

**Tournaments, Jousts and Duels:
Formal Combats in England and
France, circa 1380 – 1440.**

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Abstract

This thesis examines the interplay between tournaments, jousts and single combats – here described collectively as formal combats – as ceremonial, military and political events within the context of late medieval Anglo-French history, circa 1380-1440. This was a period of particular interest in Anglo-French relations, beginning with the accessions of Richard II of England (1377) and Charles VI of France (1380), and encompassing alternating periods of warfare and truce, including the truce of Leulinghen and the resumption of open hostilities in the fifteenth century. It ends with the retaking of Paris by Charles VII and subsequent French military gains. This period also saw developments in formal combats themselves as the individual joust continued to increase in popularity and *pas d'armes* were more frequently organised on the continent. This thesis utilises a range of sources from both England and France - including heraldic material, manuals of knighthood, chronicles and biographies - to examine how formal combats were perceived both by those who recorded them, and those who participated in them.

The study of violence is often focused on the battlefield. Contemporary narrators however, placed formal combats on a spectrum of violence that also included warfare and battle. These events provide important opportunities to analyse late medieval attitudes to violence, the rules governing violent interactions, and how formal combats as violent acts could enhance martial reputation. Formal combats were recorded and remembered within a martial career to accentuate the honour of the participant, and were presented to idealise martial values and as didactic tools for encouraging the emulation of specific martial figures. Participation in formal combats gave men the opportunity to demonstrate their manhood through the practice of martial skills, the display of prowess, and the acquisition and maintenance of honour. Examining the roles that women played in these events also demonstrates how they interacted with discourses of honour and violence in the later medieval period, as ceremonial participants and witnesses.

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Author's Declaration

This work has not previously been submitted for a degree or diploma at any university, and is wholly my own work. None of this work has previously been published elsewhere. Information derived from the published and unpublished work of others has been acknowledged in the text and a list of references is given in the bibliography.

Rachael Whitbread

Introduction

During the period circa 1380-1440, knights and men-at-arms in England and France engaged in armed combat in a range of different contexts. One of these contexts was in formal combats. There were many kinds of formal combat that took place during the period examined in this thesis, including tournaments, jousts, judicial duels and foot combats. These forms of combat encompassed a wide range of events. The terminology employed for the different forms of event explored in this thesis will take their definitions wherever possible from their uses in contemporary sources.¹

As will be explored in this thesis, medieval narrators employed a variety of generic terms for a range of events including tournaments, jousts and duels. In this thesis, this range of events is identified collectively under the umbrella term ‘formal combats’. In addition, more specific terminology will be used throughout this thesis to distinguish between different types of formal combat. At one end of this range of events were tournaments. In modern historiography the term ‘tournament’ has come to be used by historians to indicate almost any form of formalised combat during the medieval period.² In reality however, these tournaments were large-scale, *mêlée* combats that involved several individuals fighting one another simultaneously. These knights and men-at-arms were often divided into two groups or teams, and these events commonly featured a number of weapons including the lance and sword. Alongside these *mêlée* tournaments

¹ The terminology defined here will be discussed and justified in Chapter 1, ‘What were Formal Combats?’ below.

² For example Richard Barber, *The Knight and Chivalry* (London, 1970), p. 170 describes the late fourteenth and early fifteenth century as the ‘apogee’ of the tournament, despite the term very rarely being used in contemporary literature from the time. Richard W. Barber & Juliet R.V. Barker, *Tournaments: Jousts, Chivalry and Pageants in the Middle Ages* (Woodbridge, 1989), p. 2 admit that they used the term ‘tournament’ throughout their work to encompass all events of this nature, although they also crucially acknowledge that the term held a more technical contemporary meaning. Barber & Barker, *Tournaments*, p. 163 also describes a wide range of ‘types of tournament’ including the *mêlée*, the individual joust, and the practice tournament. Sheila Lindenbaum, ‘The Smithfield Tournament of 1390’ *Journal of Medieval and Renaissance Studies*, 20 (1990), 1-21 describes the jousting in London in 1390 as a tournament although that term is not used in the contemporary material. M.G.A. Vale, *War and Chivalry: warfare in England, France and Burgundy at the end of the Middle Ages* (London, 1981), p. 67 amalgamates the joust *mêlée* and hand-to-hand foot combat under the term ‘tournament’.

were jousts. Jousts featured one individual fighting another individual on horseback with lances.³ Jousts could be held privately and relatively casually between two individuals, or a series of jousts could be held together in a large-scale jousting festival involving tens or even hundreds of individuals.

Some formal combats were not fought on horseback however, unlike *mêlée* tournaments and jousts. These foot combats could be fought with a variety of weapons including swords, axes and daggers.⁴ A single formal combat could combine several methods of fighting. These events could feature a combination of *mêlée* tournament, joust and foot combat. One of the forms of event that could combine combat in this way were the *pas d'armes*, elaborate events in which an individual or group 'held' a place for a given length of time, combining combat with theatrical display.⁵

A judicial duel was a formal engagement to settle a legal dispute, overseen by a legal authority, often the king or his representative, and the constables and marshals.⁶ They were fought on foot with weapons that usually included the sword. Judicial duels could only be prescribed by the king or by judicial

³ This is the definition for 'jousts' offered in for example Barber and Barker, *Tournaments*, p. 2; J.R.V. Barker, *The Tournament in England, 1100-1400* (Woodbridge, 1986), pp. 1, 138-9; Helmut Nickel, 'The Tournament: An Historical Sketch', in H. Chickering & T.H. Seiler (eds.), *The Study of Chivalry: Resources and Approaches* (Kalamazoo, 1988), p. 215.

⁴ For this definition of a foot combat see for example Robert Baldick, *The Duel. A History of Duelling* (London, 1965), p. 22; Barker, *The Tournament in England*, pp.159-161; Ute Frevert, *Men of Honour. A Social and Cultural History of the Duel* trans. Anthony Williams (Cambridge & Malden, MA, 1995), pp. 10-11; Malcolm Vale, 'Aristocratic Violence: Trial by Battle in the later Middle Ages', in Richard W. Kaeuper (ed.), *Violence in Medieval Society* (Woodbridge, 2000), pp. 163-4; Vale, *War and Chivalry* (Athens, 1981), pp. 76-8.

⁵ This is the definition of a *pas d'armes* given in for example Barber, *The Knight and Chivalry*, p. 173; Barber and Barker, *Tournaments*, pp. 107, 110-125; Jean-Pierre Jourdan, 'Le thème du pas d'armes dans le royaume de France (Bourgogne, Anjou) à la fin du Moyen-Age: aspects d'un théâtre de chevalerie', *Théâtre et spectacle hier et aujourd'hui. Moyen Age et Renaissance: Actes du 115e congrès national des sociétés savantes (Avignon, 1990)* (Paris, 1991), 285-304; Maurice Keen, *Chivalry* (Nota Bene edn., New Haven & London, 1984), pp. 203-205; Vale, *War and Chivalry*, p. 67.

⁶ For the definition of judicial duels see for example Baldick, *The Duel*, passim; Robert Bartlett, *Trial by Fire and Water. The Medieval Judicial Ordeal* (Oxford, 1986), especially pp. 103-26; J.-M. Carbasse, 'Le Duel judiciaire dans les coutumes meridionales', *Annales du Midi*, 87 (1975), 385-403; Vale, 'Aristocratic Violence', 159-181. This is also the definition offered in Frevert, *Men of Honour*, p. 11 although Frevert argues that the modern duel – with this definition – was established from the sixteenth century onwards.

authorities. These arbiters closely monitored the outcome of these events, and decided whether the losing party would be punished by death.

There was also a distinction between combats fought *à outrance* and those fought *à plaisance*. The distinction between these two was based on the intent of the participants. Combats fought *à outrance* were fought to the extreme, with the intention of doing physical harm to one's opponent. Other combats *à outrance* were fought until one of the combatants was killed or wounded so that he could not continue to fight, or until a judge intervened and stopped the combat. Those combats fought *à plaisance* on the other hand, were stopped when a given number of hits had been delivered, or were used as more general practices in which the intention was to overcome one's opponent without killing or wounding him.⁷

Historiography

The academic study of formal combats grew out of early twentieth century work on the simple narratives provided by medieval chronicles. From this early work, the attention of many historians of formal combats has focused on what happened at tournaments, jousts and other forms of encounter. Both F.H. Cripps-Day's work *The History of the Tournament in France and England* (1918) and R.C. Clephan's *The Tournament: its period and phases* (1919), drew attention to contemporary narratives and other medieval sources, although they were both composed as very general, narrative-based studies, with very little source analysis or criticism.⁸

Gradually these studies of simple narratives were refined into more detailed studies of formal combats that sought to establish general themes over long time periods, most beginning with early *mêlée* tournaments in the eleventh and twelfth

⁷ Will McLean, 'Outrance and Plaisance', *Journal of Medieval Military History*, 8 (2010), 155-70. McLean's argument focuses on the fifteenth century, however my own research shows that McLean's additional arguments that combats *à outrance* are rare, and that the distinctions between combats *à outrance* and those *à plaisance* emerged in the fifteenth century, can be expanded to include the fourteenth century. See Chapter 1, 'What were Formal Combats?' below.

⁸ R.C. Clephan, *The Tournament: its periods and phases* (London, 1919); F.H. Cripps-Day, *The History of the Tournament in France and England* (London, 1918).

centuries.⁹ Some of these studies have also examined tournament procedure, such as the work of David Crouch on *mêlée* tournaments that predominantly focused on the high medieval period, from 1100 until 1300. Juliet Barker has examined this period alongside later centuries in both an individual volume, *The Tournament in Medieval England, 1100-1400* (2003), and a work in collaboration with Richard Barber, *Tournaments. Jousts, chivalry and pageants in the Middle Ages* (2000).¹⁰ Both of these works seek to establish the important narrative and chronological frameworks of formal combats. The first of these works by Barker focuses on formal combats in England, and traces their appearance in the early twelfth century through their development until the end of the fourteenth century. This monograph incorporates formal combats into wider narratives on politics and violence, thus prancing the events that Barker describes into their wider contexts. The focus of the work on England however, and its chronological limitation to the end of the fourteenth century, mean that opportunities for cross-Channel analysis and narrative from the later medieval period are limited. In their collaboration, Barker and Barber look more generally at formal combats throughout western Europe during the Middle Ages, seeking to chart the rise and decline of formal combats in various countries over a period of four hundred years. Again in this study, the emphasis is on establishing a general narrative of events, with brief examples from a range of geographical locations. These studies also seek to establish general patterns in the forms of combat being undertaken, often chronologically separating *pas d'armes* for example, from earlier jousts and *mêlées*.¹¹

The recent work of Sébastien Nadot has also expanded on this more general, narrative-based analysis.¹² Nadot's work again charts chronologically the

⁹ Barber & Barker, *Tournaments*; Barker, *The Tournament in England*; David Crouch, *Tournament* (London, 2005); Steve Muhlberger, *Deeds of Arms: formal combats in the late fourteenth century* (Highland Village, 2005); Sébastien Nadot, *Rompez les Lances! Chevaliers et tournois au Moyen Âge* (Paris, 2010); E. Van der Neste, *Tournois, Joutes, Pas d'armes dans les villes de Flandre à la fin du Moyen Âge (1300-1486)* (Paris, 1996); the collection of essays in Josef Fleckenstein (ed.), *Das ritterliche turnier im mittelalter. Beiträge zu einer vergleichenden Formen und Verhaltensgeschichte des Ritterturns* (Göttingen, 1985).

¹⁰ Barber & Barker, *Tournaments*; Barker, *The Tournament in England*.

¹¹ Barber & Barker, *Tournaments* for example separates its analysis of the *pas d'armes* and other fifteenth-century formal combats, pp. 107-37, from narratives of earlier combats, pp. 13-27, 29-47.

¹² Sébastien Nadot, *Le Spectacle des joutes : sport et courtoisie à la fin du Moyen Âge* (Rennes, 2012); Sébastien Nadot, *Rompez les lances! Chevaliers et tournois au Moyen Âge* (Paris, 2010).

development of these events from their origins in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, to their early modern incarnations in the sixteenth century, often using selected case studies to chart changes in the ways that formal combats were fought. Substantial work has therefore been completed on establishing long-term chronologies and narratives for formal combats.

The source material used to investigate later medieval formal combats has also attracted study of its own, with an increased interest in heraldic material. Sydney Anglo in particular has examined heraldic accounts of formal combats, focusing on both heraldic treatises and surviving score cards – the majority of which come from the early sixteenth century and later – to analyse the heraldic material available on formal combats in the later medieval and early modern period.¹³ Additional studies have also revealed important relationships between formal combats and medieval literature, thus broadening the sources used to examine these events. These works include the study by R.H. Cline on the influence of romance literature on formal combats during the medieval period, especially focusing on the inspirational role of Arthurian romance on *mêlée* tournaments during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.¹⁴

Cline also examined formal combats as real-life representations of the ideals of knighthood and of chivalry that were portrayed in literature. This theme has been explored elsewhere, and historians have sought to establish formal combats as spaces in which idealised conceptions of knighthood could be enacted and observed. Studies of the relationship between literature and formal combats often focus on the *pas d'armes* and spectacles of the fifteenth century, and trace their elaborate forms to those examples provided by medieval literature. To Jean-Pierre

¹³ Sydney Anglo, 'Le *Jeu de la hache*: a fifteenth-century treatise on the teaching of chivalric axe combat', *Archaeologia* 109 (1991), 113-28; Sydney Anglo, 'How to win at tournaments: the technique of chivalric combat', *Antiquaries Journal* 68 no.2 (1988), 248-64; Sydney Anglo, 'Financial and Heraldic records of the English tournament', *Journal of the Society of Archivists* 2, no.5 (April 1962), 183-95; Sydney Anglo, 'Archives of the English Tournament: score cheques and lists', *Journal of the Society of Archivists* 2 no.4 (October 1961), 153-62. On formal combats in the early modern period see for example Sydney Anglo, *The Martial Arts of Renaissance Europe* (New Haven, 2000).

¹⁴ R.H. Cline, 'The Influence of Romances on Tournaments of the Middle Ages', *Speculum* 20 (1945), 204-11.

