

The Study of Medieval Sports, Games, and Pastimes: A Fifteen-Year Reflection, 1988-2003

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In 1988, the German sports history journal *Stadion* published my bibliographical essay entitled "The Study of Medieval Sports, 1927-1987."¹ In that piece I tried to assay the field of studies on medieval sports and pastimes from the pioneering essay of Charles Homer Haskins in 1927 to the 1987 North American Society for Sport History annual conference.² Although I used these two events as mileposts, I realized that I had to go backward in time from 1927 to give credit, where it was certainly due, to British and European scholars such as Joseph Strutt and J. J. Jusserand.³

From Haskins' generation, including G. G. Coulton, H. S. Bennett, and Johan Huizinga, to the formation of Sports History as a viable discipline in the 1970s, the study of medieval sports, games, and pastimes has grown sporadically.⁴ The period from World War II to the 1970s was somewhat barren in the history of the slowly emerging subdiscipline. During the 1970s, scholars in North America, Europe, Australia, and elsewhere began to mine the sources (mostly secondary) in search of medieval sports, games, and pastimes. Interestingly, almost none of those second-generation pioneers were trained medievalists, and one would suspect, had a rather difficult time with the sources. They all apparently decided that: (a) The field was wide open and needed some original studies in the wake of important works published on ancient and modern sports history topics; (b) Medieval historians were probably not interested in the sports and pastimes of the medieval period; or (c) There were really no such activities as sports in the Middle Ages in the modern sense of the word. The efforts of these scholars, however, must be applauded. They widened the scope of sports history by pointing to the need for research into the sports, games, and pastimes of the Middle Ages and challenged trained medievalists to pick up the gauntlet.⁵

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Although some noteworthy studies by trained medievalists appeared in the 1980s, 90s, and the beginning of the new century, especially from scholars working in medieval literature, they were only a beginning. Nevertheless, I wish to chronicle the next stage of the development of medieval sports and pastimes—from 1988 to the present. A reflection on medieval sports history studies over the past fifteen years is an obvious addendum to my previous bibliographical essay; however, it might be a useful and handy addition to our bibliographical knowledge of medieval sports, and could possibly suggest some avenues for further research.

I shall use the following mileposts to serve as chronological turning points in medieval sports historiography: (a) before Haskins—the period from the time of Strutt and his contemporaries to around the time of the First World War; (b) the Haskins Generation—the period from Haskins' assumption of the deanship of medievalists in North America and the creation of the Medieval Academy of America to the time of the Second World War; (c) the post-World War II period— from the Second World War to the 1970s; and, (d) the period under investigation in this article, what I call the period of Inventing Medieval Sports History (which might imply that I've been reading too many of Professor Cantor's "Inventing" books!).

Now, I confess that I realize that there really is not a discipline of medieval sports history. Nor, as I have called it before, is it a subdiscipline of sports history. The optimism with which I ventured into what I thought was the field of medieval sports history in the 1970s has cooled and, as I look back (not only on the last fifteen years but the past one hundred), I conclude that no discipline of medieval sports history has been created. At one time I thought that one was developing; now, I know that then I was a gullible younger scholar who was charging with the zeal of a crusader atop the Saracen-covered walls of some Christian-besieged fortress to be, in the words of General Nathan Bedford Forrest, the "fustest with the mostest."⁶ Actually, I suppose Richard the Lionhearted might have said words akin to those of General Forrest; I couldn't find them anywhere, however, and so had to mix the metaphor—sorry! But, seriously folks, I think that in my ignorance I was trying to will a subdiscipline into existence.

