold and black. The *bend sinister* was considered a sign of illegitimacy in France and England, but it did not have this ominous meaning in Germany, where bends (diagonal stripes to the right) and bends sinister could be used interchangeably, often for strictly decorative reasons.

Steffen Haller's horse trappings are green, in order to differentiate him from his kinsmen, Conrad Haller in crimson (see Plate 41), and Leopold Haller in blue (see Plate 44).

Plate 47 (manuscript page 77). Two jousters armed for the *Hohenzeuggestech*. Left: *Hieronimus Kress Konrad Kressen Sohn von der Waldstrommerin*; right: *Michael Grundtherr Ulrich Grundtherr vnd der Rützin Sohn*

Hieronimus Kress, son of Konrad Kress and his wife, née Waldstromer, bears the arms *Gules, a Sword proper in bend, with the grip Sable* (in red a sword positioned diagonally, with silver blade, gold guard and pommel, and a black grip).³³ His crest is the figure of a bearded man, dressed in

red and wearing a red beret with upturned white brim, clenching a sword in his teeth.

Michael Grundtherr bears the arms *Gules, a demi-Lion Argent, crowned Or* (in red a silver demi-lion wearing a golden crown).³⁴ His crest repeats the crowned demi-lion of the shield; as is typical of German crests, the lion's fur blends into the mantling.

Plate 48 (manuscript page 78). Two jousters armed for the *Hohenzeuggestech*. Left: *Steffan Tetzels Jobsten Tetzels vnd der Hallerin Sohn*; right: *Lorentz Rummel Wilhelm Rummels Sohn geboren von der Pfintzingin*

Stefan Tetzels, son of Jobst Tetzels and his wife, née Haller, bears the arms *Gules, a Cat rampant Argent* (in red a silver cat rearing up). His crest is the cat *issant* (emerging from the helmet).³⁵ The cat is a witty hint at the family name (*Tätzels*, in modern spelling), which means "little paws."

Like his kinsman, Herr Franz Rummel, in Plate 42, Lorenz Rummel, son of Wilhelm Rummel and his wife, née Pfintzing, bears the family arms of the addorsed fighting cocks.

Plate 49 (manuscript page 79). Two jousters armed for the *Hohenzeuggestech*. Left: *Petter Riether Hannsen Riethers vnd der Behaimin Sohn*; right: *Bertholdt Nützel Petter Nützels vnd der Schopperin Sohn auff welchem der Nützliche Stamm allein gestanden*

Peter Rieter, son of Hans Rieter and his wife, née Behaim, bears the arms *per fess Sable and Or, a double-tailed Mermaid vested Gules, crowned Or* (divided horizontally of black and gold, over all a red-robed double-tailed mermaid wearing a golden crown).³⁶ The mermaid is also the Rieter crest.

As the caption states, Berthold Nützel, son of Peter Nützel and his wife, née Schopper, was the only member of this "old family" living at the time. He bears the arms *Gules, three Fleurs-de-Lis conjoined in pairle Argent* (in red three silver fleurs-de-lis joined in triangular formation).³⁷ His crest is a silver fleur-de-lis set on a red pillow with silver tassels.

Plate 50 (manuscript page 80). Two jousters armed for the *Hohenzeuggestech*. Left: *Hordegen Tucher Hannssen Tuchers Sohn von der Faltznerin geboren*; right: *Cristian Haller Petter Hallers vnd der Rietherin Sohn*

Hördegen Tucher, son of Hans Tucher and his wife, née Faltzner, bears the arms *per fess, in chief bendy of Argent and Sable, in base Or a Blackamoor's Head proper* (divided horizontally, the upper field striped diagonally of black and silver, the lower field containing in gold a blackamoor's head in natural colors).³⁸ The Tucher crest is a blackamoor's

figure, robed gold, with a pair of horns as arms, *compony* (colored alternately) gold, black, and silver.

Blackamoors or blackamoor's heads, or both, are frequently found in German heraldry. They represent the very popular Saint Mauritius. He was the patron saint of German infantry, as Saint Sebastian was the patron saint of archers and Saint George the patron saint of cavalry and of knights in particular.

Christian Haller, son of Peter Haller and his wife, née Rieter, bears the Haller arms on black horse trappings (see Plate 37).

Plate 51 (manuscript page 81). Two jousters armed for the *Hohenzeuggestech*. Left: *Pertholdt Haller Ulrichen Hallers vnd der Forstmaisterin Sohn*; right: *Hannß Hördegen eins E Raths Soltadt auff etliche Pferd*

Berthold Haller, son of Ulrich Haller and his wife, née Forstmeister, bears the Haller arms and crest (see Plate 37). Like Leopold Haller (see Plate 44), who apparently was his brother or half brother, he rides a horse caparisoned in blue.

Hans Hördegen was, as the caption states, captain of a troop of cavalry in the service of Nuremberg's Worshipful City Council. His arms are *Or, a Pale Sable charged with a (Short-)Sword proper* (in gold a black vertical stripe on which is shown a shortsword (so-called *Schweizerdegen*) with silver blade and golden hilt).³⁹ The arms are canting, a rebus for his name and profession that plays on *Heer* (army) and *Degen* (rapier or thrusting sword).

Plate 52 (manuscript page 82). Two jousters armed for the *Hohenzeuggestech*. Left: *Wilhelm Hirschvogel Ulrich Hirschvogel vnd der Köpfen Sohn*; right: *Hannß Starck, N. Starcken Sohn von der Trachtin erzeugt*

Wilhelm Hirschvogel, son of Ulrich Hirschvogel and his wife, née Kopf, bears canting arms: *Sable, on a stepped Mount Argent a Bird Or* (in black a golden bird [German *Vogel*] on a silver stepped mount).⁴⁰ As mentioned in the foreword to this section, Wilhelm Hirschvogel had the misfortune of having one of his horses killed in the tournament of 1446.

Hans Starck, son of (first name unknown) Starck and his wife, née Tracht, bears the arms *Argent, issuant from a Mount Sable, the demi-figure of a Bearded Man, vested Gules, wearing a Beret Gules lined Sable, and tearing asunder a barbed spear proper* (in silver the half figure of a bearded man, wearing a red robe and beret, the latter with upturned black brim, emerging from a black mount and tearing asunder a barbed spear).⁴¹ This is another example of canting arms: *stark* translates as "strong," and a man who

can tear a spear in two, lengthwise, must be a strong man indeed.

Plate 53 (manuscript page 83). Two jousters armed for the *Hohenzeuggestech*. Left: *Wilhelm Rummel Wilhelm Rummels vnd der Pfintzingin Sohn*; right: *Sebaldt Kress Conradten Kressen Sohn von der Hallerin geboren*

Wilhelm Rummel, son of Wilhelm Rummel and his wife, née Pfintzing, bears the Rummel arms and crest of the addorsed fighting cocks (see Plate 37).

Sebald Kress, son of Konrad Kress and his wife, née Haller, must have been a half brother to Hieronymus Kress (see Plate 47). He bears the Kress arms and crest.

Plate 54 (manuscript page 84). Two jousters armed for the *Hohenzeuggestech*. Left: *Carl Holtschuer Carl Holtschuer Sohn von der Pfintzingin*; right: *Hanß Ulstat Hannßen Ulstat Sohn geboren von der Knöblin*

Carl Holtschuer, son of Carl Holtschuer and his wife, née Pfintzing, bears his family's canting arms *Or, a wooden Shoe, Sable on top and lined Gules* (in gold a wooden shoe with black top and red lining [*Holz* means "wood" and *Schuh* means "shoe"])).⁴² His crest is a figure of a blackamoor in a red robe and a peaked hat with golden brim.

Hans Ulstat, son of Hans Ulstat and his wife, née Knöbl, bears the arms *Argent, three Lion's Heads Gules* (in silver three red lion's heads in profile).⁴³ The same three lions' heads are on the single wing of his crest.

Plate 55 (manuscript page 85). Two jousters armed for the *Hohenzeuggestech*. Left: *Sebaldt Haller Enderes Haller vnd der Seckendörfferin Sohn*; right: *Wilhelm Löffelholz Hannßen Löffelholz Sohn von der Haidtin geboren*

Sebald Haller, son of Enderes (Andreas) Haller and his wife, née von Seckendorf, bears the Haller arms and crest (see Plate 37). His mother's family, the *Freiherren* (barons) von Seckendorf, was of the old Franconian nobility, *turnierfähig* in its own right as members of the exclusive *Gesellschaft in der Fürspang von Franken* (Tournament Society of the Buckle).

Wilhelm Löffelholz, son of Hans Löffelholz and his wife, née Haidt, bears his family's arms: *Gules, a Lamb passant Argent* (in red a silver lamb walking dexter/to the [heraldic] right).⁴⁴ His crest is the lamb on a red wing spangled with silver linden leaves. The Löffelholz were one of the "new families" admitted to the patriciate only in 1440, and Wilhelm Löffelholz was the groom at the wedding celebrated by this *Gesellenstechen*.

Plate 56 (manuscript page 86). Two jousters armed for the *Hohenzeuggesteck*. Left: *Petter Zolner Gerhart Zolners Son von der Grundtherrin*; right: *Sebaldt Elbannger Sebaldden Elbanngers Sohn von der Pömmerein*

Peter Zollner, son of Gerhart Zollner and his wife, née Grundtherr, bears the arms *per fess, in chief Or, a demi-Lion Sable crowned Gules, in base Argent, a Blackamoor's Head proper with a floral wreath Or and Gules, a Fess Gules overall* (divided horizontally of gold and silver, in the upper field a black demi-lion wearing a red crown, in the lower field a blackamoor's head with a wreath of red and gold flowers, a red horizontal stripe overall).⁴⁵ His crest is the black demi-lion.

Sebald Ellwanger, son of Sebald Ellwanger and his wife, née Pommer, bears the arms *Sable, a Lion's Head guardant Or, langued Gules* (in black a golden lion's head turned frontally to the observer, with a red tongue).⁴⁶ His crest is a pair of golden horns.

Plate 57 (manuscript page 87). Two jousters armed for the *Hohenzeuggesteck*. Left: *Conrath Baumgartner Conrath Baumgartners Sohn von der Ochsenführerin*; right: *Sebald Pömmmer Stefan Pömmers vnd der Behaimin Sohn*

Conrad Paumgartner, son of Conrad Paumgartner and his wife, née Ochsenführer, bears the arms *per fess Argent and Sable, in chief a Popinjay proper, in base a Fleur-de-Lis Argent* (divided horizontally of silver and black, in the upper field a green popinjay with red beak, in the lower field a silver fleur-de-lis).⁴⁷ His crest is the fleur-de-lis with the popinjay on top.

Sebald Pommer, son of Stefan Pommer and his wife, née Behaim, bears the arms *per bend sinister, bendy sinister Argent and Gules above, Sable below* (divided diagonally to the left, the upper field of leftward diagonal stripes of silver and red, the lower field black). His crest is the figure of a blackamoor, robed in red and wearing a headband of red and white.

Plate 58 (manuscript page 88). Two jousters armed for the *Hohenzeuggesteck*. Left: *Görg Derrer Anthoni Derrer vnd der Schnöttin Sohn*; right: *Ulman Hegner Ulman Hegners vnd der Elwangerin Sohn*

Georg Dörrer, son of Anton Dörrer and his wife, née Schnott, bears the arms *Argent, a Bend sinister Sable, charged with three Chess Rooks Argent* (in silver, a black diagonal stripe to the left on which are shown three silver chess rooks).⁴⁸

The Dörrer crest is the figure of a bearded man, robed in white and wearing a white beret with an upturned black brim.

Ulman Hegner, son of Ulman Hegner and his wife, née Ellwanger, bears the arms *Azure, a Chevron Or, charged with three Roses Gules* (in blue a golden chevron on which are shown three red roses).⁴⁹ His crest is a blue wing charged with the chevron and the roses.