Jourdan, *pas d'armes* were the ultimate expression of allegorical motifs designed to reflect idealised conceptions of knighthood.¹⁵ Jourdan qualified this however, by emphasizing that there were many different *pas d'armes*, each exhibiting a slightly different form of event, highlighting the different interpretations of a knightly ideal.¹⁶ Arnaud Strubel saw *pas d'armes* as primarily literary models through which the ideals of knighthood expressed in texts including heroic biographies could be expressed.¹⁷ In his analysis, *pas d'armes* were interpreted as events intended to not only reflect, but also encourage the performance of idealised knighthood.¹⁸ Other scholars have sought to extend their analysis of display and spectacle from warfare onto formal combats, stressing the pageantry offered by such events. Michel Stanesco has sought to contextualise formal combats within wider themes of spectacle and play in armed combat.¹⁹ To Stanesco, tournaments, jousts and *pas d'armes* offered ideal settings in which to enact the spectacle of a utopian chivalric existence.²⁰ For Stanesco, formal combats became dramatic and stylised representations of a knightly ideal.²¹

Formal combats have also been analysed as one facet of a larger culture of chivalry. Through the examination of formal combats as one component within larger studies on chivalry and chivalric society Richard Barber, Maurice Keen and Malcolm Vale each concluded that chivalry itself was an active ideal closely adhered to by the nobility of a knightly caste, and that it played an important, central role in society in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Vale saw formal combats as expressions of chivalric violence, as opportunities for the outpourings

¹⁵ Jourdan, 'Le thème du pas d'armes', 285-304.

¹⁶ Jourdan, 'Le thème du pas d'armes', p. 304.

¹⁷ Armand Strubel, 'Le pas d'armes: le tournoi entre le Romanesque et le théâtral', *Théâtre et spectacle hier et aujourd'hui, Moyen Âge et Renaissance. Acts du 115e congrès national des sociétés savants (Avignon, 1990)* (Paris, 1991), 273-284, especially p. 274.

¹⁸ Strubel, 'Le pas d'armes', p. 275.

¹⁹ Michel Stanesco, *Jeux d'Errance du Chevalier Medieval. Aspects ludiques de la fonction guerrière dans la littérature du moyen âge flamboyant* (Leiden, 1988).

²⁰ Stanesco, *Jeux d'Errance*, pp. 72-3.

²¹ Stanesco, *Jeux d'Errance*, p. 234.

of a violent society.²² His thoughts have been echoed by Kaeuper, who has argued that formal combats were the violent expressions of medieval society's need to constantly acquire and reaffirm honour through martial confrontation.²³ Keen has examined formal combats as societal expressions of the culture of chivalry. Alongside his analysis of formal combats as providing martial practice and as developing skills that were necessary for martial individuals, he has also argued that formal combats were real-life interpretations of chivalric literature, the 'principal institutional expression of the ideals of secular chivalry'.²⁴ Barber meanwhile has sought to bridge these two approaches, between formal combats as expressions of violence and as manifestations of cultural models. He has charted the shift of formal combats from expressions of martial chivalric values to cultural events as the 'central rituals of chivalry'.²⁵

The nature of royal and princely control and attempts to assert authority over formal combats have been charted by N. Denholm-Young in his article examining both how and why medieval governments attempted to assert control over formal combats.²⁶ As such, his study was also the first to assess the political implications of tourneying, although the specialised focus of the article necessarily limited its scope to the thirteenth century. More recently, the attempts of medieval kings and princes to regulate formal combats have been discussed in articles that have explored legislation intended to limit private events and promote those sanctioned

²² Vale, *War and Chivalry*, passim.

²³ Richard W. Kaeuper, *Chivalry and Violence in Medieval Europe* (Oxford, 1999), pp. 149-55.

²⁴ For Keen's analysis of formal combats as martially-significant events see Keen, *Chivalry*, pp. 206-9. For his analysis of formal combats as expressions of chivalric culture see Maurice Keen, *Nobles, Knights and Men-at-Arms in the Middle Ages* (London & Rio Grande, 1996), pp. 28-31, this quotation from p.31; Keen, *Chivalry*, pp. 200-205. For similar conclusions elsewhere, see Barker, *The Tournament in England*, 40; Michael Prestwich, *Armies and Warfare in the Middle Ages. The English Experience* (New Haven & London, 1996), p. 227; Vale, *War and Chivalry*, pp. 80-87. For the martial use of deeds of arms in the earlier fourteenth century, see Barber, *The Knight and Chivalry*, pp. 178, 201, 208; Keen, *Chivalry*, pp. 100, 205-8; J. Sumption, *The Hundred Years War: Trial by Battle* (London, 1990), p. 181; Vale, *War and Chivalry*, p. 63.

²⁵ Barber, *The Knight and Chivalry*, p. 155.

²⁶ N. Denholm-Young, 'The Tournament in the Thirteenth Century', *Studies in Medieval History presented to F.M. Powicke ed. R.W. Hunt, W.A. Pantin & R.W. Southern* (Oxford, 1948), 240-68.

by princely authority.²⁷ Juxtaposed with the examination of royal control in England and France, are studies that examine the role of formal combats in their urban settings. These studies often focus on the role of formal combats in community and exclusivity in urban environments, and the place of formal combats as sites of interaction between different social groups.²⁸ Mario Damen for example, has recently explored how formal combats acted as socially inclusive events that encouraged contact, sociability and exchange between nobles and townspeople in the Low Countries during the fifteenth century.²⁹

The academic study of formal combats has therefore been dominated by traditionally chronological studies that have sought to establish narrative histories for such events. Further studies have expanded these narratives into additional areas, including the presentation of formal combats as spaces for the performance of knightly ceremony, and the examination of different sources including heraldic documents and literature. This thesis seeks to expand this study of formal combats further by focusing on the period circa 1380-1440, and by examining formal combats through a number of key themes, investigating these events in light of a number of broader questions regarding three central research strands: masculinity and gender; violence; and contemporary representation and memory.

Investigating Formal Combats circa 1380 - 1440

This thesis will examine the relationship between formal combats, masculinity and gender in two ways. Firstly, the thesis will examine how men sought to assert their own masculinity through the display of martial ability that formal combats

²⁷ Maurice Keen & Juliet Barker, 'The Medieval English Kings and the Tournament', Maurice Keen, *Nobles, Knights and Men-At-Arms* (London & Rio Grande, 1996), pp. 83-99; Juliet Vale, 'Violence and the Tournament', in Richard W. Kaeuper (ed.), *Violence in Medieval Society* (Woodbridge, 2000), 143-58.

²⁸ Boris Bove, 'Les joutes bourgeoises à Paris, entre rêve et réalité (XIIIe – XIVe s.)', in Nicole Gonthier (ed.), *Le Tournoi au Moyen Âge. Actes du Colloque des 25 et 26 janvier 2002. Cahiers du centre d'histoire médiévale no. 2* (Lyon, 2003), 135-163; Mario Damen, 'Tournament Culture in the Low Countries and England', in Hannah Skoda, Patrick Lantschner & R.L.J. Shaw (eds.), *Contact and Exchange in Later Medieval Europe: Essays in Honour of Malcolm Vale* (Woodbridge, 2012), 247-265; M. Vale, *The Princely Court: Medieval Courts and Culture in North-West Europe, 1270-1380* (Oxford, 2001), p. 199.

²⁹ Damen, 'Tournament Culture in the Low Countries and England', 247-265.

facilitated. Formal combats have been viewed as training grounds for young esquires and knights to practice and train in the skills of knighthood, and assert their manliness.³⁰ Ruth Mazo Karras has also interpreted formal combats as motivated by a desire of knights and men-at-arms to impress other men with their perceived martial standing.³¹ Other studies have expanded this, and have suggested that it was only through displaying manly qualities that manhood could be attained.³² Rituals of manhood have been seen as based on violence and competition, in other words through participation in encounters such as formal combats.³³ This thesis will examine the participants of formal combats to deepen this analysis during the later medieval period. While young knights and men-at-arms did use formal combats to increase their training and experience, participation at events during this period suggests that a more nuanced relationship existed between formal combats and the assertion of manhood. Many participants were not young knights eager to prove themselves, but experienced warriors who had previously fought in battles and on campaigns. The place of formal combats in these men's careers was not one of establishing manhood. Instead, these events provided the opportunity to reassert martial ability and as an additional means of testing prowess and honour when other forms of combat were not available.

³⁰ Georges Duby, *The Chivalrous Society* ed. & tr. C. Postan (London, 1977), ch. 7; Ruth Mazo Karras, *From Boys to Men. Formations of Masculinity in Late Medieval Europe* (Philadelphia, 2003), pp. 23, 29; Nicholas Orme, *From Childhood to Chivalry. The Education of the English Kings and Aristocracy 1066-1530* (London & New York, 1984), pp. 189-90. On the ability of formal combats to strengthen military ability specifically see Christopher Fletcher, *Richard II. Manhood, Youth, and Politics 1377-99* (Oxford, 2008), pp. 28-33.

³¹ Karras, *From Boys to Men*, pp. 25, 48.

³² Pierre Bourdieu, *Masculine Domination*, tr. Richard Nice (Stanford, 2001), p. 52; Derek G. Neal, *The Masculine Self in Late Medieval England* (Chicago & London, 2008), p. 7; John Tosh, 'What Should Historians do with Masculinity? Reflections on Nineteenth-Century Britain', *History Workshop Journal* 38 (1994), p. 184.

³³ Leo Braudy, *From Chivalry to Terrorism: war and the changing nature of masculinity* (New York, 2005), p. xv; D.M. Hadley, 'Introduction: Medieval Masculinities', in D.M. Hadley, *Masculinity in Medieval Europe* (London & New York, 1999), p. 2; Karras, *From Boys to Men*, p. 11; Jacqueline Murray, 'Introduction', in *Conflicted Identities and Multiple Masculinities. Men in the Medieval West* (New York & London, 1999), p. xii; Neal, *The Masculine Self*, pp. 15-16.

In these conceptions of gender in relation to displays of violence, the roles of women are almost always passive.³⁴ This thesis will also examine the role of women in regard to formal combats, in order to assess whether their role was solely to observe these events, or to play a more active role in them not only as judges and awarders of prizes, but also through recognizing and witnessing honour. While women did award prizes and were presented as judges at formal combats, this thesis will link these assumed roles with the need of women to observe and reward men with honour. Women served as crucial witnesses to the transfers of honour that took place between men at formal combats, and as such their active roles as witnesses were intrinsically tied to their roles as judges and prize givers.

Historians have examined the role of women as motivating men to compete for their attention.³⁵ Formal combats have been interpreted as arenas in which men could defend the honour of women, either out of a conception of a chivalric ideal, or through the self-interest of men whose own honour was influenced by the honour of those women around them.³⁶ This thesis will investigate the relationship between the defence of a woman's honour and formal combats. This relationship between love – including the desire to defend female honour – and prowess has been expressed as cyclical: women motivate prowess, and men thus perform greater acts of prowess to attract more attention from women.³⁷ While formal

³⁴ See for example Karras, *From Boys to Men*, pp. 48-49; Louis Olga Fradenburg, *City, Marriage, Tournament: Arts of Rule in Late Medieval Scotland* (Madison, 1991), p. 212. Problems with this active/male and passive/female construct have been noted by Richard E. Zeikowitz, *Homoeroticism and Chivalry. Discourses of Male Same-Sex desire in the fourteenth century* (New York, 2003), pp. 85-89; see also Sarah Stanbury, 'Regimes of the Visual in Premodern England: Gaze, Body, and Chaucer's *Clerk's Tale*', *New Literary History*, 28 (1997), p. 266.

³⁵ Jean-Pierre Jourdan, 'Le langage amoureux dans le combat de chevalerie à la fin du Moyen Âge (France, Bourgogne, Anjou)', *Le Moyen Âge*, 99 (1983), 83-106; Keen, *Nobles, Knights and Men-at-Arms*, pp. 30-31.

³⁶ Penelope D. Johnson, 'Fighting Words and Wounded Honour in late-fourteenth century France', in Stephanie Hayes-Henley (ed.), *Medieval Paradigms: essays in honour of Jeremy DuQuesnoy Adams* (2 vols, 2005), vol. 1 p. 144; John Carmi Parsons, '“Loved Him – Hated Her”: honour and shame at the medieval court', in J. Murray (ed.), *Conflicted Identities and Multiple Masculinities: men in the medieval west* (New York, 1999), p. 292; Unni Wikan, 'Shame and Honour: a contestable pair', *Man* 19 no. 4 (Dec 1984), p. 638.

³⁷ Kaeuper, *Chivalry and Violence*, pp. 220-225. For the converse view, that love and honour can work against one another, see Constance Brittain Bouchard, *Strong of Body, Brave and Noble: Chivalry and Society in medieval France* (Ithaca, 1998), pp. 114-5.

combats were presented as opportunities for men to defend the honour of women, they were also forums in which men could win or defend honour for themselves.

The second area of particular investigation in this thesis is violence: the role that it played in later medieval society; attitudes towards violence in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries; and the ways in which violence was controlled and regulated. Historians have examined the wider royal and princely assertions of power over private violence.³⁸ When relating this control to formal combats, the approach of medieval kings and princes to these events has been interpreted as two-fold: they both prohibited private events, and simultaneously publicised and sanctioned their own royal formal combats.³⁹ This thesis will explore royal policy towards formal combats during this period, and will suggest that this policy was more nuanced than has been suggested elsewhere. Rather than a two-pronged attempt to prohibit private formal combats and assert their own events, medieval monarchs also used a system of protections and permissions to ensure that they maintained authority even over those private events that were permitted, or that occurred outside the geographical boundaries of their authority.

Previous studies have also tied the exercise of violence in the medieval period with the concept of honour. Julian Pitt-Rivers and others have, for example, examined how honour had to be vindicated through the display of physical violence.⁴⁰ Such

³⁸ For an overview of the various claims to authority over private war, particularly those opinions of the church, secular clerks and the crown see M.H. Keen, *The Laws of War in the Late Middle Ages* (London & Toronto, 1965), pp. 63-81. See also Barber, *The Knight and Chivalry*, p. 176; Justine Firnhaber-Baker, 'Seigneurial War and Royal Power in later Medieval Southern France', *Past and Present*, 208 (2010), p. 37; James L. Gillespie, 'Richard II: Chivalry and Kingship', in James L. Gillespie (ed.), *The Age of Richard II* (Stroud, 1997), p. 120; Bernard Guenée, *States and Rulers in Later Medieval Europe*, trans. Juliet Vale (Oxford, 1985), p. 18; Alan Harding, *Medieval Law and the Foundations of the State* (Oxford, 2002), pp. 240-51; Jacques Krynén, *Ideal du prince et pouvoir royal en France à la fin du Moyen Âge (1380-1440): étude de la littérature politique du temps* (Paris, 1981), pp. 155-86; Kaeuper, *Chivalry and Violence*, p. 95; James L. Sheehan, 'The Problem of Sovereignty in European History', *American History Review*, 111 no. 1 (2006), pp. 6-7.

³⁹ Barber & Barker, *Tournaments*, pp. 29-44; Barker, *The Tournament in England*, pp. 53-69; Keen, *Nobles, Knights and Men-at-Arms*, pp. 84-88, 90, 94-5, 99. For formal combats in the central medieval period see Crouch, *Tournament*, p. 9.