I went to conferences: local, national, and international; I was fortunate to receive research support from a number of U.S. and foreign sources; I did research, I wrote and I actually got a few of my studies published in what were then considered to be the up-and-coming journals in the field of sports history (and subsequently they did become the top journals in the field). I basically let my original research field go for my new would-be subdiscipline. Why? Professional, but probably more personal reasons, were involved. I was always involved with sports as a child, in elementary and junior high school, in high school, and, to a lesser degree, in undergraduate school. After graduation from undergraduate school, I coached basketball, baseball, and football at the high school level. After receiving the M.A.

in medieval history, I again went back into coaching and, lo and behold (are writers still using lo and behold?), coached a private high school to a tournament championship in 1976. All the while I was watching sports in person, on television, and participating in sports (pick-up basketball games, jogging, fishing, et al.); all of this made sports a very significant part of my life. When I discovered the *Canadian Journal of History of Sport* (I always wondered where the “the” was in the title), *The Journal of Sport History*, and *The International Journal of the History of Sport* while I was working on my doctorate in medieval history at the University of Illinois, I thought that I had found an interesting niche. “Wrong!” (Remember Waylon Jennings’ tune?). By the time I had written my first short article and shipped it off to some of the above-mentioned journals, I discovered that some cursory articles on medieval sports had already been published—by nonmedievalists.

Furthermore, I had to write a dissertation on a medieval legal history topic that I did not want to write, but I decided that I wouldn’t fight my committee in order to write a dissertation on medieval sports and pastimes. They assured me that the tournament—in their minds the only legitimate sports-related topic to write about on the Middle Ages—was already covered in the out-of-date books by Cripps-Day and Clephan.⁷ I agreed even though I knew that wasn’t the case. I grimly researched and wrote a plodding dissertation on the aforementioned legal topic. Later, when Juliet R.V. Barker’s *The Tournament in England, 1100-1400* came out in the mid-1980s, I must admit that I felt a tinge of envy because that was what I wanted to write about for a dissertation.⁸

So, I wrote the dissertation, got the degree, got my first job, and began doing considerable work in what I thought was a budding subdiscipline of the exciting discipline of sports history, with which I was becoming familiar. I wrote what I thought at the time was a seminal article on sports in the famous Bayeux Tapestry and submitted it to *The Journal of Sport History* in the late 1970s.⁹ Indeed, in retrospect, it still looks pretty pioneering for the time.

The editors of *The Journal of Sport History (JSH)* and their reviewers, however, did not see it that way. They ravaged my piece with arcane criticism—the reviewers were not even medievalists. I revised my piece and resubmitted. Still no takers at *JSH*. Why? I have concluded that those in the hierarchy of sports history were already deciding which scholars were going to be the acknowledged pioneers in the field. The editors of *JSH* were already anointing a king of modern sports origins who had (dubious) connections with the Middle Ages via his publication on the origins of sports records. When I criticized this author, I, for all practical purposes, shut the door on any chances to publish in what has become one of the leading journals of sports history, at least for modern sports. Frankly, by rejecting my submissions to the *Journal of Sport History*, the editors of that publication and their referees were, in essence, stifling the growth of the

subdiscipline of medieval sports history. I believe that if the journal editors had asked medievalists to review submitted manuscripts on medieval sports, the outcome would have been different. Moreover, I would say here that during the waning years of the period from the Second World War to the 1970s, the bleak consequences for the development of a subdiscipline of medieval sports history reached a nadir when sports history journals such as *The Journal of Sport History* and others, manned by physical educators and other nonhistorians, began publishing pseudostudies on some aspects of medieval sports history.

Despite the failure of medieval sports to become an accepted subdiscipline of sports history, a few important studies have appeared in the fifteen years since I surveyed the field for the *Stadion* article. Although my much-maligned "Sports in the Bayeux Tapestry" article finally made it into print in the *Canadian Journal of History of Sport*, it was published as three short articles and did not carry the same weight it would have if it had been published years earlier in *The Journal of Sport History*.¹⁰ Once free of the dissertation, however, I had more time to concentrate my efforts on medieval sports. Except for the major works mentioned in my *Stadion* article, I discovered that the pickings were slim indeed. So, I began to chip away at the massive forest of information that awaited in a variety of repositories. I finally made the cut in *The Journal of Sport History* in 1988 when my research article entitled "Sports and Recreations in Thirteenth-Century England: The Evidence of the Eyre and Coroners' Rolls—A Research Note" was published.¹¹ In the article I demonstrated how one might mine the records of medieval English legal documents for a kind of indirect approach to what sports, games, and pastimes the common folk were engaging in and what that told us about medieval English society.