Plate 59 (manuscript page 89). Two jousters armed for the *Hohenzeuggesteck*. Left: *Hannß Volckamer Hainrich Volckamers Sohn von der Schürstabin geboren*; right: *Sebaldt Baumgartner Conrathen Baumgartners Sohn von der Kreßin geboren*

Hans Volckamer, son of Heinrich Volckamer and his wife, née Schürstab, bears the Volckamer family arms of the halved wheel and the fleur-de-lis (see Plate 43).

Sebald Paumgartner, a son of Conrad Paumgartner and his wife, née Kress, was probably a half brother of Conrad Paumgartner the Younger (see Plate 57). He bears the Paumgartner family arms of the popinjay and fleur-de-lis.

Plate 60 (manuscript page 90). Two jousters armed for the *Hohenzeuggesteck*. Left: *Hanns Rieter Hansen Rieters Sohn von der Harstörfferin*; right: *Endres Strommer, Görgen Strommers Sohn von der Eyslingerin geboren*

Both these captions are in error. Furthermore, the first one is not inscribed in the same hand as the previous ones in the manuscript.

The first figure bears the Tetzels arms and crest (see Plate 48), and the second figure bears those of Nützel (see Plate 49). Apparently the painter of this parade of the thirty-nine participants in the wedding tournament of 1446 did not want to have the last jousting alone and therefore gave him a companion. Unfortunately, he did not pick this supernumerary from one of the families with multiple representatives, such as the Haller or Rummel; instead he chose for this duplication a figure bearing the arms of Nützel, despite the fact that the caption on Plate 49 explicitly identifies Berthold Nützel as the sole surviving issue of that family. A possible explanation for identifying the second knight as Andreas Stromer could be the similarity of the crests of the Nützel and Stromer families. The Stromers had three fleurs-de-lis as their crest, while the Nützel crest was a single fleur-de-lis.

SECTION IIIB

Gesellenstechen (Bachelors' Jousts) of 1539 and 1546
Plates 61–68 (on pages 158–59)

Plate 61 (manuscript page 91)

Two jousters armed for the *Gemeine Gesteck*. Left: *Joachim Tezell*. Ao. 1539; right: *Wolff von Camerer Ritter*

The first figure has his black shield and horse trappings emblazoned with a naked mermaid; the same mermaid tops his helmet as his crest. A double-tailed mermaid, crowned and robed, was the charge in the arms of the Rieter family (see Plate 49). In Plate 60, the jousting bearing the Tetzels coat of arms is labeled as Hans Rieter, while the figure with the mermaids here is identified as Joachim Tezell. Since the flowing handwriting of these captions is the same, this is clearly a simple mix-up in the compiler's files.

The second jousting, Wolff von Cämmerer, is labeled as a knight and sits on a horse clad in blue trappings strewn with golden flames.⁵⁰ His rather complicated crest combines that of his family (a crescent tipped with black cock's feathers) with a figure of Lucretia stabbing herself, as the embodiment of female virtue, in a tribute to the Renaissance spirit of the time.

The jousting's attendants, one for each participant, are dressed in jesters' garb matching the colors and emblems of the jousting's trappings.

Plate 62 (manuscript page 92). Two jousting armed for the *Gemeine Gesteck* (accompanied by two attendants in jesters' garb). Left: *Hannss Starcks*. Ao. 1539; right: *Reinhard Rech*

The first figure bears on his helmet the crest of the Starck family (see Plate 52). His shield does not show the Starck coat of arms but is charged with a flaming golden sun. The pale crimson horse trappings are *semy* (strewn) with golden suns and silver raindrops.

His partner bears the canting crest of the Rech family, a golden rake (*Rechen*). His black shield and horse trappings do not show the family arms but are overlaid with a net of golden chains.⁵¹

Plate 63 (manuscript page 93). Two jousting armed for the *Gemeine Gesteck* (accompanied by their attendants dressed as jesters). Left: *Sigmund Pfinzing* Ao. 1539; right: *Hanns Stromer*

The first participant bears on his shield the Pfinzing arms (see Plate 45); instead of a crest he has only a twisted wreath of yellow and black. His horse's trappings are striped yellow and black.

The second figure bears the crest of the Stromer family—three silver fleurs-de-lis—but his shield and his horse's trappings, instead of showing the family arms,⁵² are striped in many colors: red, green, blue, black, and yellow.

Plate 64 (manuscript page 94). The *Gesellenstechen* of 1546. Two jousting armed for the *Gemeine Gesteck* (accompanied by their attendants dressed as jesters). Left: *Albrecht Scheürl*; right: *Wolff Münzer*. Ao. 1546

The first figure, identified as Albrecht Scheurl, does not bear his family's coat of arms (see Plate 70) but shows on his shield and as his crest the amorous device of three hearts, arranged palewise (in a vertical row) as in German playing cards. This is a rebus meaning "loyal hearts": *drei* (three) sounds like a dialect pronunciation of *treu* (loyal).

The second figure's crest of a bagpiper is also a whimsical device fit for a Shrovetide joust, but his shield bears the full arms of the Münzer family: *per chevron, Gules and Argent, the chevron point shaped as a Fleur-de-Lis, in base a Rose Gules* (of red and silver divided chevronwise with a fleur-de-lis at the point, or "im Liliensparrenschnitt," in the lower field a red rose).⁵³ The rose-colored horse trappings bear a honeycomb pattern in silver, filled alternately with roses and fleurs-de-lis.

Plate 65 (manuscript page 95). Two jousting armed for the *Gemeine Gesteck* (with their attendants in jesters' garb). Left: *Geörg Közell*. Ao. 1546; right: *Wilhelm Schlißelfelder*

The first figure, labeled as Georg Kötzel or Ketzels in somewhat arbitrary spelling, bears a globular birdcage as his crest. His shield and horse trappings do not show the family arms but are boldly striped in red, white, and green.⁵⁴ The birds represent a bawdy German pun referring to extramarital intercourse.

Wilhelm Schlüsselfelder here adopts a flimsily clad bathmaid (an attendant of a public bathing house) as his shield device and crest instead of his family coat of arms.⁵⁵ The image also hints at pleasures of the flesh and would have been a highly appreciated Shrovetide jest.

Plate 66 (manuscript page 96). Two jousting armed for the *Gemeine Gesteck* (accompanied by their attendants in jesters' costumes). Left: *Hieronymus Im Hoff*. Ao. 1546; right: *Gramlieb Waldstromer*

Like the previous contestant, Hieronymus Imhoff has abandoned his family arms, choosing instead a blue sun (sun in eclipse) on his silver shield and blue suns and stars strewn all over his horse's white or silver trappings; his helmet is adorned with a crest in the shape of a golden star and even his lance is spangled with stars.⁵⁶

His companion, Gramlieb Waldstromer, bears two crossed ragged staffs in silver on his shield, a quotation from the Waldstromer family arms (see Plate 37). On the blue trappings of his horse the crossed staffs are augmented by firesteels emitting flames; an imitation of the famous badge of the Burgundian Order of the Golden Fleece, the image also alludes to Gramlieb Waldstromer's family arms proper, which show the tips of the ragged staves aflame.

Plate 67 (manuscript page 97). Two jousters armed for the *Gemeine Gesteck* (with their attendants in jesters' garb). Left: *Balthasar Baumgartner. Ao. 1546*; right: *Sigmund FÜRER*

The green parrot or popinjay on Balthasar Paumgartner's helmet is part of the Paumgartner family crest (see Plate 57), but it must have been deemed funny enough to be appropriate for a Shrovetide joust. The gray (*aschenfarben*) stripes on shield and horse trappings are forebodings of Ash Wednesday to come.

The foolscaps on Sigmund FÜRER's shield and horse trappings bear no resemblance to his family arms but are unmistakable Shrovetide symbols, just like the bird shown on his horse's caparison: a wagtail.⁵⁷ The shoe on top of his helmet

is a self-deprecating jocular device: a henpecked husband is called a *Pantoffelheld* (literally, hero under the slipper), and although *Gesellenstechen* were the privilege of bachelor patricians, this detail probably was meant as another wry prognosis of things to come.

Plate 68 (manuscript page 98). Two jousters armed for the *Gemeine Gesteck* (accompanied by their attendants in jesters' costumes). Left: *Paulus Beheim. Ao. 1546*; right: *Wolff Endres Lincks*

Paul Behaim chose as his crest the alluring figure of Lady Love, with a red heart in her right hand and the barbed arrow of Cupid in her left. His family arms have been abandoned in favor of a shield that is half blue, semy with silver stars, and half golden, while his horse trappings are green (the color of *Minne*, the courtly love of the Middle Ages) and yellow (the color of jealousy).⁵⁸

Wolf Andreas Lincks has as his crest another birdcage, containing an owl mobbed by small birds. The owl, surrounded and pestered by other birds, is repeated on his multistriped horse trappings.⁵⁹ This avian group was a symbol of defiance and rugged individualism, or "one against all."



Plate 69 (manuscript page 99). Two jousters armed for the *Gemeine Gesteck*

SECTION IIIC

Gesellenstechen (Bachelors' Joust) of 1561

Plates 69–72 (on page 159)

The last *Gesellenstechen* ever to be held in the Hauptmarkt, the market square of Nuremberg, took place in 1561. It was held on March 3, "the Monday after *Herrenfastnacht*," the Sunday *Estomihi* preceding *Mardi Gras*. This Monday was also known as *Geiler Montag* (Wanton Monday); today it is, more tamely, *Rosenmontag* (Rose Monday). The event was sponsored by the patrician Gabriel Paumgartner; the Worshipful City Council graciously granted permission, including the loan of jousting armors kept in the city's armory for just such a purpose.

Two patricians were appointed to be umpires. Four trumpeters were to give the signals; fifty-six jousts, or courses, were fought altogether. An important part of the festivities was the dance held in the city hall in the evening, although admission to these dances was strictly limited to the families privileged by the Dance Statute of 1521.

A watercolor recording this *Gesellenstechen*, attributed to the renowned illustrator Jost Amman (1539–1591), is preserved in the Staatliche Graphische Sammlungen, Munich. The Metropolitan Museum's manuscript deviates in several minor details from this picture, which was evidently painted by an eyewitness.

Plate 69 (manuscript page 99). Two jousters armed for the *Gemeine Gesteck* (accompanied by two attendants dressed as jesters). Left: *Moritz FÜRrer. Ao. 1561*; right: *Wilhelm Trainer*

Moritz FÜRer von Haimendorf, as his full name would be, bears a silver swan in his shield (where only its head shows behind Wilhelm Trainer's horse) and as his helmet crest; his horse trappings are semé with silver rain- or teardrops.⁶⁰ Moritz FÜRer won the first prize of the tournament, having participated in twenty-five jousts that included four unhorsings.

Wilhelm Trainer bears his family crest of a standing wolf in a white (shepherd's?) smock on his helmet but has a pair of silver wings as a fictitious device on his shield.⁶¹ The red trappings of his horse are semé with wings and also bear a large silver laurel wreath. The above-mentioned painting by Jost Amman shows within the wreath the enigmatic letters *OGBN*, omitted in the Museum's manuscript. The lances of both contestants are in their respective colors, black and red, and semé with their devices of silver drops or wings. Wilhelm Trainer won the second prize, having completed twenty-four jousts, including four unhorsings.

Plate 70 (manuscript page 100). Two jousters armed for the *Gemeine Gesteck* (with their two attendants in jesters' garb). Left: *Christoff Scheurl Ao. 1561*; right: *Philip Sieder genant Lux*

Christoph Scheurl von Defersdorf bears as his helmet crest the nude figurine of Fortuna on her golden ball, holding aloft her billowing sail. In striking contrast to this playfully allegorical crest he bears on his shield the Scheurl family arms *quarterly, in 1 and 4 Gules, a Panther Argent, in 2 and 3 Azure, a Bend Or* (divided into four fields, the first and fourth showing in red a silver panther, the second and third containing in blue a golden diagonal stripe).⁶² Christoph Scheurl's horse trappings display an eye-dazzling pattern of blue, white, and red lozenges; the written accounts of the event mention little silver stars in the red lozenges, omitted here. Christoph Scheurl won the third prize, with seventeen jousts completed including four unhorsings.