⁴⁰ J. Pitt-Rivers 'Honour and Social Status', in J.G. Peristiany (ed.), *Honour and Shame: The Values of Mediterranean Society* (London, 1965), pp. 22-73, especially pp. 21-9; Nigel Saul, *For Honour and Fame. Chivalry in England 1066-1500* (2005), p. 187. For violence and honour in early modern England see Mervyn James, 'English Politics and the Concept of Honour 1485-1642', in Mervyn James (ed.),

analysis has interpreted societies occupied with the acquisition of honour as violently competitive, and as allowing the correction of perceived wrongs through competitions of violence.⁴¹ Richard W. Kaeuper in particular has argued that honour was gained through hostile and violent competition between martial individuals.⁴² This thesis will investigate the relationship between violence and honour by examining how formal combats were presented as events at which it was possible to both gain and display honour. Although formal combats were violent confrontations motivated by the need to assert honour, this thesis will also examine how formal combats led to the acquisition of honour through the performance of a ritualised act, in which all parties involved could gain honour through participation.

Finally, the third strand of analysis that this thesis will explore is contemporary representation and memory. This strand is concerned with the distance between the real and the imagined in contemporary narrative literature, and the ways in which genre affected how information was presented in these narratives. Historians have described later medieval narratives of violence as dominated by descriptions of glorious feats and encounters that portrayed warfare in general as glorified, ritualised and focused on what Johan Huizinga so famously described as the 'aesthetics of war'.⁴³ This thesis will explore the narratives of formal combats as extensions of those narratives of violence that have been examined elsewhere. It will examine the strong association between depictions of warfare and of formal combats in medieval narratives, through the terminology and descriptions used for these events. Medieval narratives sought to fulfil specific requirements in the ways that they recorded events. These requirements were affected by the motivations of the writer, and the perceived uses that they narratives would fulfil. This thesis will explore the relationships between these motivations and assumed roles, and the ways that narratives reported formal combats. It will demonstrate that formal

Society, Politics and Culture: Studies in Early Modern England (Cambridge, 1986), pp. 308-9; Kaeuper, *Chivalry and Violence*, p. 149.

⁴¹ Kaeuper, *Chivalry and Violence*, p. 149.

⁴² Kaeuper, *Chivalry and Violence*, pp. 150-55.

⁴³ J. Huizinga, *Homo Ludens* (Abingdon, 1949), p. 96. See Barber, *The Knight and Chivalry*, p. 225; Prestwich, *Armies and Warfare*, p. 346; Kaeuper, *Chivalry and Violence*, p. 2.

combats were integral to the fulfilment of medieval narratives' aims. They were presented as both exemplary and didactic events that were used by medieval narrators to describe the actions of an idealised knighthood, and also to encourage others to behave in similar ways.

There are two key reasons why this period is important in the study of formal combats. The first of these is the number of important changes in the organisation and form of formal combats between circa 1380 and 1440. The end of the fourteenth century and the beginning of the fifteenth century saw the emergence and development of the *pas d'armes*, with their strong theatrical and stylised elements.⁴⁴ At the same time, this period saw the decline of the *mêlée* tournament and the rise of the individual joust as the preferred formal combat of the nobility.⁴⁵ Historians have outlined a number of possible explanations for this shift. Some have pointed to the ease of identification of acts of prowess in jousts, and suggested that the increasing popularity of jousting was a consequence of participants' increased desires to acquire and display honour, prowess and renown.⁴⁶ Others have examined how changes in technology, above all the development of a curved helm attached to the breastplate, improvements in plate armour, the development of the lance rest in the 1380s, and the introduction of the barrier down the centre of the jousting area, made single combat much safer.⁴⁷ Still others have attributed the increased popularity of jousts to the desire of rulers for simultaneous political

⁴⁴ For *pas d'armes* emerging in the fifteenth century see Barber, *The Knight and Chivalry*, pp. 193-201; Barber and Barker, *Tournaments*, p. 107; Keen, *Chivalry*, p. 201.

⁴⁵ On the decline in frequency of *mêlée* tournaments at the end of the Middle Ages see Barber & Barker, *Tournaments*, p. 2; Barker, *The Tournament in England*, pp. 4, 13-16, 139-40; Torsten Hiltmann, 'Information et tradition textuelle. Les tournois et leur traitement dans les manuels des hérauts d'armes au XVe siècle', *Information et société en occident à la fin du moyen âge: actes du colloque international tenu à l'Université du Québec à Montréal et à l'Université d'Ottawa, 9-11 mai 2002* (Paris, 2004), pp. 219, 221; Vale, *War and Chivalry*, p. 76; Vale, 'Violence and the Tournament', p. 151.

⁴⁶ On the identification of individual prowess see Barker, *The Tournament in England*, pp. 139-40; Vale, *War and Chivalry*, p. 76.

⁴⁷ On military technology see Barber and Barker, *Tournaments*, pp. 86, 155-6; C. Blair, *European Armour, c.1066-c.1700* (London, 1958), pp. 61, 73, 196-7; Noel Fallows, *Jousting in Medieval and Renaissance Iberia* (Woodbridge, 2010), p. 7; Nickel, 'The Tournament', pp. 150-1.

stability and martial training through jousts rather than larger-scale mêlées that were more difficult to contain and control.⁴⁸

The period circa 1380 - 1440 also saw important shifts in political and martial circumstances that create some interesting research questions. This thesis examines the post-Edwardian period of the Hundred Years War, and begins almost simultaneously with the new reigns of two minors, Richard II in England in 1377, and Charles VI in France in 1380.⁴⁹ During the first decade of the period investigated here, both monarchs increasingly asserted personal power, particularly in the later 1380s. Richard II asserted his own personal authority between 1388 and 1390, and Charles VI began his personal rule in 1388.⁵⁰ Both countries experienced serious domestic political upheaval, and engaged in foreign wars during this period. In England, the Appellant Crisis of 1387-1388 caused widespread political factionism.⁵¹ During this crisis, the Lords Appellant launched an armed rebellion against Richard II and his advisors, defeating his army led by Robert de Vere Duke of Ireland at Radcot Bridge on 20 December 1387 and arresting many of Richard II's favourites at the Merciless Parliament in 1388.⁵²

⁴⁸ On political stability and martial training see Barker, *The Tournament in England*, pp. 145, 147; Vale, 'Violence and the Tournament', p. 151.

⁴⁹ For narratives and analysis of Richard II's reign see Christopher Fletcher, *Richard II. Manhood, youth and politics, 1377-99* (Oxford, 2008); Nigel Saul, *Richard II* (London, 1997). On Charles VI's reign see Françoise Autrand, *Charles VI* (Paris, 1986); R.C. Famiglietti, *Crisis at the Court of Charles VI 1392-1420* (New York, 1986).

⁵⁰ Fletcher, *Richard II*, pp. 116-191; Saul, *Richard II*, pp. 203-204, 235-248. For Richard's assertion of personal rule, and the difficulties in determining an exact date for the start of this, see W.M. Ormrod, 'Coming to Power: Boy Kings and the Passage to Power in Fourteenth-Century England', in Nicola F. McDonald & W.M. Ormrod (eds.), *Rites of Passage. Cultures of Transition in the Fourteenth Century* (York, 2004), pp. 46-48. On Charles VI's personal rule see Autrand, *Charles VI*, pp. 163-165.

⁵¹ For an extensive study of the Appellant crisis see Anthony Goodman, *The Loyal Conspiracy. The Lords Appellant under Richard II* (London, 1971). The crisis is contextualised in Richard's reign in for example Fletcher, *Richard II*, pp. 151-175; Saul, *Richard II*, pp. 164-175.

⁵² On the Battle of Radcot Bridge see James L. Gillespie, 'Thomas Mortimer and Thomas Molineux: Radcot Bridge and the Appeal of 1397', *Albion*, 7 no. 2 (Summer 1975), 161-173; J.N.L. Myers, 'The Campaign of Radcot Bridge in December 1387', *The English Historical Review*, 42 no. 165 (January 1927), 20-33. On Robert de Vere see R. Halliday, 'Robert de Vere, ninth earl of Oxford', *Medieval History*, 3 (1993), 71-85; Anthony Tuck, 'Vere, Robert de, ninth earl of Oxford, marquess of Dublin, and duke of Ireland (1362-1392)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, September 2011, '<http://www.oxforddnb.com.ezproxy.york.ac.uk/view/article/28218?docPos=2>' (7 January 2013). On the 'Merciless Parliament' see Fletcher, *Richard II*, pp. 151-152; Goodman, *The Loyal Conspiracy*, pp. 36-41; J.A. Tuck, 'The Cambridge Parliament, 1388', *The English Historical Review*, 84 n. 331 (April 1969), 225-243; Saul, *Richard II*, pp. 192-196.

Further, and far more serious, English political upheaval occurred in 1399, when Henry Bolingbroke deposed Richard II and claimed the crown as Henry IV.⁵³ Across the Channel in France, political divisions were also evident during the reign of Charles VI. The king's own illness, possibly schizophrenia, led to an uncertain political climate in which private factionism stirred up discord amongst the French nobility, eventually leading to civil war.⁵⁴

Furthermore, France and England were engaged in war against one another during this period. On 18 June 1389 the two powers signed a truce at Leulinghen, to last until 16 August 1392.⁵⁵ This truce was subsequently prorogued and confirmed until 9 March 1395, when the truce was set to extend until Michaelmas 1426. Hostilities between the two resumed before the treaty of Leulinghen expired however, and 1415 witnessed Henry V's campaigns in France, culminating in the substantial English victory at Agincourt on 25 October.⁵⁶ The renewal of hostilities on French soil brought a new wave of disturbance and disruption to French politics.⁵⁷ Although the treaty of Troyes, signed on 21 May 1420, declared Henry V the rightful heir of France after Charles VI's death, subsequent campaigns by the French dauphin Charles (1403 – 1461) began to turn the tide of the war

⁵³ For narratives of the usurpation see Bryan Bevan, *Henry IV* (New York, 1994), pp. 36-67; Saul, *Richard II*, pp. 405-434. On Henry IV see A.L. Brown & Henry Summerson, 'Henry IV [known as Henry Bolingbroke] (1367-1413)', *ODNB*, September 2010, 'http://www.oxforddnb.com.ezproxy.york.ac.uk/view/article/12951?docPos=2' (6 February 2013). Also see Gwilym Dodd & Douglas Biggs (eds.), *The Reign of Henry IV: Rebellion and Survival, 1403-1413* (Woodbridge, 2008); alongside Gwilym Dodd & Douglas Biggs (eds.), *Henry IV: the Establishment of the Regime, 1399-1406* (York, 2003); Kirby, J.L., *Henry IV of England* (London, 1970).

⁵⁴ R.C. Famiglietti argues that Charles VI's illness was paranoid schizophrenia, in Famiglietti, *Crisis at the Court of Charles VI*, pp. 1-21. On Charles VI's illness see also Autrand, *Charles VI*, pp. 304-318. For an overview of the political factionism and French civil wars between the houses of Orléans and Burgundy see Famiglietti, *Charles VI*.

⁵⁵ Although a variety of spellings for Leulinghen are in use, Cuttino argues for 'Leulinghen' in light of the modern geographical location with that name, G.P. Cuttino, *English Medieval Diplomacy* (Bloomington, 1985), pp. 102-3; Nigel Saul, *Richard II* (New Haven & London, 1997), pp. 205-6.

⁵⁶ For the diplomatic and military preparations for the Agincourt campaign in 1415 see Christopher Allmand, *Henry V* (New Haven, 1997), pp. 62-78; John Matusiak, *Henry V* (Abingdon, 2013), pp. 104-113. For the narrative of this campaign see Allmand, *Henry V*, pp. 78-101; the campaign and sources are narrated and analysed in Anne Curry, *The Battle of Agincourt. Sources and Interpretations* (Woodbridge, 2000).

⁵⁷ Nicholas Wright, *Knights and Peasants: the Hundred Years War in the French countryside* (Woodbridge, 1998).

against the English.⁵⁸ Further diplomatic and political shifts occurred at the Congress of Arras in 1435, when Philip Duke of Burgundy returned his allegiance to France.⁵⁹ This period therefore offers an opportunity to examine formal combats in the context of both truce and open warfare, and attendant political and martial situations, from both sides of the Channel, and so provides a chance to comparatively analyse the role of formal combats in these two countries.

Not only did this period see political shifts, but it was also a period of martial change. Shifts in the methods of fighting during the fourteenth century have been well-documented by historians and commentators, who chart the ‘military revolution’ of the early- and mid-fourteenth century as bringing about a fundamental change in the ways that armies were recruited and operated on campaign. The most pertinent element of this revolution for the purposes of a study on formal combats was what Clifford J. Rogers has termed the ‘infantry revolution’.⁶⁰ This movement contained two key components. Firstly martial individuals increasingly fought on foot, with weapons very effective against cavalry such as the longbow and the pike.⁶¹ Alongside this increased use of foot combat,

⁵⁸ Anne Curry, ‘Two Kingdoms, One King: The Treaty of Troyes (1420) and the Creation of a Double Monarchy of England and France’, in Glenn Richardson (ed), *The Contending Kingdoms: France and England 1420-1700* (Aldershot & Burlington, 2008), pp. 23-41. On Charles’ campaigns while Dauphin and for an overview of his kingship as Charles VII see M.G.A. Vale, *Charles VII* (London, 1974).

⁵⁹ The most detailed narrative of the congress is Joycelyne G. Dickinson, *The Congress of Arras, 1435: a Study in Medieval Diplomacy* (New York, 1972); also see the collected articles in Denis Clauzel, Charles Giry-Deloison & Christophe Leduc (eds.), *Arras et la diplomatie européenne, xve-xvie siècles* (Arras, 1999).

⁶⁰ Andrew Ayton, *Knights and Warhorses. Military Service and the English Aristocracy under Edward III* (Woodbridge, 1994), pp. 9-25; Geoffrey Parker, *The Military Revolution. Military innovation and the rise of the West 1500-1800* (2nd edn., Cambridge, 1996), p. 118; Michael Prestwich, *The Three Edwards. War and state in England, 1272-1377* (London, 1980), pp. 62, 213; Clifford J. Rogers, ‘The Military Revolutions of the Hundred Years War’, *The Military Revolution Debate. Readings on the Military Transformation of Early Modern Europe* ed. Clifford J. Rogers (Oxford, 1995), 55-93.

⁶¹ Robert Hardy, ‘The Longbow’, in A. Curry & M. Hughes (eds.), *Arms, Armies and Fortifications in the Hundred Years War* (Woodbridge, 1994), p. 161; J. Keegan, *The Face of Battle* (London, 1976), p. 317; C.W.C. Oman, *A History of the Art of War in the Middle Ages* (2 vols, London, 1924), vol. 2 pp. 426-7; Prestwich, *Armies and Warfare*, pp. 318-23; Rogers, ‘The Military Revolutions of the Hundred Years War’, p. 58.

mixed retinues comprising archers and men-at-arms emerged as the dominant martial tactic.⁶²

There was however, still a role for mounted cavalry on the later medieval battlefield, explored by Malcolm Vale. He has examined the relationship between mounted cavalry and foot soldiers and has concluded that in fact, to dismiss later medieval cavalry as a relic from the past, that was replaced in the fourteenth century by infantry dominance, misrepresents the actual delicate balance between cavalry and infantry that existed on later medieval battlefields.⁶³ Heavy cavalry maintained a strong psychological role, and mounted lance charges continued to be used to devastating effect on groups of dismounted archers and pikemen.⁶⁴ The backdrop of these apparent changes to military personnel, tactics and weaponry, raises the opportunity to assess the continuing military relevance of formal combats, and the role that formal combats played in the martial careers of the men who fought in both the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.