Despite being virtually ignored by the editors of *The Journal of Sport History*, my efforts were ultimately supported by grants from the Deutscher Akademischer Austauschdienst. On two different occasions that supportive organization funded trips to the Universities of Goettingen and Cologne where I spent several weeks in the respective sports history libraries of these outstanding universities.

One of the many fruits of my labors in Germany was the ultimate conceptualization of an anthology on sports records. The time I spent with Professor Arnd Krueger at Goettingen proved useful for a discussion of the origins and development of sports records. We discovered that we both shared the thesis that sports records were not products of the modern world but had predecessors in the ancient and medieval worlds. Thus, we set out to recruit a group of scholars whose research had uncovered sports records where they were not supposed to be—in the ancient world and the Middle Ages. Ultimately our efforts proved successful, and *Ritual and Record: Sports Records and Quantification in Pre-Modern Societies* was published in 1990.¹²

The book made an immediate contribution to the field of sports history (and medieval sports history) by expanding the debate raised by

Guttmann in his 1978 book *From Ritual to Record*.¹³ Jessie Weston would have been proud of us. I know that I was. After continued rejection from American journals and funding agencies, it was especially gratifying that the German government was so farsighted about a project in the history of sports records. *Viele dank!*

In 1989 I created a clearinghouse for the exchange of ideas and information on the study of medieval and Renaissance sports, games, and pastimes. The result was the publication of a semiannual and then quarterly newsletter called *Ludi Medi Aevi*. The newsletter received positive responses and featured short research articles, a list of scholars in the field, notices of conferences, and featured bibliographies. Although I eventually stopped publication, I recently created a *Ludi Medi Aevi* webpage which I hope will repeat the earlier newsletter's success.¹⁴

After publishing articles in several sports history journals, I decided to compose a monograph hoping to make a contribution to the field of medieval sports history.¹⁵ My researches were ultimately published as *Medieval Games: Sports and Recreations in Feudal Society*.¹⁶ Admittedly, several of the chapters in the book were rehashes of articles that had been published in sports history journals; some reviewers, however, treated that aspect of the book as the only thing in the book, implying that I had invented the idea of retooling (or using *verbatim*) articles that had been previously published. Now, if you check the bibliography of just about any historian's book, you will find that the historian has built a structure of articles and research that moves the scholar along to the bigger, fuller book. Indeed, one reviewer (a former friend and colleague of mine) wrote an odious review of my book when, in fact, he knows about as much about sports and pastimes of the Middle Ages as a fry cook in a greasy spoon knows about Escoffier or an elementary school language arts teachers knows about Derrida.

Like all books, my *Medieval Games* did have many flaws; my complaints of the criticism that the book received, however, are not about the reviewers' focus on flaws but about the fact that the reviewers totally ignored that the book was breaking ground in a subject without a well-defined field. Yes, there had been Huizinga, Haskins, and a few others writing in the wilderness of sports history. What I was trying to do was to set a few historical and historiographical parameters, assemble as much useful bibliography for the interested student or researcher as possible, and tackle a few interesting problems such as the church's role in medieval sports and how sports were perceived by the three orders of feudal society. Frankly, I did not write the "big book" I wanted to write and thought I was going to write fifteen years ago. That book is still to be written.

Since 1987, sports history has seemingly become a viable discipline with sports history courses in colleges and universities, international conferences and organizations on the subject, and dissertations in droves on varied and interesting topics. The same cannot be said for the study of

medieval sports history. One might even argue that the period since 1987 has not exceeded in output the last part of the period that I surveyed in the aforementioned article. Nevertheless, there have been many bright spots in the slow-to-develop subfield of medieval sports history in the past fifteen years. The remainder of this essay is devoted to those scholars and their publications.