Philipp Sieder, called Lux, chose as his crest a white dove; his shield and horse trappings are diagonally striped in yellow and black.⁶³ Philipp Sieder placed fourth, with twelve jousts which included two unhorsings.

Plate 71 (manuscript page 101). Two jousters armed for the *Gemeine Gesteck* (with their attendants in jesters' costumes). Left: *Matthes Löffelholz Ao. 1561*; right: *Philip Geuder*

Matthes Löffelholz von Kolberg bears the full family arms (compare with Plate 55):⁶⁴ *quarterly, 1 and 4 Gules a Lamb Argent, 2 and 3 Argent a Bend Azure charged with three Conical Hats Argent* (divided into four fields, in the first and

fourth in red a silver lamb, in the second and third in silver a blue diagonal stripe on which are shown three silver conical hats, or *Spitzhüte*. The Löffelholz crest is a blue *Spitzhut* with white brim, topped by a blue and white plume issuant from a golden coronet; the hat is set between a pair of red wings charged with the lambs of the shield and spangled with silver linden leaves. The horse trappings were patterned in lozenges of rose color, ash color, and yellow on one side, and blue and yellow on the other. Matthes Löffelholz placed fifth, with twelve jousts, including one unhorsing.

Philip Geuder von Heroldsberg bears his family crest, a star halved of silver and blue, with blue and white tufts at its points, but his shield charge of a fierce lion's face is a fictitious device.⁶⁵ His blue horse trappings are semé with lion's faces and silver stars; on the *crupper* (the horse's rear defense) are depicted two white fighting cocks facing each other under a silver laurel wreath. While the silver stars on the blue trappings are clearly derived from the blue-and-silver star of the family crest, the lion's faces and cocks probably derive from the medieval belief, lent credence by the authority of the bestiaries, that a lion is not afraid of anything except a white rooster. Philipp Geuder placed last in the competition, with only two jousts.

Plate 72 (manuscript page 102). Two jousters armed for the *Gemeine Gesteck* (accompanied by their attendants dressed as jesters). Left: *Balthasar Gugell. Ao. 1561*; right: *Endres Schmidmer*

Balthasar Gugel von Diepoltsdorf bears golden fleurs-de-lis in blue on his shield and horse trappings, and a golden fleur-de-lis as his crest. These charges are taken from the Gugel family arms: *Or, a Bend Azure charged with three Fleur-de-Lis Or* (in gold a blue diagonal stripe on which are shown three golden fleurs-de-lis).⁶⁶ Balthasar Gugel placed sixth, with eleven jousts but no unhorsings.

Andreas Schmidmaier von Schwarzenbruck was a member of one of the "honorable families" qualified for the city's courts. His shield of gold and red bears an owl perched on a green twig. In Jost Amman's painting there is a scroll above the owl, inscribed "EIN NIT GVT" (a good-for-nothing). His crest of a rose, halved diagonally, of gold and red, is derived from his family arms: *per bend Or and Gules, charged with three Roses in bend counterchanged* (divided diagonally of gold and red, along the diagonal division three roses, each of alternating colors to the shield's two halves).⁶⁷ Master Andreas's horse trappings are red, semé with golden roses, with the defiant device of a silver owl on the crupper. Andreas Schmidmaier came in seventh in the competition, with eight courses run but no unhorsings accomplished.



Plate 37 (manuscript page 67)



Plate 38 (manuscript page 68)



Plate 39 (manuscript page 69)



Plate 40 (manuscript page 70)



Plate 41 (manuscript page 71)



Plate 42 (manuscript page 72)



Plate 43 (manuscript page 73)



Plate 44 (manuscript page 74)



Plate 45 (manuscript page 75)



Plate 46 (manuscript page 76)



Plate 47 (manuscript page 77)



Plate 48 (manuscript page 78)



Plate 49 (manuscript page 79)



Plate 50 (manuscript page 80)



Plate 51 (manuscript page 81)



Plate 52 (manuscript page 82)



Plate 53 (manuscript page 83)



Plate 54 (manuscript page 84)



Plate 55 (manuscript page 85)



Plate 56 (manuscript page 86)



Plate 57 (manuscript page 87)



Plate 58 (manuscript page 88)



Plate 59 (manuscript page 89)



Plate 60 (manuscript page 90)



Plate 61 (manuscript page 91)



Plate 62 (manuscript page 92)



Plate 63 (manuscript page 93)



Plate 64 (manuscript page 94)



Plate 65 (manuscript page 95)



Plate 66 (manuscript page 96)



Plate 67 (manuscript page 97)



Plate 68 (manuscript page 98)



Plate 69 (manuscript page 99)



Plate 70 (manuscript page 100)



Plate 71 (manuscript page 101)



Plate 72 (manuscript page 102)

Figure 16. Title page for Section IV of the *Turnierbuch* (Figure 1; manuscript page 105)



SECTION IV

Pageant Sleights⁶⁸

Plates 73–97 (on pages 167–71)

Title page (manuscript page 105; Figure 16)

Hereafter follow sundry pageant displays that can be used for sleigh parades, [and] more of them that have been done here before.

The inscription that opens this section is enclosed in a medallion with an elaborate frame that consists of jeweled scrollwork overlaid with a neck strap studded with bells (of the type used for sleigh horses). At the top of the frame a groom, with a whip in either hand, is whimsically looking out from a winged horse collar; he is flanked by two prancing horses (without regard to respective sizes). Integrated into the scrollwork of the frame are horse bridles, tassels, and plumes. Two small parade sleights rest on the lowermost scrolls of the frame.

Figure 17. Sleigh with the Goddess Fortuna for a Ladies Tournament (*Damencaroussel*), Germany (probably Franconia), ca. 1650. Wood, iron, textile, polychromy, oil gilding; 59 x 35³/₈ x 120 in. (150 x 90 x 305 cm). Kunstsammlungen der Veste Coburg (Gr.Kat.XII.013)



Sleigh parades were favorite winter pastimes not only at princely courts but also in the cities, where well-to-do burghers took pride in owning and parading fancifully styled sleighs (Figure 17). The main event of *Kleider machen Leute*, an 1856 novel by the Swiss author Gottfried Keller (1819–1890), set in the Biedermeier period of the early nineteenth century, is an outing in parade sleighs by the good burghers of the archetypal but fictitious Swiss town Seldwyla. Charming examples of such vehicles have survived in several European collections, notably those of the Kunstsammlungen Veste Coburg, housed in a castle of the grand dukes of Saxe-Coburg.

The illustrations in the fourth section of the tournament book are suggestions for such parade sleighs.⁶⁹ Many of their subjects are taken from classical mythology, as might be expected of objects made for most people of the Renaissance, but others represent motifs drawn from all walks of life, with emphasis on the humorous and even scurrilous, as befitted Shrovetide festivals.

Plate 73 (manuscript page 109). The Chariot of the Sun

Drawn by a pair of white horses, this parade sleigh is a gilded wagon set on sleigh runners. On a pedestal in back of the chariot's driver, who is attired in classical garb of tunic and sandal buskins, is a golden face of the Sun, surrounded by a glory of golden rays (probably gilded wires). The horses have huge white wings attached to their collars.

Their humanist education notwithstanding, the people of the Renaissance were not aware that chariots in antiquity were two-wheeled, and therefore this chariot and all the others in this manuscript are four-wheeled wagons.

Plate 74 (manuscript page 111). The Chariot of Minerva

The elaborately carved four-wheeled chariot is set on sleigh runners. It bears in front a small statue of a winged Cupid, with the palm of Victory in one hand and a laurel wreath held aloft in the other.

The chariot's driver is costumed as Minerva, the Roman goddess of war, wearing a long-skirted gown and armor all'antica (armor as it was thought to have looked in classical Rome). She is seated under an umbrella canopy held up by a curving support arching from the backrest. The sides of the wagon-box are painted with trophies of arms. Placed on the collar of the richly caparisoned white horse is a trophy assembly of miniature arms and armor.

Plate 75 (manuscript page 113). The Ship of Odysseus

The body of this sleigh is an extravagantly shaped ship, floating on a sea of carved waves, in which two mermen are battling with clubs and shields of turtle carapaces. At the



prow of this ship, in place of a figurehead, is propped up the plumed helmet of the fiercely bearded and mustachioed driver, who is dressed in classical armor with lion masks on its shoulder defenses. He sits in the elevated stern of the ship, his embroidered cloak draped casually over the backrest of his seat. Two shields—one bearing a blazing flame and the other an arrow—hang from the gunwales. The entire composition rests on two carved lions crouching on the runners. An arrow-shooting triton is poised on the collar of the black horse pulling the sleigh.

The maritime and classical motifs of this sleigh indicate that the hero is meant to be the returning Odysseus. The flame and arrow on the shields would be recognized by those with the humanist education of the day as suggestive of the burning of Troy and of Odysseus's homecoming test, whereby he shot an arrow through the eyeholes of twelve axe heads set in a row.

Plate 76 (manuscript page 115). The Chariot of the Grand Turk

The representative of the fairy-tale lands of the mysterious East—the Sultan, or Grand Turk, in turban and brocaded

gown—is enthroned in stately fashion on his golden chariot. He sits under a tent canopy topped by the crescent, generally understood as the armorial and religious symbol of Turkey. Hanging down from the backrest of the Sultan's chariot-throne is an oriental carpet meant to lend an authentic note. Since it would be an imposition on the majesty of the Sublime Porte to let him drive his own chariot, the designer of this sleigh thoughtfully supplied it with a driver, a boy dressed as a blackamoor with a belled slave collar around his neck. In order to enhance the exotic splendor of the potentate, the horse is dyed in two striking colors, giving it an appearance similar to that of the parade horse in the costume pageant for the carousel course in Plate 20, in Section II.

Plate 77 (manuscript page 117). Orpheus Taming the Wild Beasts

Orpheus, playing his fiddle, is perched above the box of the sleigh, which is sculpted in relief with a throng of animals. The vehicle illustrates the story of Orpheus's taming wild beasts with his music. The animals include an elephant, an ibex, a lion, a leopard, a unicorn, and a wild boar; the box

itself rests on a stag and a bear crouching on the runners, which are shaped as tree limbs, with a squirrel perched at the front. Next to Orpheus sits a large black dog at rapt attention. Only the monkey on the horse collar is totally unimpressed.

The driver of the sleigh is a woman in alluring “classical” attire with daringly kilted skirts and exposed breasts. She is guiding the horse from behind the box while standing up, her feet planted on the runners.⁷⁰ She could represent one of the maenads who killed Orpheus at one of their orgies and tore him to pieces in their frenzy; his music, which could still the wild beasts, had an adverse effect in that case. To judge by the relative sizes of the figures, it seems that this Orpheus represents not a statue but more likely a real boy who played a merry tune in the parade; the attentive dog next to him probably likewise represents a live dog, his adoring loyal friend.