Anglo-French relations during this period provide a basic geographical parameter for this study of formal combats between English and French partisans and in their territories. Formal combats in England and France, as well as those held in regions that witnessed fighting between these two countries, will be examined, as well as those located at diplomatic meetings between these two. These sites were focused primarily in the north of France, particularly in Paris and the marches, and in the south of England where French and other continental knights were able to take part in events hosted by the English monarch. As other territories were occasionally used as external arenas for Anglo-French rivalry during this period, so formal combats were occasionally held in these additional territories that bore

⁶² Christopher Allmand, *The Hundred Years War. England and France at War c.1300-c.1450* (Cambridge, 1988), pp. 60-62; Ayton, *Knights and Warhorses*, pp. 13-14 and n.18; Anne Curry, *The Battle of Agincourt. Sources and Interpretations* (Woodbridge, 2000), pp. 419-20; Anne Curry, 'The Organization of Field Armies in Lancastrian Normandy', in Matthew Strickland (ed.), *Armies, Chivalry and Warfare in Medieval Britain and France. Proceedings of the 1995 Harlaxton Symposium* (Stamford, 1998), p. 216; Philip Morgan, *War and society in medieval Cheshire, 1277-1403* (Manchester, 1987), pp. 37-49; Prestwich, *Armies and Warfare*, pp. 327-8, 336-7; Rogers, 'The Military Revolutions of the Hundred Years War', pp. 60-61.

⁶³ Vale, *War and Chivalry*, p. 128.

⁶⁴ Vale, *War and Chivalry*, pp. 102, 114.

pertinence for the war itself, and are particularly relevant for an examination of formal combats as political and martial as well as cultural events.

Sources for Formal Combats

This thesis focuses on narrative sources for formal combats. It seeks to address how formal combats were perceived and understood by contemporaries by examining how they were presented in contemporary source material. There are a number of different narrative sources that are available to historians studying formal combats throughout this period. Chronicle narratives provide the main corpus of narrative material regarding later medieval formal combats. These chronicles include both those written by clerics and ecclesiastics, and those composed by lay individuals.

Clerical or ecclesiastic chronicles were often written for a 'private' audience, in that they were intended to be read by a small and usually indeterminate group of individuals centred on a specific religious site. In England, this category includes the *Chronica Maiora* composed by Thomas Walsingham between 1380 and 1420, which was almost entirely unknown beyond St Albans during the later medieval period.⁶⁵ This category also includes smaller works such as the chronicle written by Henry Knighton, an Augustinian canon at the abbey of St Mary of the Meadows in Leicester who wrote during the last quarter of the fourteenth century.⁶⁶ In France, the corpus of ecclesiastic chronicle material includes the *Chronique du Religieux de Saint-Denis*, a continuation of the *Grandes chroniques de France*.⁶⁷ Although composed anonymously, recent work has identified Michel Pintouin (d. 1421), a monk and precentor at Saint-Denis, as the probable author.⁶⁸

⁶⁵ Chris Given-Wilson, *Chronicles. The Writing of History in Medieval England* (London, 2004), pp. xx-xxi.

⁶⁶ For a biographical overview of Knighton and details of his work see M.V. Clarke, 'Henry Knighton and the library catalogue of Leicester Abbey', *EHR*, 45 (1930), pp. 103-4; V.H. Galbraith, 'The Chronicle of Henry Knighton', in D.J. Gordon (ed.), *Fritz Saxl 1890-1948: a volume of memorial essays from his friends in England* (London, 1957), pp. 136-45; Antonia Gransden, *Historical Writing in England II: c.1307 to the early sixteenth century* (London, 1982), pp. 159-80; Henry Knighton, *Knighton's Chronicle 1337-1396*, ed. & trans. G.H. Martin (Oxford, 1995), pp. xvi-xl.

⁶⁷ *Chronique du Religieux de Saint-Denis*, ed. L. Bellaguet (6 vols, Paris, 1841).

The *Chronique du Religieux de Saint-Denis* enjoyed at least semi-official status as a chronicle of France with a level of courtly and royal oversight and control, reflecting a longer tradition of official chronicle writing at Saint-Denis.⁶⁹ Alongside this monastic chronicle are others composed by clerics, including that of the *Bourgeois de Paris*, written by a cleric from the University of Paris.⁷⁰

Alongside these monastic and clerical chronicles are those composed by lay individuals, which became increasingly common throughout the later medieval period as monastic narratives declined.⁷¹ This genre includes works such as Jean Froissart's *Chroniques*, and those of Enguerrand de Monstrelet (d. 1453). Monstrelet presented his chronicle to Duke Philip the Good of Burgundy in 1447, and he has been regarded as the founder of the Burgundian 'chivalric' chronicle tradition that culminated later in the fifteenth century in the work of Georges Chastelain.⁷² Although the majority of works referred to as chivalric chronicles were composed on the continent, there are some English examples that also recorded martial-based events, such as the English translation of the *Brut*.⁷³

⁶⁸ For discussion of this authorship see N. Grevy-Pons & E. Ornato, 'Qui est l'auteur de la chronique latine de Charles VI, dite du Religieux de Saint-Denis?', *Bibliothèque de l'école des chartes*, 134 (1976), 85-103, in particular p. 87 identifies the author as Michel Pintouin. For more discussion on the author of the *Chroniques* see H. Moranville, 'La Chronique du Religieux de Saint-Denis', *Bibliothèque de l'école des chartes*, 51 (1890), 5-40; C. Samaran, 'Les manuscrits de la chronique latine de Charles VI dite du Religieux de Saint-Denis', *Le Moyen Age*, 18 (1963), 657-71; P.S. Lewis, 'Some provisional remarks upon the chronicles of Saint-Denis and upon the [Grandes] Chroniques de France in the fifteenth century', *Nottingham Medieval Studies*, 39 (1995), 146-81.

⁶⁹ Given-Wilson, *Chronicles*, pp.153-54; D. Hay, 'History and Historians in France and England during the Fifteenth Century', *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research*, 35 no.92 (Nov 1962), p.115; Norbert Kersken, 'High and Late Medieval National Historiography', in Deborah Mauskopf Deliyannis (ed.), *Historiography in the Middle Ages* (Leiden, 2003), p.200.

⁷⁰ Georges le Brusque, 'Chronicling the Hundred Years War in Burgundy and France in the Fifteenth Century', in Corinne Saunders, Françoise Le Saux & Neil Thomas (eds.), *Writing War. Medieval Literary Responses to Warfare* (Cambridge, 2004), p.81.

⁷¹ Given-Wilson, *Chronicles*, p.212; Hay, 'History and Historians', p.111; J. Taylor, *English Historical Literature in the fourteenth century* (Oxford, 1987), p.1.

⁷² Le Brusque, 'Chronicling the Hundred Years War', p.78.

⁷³ Hay, 'History and Historians', pp. 84-5 argued that the interest in chivalric history in England declined after Froissart stopped writing in England in the late fourteenth century. For the counter-argument to this, and the definition of *The Brut* as a chivalric chronicle, see Gransden, *Historical Writing in England II*, p. 74; Edward Donald Kennedy, 'Romancing the Past: a Medieval English Perspective', in Erik Kooper (ed.), *The Medieval Chronicle. Proceedings of the 1st International Conference on the Medieval Chronicle* (Amsterdam & Atlanta, 1999), p. 13.

An additional narrative genre examined in this thesis is biography, in which the life of an individual is the organising principle.⁷⁴ The anonymous biography of Jean le Meingre, nicknamed Boucicaut (1366-1421), composed while Boucicaut was still alive during the first decade of the fifteenth century, is one such biography that is explored in this thesis.⁷⁵ The narrative was completed in 1409 and traces the military career of Boucicaut in France and elsewhere in Europe. As with other biographies from the medieval period, this narrative is almost a hybrid of both the deeds of a single individual, and chronicles which are concerned with the progressive unfolding of events across several decades.⁷⁶

This period also saw changes in the ways that narratives of formal combats were presented. In addition to monastic and lay chronicles, the role of heralds as narrators was growing during this period. Since heralds were often present at these formal combats, their increasing role in literature led to a new range of sources narrating formal combats.⁷⁷ A lot of detail regarding how these events were fought may also be gathered from the challenges to formal combats that survive. These documents contain large amounts of detail and, although in some cases there is no evidence that they were answered with an actual combat, they do indicate how contemporaries intended these events to be understood and undertaken. Heralds often carried and circulated these documents to advertise a

⁷⁴ Ruth Morse, 'Medieval Biography: History as a Branch of Literature', *The Modern Language Review*, 80 no.2 (Apr 1985), p. 258.

⁷⁵ *Le livre des Fais du Bon Messire Jehan le Maingre, dit Boucicaut, Mareschal de France et Gouverneur de Jennes*, ed. Denis Lalande, Geneva, 1985). For a modern biography of Boucicaut see Denis Lalande, *Jean II le Meingre, dit Boucicaut (1366-1421). Étude d'un biographie héroïque* (Geneva, 1988).

⁷⁶ P.F. Ainsworth, *Jean Froissart and the Fabric of History: Truth, Myth, and Fiction in the Chroniques* (Oxford, 1990), p. 35.

⁷⁷ Peter Ainsworth, 'Heralds, Heraldry and the Colour Blue in the Chronicles of Jean Froissart', in Erik Kooper (ed.), *The Medieval Chronicle. Proceedings of the 1st International Conference on the Medieval Chronicle* (Amsterdam & Atlanta, 1999), 40-55; D'A.J.D. Boulton, *The Knights of the Crown. Monarchical Orders of Knighthood in later Medieval Europe 1325-1520* (Woodbridge, 1987), p. xxiii; Given-Wilson, *Chronicles*, pp. 107, 212; Hiltmann, 'Information et tradition textuelle', 219-231; Keen, *Chivalry*, pp. 12-14, 134, 138-42; M. Keen, 'Chivalry, heralds and history', in R.H.C. Davis & J.M. Wallace-Hadrill (eds.), *The Writing of History in the Middle Ages. Essays presented to Richard William Southern* (Oxford, 1981), 393-414; Taylor, *English Historical Literature*, p. 1. On the roles of medieval heralds in general, and the development and formalisation of their office, see A. Wagner, *Heralds and Heraldry in the Middle Ages. An Inquiry into the Growth of the Armorial Function of Heralds* (Oxford, 1956); A. Wagner, *Heralds of England. A History of the office and College of Arms* (London, 1967).

specific formal combat. The proclamation of the jousts at Smithfield in October 1390 for example, was sent with heralds to various western European courts where it was read out or otherwise circulated among interested parties. Any knight or esquire wishing to attend this formal combat would require a copy of the document, since it acted as surety for their safe conduct throughout English territory for the purposes of travelling to and from the event itself.⁷⁸ The role of heralds as chivalric messengers was similar to their role as diplomatic envoys and authorities on diplomatic missions. This diplomatic function comes across in the surviving proclamations and challenges for formal combats, such as that pertaining to the Smithfield jousts in 1390. This document refers to the ‘treues donnes et accordes par lez home qui auoir le voudra de Roy n’re souerain seigneur’ - most probably the truce signed at Leulinghen in the summer of 1389.⁷⁹ It is this detailed knowledge of the diplomatic polity of the time that marks heraldic accounts out as being particularly useful for gleaning detailed contemporary knowledge.

Sources and Narration

The most simple information that is presented to historians regarding formal combats in these narrative sources is that concerning the bare chronologies of events that are narrated. This information is comprised of the date and place that a formal combat was undertaken, the participants in a formal combat, and specific named attendees.

In some narratives, this information was not included complete. Some narratives do not include the date of a particular encounter; others do not specify an event’s location. Even where this information is supplied, the attendees and participants in a formal combat are not fully listed: the names of important participants and

⁷⁸ This role is attributed to heralds in Jean Froissart, *Oeuvres*, ed. Kervyn de Lettenhove (25 vols, Brussels, 1867-77), vol. 14 p.254. The proclamation carried by heralds for the October 1390 jousts at Smithfield can be found in BL MS Lansdowne 285, f.47r; TRA MS I-35, f.8r. For this combat see Chapter 2, ‘Formal Combats: Case Studies’ below.

⁷⁹ BL MS Lansdowne 285, f. 47r; TRA MS I-35, f. 8r; G.A. Lester, *Sir John Paston’s ‘Grete Boke’: a descriptive catalogue, with an introduction, of British Library MS Lansdowne 285* (Cambridge, 1984), p. 144. For the background to the truce of Leulinghen see Cuttino, *English Medieval Diplomacy*, pp. 102-3; Saul, *Richard II*, pp. 205-6.

attendees might be specified, but others are simplified into general statements such as ‘many others’. In the narrative of the combat of four English knights and four Frenchmen offered by Henry Knighton in his chronicle for example, the names of six of the eight participants were not identified.⁸⁰ Despite several other chroniclers writing in England and in France at this time, this combat was not recorded in these narratives. It is not possible therefore, to use additional narrative sources to expand Knighton’s account of this combat and gain a more complete understanding of this event.

In some narratives, this simple information was all that was provided for a formal combat. In the *Westminster Chronicle* the account of the jousts held at Saint Inglevert in 1390 was reduced to only a single sentence, stating that the French conducted hastiludes near Calais, and that several English knights and squires attended.⁸¹ In narratives for other events however, the source material recorded more detailed information regarding a formal combat, including presented motivations behind an encounter. The presentation of this information is more problematic than the bare bones of simple facts outlined above, but these sections of narrative still present historians with some information about how these combats were viewed, and how people wished they were interpreted. Sometimes, this motivation was presented as a simple agreement to fight, as was reflected in the challenge of French esquire Piers de Masse to John Astley, an English esquire, in 1438.⁸² This encounter was specified by Masse as being held ‘half at my Request and half at his request’, suggesting that there was no single specific motivation for this encounter but instead that it was of a more general nature.⁸³

⁸⁰ Knighton, *Knighton’s Chronicle*, pp. 432-33.

⁸¹ *The Westminster Chronicle, 1381-1394* eds. L.C. Hector & B.F. Harvey (Oxford, 1982), pp. 430-1.