For this essay, I surveyed eighteen sports history journals along with *Speculum* and other journals of medieval studies, as well as *The American Historical Review* and *The English Historical Review*. The major nonsports history journals, such as *Speculum*, that I surveyed for the period under investigation included no articles on medieval sports, somewhat surprising because *Speculum* published a fine article by Richard Hoffman in its October 1985 issue.¹⁷

The reasons for this are many. Could one reason be that there are really no scholars researching medieval sports and games? I should hope not. The major reason that articles do not find their way into the pages of the mainstream journals in American, British, or medieval history is, as it was during the period that I covered in my 1988 *Stadion* article, that the editors and reviewers of those journals are probably not convinced that the study of sports in the Middle Ages is a viable subject. Sure, the tournament has shown up in some of the mainstream journals over time, but it is the one safe harbor for those interested in medieval sports. Its ties to the nobility and the church make it an institutional subject, the kind of history that dominated American historiography in the twentieth century. I suppose that could be one reason why Haskins threw in the towel on medieval sports after writing one of the seminal articles on sports in the Middle Ages. It just wasn't institutional enough.

A greater surprise than the absence of articles on medieval sports in the mainstream history journals that I surveyed was the almost complete lack of research articles on medieval sports in many of the well-established journals of sport(s) history. Also surprising was the paucity of articles on medieval sports in *The International Journal of History of Sport*. There was my paltry research note in a 1991 issue and, if you thumb through about a decade and a half's worth of issues after that, you would find only three articles on some aspects of sports, games, and pastimes of the Middle Ages. One of those three was yet another rehash of chariot racing in the Byzantine Hippodrome, another of the three was on athletic images in an Umayyad palace, but the third was a fine research article by Kazuhiko Kusudo entitled "Open Shooting Festivals (Freischiessen) in German Cities, 1455-1501," which demonstrated the author's ability to read and interpret some difficult late-medieval German documents on shooting festivals.¹⁸

I suppose I should mention the name of Dr. Richard W. Cox at this point. He has done a great deal of solid bibliographical work in sports history. Indeed, this essay was aided immensely by Dr. Cox's timely and meticulous annual bibliographies in sports history (I wish, however, that he

would realize that my name is *John Marshall Carter* rather than *James Marshall Carter*!)¹⁹

Although I wasn't expecting too many research articles on medieval sports in publications such as *The British Society of Sports History Bulletin*, I was pleased to see Joachim Ruehl's "Preliminaries to German Tournament Regulations of the Fifteenth Century," another one of Ruehl's solid research articles on the many aspects of medieval tournaments.²⁰ I had no such good fortune in *Sport in Society* (formerly *Culture, Sport, Society*), *ISHPES Bulletin*, *The Sports Historian*, *Povijest Sporta*, and *The Journal of Sport History*. The absence of articles on medieval sports and pastimes in *The Journal of Sport History* was an especially disappointing surprise. Again, I cannot fault the journal editors if no one submitted articles on medieval sports, games, and pastimes. My past experiences with the journal, however, make me a bit skeptical that there is a complete absence of material on the Middle Ages. I must admit, however, that I did not submit any other articles after the journal published my research article in 1988. It is difficult to accept rejection when one wonders if the journal's reviewers really know much about the subject of the article being submitted. This journal's editors might possibly have stifled the submissions of others doing research on medieval sports, games, and pastimes.

Wolfgang Decker's journal, *Nikephoros*, is a different story altogether. It is a serious journal devoted to the sports and games of late antiquity and the early Middle Ages. Indeed, my article on medieval sports and games, gleaned from the writings of Sidonius Apollinaris, appeared in the 1990 volume.²¹

Now for the good news! After I was invited to review a book for the Italian journal *Ludica*, I decided to go through the issues of the published volumes of the journal because they fell within the chronological parameters of this investigation. Although only in print for a decade, the journal contains a hoard of articles on a variety of interesting topics on medieval games and pastimes. To cite a few examples: Andrea Nuti, "Games in Medieval Celtic Literature"; Bernard Ribemont's "Sport in the Poetic Works of Christine de Pizan"; Gherardo Ortalli's "The Origins of the Gambler-State: Licenses and Excises for Gaming Activities in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries (and the Case of Vicenza)"; and Claudio Azzara, "Barbarus Ludens: A Study of the Games of Early Medieval Barbarians."²² It looks for all purposes as if *Ludica* is at the vanguard of studies on medieval sports, games, and pastimes.