Plate 78 (manuscript page 119). Aristotle and Phyllis

Among the favorite themes of moralizing artists were the *Weiberlisten*, the ruses used by clever women to ridicule pompous men. Especially popular was the story of Aristotle and Phyllis (Figure 18). It is said that one day Alexander the Great grew tired of the incessant exhortations by his tutor, Aristotle, and decided to put his teacher’s willpower to the test. A mischievous lady of the court, Phyllis, was easily persuaded to promise her favors to Aristotle, if in the privacy of a secluded garden court he would let her put a bridle in his mouth and ride him like a horse. Aristotle agreed, and wickedly, Phyllis paraded him before Alexander, who had been waiting on the spot. The story was especially well known in Nuremberg through a Shrovetide play by the

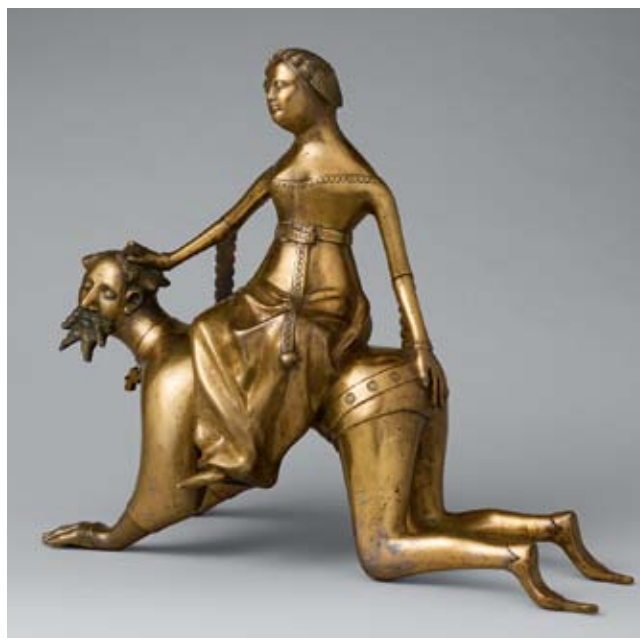


Figure 18. *Aristotle Ridden by Phyllis* (aquamanile). Southern Netherlands, late 14th century. Bronze, h. 13¼ in. (33.7 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Robert Lehman Collection, 1975 (1975.1.1416)

inexhaustible shoemaker-poet and *Meistersinger* Hans Sachs (1494–1576).

The body of the sleigh itself, carved as Aristotle on hands and knees, serves as the seat for the driver, Phyllis, in classically inspired costume, with whip in hand and spurs at her heels. The sleigh is pulled by a unicorn, a symbol of chastity endangered. As its cloven hooves indicate, it is represented not as a disguised horse but as a “real” unicorn.

Plate 79 (manuscript page 121). Io and Argus

When Juno, wife of Jupiter, discovered that her husband had had an affair with a mortal named Io, she transformed the hapless girl into a cow. The enraged goddess also appointed Argus, the One-Hundred-Eyed, as the cow’s guardian against interference from Jupiter. Argus was particularly suited to be a watchman; because his one hundred eyes took turns sleeping, he was awake and alert without interruption. At long last Mercury, the wily messenger of the gods, on orders from Jupiter, managed to lull Argus to sleep by playing soothing music. As soon as Argus’s last eye closed, Mercury killed him. Before Io could be delivered from her enchantment, however, Juno sent a gadfly to torment her, chasing the poor maddened cow through many lands. Finally, in Egypt, she was returned to her human form, just in time to give birth to Jupiter’s son, Epaphus, who later married Memphis, daughter of the river god Nilus, and founded the city named after her.

The sleigh illustrated here is shaped like a brindled cow, coquettishly adorned with a wreath of flowers and a jeweled necklace, both sad relics from her former state as a beautiful maiden. Argus, with eyes painted all over his face, neck, and chest, carries a herdsman’s crook and scrip and stands behind the cow on the runners. A small figure of Mercury playing his flute is seated on the horse collar, facing Argus and evidently watching attentively for his lullaby to take effect.

Plate 80 (manuscript page 123). Hercules and a Centaur

The body of this sleigh is a centaur as archer, its equine part an elegant dapple gray but its human part a shapely blonde woman. Hercules, clad in his lion skin, is the driver of the sleigh and sits on the rump of the centaur maiden. The black horse pulling the sleigh is covered with a leopard skin as its caparison.

Hercules’s life was packed with adventures, among them several brushes with centaurs, and one of his famous twelve labors was to capture the golden belt of Hippolyte, queen of the Amazons. Most likely the centaur of the sleigh was turned into a female in an attempt to present these different mythological episodes in one easily recognizable image.

Plate 81 (manuscript page 125). The Ship *Argo*

This particularly splendid sleigh is shaped as a ship, floating on painted waves. Its mast, complete with rigging and crow's nest, carries a billowing sail as well as a proud pennant. Somewhat anachronistically, cannon are placed in the gunports of the ship's forecastle. A series of brightly painted armorial shields is lined up along the railings.⁷¹ The driver, in classical armor, is positioned at the ship's stern, straddling the rudder, with his feet firmly planted on the painted waves that are the runners of the sleigh. Because the stern is thus occupied by the driver, the ship's lantern could not be put in its usual place and had to be transferred to the ship's prow, where it is supported by an extension of the runners.

The horse bears on its collar a globe, indicating the far travels this ship undertook. It seems clear that this pageant sleigh is meant to represent the most famous of all ancient ships, the good ship *Argo*, which carried Jason and his Argonauts to the end of the known world in their quest for the Golden Fleece.

Plate 82 (manuscript page 127). Wild Man and Dragon

A fearsome dragon with bat's wings and barbed tongue crouches on the runners of this sleigh, and a wild man sits on the monster's back. Both creatures were favorites of medieval folklore. The wild man's body is covered with shaggy fur, and a wreath of leaves on his head and a leafy garland around his loins are his only pieces of clothing. With one hand he holds the reins and with the other he brandishes a knobby tree limb as a club.

The sleigh's horse is dressed with green leaves instead of plumes and bears a pair of wings on its collar.

Plate 83 (manuscript page 129). Bacchus

The god of wine, Bacchus, was particularly appropriate for the revelries of Shrovetide. Here he drives a sleigh decorated with grapevines and cornucopias; as a figurehead, goat-footed Pan is playing his pipes in an arbor of vines.

A huge *Krautstrunk* (literally, cabbage stem) drinking vessel of green glass is placed in the box within easy reach of the driver. A *Bocksbeutel* (billy goat's scrotum) carafe—a favorite container for *Frankenwein*, the good local wine—perches precariously on the front tip of the runners; it has a pair of wings attached, and is surmounted by a pennant charged with three more *Krautstrunk* glasses. Bacchus displays his classical nudity with aplomb; like the wild man in the preceding plate, he wears only wreaths of vine leaves on head and hips. His horse is also caparisoned in vine leaves with bunches of grapes as pendant tassels. A goat's head on the horse collar alludes to the proverb of the billy goat guarding the vineyard.

Plate 84 (manuscript page 131). Neptune and Fortuna

Neptune, trident in hand, guides his shell-shaped sleigh as he stands on the rear ends of its runners. On the front of the huge scallop shell that forms the sleigh's body stands a statuette of Fortuna. In classical nudity, she raises her sail to billow in the wind while balancing on a winged rolling ball. The shell is supported by a couple of massive sea snails; in front, a small sea horse sits on the curling tip of the runners. Whimsically, the horse that pulls the sleigh is shown as rearing up in the same posture as the little sea horse.

Plate 85 (manuscript page 133). Pluto and Cerberus

Cerberus, the hound who guards the gate to the underworld by allowing all to enter but no one to leave, is appropriately portrayed as a triple-headed Rottweiler, chained to the dragon's head at the front of the runners. Behind him stands the driver—Pluto, lord of the underworld. Pluto wears a spiked crown and a version of classical armor; instead of *pteryges*, the hanging straps on a cuirass protecting shoulders and groin, he bears jagged flaps, suggestive of the decay of the underworld.

The horse is decorated with spouts of flame instead of plumes. A small figurine of a Fury with snakes for hair sits on top of the horse collar waving a burning torch and a snake whip.

Plate 86 (manuscript page 135). America

Although the driver is painted coal black, his feather head-dress and skirt unmistakably identify him as an American, as understood in Europe at the time. Carrying bow and arrows as the typical weapons of American "savages," he rides on the tail of a huge golden griffin, the fabulous four-legged creature with the forepart of an eagle and the hind-quarters of a lion. Notwithstanding the Greek historiographer Herodotus's assertion that griffins were inhabitants of the farther reaches of Scythia, where they guarded gold nuggets in their nests, we have testimony of no less an authority than Christopher Columbus that a griffin was sighted at the southern coast of Cuba in May 1493.

The parrot perched on the forepart of the runners is of course another symbol of the lush tropical world of the New Indies. A model for the elaborate feather ornaments on the horse could have been the portrait of an "Indian nobleman" brought to Spain by Hernando Cortés that a traveling artist from Augsburg, Christoph Weiditz, drew from life in 1528 (Figure 19). This image in Weiditz's sketchbook, with many other drawings he made of costumes from Spain, Portugal, France, Italy, Austria, the Netherlands, and England, was copied into a comprehensive volume of costume drawings commissioned by the Nuremberg collector



Figure 19. *Indian chief* ("Noble"). Christoph Weiditz, *Das Trachtenbuch* (The Book of Costumes; probably Augsburg, 1529), pl. 22. Watercolor over pen and ink drawing. Photograph: Weiditz 1927, pl. 22



Figure 20. Title page of Hans Weigel, *Trachtenbuch* (Book of Costumes; Nuremberg, 1577). Woodcut, 11 $\frac{3}{8}$ x 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. (28.8 x 16.5 cm). British Museum, London (1850,0511.283). ©The Trustees of the British Museum

Sigmund Hagelsheimer, known by the name of Heldt, between 1548 and 1581, and would have been accessible to a serious researcher. It is also possible that the feather ornaments were based on original objects that had made their way into the curiosity chambers, or *Kunstkabinette*, of collectors in Nuremberg, a center of international commerce.

Plate 87 (manuscript page 137). Africa

Fascination with the costumes and customs of people in faraway places had burgeoned in Europe ever since the Crusades. Tales about the realm of Prester John and about the wonders of Cathay and Xanadu, brought back and spread by travelers such as Marco Polo and the elusive Sir John Mandeville, had stirred the curiosity of western Europeans.

Turks, as the representatives of the mysterious East situated at Europe's very doorstep, held a special fascination and were regarded with a mixture of admiration and fear. The driver of this sleigh is dressed in Turkish costume, with turban and scimitar. Because he is seated on a lion, however, it is likely that he is meant to represent the continent of Africa, whose entire northern coast was Turkish domain in the sixteenth century. Indeed, among the personifications of the four continents (Europe, Asia, America, and Africa) depicted on the title page of Hans Weigel's *Trachtenbuch* of 1577 (Figure 20), the figures of Asia as well as Africa are in

Turkish dress. (Chinese, East Indians, and sub-Saharan Africans were largely beyond Europe's ken at that time.)

The crescents on the horse's caparison are in keeping with the Turkish outfit of the driver, but the tall ostrich plumes were probably meant to suggest Africa.

Plate 88 (manuscript page 139). Three Men and a Tub

In what looks very much like a float in a Shriners' parade, a big metal bathtub has been set on sleigh runners, with two men relaxing in the water. A third—in briefs and just a towel wrapped around his shoulders—stands on the runners behind the tub and guides the skittish horse that apparently is displeased with the total weight of this contraption.

The two men in the tub have bleeding cups attached to their shoulders—the period's routine practice for drawing out the body's impurities—while they play for stakes. All three men, and the figurine of a bathmaid with her pail depicted on the horse collar, wear the straw caps used in public bathhouses (Figure 21). Card games were a pleasant pastime during communal baths. Here the card played out on the board—*drei Herzen* (three of hearts)—makes a German pun on love. *Drei* is a near-homophone of *treu*, meaning "loyal" (see Plate 64). Since promiscuity and gambling were condemned by the church (in Germany a deck of cards was proverbially known as the Devil's Prayerbook), this scene with its ambiguous wordplay and the flimsily clad bathmaid (see Plate 65) in her chemise are broad hints at what supposedly went on in these bathing establishments.



Figure 21. Jost Amman. *Der Bader* (The Bathing House Operator). Woodcut from Jost Amman and Hans Sachs, *Das Ständebuch* (The Book of Trades; Frankfurt, 1568), fol. 53



Plate 88 (manuscript page 139). Three Men and a Tub

Plate 89 (manuscript page 141). Swan Sleigh

In marked contrast to the subjects of most of the preceding sleighs, the appearance or theme of this example does not appear to be deeply steeped in classical mythology. Lacking any additional or explanatory accessories, this sleigh simply presents a beautiful swan, which forms the main body of the sleigh; it is accompanied by two small snails.