⁸² BL MS Lansdowne 285, f. 15v; for another copy of this challenge see The College of Arms, London, MS L9, ff. 15v-16r. For commentary see G.A. Lester, *Sir John Paston’s ‘Grete Boke’: a descriptive catalogue with an introduction, of British Library MS Lansdowne 285* (Cambridge, 1984), pp. 96-97. On the resulting combat see Barber & Barker, *Tournaments*, p. 128. John Astley (d. 1486), created Knight of the Garter in 1461. See Viscount Harold Arthur Dillon, ‘On a manuscript collection of ordinances of chivalry of the fifteenth century belonging to Lord Hastings’, *Archaeological Journal*, 57 (1900), p. 38.

⁸³ BL Lansdowne MS 285, f.15v.

The first problem that might be encountered when dealing with these forms of narrative account for formal combats is that there existed no rigid system of recording information. This means that the narratives recorded were not comprehensive, and often omitted important pieces of information and detail. The earliest records that exist of the systematic recording of formal combats ‘lance-by-lance’ that heralds eventually produced date from the early sixteenth century. A collection of documents of this sort at the College of Arms for example, was composed in the sixteenth century. The cheques included in this collection for the Westminster tournament of February 1511 are the earliest original examples of heralds’ jousting scores known to still survive.⁸⁴ Similar methods of scoring may well have been employed in the fifteenth century, but any such records have since been lost.⁸⁵

For the later fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, the narrative sources that studies of formal combats must rely on often lack detail. The narrative of the Saint Inglevert jousts in 1390 in the *Westminster Chronicle* for example was very brief: only a single sentence.⁸⁶ There has been speculation about the identity of the author. Barbara Harvey has described how two monks completed the narrative, and has suggested that the first of these (composing the work covering events from 1381-83) was Richard of Cirencester, and that the second (who wrote the remaining work from 1383-94) was Richard of Exeter.⁸⁷ The brevity of the narrative account in this chronicle is perhaps surprising given that the material was written almost

⁸⁴ See CA MS M3, f. 25v. On this manuscript see Sydney Anglo, ‘Archives of the English Tournament: Score Cheques and Lists’, 153-62.

⁸⁵ Sydney Anglo, ‘Archives of the English Tournament: Score Cheques and Lists’, 153-62; Juliet Vale, ‘Violence and the Tournament’, in Richard W. Kaeuper (ed.), *Violence in Medieval Society* (Woodbridge, 2000), p. 149.

⁸⁶ *The Westminster Chronicle*, eds. Hector & Harvey, pp.430-31. This event is examined in Chapter 2, ‘Formal Combats: Case Studies’ below.

⁸⁷ *The Westminster Chronicle*, eds. Hector & Harvey, pp. xxxi-xxxiv, xl-xliii. The identities of the monks suggested here are accepted by Saul, *Richard II*, p. 314. Cirencester’s composition of a portion of the chronicle is also suggested by John Taylor, *The Universal Chronicle of Ranulf Higden* (Oxford, 1966), p. 128 although Taylor also suggests the authorship of William Sudbury. This suggestion is made on the basis that *The Westminster Chronicle* shows particular interest in the regalia: see for example C. Babington & J.R. Lumby, *Polychronicon Ranulphi Higden Monachi Cestrensis together with the English translations of John of Trevisa and of an Unknown writer of the Fifteenth Century* (9 vols, London, 1865-86), vol. 9 pp. 45, 77-8, 222-3, 260-1. Gransden disputes the evidence for Sudbury’s authorship however, Gransden, *Historical Writing in England II*, pp. 157-8.

contemporaneously with the events it described.⁸⁸ The lack of detail in this narrative may be attributed to the nature of the *Westminster Chronicle* itself: it tended to focus on events relating to the abbey of Westminster and its patrons, most notably during this period Richard II.⁸⁹ The jousts at Saint Inglevert did not immediately involve Richard; nor did the event immediately affect the workings of the abbey. Although the Westminster narrator therefore clearly knew about the jousts at Saint Inglevert, their apparent irrelevancy to the narrative may have accounted for their very brief entry.

An additional consequence of this lack of systematic recording of information was that chroniclers and narrators often neglected to cite their sources, leaving the historian to only guess at where these writers acquired their information. In some cases, the narrator participated actively in the events that they described. Such is the case with narratives for the combat between the Castilian knight Jean de Merlo and the Burgundian knight Pierre de Bauffremont (1400-1472) at the Congress of Arras, a large diplomatic gathering held in August and September 1435.⁹⁰ Jean le Fèvre, Troison d'Or King of Arms, composed a substantial narrative account of the combat.⁹¹ Le Fèvre's presence at the Congress is recorded by another narrative, the long list of attendees given by Jean Chartier.⁹² Much of le Fèvre's narrative of the Congress is occupied with a narrative description of the formal combat, and he was almost certainly a participant in the event. The narrative of Enguerrand de Monstrelet in fact stated that le Fèvre, as Troison d'Or King of Arms, proclaimed that no one should interrupt the foot combat on

⁸⁸ Gransden, *Historical Writing in England II*, p. 157.

⁸⁹ Gransden, *Historical Writing in England II*, pp. 182-3; Given-Wilson, *Chronicles*, p. 14.

⁹⁰ For a narrative and analysis of this combat see Chapter 2, 'Formal Combats: Case Studies' below.

⁹¹ Jean le Fèvre, *Chronique de Jean le Fèvre, seigneur de Saint-Remy*, ed. F. Morand (2 vols, Paris, 1876-81), vol. 2 pp. 313-321. On the role of the king of arms of the Troison d'Or, the Order of the Golden Fleece, see Boulton, *The Knights of the Crown*, pp. 356-396; Françoise de Gruben, *Les Chapitres de la Toison d'Or à l'époque Bourguignonne (1430-1477)* (Louvain, 1997), pp. 35-36, on Jean le Fèvre specifically see pp. 36-37.

⁹² Jean Chartier, *Histoire de Charles VII*, ed. Vallet de Viriville (3 vols, Paris, 1858), vol. 1 p. 207.

the second day of the formal combat.⁹³ Monstrelet himself was also present at some of the events that he described, including at the capture of Joan of Arc by the Burgundians in 1430.⁹⁴ A description of his own role as a witness, however, was conspicuously absent from his prologue, and he was in fact eager to present himself as relaying information to his reader, rather than as a personal witness to the events that he described.⁹⁵

Narratives were also based on personal experiences and recollections alongside other sources in various narrative accounts, including that of Jean Froissart (d. 1405). Although Froissart used the earlier chronicle of Jean le Bel for his first two books, the later narrative was based on oral testimonies from participants in the events that he described, in addition to his own experiences.⁹⁶ The citation of trustworthy eye-witnesses – including the narrator himself – in medieval chronicles was relatively common and was used in order to establish trustworthiness and expertise on the part of the narrator.⁹⁷ Froissart himself stated in the prologue to the first book of his chronicle that he had travelled widely in order to search out valiant knights and esquires so as to ask them about the truth of events, and that he had interrogated numerous heralds in order to learn what had happened at the events he wished to narrate.⁹⁸ Enguerrand de Monstrelet

⁹³ Monstrelet, *Chronique d'Enguerrand de Monstrelet*, ed. L. Douët-d'Arcq (6 vols, Paris, 1857-62), vol. 5 pp. 141-142.

⁹⁴ Monstrelet, *Chronique*, vol. 4 p. 388.

⁹⁵ Denis Boucquey, 'Enguerran de Monstrelet. Historien trop longtemps oublié', *Publications du Centre Européen d'Études Bourguignonnes (XIVe-XVIIe s.)* 31 (1991), pp.121-22; Rosalind Brown-Grant, 'Narrative Style in Burgundian Chronicles of the later Middle Ages', *Viator*, 42 no. 22 (2011), p. 246. Sophie Marnette, 'The Experiencing Self and the Narrating Self in Medieval French Chronicles', in Virginie Greene (ed.), *The Medieval Author in Medieval French Literature* (New York & Basingstoke, 2006), p. 125 also notes how Monstrelet referred to himself as a narrator significantly more frequently than he referred to himself as a witness.

⁹⁶ On Froissart's use of his personal experiences see Peter Ainsworth, 'Contemporary and 'Eyewitness' History', in Deborah Mauskopf Deliyannis (ed.), *Historiography in the Middle Ages* (Leiden, 2003), p.267; Zrinka Stahuljak, 'Neutrality Affects: Froissart and the Practice of Historiographic Authorship', in Virginie Greene (ed.), *The medieval author in medieval French literature* (New York & Basingstoke, 2006), pp.138-9; M. Zink, *Froissart et le temps* (Paris, 1998), p.78.

⁹⁷ Marnette, 'The Experiencing Self', p.118. On eyewitness testimony in medieval chronicles see Jeanette M. Beer, *Narrative Convention of Truth in the Middle Ages* (Geneva, 1981), passim; Given-Wilson, *Chronicles*, pp.6-11.

⁹⁸ Froissart, *Oeuvres*, vol. 2 pp.1-2. On Froissart's use of eyewitness testimony see Peter Ainsworth, 'Configuring Transience: patterns of transmission and transmissibility in the *Chroniques* (1395-

adopted a similar approach to eyewitnesses in his *Chroniques*. Monstrelet explicitly claimed to be extending the work of the ‘prudent et très renommé historien, maistre Jehan Froissart’, so it is perhaps unsurprising that his approach to sources and eyewitness testimony was similar.⁹⁹ Monstrelet described how he chose his sources with care to ensure that he used only those witnesses he deemed trustworthy, including explicitly heralds who he identified as ‘justes et diligens enquêteurs, bien instruis et vrais relateurs’.¹⁰⁰ Jean le Fèvre, who was himself a herald as king of arms of the Troison d’Or, chose to present his *Chronique* as based on his own testimony, in a contrast to Monstrelet who instead presented his role as a witness as decidedly passive, in the prologue to his work at least. Le Fèvre stressed his own trustworthiness as a narrator since he was a king of arms.¹⁰¹ He placed the emphasis on his own role as witness, as he stated that he recorded ‘choses que je ay veues’.¹⁰² Le Fèvre wished his work to be used quite differently to that of Froissart: he intended it to be the source material from which other chroniclers, such as Georges Chastellain, could draw information in order to compose their works. In fact, in this way le Fèvre’s work was not a chronicle, but instead a collection of ‘petites rédordacions et mémoires’.¹⁰³ Le Fèvre’s concern was therefore directed at establishing his own reputation as a witness, and he presented himself as having enjoyed a long history within the Troison d’Or, and as a diplomatic envoy on behalf of that order, to establish his credibility.¹⁰⁴

1995’), in Donald Maddox & Sara Sturm-Maddox (eds.), *Froissart across the Genres* (Gainesville, 1998), pp.20-21. On the similarities between Froissart’s narrative and the interests of heralds – potentially due to his use of heraldic testimony to compose his narrative – see Ainsworth, *Jean Froissart and the Fabric of History*, p.8.

⁹⁹ ‘prudent and very renowned historian, Jean Froissart’, Monstrelet, *Chronique*, vol. 1 p.5. On Monstrelet’s conscious continuation of Froissart’s work see Rosalind Brown-Grant, ‘Narrative Style in Burgundian Chronicles’, p. 246.

¹⁰⁰ ‘just and diligent enquirers, well informed, and true relators’, Monstrelet, *Chronique*, vol. 1 p. 4.

¹⁰¹ Le Fèvre, *Chronique*, vol. 1, p.1. On the role of the king of arms of the Troison d’Or, the Order of the Golden Fleece, see Boulton, *The Knights of the Crown*, pp. 356-96; Gruben, *Les Chapitres de la Toison d’Or*, pp. 35-36.

¹⁰² ‘things that I have seen’, le Fèvre, *Chronique*, vol. 1 p. 4.

¹⁰³ As le Fèvre repeatedly referred to his own work in his prologue, le Fèvre, *Chronique*, vol. 1 pp. 2, 5.

¹⁰⁴ Le Fèvre, *Chronique*, vol. 1 pp. 2, 3-4.

In some cases, the use of additional documents as source material in the narratives of formal combats was explicit, and these documents were quoted in the actual narrative itself. In this way, chronicle narratives can be incredibly useful in that they recorded and preserved information that has not survived, or that is not otherwise available elsewhere. In 1400 for example Michel d'Oris, an esquire from Aragon, challenged any English knight or esquire to compete against him in a formal combat. This challenge led to a series of letters between Michel d'Oris and Sir John Prendergast, an English knight who identified himself as a colleague of John Beaufort Earl of Somerset (d. 1410). There is no record that the combat itself took place; however the series of letters arranging the proposed combat was copied out, apparently in full, in the chronicle of Enguerrand de Monstrelet.¹⁰⁵

Monstrelet did not specify how he gained access to these letters, or who was entrusted with the originals. Of course, oral testimony was often referenced even less than these unnamed, potentially written sources, and the names of the specific witnesses that narrators referred to were rarely stated.¹⁰⁶ The authors of the *Westminster Chronicle* for example, apparently had detailed knowledge of foreign policy, and it has been suggested that they acquired much of this through familiarity with one of Richard II's diplomats, although the possible identity of this individual remains unknown.¹⁰⁷

Elsewhere, it has been suggested that information was passed via newsletters or other official documents.¹⁰⁸ The government encouraged monastic chroniclers to add to their narratives information in official newsletters that supported government positions.¹⁰⁹ According to Bernard Guenée, the historian has been a tool of political propaganda and of legitimation of royal policies and dynasties

¹⁰⁵ Monstrelet, *Chronique*, vol. 1 pp. 11-31.

¹⁰⁶ For a discussion of this problem see Given-Wilson, *Chronicles*, p. 13.

¹⁰⁷ *The Westminster Chronicle*, eds. Hector & Harvey, vol. 1 pp.lvi-lxi; see Given-Wilson, *Chronicles*, p. 14.

¹⁰⁸ G.H. Martin, 'Narrative Sources for the Reign of Richard II', in James L. Gillespie (ed.), *The Age of Richard II* (Stroud, 1997), p. 64.

¹⁰⁹ Antonia Gransden, 'Propaganda in English Medieval Historiography', *Journal of Medieval History*, 1 (1975), p. 367; Kennedy, 'Romancing the Past', p. 27.

since the fourteenth century and thus is by definition partial.¹¹⁰ The narrative composed by Henry Knighton for example used newsletters for information regarding at least one formal combat, held near Calais in 1388.¹¹¹ Knighton did not copy these newsletters out in full however, nor did he explicitly state that this was where his information regarding this formal combat came from. In his narrative of this event, Knighton was clearly partial to the English cause. He described how the English participants won great renown by performing in this combat so admirably.¹¹² Although subtle and implicit in this narrative, the use of official documents by chroniclers in their narratives increases the likelihood that they were influenced by the partisan nature of such material.