Moving from articles to books is a much easier task. There aren't many of them. Although the contributions have not been overwhelming during the period under investigation here, some noteworthy book-length studies have made important contributions to the study of medieval sports, games, and pastimes. In 1988, John Cummins' *Hound and the Hawk: The Practice and Meaning of Medieval Hunting* was published and remains one of the most important books on any aspect of medieval sports and pastimes

ever written. Although primarily a scholar of medieval Spanish literature, Cummins did a commendable job of comparing the symbolic and the real aspects of hunting in several medieval locales.²³

In 1990, Carter and Krueger's *Ritual and Record: Sports Records and Quantification in Pre-Modern Societies* expanded the debate concerning the origins and development of sports records. Guttman's reply, which the authors included in the book, did not sound as though he was totally convinced that he was wrong in his 1978 book.²⁴ Guttman maintains that sports records are the product of modernity, stating that the characteristics of secularism, equality of opportunity to compete, specialization of roles, bureaucratic organization, quantification, and the quest for records make modern sports records unique. But his assumptions are incorrect, as was shown in the chapters in *Ritual and Record*. Furthermore, after taking the eight count after the publication of *Ritual and Record*, the knockout punch was delivered to what has been dubbed the Eichberg-Mandell-Guttman Thesis in the author's "A Research Note: Further Evidence: Sports Records in the Middle Ages," published in *The International Journal of the History of Sport*. The following is from the famous *L'Histoire de Guillaume Le Marechal: Comte de Striguil et de Pembroke, Regent D'Angleterre de 1216 a' 1219*:

Une nuit herbergie se furent
 La ou molt aveit chevaliers
 & molt vaslez & esquiers;
 A plusurs gieus se dedusse{e}nt;
 Li aukant la p{i}ere getei{e}nt
 La volt mostrer chascun{s} sa force.
 Un en i a qui tant s'e{s} force
 Que si outreement les passé
 Que de dues piez toz les trepasse.
 Trestu{i}t dient: Cist a vencu.

The critical passage is: "Guillaume, prie de s'y essayer, consent a' prendre part 'a ce jeu, malgre' sa blessure. Il lance la Pierre un pied et demi plus loin que le plus fort de tous."²⁵ The captured William Marshal, even though wounded, participated in a stone-throwing contest with his captors. The group knew what a previous stone-thrower's record was and that Marshal bested it by a foot and a half. The implications are important.

Thomas Henricks' *Disputed Pleasures: Sport and Society in Preindustrial England* appeared in 1991 and gave a sociological perspective to the study of English sports, especially those of the early postmedieval world. My *Medieval Games* was published in 1992 to a mixed bag of reviews. Most detractors complained that the book was a mere assemblage of previously published journal articles, to which criticism I responded earlier. Anne Rooney's 1993 publication, *Hunting in Middle English Literature*, is a very nice complement to John Cummins' work. Although Cummins is interested in the practice of the medieval hunt, Rooney's focus is on the

symbolic aspects. Obviously both views are necessary if we are to have a better understanding of this important medieval sport.