Plate 90 (manuscript page 143). The Italian Comedy (Commedia dell'Arte)

The driver of this sleigh wears the costume of Pantalone, the cuckolded rich old man who is one of the stock characters of the commedia dell'arte. The box of the sleigh is shaped like a lavishly decorated ship's hull, reminiscent of the Venetian ship of state, the Bucintoro. Its figurehead is a statuette of a Venetian courtesan in a sumptuous gown with a low-cut neckline and a long train who holds a plumed mirror-fan in her hand. In front of her, on the curling top of the runners, is a figurine of Bajazzo (see Plate 23), merrily dancing to the tune of his mandolin. Another figurine—a

torchbearer—is perched on the horse collar. These guides, or linkboys, could be hired to guide visitors safely home from late theatrical performances.

Plate 91 (manuscript page 145). The Stag Hunt

The horse pulling this sleigh is bedecked with a caparison of oak leaves and acorns as tassels and bunches of leaves instead of plumes on headstall and tail. On its collar the kneeling figurine of a green-clad hunter aims his rifle at the lifesize stag emerging from the cover of lush verdure that forms the sleigh's body. The runners are shaped like fallen tree limbs. The driver, dressed as a hunter with a broad-bladed *Waidplötze* (hunting knife) at his side, blows a hunting call.

Plate 92 (manuscript page 147). The Basilisk

The sleigh itself and the caparison of the horse are studded all over with mirrors. The kneeling figurine of a boy holding a large mirror is positioned on the horse collar to face the basilisk that is standing on the elevated front of the sleigh.

Figure 22. Jost Amman. *Coat of Arms of Melchior Schedel* (ex libris). Nuremberg, ca. 1570. Woodcut, 14¼ x 9¾ in. (36.2 x 24.7 cm)



Figure 23. *A Hungarian on Horseback*. Hans Weigel, *Trachtenbuch* (Book of Costumes; Nuremberg, 1577). Woodcut, 9 x 6⅜ in. (23 x 16.1 cm). British Museum, London (1871,1209.3202). ©The Trustees of the British Museum



According to the lore of the bestiaries, the basilisk was the king of the reptiles. The beast was thought to have been hatched by a toad from an egg laid by a rooster when it reached the age of seven years. The basilisk was supposed to be so venomous that its mere glance would kill instantly. The only way of combating a basilisk was to let it look into a mirror, so that its own reflection would rebound and slay it.

Plate 93 (manuscript page 149). Orion

The figure standing on the front board of this sleigh—clad in classical costume, equipped with spear and hunting horn, and with a dog at his feet—is probably meant to be Orion. He was the son of Neptune, who gave him the gift of walking on water. The mermaid placed on the horse collar hints at this ability.

Plate 94 (manuscript page 151). Eagle and Sun

According to medieval bestiaries, “when an eagle grows old and his wings become heavy and his eyes become darkened with a mist, then he goes in search of a fountain, and he flies up to the height of heaven, even unto the circle of the sun; and there he singes his wings and at the time evaporates the fog of his eyes, in a ray of the sun. Then at length,

taking a header down into the fountain, he dips himself three times in it, and instantly he is renewed with a great vigor of plumage and splendor of vision.” In illustration of this belief, the eagle here gazes at the sun mounted on the horse collar. As the sacred bird of Jupiter in classical mythology, he clutches a bundle of flames, the god’s thunderbolt.

The sleigh’s decoration of crossed ragged staves and sparking flints and firesteels introduces a contemporary political context. The eagle was the heraldic symbol of the Holy Roman Empire, which was ruled by the Habsburg dynasty from the fifteenth century until its dissolution in 1806. By marriage to the heiress of Burgundy in 1478, a Habsburg prince, the future emperor Maximilian I, became the sovereign of the prestigious Order of the Golden Fleece. The heraldic panoply of this chivalric order included the personal device of the flint-and-firesteel of its founder, Philippe le Bon (1396–1467), and a cross of ragged staves, the badge of Burgundy’s patron saint, Saint Andrew. The combination of all these devices suggests an allegorical comparison between Jupiter and the House of Habsburg.

Plate 95 (manuscript page 153). Half and Half

The figurehead of this sleigh is a statuette of a strangely composite military man, comically halved. His right side is

dressed in the exaggerated puffed and slashed costume of a *Landsknecht*, the swaggering mercenary pikeman of the first half of the sixteenth century, but his left side is clad as a light cavalryman of the same period, in half armor and one thigh-high riding boot. His breastplate is absurdly cut in half down its middle in a technically impossible way. This bizarre motif, perhaps illustrating a proverb, must have been well understood at the time. The depiction of a hen and rooster copulating on the horse collar suggests that this figurehead may have had a bawdy meaning. Strangely, the very same half-and-half figure appears in the bookplate of Melchior Schedel, grandson of Dr. Hartmann Schedel, the author of the famous *Weltchronik* (Chronicle of the World) of 1493. This enigmatic ex libris was executed between 1560 and 1570 by the prolific graphic artist Jost Amman (Figure 22).

In placing the sleigh at a slight angle, this composition deviates from the usual pattern of showing the sleighs strictly in profile. This angle affords a view into the sleigh box, with its passenger seat. In addition, the driver's face is drawn in a highly individualistic manner that suggests it is a true portrait, perhaps a self-portrait of the designer of the sleigh himself.

Of particular interest for historians of costume is the driver's fashionable suit, which shows pockets as integral features of not only the doublet but also the pants. In fact, we see here one of the earliest examples of true pants pockets.

Plate 96 (manuscript page 155). Half and Half

The driver of this sleigh is dressed in red, and accordingly the horse collar is fitted with a rack of stag's antlers. The sleigh itself is painted in an "eye-dazzler" pattern. The sleigh's figurehead is a statuette, in another absurd—and

rather risqué—coupling of contrasts. It is dressed as a dour Protestant minister on its right side and as a jolly carouser on its left. While the right hand—the minister's—clutches the Good Book to his breast, the left hand—that of the happy tippler—joyously waves aloft a tall *Humpen* glass, presumably full of wine.

Although making fun of the clergy was quite popular, it was not without risk, even in places beyond the reach of the Inquisition. In 1539 the float that was the main part of the annual *Schembartlauf* parade was a type of ship of fools on wheels, named *Hell*. The ship's captain was costumed as a Protestant minister with a gaming board in his hand instead of the Gospels. This so outraged the leading local clergyman, Dr. Andreas Osiander, that he prevailed on the Worshipful City Council to have the *Schembartlauf* banned in perpetuity.⁷²

Plate 97 (manuscript page 157). The Hungarian

Though the figurehead statuette of this sleigh is an elegant lady in a fashionable dress of western European style, the driver wears the distinctive costume of a Hungarian nobleman. His frogged coat is rakishly draped over one shoulder in the way that became familiar to all Europeans in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries as the signature *pelisse* of hussars' uniforms, which were based on traditional Hungarian folk costumes. Other details of his outfit, such as the plumed cap, the boots with pointed shafts, and the scimitar, correspond to those in the woodcut illustration *Ein Unger zu Ross* (A Hungarian on Horseback) in Hans Weigel's *Trachtenbuch* of 1577 (Figure 23). The Hungarian drivers wear scimitars; all the other gentlemen drivers wear rapiers.



Plate 73 (manuscript page 109)



Plate 74 (manuscript page 111)



Plate 75 (manuscript page 113)



Plate 76 (manuscript page 115)



Plate 77 (manuscript page 117)



Plate 78 (manuscript page 119)



Plate 79 (manuscript page 121)



Plate 80 (manuscript page 123)



Plate 81 (manuscript page 125)



Plate 82 (manuscript page 127)



Plate 83 (manuscript page 129)



Plate 84 (manuscript page 131)



Plate 85 (manuscript page 133)



Plate 86 (manuscript page 135)



Plate 87 (manuscript page 137)



Plate 88 (manuscript page 139)



Plate 89 (manuscript page 141)



Plate 90 (manuscript page 143)



Plate 91 (manuscript page 145)



Plate 92 (manuscript page 147)



Plate 93 (manuscript page 149)



Plate 94 (manuscript page 151)



Plate 95 (manuscript page 153)



Plate 96 (manuscript page 155)



Plate 97 (manuscript page 157)

SECTION V

Sleigh Parade of Winter 1640

Plates 98–126 (on pages 179–83)

Title page (manuscript page 158; Figure 24)

In the year . . . here at Nuremberg by a Worshipful, Honorable, and Wise City Council during the then prevailing wintertime has been given permission to the Honorable Families to perform a sleigh parade, as has not been held in many years, but to mind that they should be finished when the Great Bell should strike 2 o'clock. On the given Day they then gathered together and assembled in considerable numbers and it was good to see. Also, the Austrian gentlemen exulants, who were here at the time, did enjoy themselves greatly on that occasion and participated in driving around with their ladies.

Though the date is missing in the text (the small section of the page that contained it has been torn out) this special event “as has not been held in many years” is most likely the one that took place in the winter of 1640, because the

Austrian exulants—Protestants driven out by the Counter-Reformation—are probably the group that came to Nuremberg in 1636.⁷³

Not surprisingly, the sleighs shown in the following plates—supposedly representing actual examples—have a generally more realistic look compared to some of the exuberantly fanciful suggestions depicted in the preceding section. Their drivers are also altogether more sensibly clad than those others, who are sometimes dressed in extremely scanty costumes.

Plate 98 (manuscript page 159). Street Scene

A crowd of warmly dressed gentlemen watches a parade sleigh (closely resembling the one shown in Plate 97) being driven around a city square whose shops are closed and shuttered for the holiday. Several of these gentlemen are

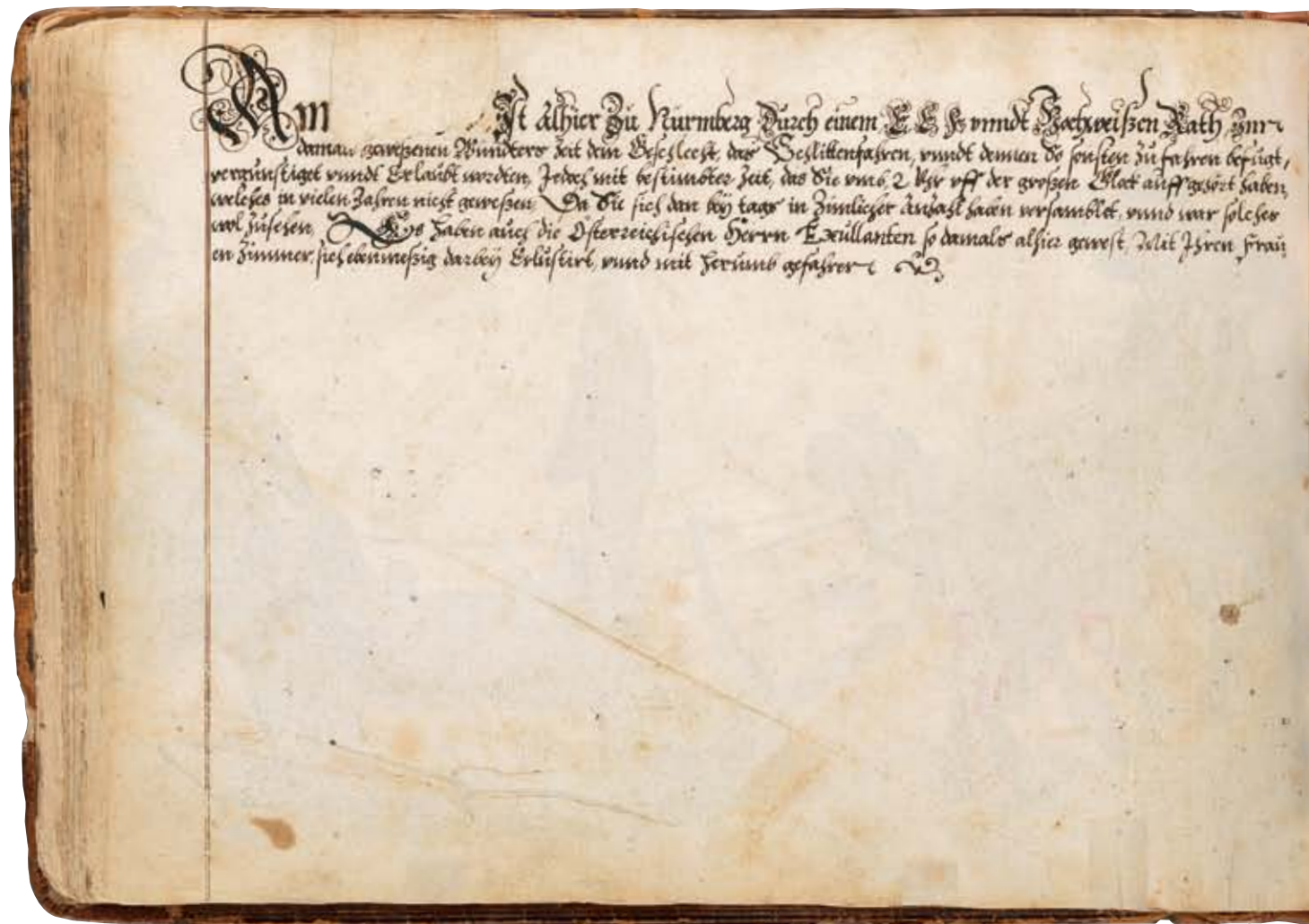


Figure 24. Introduction to Section V of the *Turnierbuch* (Figure 1, manuscript page 158)