Narratives of later medieval writers contained other distinct elements of partiality. There were two most frequently stated motivations for later medieval chroniclers: firstly, the desire to record and commemorate the glorious deeds of great individuals; and secondly the need to inform and encourage young knights, the next generation of great individuals, to emulate the deeds contained within its pages. Many chroniclers wrote to preserve information that they deemed should be remembered.¹¹³ Their concern was with reputation and commemoration, not with the accuracies of their chronology. The time and the date of a battle were not particularly important, but narrators ensured that they included as full and correct a list as possible of the major participants and the deeds that they performed.¹¹⁴ The role of chroniclers as keepers and transmitters of memory was acknowledged

¹¹⁰ Bernard Guenée, *Histoire et culture historique dans l'Occident médiéval* (Paris, 1980), pp. 332-6. On the subjectivity of fourteenth- and fifteenth-century chroniclers in particular see Marnette, 'The Experiencing Self', p. 123. On the political use of chronicle narratives see also Kennedy, 'Romancing the Past', p. 23; Gabrielle M. Spiegel, 'Theory into Practice: Reading Medieval Chronicles', in Erik Kooper (ed.), *The Medieval Chronicle. Proceedings of the 1st International Conference on the Medieval Chronicle* (Amsterdam & Atlanta, 1999), p. 2; Gabrielle M. Spiegel, 'Political Utility in Medieval Historiography' a sketch', *History and Theory*, 14 (1975), 314-25.

¹¹¹ For Knighton's narrative of this event and the role of a newsletter in providing his information see Knighton, *Knighton's Chronicle*, pp. xxxix, 432-33; on newsletters as sources more generally see Chris Given-Wilson, 'Official and Semi-Official History in the later Middle Ages: the English Evidence in Context', in Erik Kooper (ed.), *The Medieval Chronicle V* (Amsterdam, 2008), p. 4; Given-Wilson, *Chronicles*, p. 15. On this combat see Barker, *The Tournament in England*, p. 37.

¹¹² Knighton, *Knighton's Chronicle*, pp. 432-33.

¹¹³ Given-Wilson, *Chronicles*, pp. 57-8, 99.

¹¹⁴ Given-Wilson, *Chronicles*, p. 102; R. Morris, 'Machaut, Froissart, and the Fictionalization of the Self', *The Modern Language Review*, 83 no.3 (July 1988), p. 545.

in their prologues, when they frequently referred to their desires to record the great events and deeds of their time. Monstrelet explained that it was only natural that the valiant men who had been involved as fighters in recent dramatic events, often tragically, should be rewarded ‘en racomptant leurs vaillances, bonnes renommées et noble fais, quand pour eulx et mémoire’.¹¹⁵ In the very first sentence of his prologue, Jean Froissart emphasised for his reader that he wrote for perpetual memory.¹¹⁶ Jean le Fèvre stated that his writings were meant to record ‘comme celui qui autrement ne sçaroit escrire ne parler’.¹¹⁷ As might be expected in a biographical work, the *Livre des fais* of Boucicaut was composed – according to its anonymous author – because the marshal’s deeds deserved to be remembered, ‘car leur bonne renommée est encores vive au monde, et vivra par le rapport des tesmoings des livres jusques à la fin du monde’.¹¹⁸

In deciding what deserved to be committed to memory in this way, medieval writers made conscious judgements concerning the information that they would include, and also what they would omit. As such, medieval authors not only collected information relevant to their work, but they also selected from that information the material that they would include in their writing.¹¹⁹ This dual role is also evident in the position of the author as both a narrator telling a story, and as a specific individual who sometimes offered his opinion about the narrative and linked it to the external world.¹²⁰ Their role thus involved a process of selection: in this sense, even those chronicles that claimed the most deliberate objectivity also made judgements regarding the information that they included and excluded from their presentations of history.

¹¹⁵ ‘by relating their exploits, good fame and noble deeds, which must be exposed by the living, for everlasting memory’, Monstrelet, *Chronique*, vol. 4 p.128.

¹¹⁶ Froissart, *Oeuvres*, vol. 2 p.1.

¹¹⁷ ‘that which otherwise would not be spoken or written of’, le Fèvre, *Chronique*, vol. 1 p.5.

¹¹⁸ ‘because their good renown is still alive to the world, and will live through the testimonies of books until the end of the world’, *Le livre des Fais du Bon Messire Jehan le Maingre*, ed. Lalande, pp. 8-9.

¹¹⁹ Stahuljak, ‘Neutrality Affects’ pp. 138-9.

¹²⁰ Marnette, ‘The Experiencing Self’, p.118.

The motivations behind the selection of material for inclusion in these narratives was tied to the second influence on their material outlined above. Information was specifically selected to serve the second stated aim of chronicles and other narrative sources: not only to remember great deeds, but also to encourage others to emulate those deeds in their own lives. As such, these writings acted as didactic, instructive texts designed to encourage their readers and audiences to behave in a certain way.¹²¹ The narratives under discussion here, because a large proportion of their prose was based around martial endeavours, were often aimed specifically at young men, knights at the start of their careers whom the narrators hoped to advise and influence.¹²²

Froissart explicitly stated in the prologue to his first book that he wrote to provide an example.¹²³ In the second redaction to this prologue the didactic aim of his work was made even more explicit: he stated that he wrote to encourage others and provide an example that could be followed by those wishing to emulate the great deeds described in his pages.¹²⁴ He therefore shaped his narrative to reflect the role that he assumed, that of educator and moraliser.¹²⁵ Enguerrand de Monstrelet expressed a similar sentiment in his prologue, where he declared that one of his motivations in writing was to inform and instruct those who wished to undertake feats of arms and win honour.¹²⁶ In the same way that the anonymous biographer of Boucicaut described how his subject's deeds deserved to be remembered until the end of the world, he then stated that they provided excellent example.¹²⁷ In this way, Froissart and other medieval narrators sought to present

¹²¹ On the didactic nature of medieval chronicles in general see for example Given-Wilson, *Chronicles*, pp.2-6; Taylor, *English Historical Literature*, p.155.

¹²² See for example Ainsworth, *Jean Froissart and the Fabric of History*, p. 74.

¹²³ Froissart, *Oeuvres*, vol. 1 p.1.

¹²⁴ Froissart, *Oeuvres*, vol. 1 p.5.

¹²⁵ On Froissart's text as didactic and moral work see for example Ainsworth, *Jean Froissart and the Fabric of History*, p.78; P. Tucóo-Chala, 'Froissart dans le Midi Pyrénée', in J.J.N. Palmer (ed.), *Froissart: Historian* (Woodbridge, 1981), p.118; P.E. Russell, 'The War in Spain and Portugal', in J.J.N. Palmer (ed.), *Froissart: Historian* (Woodbridge, 1981), p. 99.

¹²⁶ Monstrelet, *Chronique*, vol. 1 p. 2.

¹²⁷ 'Le livre des Fais du Bon Messire Jehan le Maingre', ed. Lalande, pp. 8-9.

in their writing ‘universal truths’, including what made a good knight, how a martial career should develop, and how men-at-arms were supposed to behave in martial engagements.¹²⁸

The Structure of the Thesis

In the first chapter, this thesis will more deeply explore the nature of formal combats in the later medieval period. It will draw upon contemporary narrative evidence from chronicles; biographies; regulation and advice texts; and heraldic material to ascertain what happened at various different types of formal combat in the period circa 1380-1440. Chapter two will then examine in detail several case studies of formal combats held during the period of this thesis. The reasons for exploring these formal combats in this manner are twofold. Firstly, these case studies will be referred to throughout the later part of the thesis, and it will be useful to the reader to have these presented before the more analytical chapters explore them further. Secondly, this chapter will seek to demonstrate, through the use of these case studies, the range and breadth of events under scrutiny in this thesis.

Chapter three will address royal control over formal combats, and the emergence of rules and regulations to control violence. There are three key influences on the regulation of formal combats during this period: the crown; knights; and legal authorities and clerks. The role of each of these will be examined in the context of their efforts to control and regulate formal combats. The chapter will show that the regulation of formal combats produced a careful balance of regulated violence, that sought to both dispel the fears of the crown while extolling the virtues of a martial ideal.

The fourth chapter turns from those who organised and regulated formal combats, to those who actively participated in them. The chapter explores not only the social rank, but also the age and experience of the individuals who took

¹²⁸ On didacticism as the presentation of ‘universal truth’ see Given-Wilson, *Chronicles*, pp. 2-3; Philippe Contamine, ‘Froissart: Art Militaire, Pratique et Conception de la Guerre’, in J.J.N. Palmer (ed.), *Froissart: Historian* (Woodbridge, 1981), pp. 136-7.

part in formal combats. It seeks to demonstrate that rather than one single representation of a formal combat ‘participant’, narratives highlighted the breadth of age, social standing and martial experience of those who competed in these events. Leading on from this chapter, chapter five examines the motivations of participants in formal combats, both in reality and as presented in the narrative material available to historians. These narrative sources suggested a broad range of motivations, from martial experience to the acquisition and defence of honour. Tied to this discourse on honour is the concept of martial rivalry, and this chapter also examines the ways that formal combats provided arenas for the testing of collective political rivalries.

The final chapter of this thesis turns from the direct participants in formal combats, and explores the audiences for these events. The nature of audiences at formal combats incorporated a social range of individuals, especially for those events held as part of larger festivals in urban centres. This chapter examines in particular the roles of women at formal combats. While they were often passive spectators, this chapter also examines the more active roles that women did play in formal combats, as witnesses to combats over honour and as awarders of prizes.

This thesis thus seeks to explore formal combats as events in martial, political and social contexts; as skirmishes on contested boundaries; as expressions of martial-political rivalry away from the immediate battlefield; as cultural expressions of the values of knighthood and chivalry; and as events that were understood by, and appealed to, specific sections of French and English society through their dissemination in contemporary narratives.

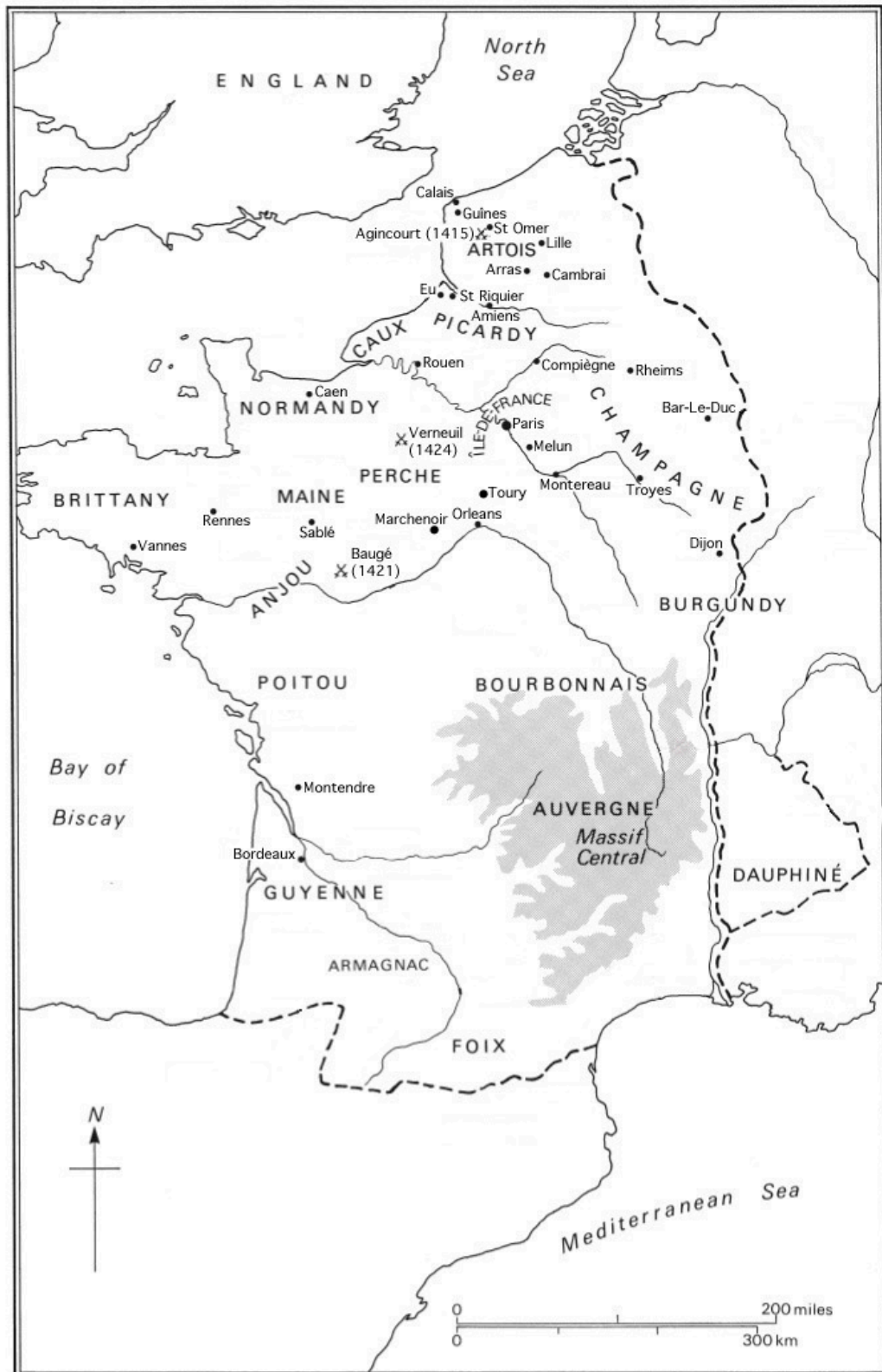


Figure 1: Formal Combats in France, circa 1380–1440.



Figure 2: Formal Combats in England, circa 1380–1440.