John Cummins' recent work, *The Hound and the Hawk: The Art of Medieval Hunting*, is a continuation of his 1988 book. This time, however, the symbolic is more the focus than the real aspects of medieval hunting. Richard C. Hoffman's *Fisher's Craft and Lettered Art: Tracts on Fishing from the End of the Middle Ages*, published in 1997, gathers together and analyzes many of the treatises on fishing in the later Middle Ages that appeared before Walton's famous work. The treatises are extremely useful for the scholar who wants to understand the reality of fishing as sport: Where did people fish? What kind of gear did they use? What kind of bait did they use? What kinds of fish did they catch? And, more importantly, did medieval anglers really fish for sport or merely out of necessity?²⁶

I was recently invited to review Professor Duccio Balestracci's *La Festa in Armi: Giostre, tornei e giochi del medioevo* for the journal *Ludica: Annali di storia e civiltà del gioco*. The book, published in 2001, has several *foci*: tournaments, jousting, and the chivalrous society connected with tournaments. But the book is more than that. The author also gives us valuable material on the connection between war and sport, fighting and jousting in the lists (and elsewhere), heraldry, and aspects of tournament life and society. Using a variety of historical and literary sources, Balestracci weaves an impressive tapestry of information on medieval Italian sports and games while using the literature of other areas of Europe for comparison. His extensive bibliography summarizes much of the important scholarship on medieval games and sports.²⁷

Recently I was made aware of Steven Muhlberger's *Jousts and Tournaments: Charny and Chivalric Sport in the Fourteenth Century*. Lauded as a book that "will immediately take its place as one of the finest works on the medieval tournament," *Jousts and Tournaments* shows the author's grasp of the primary sources and should be acknowledged for the author's translation of Sir Geoffrey de Charny's treatise *Jousts, Tournaments, and War*.²⁸

Frankly, I think that Balestracci's work and John Cummins' *Hound and Hawk* are the two most important book-length contributions to medieval sports history within the past fifteen years. Reading Professor Balestracci's book gave me hope. It reminded me of the potential for accomplishment in the field of medieval sports, games, and pastimes. The big book still awaits, however. Maybe Balestracci or Cummins will create it. Maybe it's already in progress.

While we wait for the definitive book on medieval sports and pastimes, it can be mentioned that the present author is now editing a multivolume encyclopedia for Greenwood Press of Westport, Connecticut. The work will be entitled *Greenwood's Encyclopedia of World Sports History*. Interested scholars wishing to contribute items to the project should contact the editor at the address given on the title page of this article.

Notes

¹John Marshall Carter, "The Study of Medieval Sports, 1927-1987," *Stadion* XIV, No. 2 (1988), pp. 149-161.

²C.H. Haskins, "The Latin Literature of Sport," *Speculum* II (1927), pp. 235-252 (reprinted in C.H. Haskins, *Studies in Medieval Culture* (New York, 1958).

³J. Strutt, *The Sports and Pastimes of the People of England* (London, 1801; Detroit: Omnigraphics, 1968); J.J. Jusserand, *Les Sports et Jeux d'exercice dans l'Ancienne France* (Paris, 1901).

⁴G.G. Coulton, *Life in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge, 1928); H.S. Bennett, *Life on the English Manor* (Cambridge University Press, 1937); J. Huizinga, *Homo Ludens* (Boston, 1955).

⁵Some of these include: Reet and Maxwell Howell, "Women in the Medieval and Renaissance Period: Spectators Only," *Canadian Journal of History of Sport* XVII, No. 1 (May, 1986), pp. 11-37; Peter Lindsay, "Attitudes to the Body in Geoffrey Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales*," *Canadian Journal of History of Sport* XVI, No. 1 (May, 1985), pp. 1-13, among others.

⁶See, for example, "Communication" in *The Journal of Sport History* XI, No. 1 (Spring, 1984), pp. 138-139.

⁷R. Coltman Clephan, *The Tournament: Its Periods and Phases* (London: Methuen, 1919); Francis Cripps-Day, *The History of the Tournament in England and France* (London: B. Quaritch, 1918).

⁸Juliet R.V. Barker, *The Tournament in England: 1100-1400* (Woodbridge, Suffolk: Boydell and Brewer, 1986).

⁹The condensed version of the study was eventually published in my *Sports and Pastimes of the Middle Ages* (New York: University Press of America, 1988).

¹⁰A more complete study of sports and pastimes depicted in the Bayeux Tapestry was included in my *Medieval Games: Sports and Recreations in Feudal Society* (New York: Greenwood, 1992).