wearing eastern European-style furs and frogged coats. These are probably the Austrian guests mentioned on the opening page, although none of their female companions are in evidence. Farther back two plainly dressed men—one in a fur cap and Hungarian boots and the other leaning on a long sword—must be servants in attendance on their masters. In the foreground, two boys—one of them an apprentice wearing the apron and the pillbox hat assigned to copper-founders and braziers in Jost Amman's woodcuts for what is popularly known as the *Ständebuch* (Book of Trades) of 1568—are presumably fighting for a good place to see the show. Their fun seems to be coming to an end, though, since an older man, probably the master of the truant apprentice, is wrathfully closing in on them. Another realistic touch is the little dog enthusiastically barking at the circling sleigh.

Plate 99 (manuscript page 161). The Realm of Birds

Of standard form, this sleigh is painted all over with birds, such as a swan, a rooster, a crane, an eagle, a stork, a falcon, and many smaller songbirds, including a pair happily

copulating. This last detail represents the strongest and most unmistakable example in the tournament book of the bawdy German pun on extramarital intercourse (see Plate 65), emphasized by its location immediately in front of the driver's crotch. On the front board of the sleigh box stands a peacock in its pride, probably a prized stuffed specimen in full plumage. The peacock, a well-known symbol of vanity, is confronted by a mirror mounted on the horse collar.

Plate 100 (manuscript page 163). The Sphinx

The entire body of this sleigh is sculpted in the shape of a sphinx, although she is not the enigmatic guardian of the pyramids of Gizeh. Instead, she is the alluring monster of Greek mythology who waylaid wanderers on the road to Thebes and killed them if they failed to solve her riddle: "What goes on four legs in the morning, on two at midday, and on three in the evening?" This Theban sphinx committed suicide by throwing herself into a ravine when Oedipus solved her riddle: "It is Man, who crawls on all fours as a baby, walks erect as an adult, and supports himself with a cane as an oldster."



Plate 98 (manuscript page 159). A crowd of warmly dressed gentlemen watches a parade sleigh

The sphinx of this sleigh has the torso of a beautiful woman with streaming blond hair. She is naked except for some jewelry and emerges from the body of a lioness that sprouts two pairs of wings.

Plate 101 (manuscript page 165). Venice

The sleigh is shaped like a Venetian gondola, with the driver seated under its canopy. The horse is ingeniously disguised as the Lion of Saint Mark, with a lion skin, wings fixed to its collar, and a golden halo on its headstall.

Plate 102 (manuscript page 167). The Hunter of Hearts

German folksong abounds with imagery of the lover pursuing his heart's desire as a hunter chasing game. The *Herzensjäger* (hunter of hearts) motif is the theme of this sleigh decorated all over with flaming hearts and with a somewhat wistful hunter as its figurehead. Its amorous theme is made emphatically clear by the blindfold Cupid with bow and arrow aiming at the heart mounted on the horse collar. This heart is bursting into flames and is already pierced by an arrow to indicate love's burning desire and sweet pains. The horse's caparison is made up of heart-shaped elements, and heart-shaped wreaths are attached to its headstall and tailpiece.

Plate 103 (manuscript page 169). Loyal Hearts

The number 3 and the three of hearts, as in the German-style playing cards painted all over this sleigh, represent a pun on "loyal hearts" (see Plates 64, 88). The struts of the sleigh body are pairs of clasped hands emerging from clouds. The figurine of the young man points to his exposed heart inscribed "leben – tod" (life – death) and has written on his forehead "nachtet – fern" (near – far). Supporting the symbols of true love and its everlasting hope are the pelican feeding its young with its heart's blood on the tip of the runners and the phoenix rising from fire and ashes on the horse collar.

Plate 104 (manuscript page 171). The Wily Bird Catchers

Owls found in the open at daylight are bound to be mobbed by smaller birds (see Plate 68). This instinctive behavior is exploited by bird catchers, who set up a captive owl as a decoy. The figurehead of this sleigh is a bird catcher's blind with a tethered owl on top and perches smeared with bird-lime to snare unwary feathered attackers. The picture in the medallion on the side panel of the sleigh box makes an even stronger point; it shows a woman watching from behind a leafy screen as "birds" with human faces and foolscaps flock into her invitingly spread nets.

This sleigh is drawn not by a single horse like most of the others but by a team of two. Mounted on the lead horse collar is the figurine of a bathhouse attendant shouldering his coal shovel, and attached to its tailpiece is a "mirror" with a woman's face peering out. Mirrors, decoys intended to imitate watering holes, were another device used in bird catching, but these motifs are also fraught with racy innuendo, because public bathhouses were seen as places of loose living.

Plate 105 (manuscript page 173). Apollo and Daphne

The double statuette that forms the figurehead of this sleigh illustrates the classical myth of Apollo and Daphne. Apollo once fell in love with a wood nymph, Daphne, who was a hunting companion of Diana, his virginal twin sister. Determined to keep her maidenly purity despite Apollo's stormy wooing, Daphne appealed to her mistress for protection. Diana came to the rescue and turned Daphne into a laurel tree at the critical moment, just as Apollo was about to embrace her.

Plate 106 (manuscript page 175). The Realm of Neptune

The body of the sleigh, resting on pairs of entwined sea serpents, is decorated with carved dolphins and huge seashells. It has as its figurehead a kneeling statuette of Neptune, waving his trident in one hand while guiding the reins of a prancing sea horse mounted whimsically on the tips of the runners. The sleigh horse is harnessed in a caparison studded with seashells and carries on its collar a seductive mermaid playing her siren song on a lyre.

Plate 107 (manuscript page 177). Mermaid Queen

A golden-crowned and lyre-playing mermaid is the figurehead of this sleigh, which is decorated with more aquatic symbols, among them shells, dolphins, sea snails, a minute sea serpent, and, on the painted side panels, tritons and nereids frolicking in the waves. Mounted on the horse collar is the figure of a swan.

Except for the added detail of the lyre, the modestly clothed, double-tailed mermaid is identical to the charge in the coat of arms of the patrician family Rieter von Kornburg (see Plate 49).

Plate 108 (manuscript page 179). Orion

This sleigh has as its theme another representation of the legend of Orion, the mighty hunter, who arrogantly boasted that he would kill all animals on the face of the earth (see Plate 93). Here, Orion is shown defiantly brandishing his hunting javelin; his closed eyes indicate his blindness (the

punishment for his haughty boasting, meted out by Diana, the goddess of hunting and mistress of the animals). In front of him sits his patient dog. In a bush mounted on the horse collar is a figure representing Cedalion, the boy whom Orion hoisted on his shoulder to guide him to the place where the sun rises. The rays of the rising sun then restored Orion's eyesight.

Plate 109 (manuscript page 181). Fame

The winged statue of Fame with her double trumpet is the figurehead of this sleigh covered with eyes. According to Virgil's *Aeneid*, Fame possessed many eyes and mouths and flew swiftly all over the world. From her palace at the center of the world every word spoken was broadcast, much amplified, with the help of her attendants: Credulity, Error, Sedition, Intimidation, Unfounded Joy, and False Rumor.

Fame's negative associations would have been counterbalanced by the eagle, the bird of Jupiter, on the horse collar. Jupiter, supreme among the gods, was the lord of daylight and the open sky.

Plate 110 (manuscript page 183). Flora

The figurehead of this sleigh is a statue of Flora, the Roman goddess of flowers and vegetation. She is clad in a flowing dress of classical derivation and holds a long-stemmed iris like a scepter in her right hand while with her left hand she clutches a cornucopia overflowing with flowers to her bosom. Set on the front tip of the runners is a vase containing a rose and two tulips; continuing the floral theme, a large fleur-de-lis is mounted on the horse collar.

On the side panel of the ornately sculpted and painted sleigh box is an oval medallion bearing the intertwined monogrammatic letters *CR*. Most likely these are the initials of the sleigh's owner, who might have been a gardener by profession or a flower fancier.

Plate 111 (manuscript page 185). Mercury

The Roman patron deity of merchants (and thieves), Mercury is one of the figures from classical mythology one would expect to find represented in a parade held at Nuremberg, a center of worldwide trade. Here the statuette of Mercury bears a winged helmet crested by the head of a rooster (Mercury's sacred bird) and holds aloft the caduceus, his magic wand entwined with a pair of snakes. As the messenger of the gods who "flies swift as thought," he wears winged sandals and stands on one foot ready to take off in flight. Wings also decorate the body of the sleigh. The moose antlers mounted on the horse collar, on the other hand, have no discernible connection with Mercury.

Plate 112 (manuscript page 187). Jupiter and Semele

Another mythological love story, that of Jupiter and Semele, is told by the decoration of this sleigh (see also Plates 79, 105). Jupiter, the Thunderer, had many love affairs with mortal maidens that usually had dire consequences for them, owing to the jealousy of Juno, his divine consort. Falling in love with Semele, Jupiter promised to grant her every wish. Jealous, Juno slyly suggested to Semele that she ask Jupiter to make love to her as he did to Juno. Reluctantly, but bound by his promise, Jupiter descended upon poor Semele with the full power of his thunderbolts and thus burned her to death.

Jupiter, as the figurehead of this sleigh, is seated upon his soaring eagle and brandishes one of his thunderbolts. Flames and thunderbolts are scattered all over the sleigh and its runners. A more contemporary version of the thunderbolt—an exploding cannonball—is mounted on the forward tip of the runners. On the horse collar cowers the figure of Semele, naked in expectation of Jupiter's lovemaking and engulfed in flames.

Plate 113 (manuscript page 189). Athena

The figurehead of this sleigh is a statuette of Athena, the Greek goddess of war and wisdom. Armored in a plumed helmet and an antique-style cuirass worn over a long trailing gown, with her hair cascading down her back, she holds a lance with a streaming pennant in her right hand and her shield, emblazoned with the head of Medusa, in her left.

The owl perched on the horse collar is, in this case, not the defiant symbol of rugged individualism seen elsewhere in the manuscript (see Plates 8, 9, 12, 68, 72, 104) but the bird sacred to the goddess and emblematic of her city Athens.