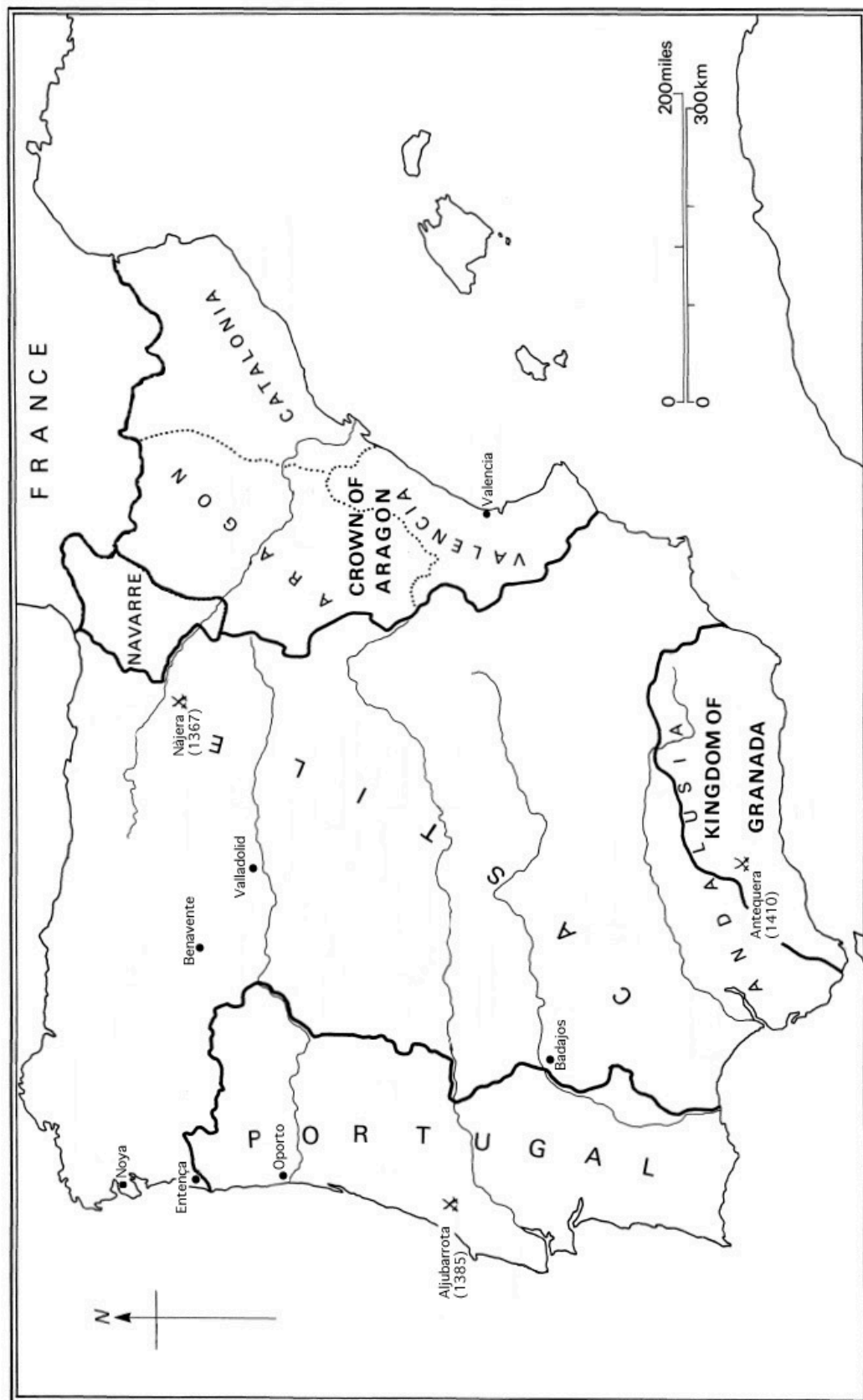


Figure 3: Formal Combats on the Iberian Peninsula, circa 1380–1440.

Chapter One

What were Formal Combats?

In April 1390 three French knights waited near Saint Inglevert in the northern French marches for challengers to come and joust against them.¹ Each challenger who wished to compete would joust against one or more of the French defenders. This encounter has been termed ‘one of the most famous examples’ of a *pas d’armes* by Richard Barber, and as both a ‘tournament’ and ‘jousts’ by Barber and Juliet Barker.² In the contemporary narratives for this formal combat at Saint Inglevert however, a different vocabulary for this event was utilised. In these medieval narratives the event was called a ‘hastiludia’ in the *Chronographia Regum Francorum*, the *Westminster Chronicle*, and by Michel Pintouin in the *Chronique du Religieux de Saint-Denys* which also described the occasion as a ‘duellum’, ‘gladiatorio ludo’ and ‘militare exercitium’. The anonymous poem composed to commemorate the event described it as ‘joustes’, as did Froissart’s *Chroniques*, which also used the terms ‘une table reonde’, ‘armes’ and ‘emprise’. ‘Emprise’ was also used in the *Chronique des Quatre Premiers Valois*, as was ‘festes’, and ‘armes’ was used in the *Histoire de Charles VI* attributed to Jean Juvénal des Ursin.³

Medieval contemporaries therefore used a wide range of terminology to describe a single event. Much of this contemporary terminology was vague and generalised. In the case of the event at Saint Inglevert in 1390 however, the modern phrase used to describe it was not the same as the contemporary phrases that were used in medieval narratives. The danger of using ‘tournament’ as an umbrella term to

¹ This event is detailed and analysed in Chapter 2, ‘Formal Combats: Case Studies’ below.

² Richard Barber, *The Knight and Chivalry* (London, 1970), pp. 173-4; Richard W. Barber & Juliet R.V. Barker, *Tournaments: jousts, chivalry and pageants in the Middle Ages* (Woodbridge, 1989), p. 166.

³ *Chronique des quatre premiers Valois*, ed. S. Luce (Paris, 1862), p. 315; *Chronographia Regum Francorum*, ed. H. Moranville (Paris, 1897), vol. 3 pp. 97-100; Froissart, Jean, *Oeuvres*, ed. Kervyn de Lettenhove (25 vols, Brussels, 1867-77), vol. 14 pp. 43, 55-58, 106-51, 406-419; *Le livre des Fais du Bon Messire Jehan le Maingre, dit Boucicaut, Mareschal de France et Gouverneur de Jennes*, ed. Denis Lalande (Geneva, 1985), pp. 66-74; Jean Juvénal des Ursins, ‘Histoire de Charles VI, Roy de France’, *Novelle Collection des Mémoires pour servir à l’Histoire de France depuis le XIIIe siècle jusqu’à la fin du XVIIIe siècle*, eds. J.F. Michaud & J.J.F. Poujoulat (32 vols, Paris, 1836-39), vol. 2 p. 385; *Chronique du Religieux de Saint-Denys contenant le règne de Charles VI, de 1380 à 1422*, ed. & trans. L.F. Bellaguet (6 vols, Paris, 1839-1852), vol. 1 pp. 672-683; *The Westminster Chronicle, 1381-1394*, eds. L.C. Hector & B.F. Harvey (Oxford, 1982), pp. 430-2.

cover mêlée tournaments, jousts and other forms of formal combat, is that since this term had a specific medieval definition in addition to that employed in modern narratives, these two uses of the term become entangled and lead to confusion over the form of combat under discussion. In this thesis, the term ‘formal combats’ is used to refer to all kinds of tournaments, jousts, *pas d’armes* and other combats within a formalised setting, in order to avoid any potential confusion.

Deeds of Arms

The use of an umbrella term to describe a range of events of different forms is certainly not new in modern historiography; medieval narrators used several different terms to refer to formal combats broadly, rather than to a single form of combat. In Latin texts the phrase ‘factum armorum’ was commonly used for formal combats. Some of the formal combats described as ‘factum armorum’ were individual combats between two knights, such as that between Peter Courtenay and the lord of Clary near Calais in 1383.⁴ Others were large-scale jousts featuring more than a hundred individuals, such as the jousts at Saint Inglevert in 1390, which were described as ‘factum armorum’ in the protections and safe conducts for English knights travelling across the Channel, issued in March 1390.⁵ In other cases, general verbs such as ‘pugnare’ (‘to fight’) were used to indicate a formal combat was undertaken, such as in Henry Knighton’s narrative of the duel held on 30 November 1384 at Westminster between John Walsh of Grimsby, and Martlet de Villeneuve, a native of Navarre.⁶ In some of these documents, there was a sense that these very general, vague terms were being employed deliberately in order to apply to as many events as possible. Such is the case for example in Richard II’s prohibition on deeds of arms against subjects of France in 1396,

⁴ For this terminology see *Chronographia Regum Francorum*, ed. Moranville, vol. 3 pp. 55-56; an additional and more detailed narrative was provided in Froissart, *Oeuvres*, vol. 14 pp. 46-54. This event is discussed in detail in Chapter 2, ‘Formal Combats: Case Studies’ below.

⁵ *Foedera, conventiones, literae, et cujuscunque generis acta publica*, ed. T. Rymer (20 vols, London, 1704-35), vol. 7 pp. 665-666.

⁶ Henry Knighton, *Knighton’s Chronicle, 1337-1396*, ed. G.H. Martin (Oxford, 1995), pp. 334-335. This example and those from Westminster, Saint Inglevert and Montendre are explored in more detail in Chapter 2, ‘Formal Combats: Case Studies’ below.

which prohibited only ‘facta guerrarum’ and ‘actus armorum’; by keeping this language vague, presumably Richard hoped to prohibit as many events as possible.⁷

Similarly, French narratives frequently employed very general terminology for formal combats. The most common term in French narratives was *faits d’armes*, used for any form of engagement and often abbreviated to ‘armes’, presumably for the sake of brevity. The term ‘armes’ and its various longer forms were used for events in both truce and in war time, that featured jousting as well as combat with other weapons such as swords, daggers, axes, and even combative wrestling. The jousts in London in 1390 were described in the challenge to that encounter as ‘faict darmes’, as were the jousts at Saint Inglevert the same year in Froissart’s narrative.⁸ The foot combats fought between seven Frenchmen and seven Englishmen at Montendre in 1402, that involved both combat with swords and hand-to-hand wrestling, and at Arras between two single knights in 1435 were also described as ‘armes’.⁹ Even heralds, who might be expected to have had their own detailed systematic terminology, used a generalised terminology for the formal combats that they described. Jean le Fèvre for example, who wrote his chronicle as king of arms to the Troison d’Or, the Order of the Golden Fleece, used the general term ‘faictes d’armes’ or a shorter equivalent to describe several encounters in his narrative.¹⁰

Medieval narrators therefore clearly employed a generalised terminology that they applied to formal combats of various different forms. The generalised terminology

⁷ *Foedera*, ed. Rymer, vol. 7 p. 832. The text is taken from the Close Rolls, *Calendar of Close Rolls, Richard II 1392-1396*, ‘<http://www.british-history.ac.uk.ezproxy.york.ac.uk/report.aspx?compid=102294>’ (3 March 2013). This prohibition is discussed in more detail in Chapter 3, ‘Royal Controls, Rules and Violence’ below.

⁸ TRA MS I-35, ff. 13r-13v; BL MS Lansdowne 285, ff. 46v-47r; Froissart, *Oeuvres*, vol. 14 p. 105.

⁹ Montendre, 1402: Jean Juvénal des Ursins, ‘Histoire de Charles VI’, vol. 2 pp. 421-422; also *Chronique du Religieux de Saint-Denys*, ed. Bellaguet, vol. 3 p. 32. Arras, 1435: Enguerrand de Monstrelet, *Chronique d’Enguerrand de Monstrelet*, ed. L. Douët-d’Arcq (6 vols, Paris, 1857-62), vol. 5 pp. 138-43.

¹⁰ See for example Jean le Fèvre, *Chronique de Jean le Fèvre, seigneur de Saint-Remy*, ed. F. Morand (2 vols, Paris, 1876-81), vol. 1 pp. 205-12, 177-78; vol. 2 pp. 175-6, 313-21. On the role of the king of arms of the Troison d’Or see D’Arcy Jonathan Dacre Boulton, *The Knights of the Crown: The Monarchical Orders of Knighthood in Later Medieval Europe 1325-1520* (Woodbridge, 1987), pp. 356-96.

that was used by medieval narrators blurred the distinction between armed encounters on the battlefield, and those that took place in a more organised, elaborate or ceremonial setting. In medieval narratives, there was a distinct overlap between the terms used for martial accomplishments in battles, campaigns and skirmishes, and those performed in formal combats and more rigidly controlled environments. The first indication that this use of terminology overlapped is found in the prologues to some of the narratives that documented formal combats and other forms of martial engagement. In the prologue to the first book of his *Chroniques*, Jean Froissart stated that his work would focus on the ‘grant fait d’armes’ of the wars between France and England.¹¹ Later in his introductory statement, he described his work as recording the ‘grans fais d’armes’ and other encounters that occurred between martial individuals.¹² Similarly, the prologue to the *Chroniques* composed by Enguerrand de Monstrelet described how his work focused on ‘les très dignes et haulx fais d’armes, les inestimables et aventureux engins et subtilitez de guerre’.¹³ Elsewhere in these works, these narrators used this same phrase *faits d’armes* to describe both formal combats and far more general, unregulated acts of violence. In his narrative of the battle of Crécy in 1346 for example, Froissart complained that too few *faits d’armes* were undertaken in the battle for his liking.¹⁴ Elsewhere Froissart used the same phraseology, *faits d’armes*, to describe the jousts that were held at Saint Inglevert in 1390.¹⁵

The similarity in the terminology used for such events indicates a relationship between formal combats and warfare in their presentation in contemporary narratives. Medieval narrators sought to present, in both warfare and formal combats, the great and worthy deeds that they thought martial individuals should

¹¹ Froissart, *Oeuvres*, vol. 2 p. 1. In the second redaction to his prologue, this statement is extended to include ‘honnourables emprises et nobles aventures et faits d’armes’, Froissart, *Oeuvres*, vol. 2 p. 4.

¹² Froissart, *Oeuvres*, vol. 2 p. 2.

¹³ ‘the very worthy and high feats of arms, the inestimable and adventurous engines and subtleties of war’, Monstrelet, *Chronique*, vol. 1 p. 2.

¹⁴ Froissart, *Oeuvres*, vol. 5 pp. 56, 59.

¹⁵ Froissart, *Oeuvres*, vol. 14 pp. 55-57.

perform.¹⁶ In the prologue to his second book, Monstrelet outlined his focus on great deeds and those who performed such feats of prowess, and explained that it was only natural that these men should be rewarded ‘en racomptant leurs vaillances, bonnes renommées et noble fais, quand pour eulx et mémoire’.¹⁷ Both combat in battle and formal combats occupied places on the spectrum of great deeds that medieval narrators described and encouraged others to emulate. Such a relationship between martial campaigns and formal combats was recognised by the French knight Geoffroi de Charny (d. 1356) in his *Livre de chevalerie* written around 1350, where jousts, tournaments and battlefield combat were all *faits d’armes*, integral parts of a martial career, distinguished by degree but not regarded as separate or unrelated activities.¹⁸

Tournaments

Historians have often sought to unite many different forms of formal combat under the single term ‘tournament’. This has been the case since the early twentieth-century study of formal combats shifted from antiquarianism towards academic study. In 1918 Cripps-Day described all gatherings for war-like exercise under ‘tournaments’, and this lack of precision in the early, formative historiographical works on the subject has undoubtedly hindered the prospects for

¹⁶ On Froissart’s *Chroniques* as dominated by narratives of individual deeds by noteworthy individuals see Peter Ainsworth, ‘Heralds, Heraldry and the Colour Blue in the Chronicles of Jean Froissart’, in Erik Kooper (ed.), *The Medieval Chronicle. Proceedings of the 1st International Conference on the Medieval Chronicle* (Amsterdam & Atlanta, 1999), p. 40; Georges le Brusque, ‘Chronicling the Hundred Years War in Burgundy and France in the Fifteenth Century’, in Corinne Saunders, Françoise Le Saux & Neil Thomas (eds.), *Writing War. Medieval Literary Responses to Warfare* (Cambridge, 2004), pp. 78-79. Barber, *The Knight and Chivalry*, p. 225 briefly examines the similarities between Froissart’s narratives of battles and formal combats.