¹¹J.M. Carter, "Sports and Recreation in Thirteenth-Century England: The Evidence of the Eyre and Coroners' Rolls," *The Journal of Sport History* XV, No. 2 (Summer, 1988), pp. 167-173.

¹²J.M. Carter and Arnd Krueger, eds., *Ritual and Record: Sports Records and Quantification in Pre-Modern Societies* (Westport, CT: Greenwood, 1990).

¹³Allen Guttmann, *From Ritual to Record: The Nature of Modern Sports* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1978).

¹⁴I have created a website devoted to medieval and Renaissance sports, games, and pastimes. You can visit the site at <http://www.ludimediaevi.freesevers.com>

¹⁵Carter, *Medieval Games*.

¹⁶*Ibid.*

¹⁷Richard C. Hoffmann, "Fishing for Sport in Medieval Europe: New Evidence," *Speculum* (October, 1985), pp. 877-902.

¹⁸Kazuhiko Kusudo, "Open Shooting Festivals (Freischiessen) in German Cities, 1455-1501," *International Journal of the History of Sport* XVI, No. 1 (1999).

¹⁹See, for example, "Annual Bibliography of Publications and Theses on the History of Sport in Britain 1993/94," by Richard W. Cox; and James (which should be John M.) Carter, *Sports and Games of the Middle Ages: An Annotated Bibliography* (Hamden, CT: Garland, 1994).

²⁰Joachim R. Ruehl, "Preliminaries to German Tournament Regulations of the Fifteenth Century," *British Society of Sports History Bulletin* Number 9 (May, 1989), pp. 90-101.

²¹J.M. Carter, "Games Early Medieval People Played: Sidonius Apollinaris and Gallo-Roman-German Sports," *Nikephoros* 3 (1990), pp. 225-231.

²²These articles were gleaned from the first years of publication of *Ludica: Annali di Storia e Civiltà del Gioco*. Other important work on medieval and Renaissance sports-related themes abounds.

²³John Cummins, *Hound and the Hawk: The Practice and Meaning of Medieval Hunting* (New York: St. Martin's, 1988).

²⁴Carter and Krueger, *Ritual and Record*; see also "Communications" in *The Journal of Sport History* VI, No. 2 (Summer, 1979). In this exchange, Guttman called my criticism of his *From Ritual to Record* "petulant" and, honestly, it was a bit petulant when I look back. Nevertheless, Guttman's assertion that ancient and medieval people could not conceive of the abstract idea of a sports record has been thoroughly disproved.

²⁵Paul Meyer, ed., *L'Histoire de Guillaume Le Marechal: Comte de Striguil et de Pembroke, Regent D'Angleterre de 1216 'a 1219* (Paris, 1891-1901), 3 Vols., III, p. 28.

²⁶Thomas S. Henricks, *Disputed Pleasures: Sport and Society in Preindustrial England* (Westport, CT: Greenwood, 1991); J.M. Carter, *Medieval Games*; Anne Rooney, *Hunting in Middle English Literature* (London: Boydell and Brewer, 1993); Richard C. Hoffmann, *Fishers' Craft and Lettered Art: Tracts on Fishing from the End of the Middle Ages* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1997). The interested researcher should also consult the following: Lawrence M. Clopper, *Drama, Play, and Game: English Festive Culture in the Medieval and Early Modern Period* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2001); Sally E. Wilkins, *Sports and Games of Medieval Cultures* (Westport, CT: Greenwood, 2002); Richard Almond, *Medieval Hunting* (Gloucestershire, UK: Sutton, 2002); and, Compton Reeves, *Pleasures and Pastimes in Medieval England* (Gloucestershire, UK: Sutton, 1997).

²⁷Duccio Balestracci, *La Festa in Armi: Giostre, tornei e giochi del Medioevo* (Laterza, Italy: Rome-Bari, 2001).

²⁸Steven Muhlberger, *Jousts & Tournaments: Charny and Chivalric Sport in Fourteenth Century France* (Highland, TX: The Chivalry Bookshelf, 2003).