The driver of this sleigh wears Hungarian dress, with a frogged coat rakishly thrown over one shoulder and a tall plume in his cap. The painter's keen sense of observation manifests itself in the detail of the driver's slipperlike shoes, with their typical Hungarian-style heels. Most likely the driver of this sleigh was one of the foreign exulants, wearing his native costume.

Plate 114 (manuscript page 191).⁷⁴ Frenchman

The driver is dressed in the most elegantly raffish French fashion, in peasecod doublet with nipped-in waistline, very short trunks, and long, tight-fitting hose to show off his well-turned legs. To make its theme absolutely clear, the obviously Francophile owner of this sleigh has hoisted at its prow a blue flag with three golden fleurs-de-lis, the royal arms of France, and has made up the caparison of the horse from huge fleurs-de-lis.



Figure 25. *The Savage People from Brazil or the New Islands*. Hans Weigel, *Trachtenbuch* (Book of Costumes; Nuremberg, 1577), pl. 181. Woodcut, 11 1/8 x 6 5/8 in. (28.2 x 16.9 cm). British Museum, London (1850,0511.463). ©The Trustees of the British Museum



Figure 26. *A Man from Brazil in America*. Woodcut from Hans Weigel, *Trachtenbuch* (Book of Costumes; Nuremberg, 1577)

Plate 115 (manuscript page 193). American

Another example of the period's keen interest in outlandish people and costumes, this sleigh's figurehead is a black man in what were then considered the characteristic accoutrements of an American "savage": bow and arrows, club, and feathers. Feathers were understood to be the main ingredients of the costume of the "Savage People from Brazil or the New Islands," shown in a woodcut from Hans Weigel's *Trachtenbuch* (Figure 25). The long-handled club is an exact copy of the one carried by "A Man from Brazil in America" in another illustration in the same book (Figure 26). The eagle perched on the horse's collar and the black hearts and flames that pattern the sleigh box and runners may refer to the sacrifices of Aztec Mexico; the first map of Mexico was published in Nuremberg, in 1523.

Plate 116 (manuscript page 195). Fools

Embodying a theme that would have been perfectly appropriate for the rambunctious days of Shrovetide, this sleigh sports a group of gamboling fools as its figurehead and has an overall decorative motif of jester's bells on the box, runners, and guide poles. Mounted on the horse collar is the figure of an ape holding up a mirror between his legs. This somewhat crude way of symbolizing the contortions that seekers of knowledge might have to perform is paralleled by the two fools pounding each other with wooden mallets (alluding to the German saying that common sense cannot be imparted to some people, even by hammering it in with a mallet, or *Holzhammer*). The driver's strange hat of

inverted-funnel shape may be a reference to the *Nürnberger Trichter* (Nuremberg funnel) of German folklore, a fictitious device for pouring knowledge directly into a brain without the tedious bother of study.

Plate 117 (manuscript page 197). Marcus Curtius

The Roman hero Marcus Curtius was a well-known symbol of self-sacrifice for the common good. According to legend, during the early days of the Republic a huge chasm opened in the middle of the Forum. Attempts to fill it in with earth were to no avail. The desperate Romans consulted an oracle, who advised them to throw in their most prized possessions. Marcus Curtius, proclaiming that Rome's most precious possession was its youth and their military prowess, mounted his battle charger in full armor and leapt into the abyss, which immediately closed over him, leaving only a little lake. It became customary to throw coins into this lake, named Lacus Curtius (and now a small basin in the Forum), as an offering to the spirit of the place.

On the sleigh's box, within a frame of elaborate scrollwork, is a medallion inscribed with the monogram AV (or VA), together with the date 1597, which suggests that the sleigh was made for one of the last parades before the long hiatus and was being reused some four decades later.

Plate 118 (manuscript page 199). Woodsman as Hunter

The figurehead of this sleigh is a strange creature with the torso of a man growing out of a tree trunk and the bristling branches of a pollard willow sprouting from his head instead of hair. This half-human, half-vegetal being is armed with a bow and a quiver full of arrows. He has just shot an arrow that brought down a stag, which is mounted as a figurine on the horse collar. Though cast into a classical disguise, obviously inspired by the metamorphosis of Daphne (see Plate 105), this figurehead likely represents another German play on the words *Waid* (hunt) and *Weide* (willow tree), turning a *Waidmann* (hunter) into its homophone *Weidemann* (willow man). The sleigh box is heavily ornamented with garlands and floral scrolls. In its center is a circular medallion with the monogram AM (or MA), presumably the initials of the owner of the sleigh. The driver is dressed in a Hungarian-style frogged fur coat and a fur hat. He, too, may be one of the guests from Austria who participated in the parade (see Plate 113).

Plate 119 (manuscript page 201). Merry *Landsknecht*

This sleigh's figurehead is that of a *Landsknecht*, one of the renowned infantry soldiers of sixteenth-century Germany. This *Landsknecht* is clad in the exaggerated puffed-and-slashed costume affected by these swaggering fighting men

(see Plate 95). (The doublet of the driver picks up the slashed style of the *Landsknecht* costume, though in a more subdued way.) Aside from their fondness for flashy dress, the soldiers also had a reputation for hard drinking, as shown by the tall *Stangenglas* this figure merrily waves in his hand.

Painted on the side panel of the sleigh box is a group of marching *Landsknechte*, including standard bearer, drummer, fifer, musketeer, and two pikemen.

Plate 120 (manuscript page 203). Dovecote

The *Taubenhaus*, the dovecote where birds fly in and out, is a popular metaphor for the promiscuous lover's heart, always open to swarms of girls coming and going. The amorous significance of the dovecote, and the painted decoration of stars (indicating evening, when the pigeons come to roost), is made quite clear by the pair of copulating pigeons on the tip of the runners.

The bunches of flowers (presumably artificial, considering the wintry season) decorating the horse's harness instead of plumes evoke a garden. The boy on the horse collar who waves a stick with a foxtail is supposed to protect the garden from raiding birds by shooing them away.

Plate 121 (manuscript page 205). Half and Half

In a ribald political satire, which could be safely presented in a Protestant city like Nuremberg, the figurehead of this sleigh is clad half as a mitred bishop, with chasuble and crozier, and half as a visitor to the public baths, naked except for tiny bathing breeches and a bathing cap.

Bathing was a much more widespread practice in the Middle Ages than is generally assumed today. Because of the problem of insufficient water supply—in the days before water pipes, private households had to carry every bucketful from a public fountain—bathing was done in communal bathhouses. Toward the end of the fifteenth century, bathing, and personal cleanliness in general, became suspect. The Spanish Inquisition, established by Queen Isabella, was determined to stamp out all deviations from the True Faith and regarded bathing as a heretical practice because the Moors of Spain, like all Muslims, performed five ritual washings a day before their prayers. In Protestant countries of northern and central Europe, where there was no direct contact with Islam, the attitude was more relaxed, but bathhouses became increasingly frowned upon as potential places of loose behavior.

Plate 122 (manuscript page 207). Half and Half

The fool's head with a cockscomb and the belled ears of an ass mounted on the horse's collar and the peacock feathers decorating the harness indicate that this sleigh's theme is the

vanity and foolishness of fashion. The figurehead is a man whose right side is dressed in rugged and comfortable Dutch-style clothes while his left half is clothed in the formal Spanish fashion. The driver, by contrast, is clad in the snappy puffed breeches and elegant long hose of the refined French court fashion (see Plate 114).

This image illustrates the witticism, repeated over and over again in the introductions to contemporary treatises and handbooks on the costumes of all nations, that all parts of the world have their own distinctive and traditional styles but only the Europeans cannot make up their minds which style to choose (see Figure 20).

Plate 123 (manuscript page 209). Traveling Sleigh

In every event that calls for a special effort to create a spectacular effect, there is always someone who refuses to cooperate. Strikingly different from the rest of the sleighs in the parade, this one is unadorned, just as it would be for riding around town or for traveling a short distance to visit a friend's country estate. Thus, the illustration shows the basic sleigh from which the other fanciful theme vehicles in the manuscript were lovingly created.

Plate 124 (manuscript page 211). Traveling Coach

This one-horse wagon would have served the same purpose for short travels overland as the sleigh in the preceding plate. Though not a sleigh proper, it seems to have been admitted to the sleigh parade.

Plate 125 (manuscript page 217). Peasant Sleigh

Though at first glance similar to the utilitarian vehicles in Plates 123 and 124, this peasant sleigh is in fact carefully composed entirely of agricultural tools and farm household items. The body of the sleigh is a wooden trough, propped up by butter churns and hung with sickles and a flax comb. The "figurehead" is an assembly of a wooden bucket, a basket, and a beehive. The guide poles of the sleigh are a pair of rakes, tied with cattle ropes to the collar of the skewbald nag. A rooster is perched on top of the horse collar, and rooster feathers serve as plumes to decorate the braided forelock and tail of the horse. The driver is garbed as a peasant, and his wife, bundled up against the cold and holding a goose in her lap, is seated in the trough as the passenger.

The sly ridicule expressed in this parody of a peasant sleigh pointedly reflects the superior attitude of city dwellers toward the "dumb peasants" of the surrounding countryside.

Plate 126 (manuscript page 219). Memento Mori

The theme of the final sleigh of the parade is an adaptation of the Triumph of Death. It is a memento mori, a reminder



of human mortality. Drawn by a sorry nag hung with a caparison made of crosses, this funeral sleigh has as its driver Death himself, a grisly skeleton in a burial shroud. The sleigh box is shaped like a bier draped in a black funeral pall and rests on supports shaped like bones. A skull and rows of crossbones decorate the runners. In the mixture of classical motifs and Christian iconography typical for the period, the bearded figurehead standing above the pall is a statue of Chronos as the Grim Reaper wielding his scythe. His wings indicate the fast flight of time, as does the pair of bat wings flanking the hourglass on the horse collar. On top of the hourglass is the escapement of a clock, a more up-to-date reminder of the passage of time (Nuremberg was famous for the introduction of the spring-driven pocket watch). Finally, omitting no significant iconographical element, the designer of this eerie vehicle of Death even used a pair of gravediggers' shovels for its guide poles, which are tied to the horse collar made out of bones. Since this sleigh parade took place during the Thirty Years War (1618–48), one of the most chaotic and devastating events in the history of modern Europe, the final sleigh must have been regarded as particularly apt by its contemporary audience.

NOTES

1. According to MMA Department of Arms and Armor files, the manuscript was acquired through Édouard Rouveyre, 102 rue de la Tour, Paris, in October 1921.
2. See Spitzer 1890–93, vol. 2, p. 360, no. 4; Spitzer Collection sale 1893, vol. 2, p. 226, no. 3036; and Paris 1874, p. 58: "Deux volumes d'aquarelles, . . . le second des costumes de cavaliers allemands, de tournois et joutes, de la même époque [XVI^e siècle]." (Two volumes of watercolors, . . . the second [containing] the attire of German knights for tourneys and jousts, of the same period [sixteenth century]).
3. Many of the pages appear to be single leaves of paper, not folios; for this reason, the overall count is given in leaves (112); discounting frontispiece and end paper, the two sides of the body of leaves provide 220 actual pages. In this article, for ease of reference—since there are numerous blank pages—actual manuscript page numbers are given in parentheses for illustrations or text. We are grateful to Rebecca Capua, MMA Department of Paper Conservation, who conducted a thorough study of the manuscript's technical aspects, providing all the information cited in these paragraphs.
4. Each mark shows a crowned shield with the Nuremberg city arms, with the distinguishing feature of two small circles in the crown's base or tines. Very similar watermarks may be found in Briquet 1985 (vol. 1, p. 67, no. 925) and Mosser and Sullivan 1996– (ARMS.267.1); paper with similar marks was apparently produced in many areas



Plate 98 (manuscript page 159)



Plate 99 (manuscript page 161)



Plate 100 (manuscript page 163)



Plate 101 (manuscript page 165)



Plate 102 (manuscript page 167)



Plate 103 (manuscript page 169)



Plate 104 (manuscript page 171)



Plate 105 (manuscript page 173)



Plate 106 (manuscript page 175)



Plate 107 (manuscript page 177)



Plate 108 (manuscript page 179)



Plate 109 (manuscript page 181)



Plate 110 (manuscript page 183)



Plate 111 (manuscript page 185)



Plate 112 (manuscript page 187)



Plate 113 (manuscript page 189)



Plate 114 (manuscript page 191)



Plate 115 (manuscript page 193)



Plate 116 (manuscript page 195)



Plate 117 (manuscript page 197)



Plate 118 (manuscript page 199)



Plate 119 (manuscript page 201)



Plate 120 (manuscript page 203)



Plate 121 (manuscript page 205)



Plate 122 (manuscript page 207)



Plate 123 (manuscript page 209)



Plate 124 (manuscript page 211)



Plate 125 (manuscript page 217)



Plate 126 (manuscript page 219)

- of western and central Europe and may be dated to the third decade of the sixteenth century. For the Nuremberg city arms, see Siebmacher (St), p. 87, pl. 120 (this and all further references to what is undoubtedly the most comprehensive and authoritative work on German heraldry, today known simply as “der Siebmacher,” are cited according to its general index: Jäger-Sunstenau 1964).
5. Carousels were elaborate and extravagant courtly festivities that evolved during the second half of the sixteenth century out of the tournaments of earlier periods. They usually began with a costumed parade and continued with demonstrations of equestrian skill such as running at the quintain (attacking a dummy—often shaped to resemble a “Turk” or other “exotic” warrior—with a lance) and running at the ring (an exercise during which participants, at a gallop, attempted to catch small suspended rings with the points of their lances).
 6. The binding was rebaked, probably sometime during the nineteenth century. We are grateful to the MMA’s book conservator Mindy Dubansky, as well as to Philippa Marks of the British Library, London, for their assessment of the binding.
 7. Zotz 2000.
 8. *Ibid.*, pp. 145–47.
 9. For a comprehensive survey of the relations between patricians and the nobility (with several references to Nuremberg), see Zotz 1985.
 10. “Cuperent tam egregie Scotorum reges quam mediocres Nurnbergae cives habitare.” This cardinal, Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini (1405–1464), would later become Pope Pius II (elected 1458); for the quote, see Anders 1960, p. 110 and n. 28.
 11. Endres 2001.
 12. Breiding 2009, especially pp. 174–80.
 13. Leitner 1880–82, vol. 1, p. CII.
 14. This translation and the translation of inscription in Plate 2 are after Appelbaum 1964, p. 7.
 15. In German “MER” (*Mär* or *Märe*) means “tale,” “story,” or, as in this case, “news” (then as now, the three are not always distinguishable from one another), while “GRAGEN” probably refers to a *Krax* or *Krage*, a wooden support for carrying objects on one’s back.
 16. During the fifteenth century this device was known as a *houst*; see Breiding 2005, p. 14.
 17. Often referred to as *cuir bouilli* (or, erroneously, as “boiled leather”), such defenses were made by submerging the leather in water and then shaping and drying it with the use of controlled heat.
 18. For identifying the musical instruments, I (H.N.) thank my colleague and friend Laurence Libin, formerly curator in the Department of Musical Instruments, MMA.
 19. Weigel 1577, after page Qiiij.
 20. Amman 1586, p. 65.
 21. The term *Herrenfastnacht* (literally, gentlemen’s carnival) refers to the fact that this day was celebrated particularly by the local gentlemen, or *Herren*.
 22. Siebmacher (Bay), p. 38, pl. 36.
 23. Siebmacher (BayA1), p. 59, pl. 60.
 24. Siebmacher (Bay), p. 54, pl. 56; also Siebmacher (BayA1), p. 122, pl. 125.
 25. Siebmacher (BayA1), p. 91, pl. 90.
 26. For the heraldic description, see p. 125 above.
 27. See also Plates 41, 45, and 61.
 28. Siebmacher (Bay), p. 121, pl. 149.
 29. Siebmacher (Bg2) p. 40, pl. 66.
 30. Siebmacher (BayA1), p. 92, pl. 89.
 31. The heraldry of the Pfintzing or Pfinzing family is somewhat confusing; as shown here, the shield actually shows the coat of arms of the Geuschmid family, which was also borne by members of the Pfintzing/Pfinzing family; for the difficult history of these arms, see Siebmacher (BayA1), p. 52, pl. 52.
 32. Siebmacher (BayA2), p. 123, pl. 77 (Siebmacher depicts the von Lochheim arms as *per bend*, not *per bend sinister*).
 33. Siebmacher (Bay), p. 43, pl. 42.
 34. *Ibid.*, p. 80, pl. 92.
 35. Siebmacher (BayA1), p. 94, pl. 92.
 36. *Ibid.*, pp. 106–7, pl. 105.
 37. *Ibid.*, pp. 82–83, pl. 82.
 38. Siebmacher (Bay), p. 61, pl. 65.
 39. Siebmacher (BayA2), p. 70, pl. 45; also Siebmacher (BayA3), p. 182, pl. 129.
 40. Siebmacher (BayA1), p. 75, pl. 74.
 41. *Ibid.*, p. 109, pl. 108.
 42. Siebmacher (Bay), p. 40, pl. 38.
 43. Siebmacher (BayA1), p. 95, pl. 94 (Siebmacher depicts the Ulstat arms as the three lion’s heads in profile but with an additional *triple Mount in base*).
 44. Siebmacher (Bay), pp. 45–46, pl. 45 (see also Plate 71 below).
 45. Siebmacher (BayA1), p. 64, pl. 64.
 46. *Ibid.*, p. 69, pl. 68 (according to Siebmacher, the horns of the crest were lined with feathers on the outside).
 47. *Ibid.*, p. 51, pl. 52.
 48. *Ibid.*, p. 33, pl. 29.
 49. Siebmacher (Bay), p. 43, pl. 44.
 50. The von Cämmerer arms are *Azure, two Crescents adorsed Or* (in blue two golden crescents back to back); see Siebmacher (BayA1), p. 32, pl. 29.
 51. The von Rech arms are *Sable, on a triple Mount Or a Rake Or* (in black on a golden triple mount a golden rake); Siebmacher (BayA1), p. 86, pl. 86.
 52. The Stromer arms are *Gules, a Triangle Argent, from each point issuant a Fleur-de-Lis Argent* (in red a silver triangle, each point ending in a silver fleur-de-lis); Siebmacher (Bay), p. 59, pl. 63.
 53. Siebmacher (BayA1), p. 50, pl. 48.
 54. Siebmacher gives the Kötzel, or Ketzell, arms as *Azure, on a triple Mount Vert a Cat sejant Argent, holding a bale in its left paw* (in blue, on a green triple-mount a seated silver cat holding a bale in its left paw); Siebmacher (BayA1), p. 78, pl. 78, also Siebmacher (BayA2), p. 99. The heraldically correct charge, however, is not a cat but a monkey (*on a Mount Or a Monkey sejant Argent with a belt Or and holding in its paw a Ball Or*). The confusion stems from the obsolete German folkloric term *Meerkatze*, referring to a long-tailed monkey of the family Cercopithecidae as an animal that came from across the sea (*Meer*) and climbed trees like a cat (*Katze*)—a rather elaborate version of canting arms.
 55. The Schlüsselfelder arms are *per fess Argent and Sable, charged with three Keys in pairle counterchanged* (divided horizontally, silver above black, overall three keys (*Schlüssel*) joined at their grips/bows of alternate colors of the respective fields); Siebmacher (BayA1), p. 90, pl. 90.
 56. The Imhoff arms are *Gules, a Sea Lion rampant Or* (in red, a rearing golden sea lion), Siebmacher (Bay), p. 41, pl. 40.
 57. The Fürer arms are *per pale Gules and Argent, dexter a halved Fleur-de-Lis, sinister a halved Wheel, counterchanged* (divided vertically of red and silver, on the heraldic right side a silver halved fleur-de-lis, on the heraldic left a red halved wheel), Siebmacher (Bay), p. 78, pl. 88.
 58. The Behaim arms are *per pale, Argent and Gules, overall a wavy Bend sinister Sable* (divided vertically of silver and red, overall a diagonal black band or river); Siebmacher (Bay), p. 27, pl. 22. This

- is another instance of (partially) canting arms, since the second part of the family name and title *Schwarzenbach* means “black brook.”
59. The identification of Linck’s family and his proper arms is difficult. He probably belonged to a Nuremberg family by the name of Linck whose arms are *per bend embattled of Or and Sable* (divided diagonally by a crenellated line of gold and black); Siebmacher (Bay), p. 110, pl. 134.
60. For a description of the Fürer arms, see note 57 above.
61. The Trainer arms are *Gules, a Wolf proper vested Argent* (in red a naturally colored wolf in a silver gown); Siebmacher (BayA1), p. 187, pl. 190.
62. Siebmacher (Bay), p. 110, pl. 134.
63. According to von Hefner, Philipp Lux originally came from Oudenarde in Flanders, participated in the *Gesellenstechen* of 1561, and in 1564 received the following arms from Emperor Maximilian II: *Or, an Ox Head Sable* (in gold a black ox head) with a crest of peacock feathers; see Siebmacher (Bg1), p. 28, pl. 33. According to Pilz 1932–34, p. 79, Lux came from Augsburg.
64. From the early sixteenth century onward, the Löffelholz called themselves Löffelholz von Kolberg (after Castle Kolberg, which one of the family members had been given in 1507 in recognition for military service to Duke Albrecht of Bavaria); at that time the original Löffelholz arms (see Plate 55) were “enriched” with the quartering (division into four fields) as described below; see Siebmacher (Bay), pp. 45–46, pl. 45.
65. The Geuder arms are *Azure, a Triangle Argent, from each point issuant a Star of six points Argent* (in blue a silver triangle, each point ending in a silver six-pointed star); Siebmacher (Bay), p. 36, p. 33 (and p. 79, pl. 90).
66. *Ibid.*, p. 38, pl. 35.
67. Siebmacher (BayA1), p. 90, pl. 90.
68. This section of the manuscript must have been paginated as a separate unit at one time, because the pages show two numbers, one of which was crossed out later. This revision was apparently made when it was discovered that there were mistakes both in the original numbering of section IV and in the later numbering, which must have been added when the section was bound with the remaining parts of the Metropolitan Museum’s manuscript. Page 73 had as its second number “No. 1,” page 82 was “No. 10,” and consequently pages 92, 102, and 112 were “No. 20,” “No. 30,” and “No. 40,” Page 123 had as its second number “No. 50,” because it turned out that the original count had skipped Page 114. However, the page number 124 occurs twice, assigned to two different pictures, and therefore the very last page, 126, received as its second number “No. 54.”
69. For a discussion of these sleighs, see also Kammel 2008, especially pp. 113–15.
70. This provocatively clad woman must be one of those “young lady-friends” whose “scanty costumes” made Bashford Dean wonder if they survived the sleigh ride (Dean 1922, p. 126).
71. The arms shown on these shields are not easily identifiable and may be fanciful; the first shield (the ship’s prow) is *bendy of six, Argent and Gules*, and may refer to the Nuremberg city arms (see note 4 above), while the last shield may show the arms of the old Bavarian Wittelsbach family: *paly bendy, Argent and Azure* (a checker-board pattern of silver and blue lozenges).
72. Auffarth 2008, pp. 88–89.
73. In fact, at least two groups of exulants arrived in Nuremberg, the first in 1598, the second in 1636. I (H.N.) am grateful to Horst-Dieter Beyerstedt of the Nuremberg City Archive and to Peter Fleischmann of the Nuremberg State Archive for providing infor-

mation on the arrival of these exiles. Recent research indicates conclusively that the sleigh parade depicted in the Museum’s manuscript is the one held in the winter of 1640. See Kammel 2008, pp. 113–15.

74. This plate is No. 114 in the actual series but was erroneously labeled as No. 115 (a mistake that affected all subsequent plate numbers until No. 124); see note 68 above.

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