¹⁷ ‘by relating their exploits, good renown and noble deeds, which must be exposed by the living, for everlasting memory’, Monstrelet, *Chronique*, vol. 4 p.128.

¹⁸ *The Book of Chivalry of Geoffroi de Charny: text, context and translation*, eds. Richard W. Kaeuper & Elspeth Kennedy (Philadelphia, 1996), pp. 86-87; P. Contamine, *Guerre, État et Société à la fin du Moyen Âge: Études sur les Armées des Rois de France, 1337-1494* (Paris & The Hague, 1972), pp. 184-185; Vale, *War and Chivalry*, p. 78. For discussion of the text see for example Richard W. Kaeuper, *Chivalry and Violence in Medieval Europe* (Oxford, 1999), pp. 284-88; Colette Beaune, *The Birth of an Ideology: Myths and Symbols of Nation in Late-Medieval France* tr. S.R. Hutton, ed. F.L. Cheyette (Berkeley & Los Angeles, 1991), pp. 303-305; Elspeth Kennedy, ‘Geoffroi de Charny’s *Livre de Chevalerie* and the Knights of the Round Table’, in S. Church & R. Harvey (eds.), *Medieval Knighthood V* (Woodbridge, 1995), 221-242. The relationship between formal combats and martial activity will be explored in far greater detail in Chapter 5, ‘Motivations: Real and Constructed’ below.

a specialised, more exact vocabulary in later works.¹⁹ Articles and monographs that have been published on jousting, deeds of arms and tournaments since Cripps-Day's study was completed have similarly tended to collate various different forms of combat under the general term 'tournament'.²⁰ Some studies have highlighted this treatment of the term, and have sought to explain the generalisation in terms of popular expectation and ease of understanding, such as Richard Barber and Juliet Barker.²¹ In *War and Chivalry* (1981), Vale used the term 'tournament' as an umbrella phrase to simplify his narrative, for various different forms of combat that he also differentiated from one another.²²

Whilst the need for a broad term for these events both eases the simplification of narrative and understanding, and reflects medieval practices, choosing 'tournament' as this generic term poses a series of problems. The main concern with this term is that in medieval narratives, 'tournament' indicated a specific form of event. A tournament was a *mêlée* combat fought between two teams of men armed with lances, swords and a variety of other weapons who engaged one another simultaneously.²³ This use of the term 'tournament' continued into the

¹⁹ F.H. Cripps-Day, *The History of the Tournament* (London, 1918), p. 13.

²⁰ For example Barber, *The Knight and Chivalry*, p. 170 which describes the late fourteenth and early fifteenth century as the 'apogee' of the tournament, despite the term very rarely being used in contemporary literature from the time. Barber & Barker, *Tournaments*, p. 2, admit that they used the term 'tournament' throughout their work to encompass all events of this nature, although they also crucially acknowledge that the term held a more technical contemporary meaning; also see Barber & Barker, *Tournaments*, p. 163 that describes a wide range of 'types of tournament' including the *mêlée*, the individual joust, and the practice tournament. Sheila Lindenbaum, 'The Smithfield Tournament of 1390', *Journal of Medieval and Renaissance Studies*, 20 (1990), 1-21 describes the jousting in London in 1390 as a tournament although that term was not used in the contemporary material. Vale, *War and Chivalry*, pp. 67-8 amalgamates the joust, *mêlée* and hand-to-hand foot combat under the term 'tournament'.

²¹ Barber & Barker, *Tournaments*, pp. 2-4.

²² Vale, *War and Chivalry*, pp. 67-68.

²³ Despite the frequent use of 'tournament' as generic term for all formal combats, historians have simultaneously identified this form of *mêlée* encounter as the contemporary definition of a tournament: Barber & Barker, *Tournaments*, p. 163; David Crouch, *Tournament* (London, 2005), pp. 1-2; Maurice Keen, *Chivalry* (Nota Bene edn., London & New Haven, 1984), pp. 206-7; Helmut Nickel, 'The Tournament: An Historical Sketch', in H. Chickering & T.H. Seiler (eds.), *The Study of Chivalry: Resources and Approaches* (Kalamazoo, 1988), p. 214.

later medieval period; it is in this context that Antoine de la Sale used the term in his work on tournaments in the mid-fifteenth century.²⁴

The distinction was made clear in legislative examples from the medieval period. Both the rules for tournaments prescribed by Richard I in 1194, and the *Statuta Armorum* issued by Edward I in 1292, delineated between tournaments and other forms of formal combat.²⁵ In the later period this distinction remained: in the *ordonnance* issued by Charles VI on 27 January 1405 for example, the text of the document repeatedly distinguished between *joustes* and *faits d'armes* more generally.²⁶

In contemporary literature regarding formal combats, there was clearly a distinction made between jousts and tournaments. In his *Livre de la Chevalerie* written around 1350, Geoffroi de Charny used 'joust' to refer to a combat where one individual fights another individual with spears or lances on horseback, and used 'tournament' to refer to a group combat on horseback that involved various

²⁴ La Sale first used the term 'tournoiz' in the opening address of his work to explain what he aimed to do: 'Et pour obeir a voz prieres, qui me sont commandemens, moy priant que plainement vous escripse la façon et comment les tournoiz en armes et en tymbres se font, car le duc a voullenté de en faire ung par dela...', 'And so to obey your wishes, which for me are commands, asking me to write plainly the manner and how tournaments in arms and in crests are done, because the duke wishes to do one of those...', Sylvie Lefevre, *Antoine de la Sale. La fabrique de l'oeuvre et de l'écrivain* (Geneva, 2006), p. 299.

²⁵ For Richard I's regulations in 1194 see for the text of the regulations BL Cotton MS Claudius C iv, f. 233; other contemporary references to these regulations can be found in Roger of Hoveden, *Chronica* ed. W. Stubbs (4 vols, London, 1868-71), vol. 3 p. 268; William of Newburgh, *Historia rerum Anglicarum, Chronicles of the reigns of Stephen, Henry II and Richard I*, ed. R. Howlett (2 vols, London, 1885), vol. 2 pp. 422-23. For the text of Edward I's *Statuta Armorum* see (for the provision that the statute is based on) A. Luders (ed.), *The Statutes of the Realm* (11 vols, London, 1810-1828), vol. 1 pp. 230-1; also BL MS Harleian 69, f. 17r; (for the statute itself) *Rotuli Parliamentorum; ut et Petitiones, et Placita in Parlamento*, eds. Richard Blyke, John Strachey et al. (8 vols, London, 1767-77), vol. 1, p. 85. For commentary on these regulations see J.R.V. Barker, *The Tournament in England, 1100-1400* (Woodbridge, 1986), pp. 45, 53-59, 191-2; N. Denholm-Young, 'The Tournament in the Thirteenth Century', in R.W. Hunt, W.A. Pantin & R.W. Southern (eds.), *Studies in Medieval History Presented to Frederick Maurice Powicke* (Oxford, 1948), pp. 243-4, 260-1, 264; Maurice Keen, *Nobles, Knights and Men-at-Arms in the Middle Ages* (London & Rio Grande, 1996), pp. 84-88; Nickel, 'The Tournament: an historical sketch', p. 214; Juliet Vale, 'Violence and the Tournament', in Richard W. Kaeuper (ed.), *Violence in Medieval Society* (Woodbridge, 2000), p. 154; Thomas Zotz, 'Jousts in the Middle Ages', in T.J. Cornell & T.B. Allen (eds.), *War and Games* (Woodbridge, 2003), pp. 96-7.

²⁶ Although the absence of any reference to events described as 'tournois' should be noted, *Ordonnances des Roys de France*, ed. M. de Lauriere (21 vols, Paris, 1723), vol. 9 pp. 105-6.

weapons, including lances and also swords and axes.²⁷ Charny presented a three-tier system of chivalric deeds: jousts, tournaments and warfare. While each was presented as certainly worthy of praise, warfare was the activity deserving the most plaudits, followed by tournaments, and then finally jousts, because warfare involved those skills that were employed individually in jousts and tournaments.²⁸ A similar distinction was made between jousts and tournaments in Christine de Pizan's *Livre de la Paix*, begun in September 1412, in which she recommended that 'tournois et joutes' be proclaimed throughout France several times a year.²⁹

Historians have noted that *mêlée* tournaments were becoming less common in England and France during the later medieval period.³⁰ Indeed, this is supported by evidence in contemporary documents. In his *Traictié de la forme et devis d'ung tournoy* written in 1460, René d'Anjou stated that he used three models for tournaments: German practices, those events current in Flanders and Brabant, and former events held in France.³¹ The form of combat that he then described was clearly a *mêlée*. He envisaged a tournament as being held on horseback, by a group of knights fighting simultaneously with a variety of weapons; he stated the form of the rebated sword, including the size, length and width of the blades, and

²⁷ *The Book of Chivalry of Geoffroi de Charny* eds. Kaeuper & Kennedy, pp. 84-9.

²⁸ *The Book of Chivalry of Geoffroi de Charny* eds. Kaeuper & Kennedy, p. 88.

²⁹ Christine de Pizan, *The Book of Peace*, ed. & tr. Karen Green, Constant J. Mews & Janice Pinder (Philadelphia, 2008), pp. 145, 275. Charity Willard suggests that this recommendation indicates that Christine de Pizan was aware of French military unpreparedness in the early fifteenth century, Christine de Pizan, *The 'Livre de la Paix'*, ed. C.C. Willard (The Hague, 1958), p. 205. For discussion of Christine de Pizan's advice regarding formal combats in this text see Vale, *War and Chivalry*, pp. 63-64.

³⁰ On the decline in frequency of *mêlée* tournaments at the end of the Middle Ages see Barker, *The Tournament in England*, pp. 4, 13-16, 139-40; Barber & Barker, *Tournaments*, p. 2; Torsten Hiltmann, 'Information et tradition textuelle. Les tournois et leur traitement dans les manuels des hérauts d'armes au XVe siècle', *Information et société en occident à la fin du moyen âge: actes du colloque international tenu à l'Université du Québec à Montréal et à l'Université d'Ottawa, 9-11 mai 2002* (Paris, 2004), pp. 219, 221; Vale, *War and Chivalry*, p. 76; Vale, 'Violence and the Tournament', p. 151.

³¹ René d'Anjou, 'Traictié de la forme et devis d'ung tournoy', ed. Elizabeth Bennett, 1997, 'http://www.princeton.edu/~ezb/rene/renefran.html' (3 February 2013). On the continuation of *mêlées* in the Low Countries into the mid-fifteenth century see Mario Damen, 'Tournament Culture in the Low Countries and England', in Hannah Skoda, Patrick Lantschner & R.L.J. Shaw (eds.), *Contact and Exchange in Later Medieval Europe: Essays in Honour of Malcolm Vale* (Woodbridge, 2012), 247-265.

the mace, that should be used in the tournament specifically in his text.³² In his work *Le traité des anciens et des nouveaux tournois* from 1459, Antoine de la Sale expressed a similar idea that models for mêlée combats were old by the mid-fifteenth century. La Sale stated that he had to rely on his memories of attending *tournois* as a young man in order to ascertain what was entailed in such an encounter.³³ La Sale used his memory and the testimony of others who knew of such events, to identify two different types of *behourt*, a term used in his text synonymously with *tournois*: the ‘behourt d’espees’ and the ‘behourt des lances’.³⁴

Despite the lack of numerous examples of the term ‘tournament’ from the narratives of events in England and France for almost a century before la Sale and René d’Anjou wrote their treatises, they employed the term to describe almost exactly the same type of encounter that Geoffroi de Charny had described one hundred years earlier: a mounted combat featuring two groups of men fighting simultaneously in a mêlée with a variety of weapons including swords.³⁵ Although they bore little resemblance to contemporary deeds of arms, the tournaments described by la Sale and René d’Anjou were certainly similar to one another. Both featured, for example, the presentation of a sword to mark the challenge to the tournament.³⁶ Indeed, the use of the word ‘tournament’ appeared elsewhere in the

³² ‘Et en lui baillant une espée rabatue de quoy on tournoye...’, ‘and he [the prince] ought to give him a rebated sword such as is used in the tourney’, René d’Anjou, ‘Traictié de la forme et devis d’ung tournoy’, ed. Elizabeth Bennett, 1997, ‘<http://www.princeton.edu/~ezb/rene/renefran.html>’ (3 February 2013).

³³ Sylvie Lefevre, *Antoine de la Sale. La fabrique de l’oeuvre et de l’écrivain* (Geneva, 2006), pp. 311-312. One of these mêlées was held in Bruges in 1409 for the marriage of Anthony of Burgundy (1384-1415), see Enguerrand de Monstrelet, *Chroniques d’Enguerrand de Monstrelet*, ed. L. Douët-d’Arcq (6 vols, Paris, 1857-62), vol. 2 pp. 32-33.

³⁴ La Sale, *La Fabrique de l’Oeuvre et de L’écrivain*, pp. 300, 318, 319, 323 (‘behourt d’espees’); p. 322. (‘behourt des lances’).

³⁵ La Sale, *La Fabrique de l’Oeuvre et de L’écrivain*, p. 322; ‘sera ung grantdesime pardon d’armes, et très noble Tournoy frappé de masses de mesure, et espées rabatues, en harnois propres pour ce faire, en timbres, cotes d’armes et housseures de chevaux armoyées des armes des nobles tournoyeurs, ainsi que de toute ancienneté est de coustume.’, ‘...there will be a very great festival of arms and a very noble tourney with maces of one measure and rebated swords, in appropriate armor, with crests, coats of arms and horses covered with the arms of the noble tourneyers, as it the ancient custom.’, René d’Anjou, ‘Traictié de la forme et devis d’ung tournoy’, ed. Elizabeth Bennett, 1997, ‘<http://www.princeton.edu/~ezb/rene/renefran.html>’ (3 February 2013).

³⁶ La Sale, *La Fabrique de l’Oeuvre et de L’écrivain*, p. 299; ‘Et en lui baillant une espée rabatue de quoy on tournoye...’, ‘and he [the prince] ought to give him a rebated sword such as is used in the

mid fifteenth century in the titles of treatises dealing with deeds of arms. In his *Traicté d'un Tournoy tenu a gand*, the Burgundian knight Claude de Vauldray used the term to refer to an event featuring both lance and sword.³⁷ Elsewhere in this text however, the event in question was referred to as a 'pas' or 'emprise'.³⁸ An analysis of the form of the encounter being described here indicates that Vauldray intended the combat to entail one course with the lance and seventeen strokes with the sword.³⁹

Mêlée tournaments were mentioned very rarely in contemporary narratives during the period circa 1380-1440, supporting the argument that such events were rare. Those infrequent occasions that were identified as tournaments seem to have been misidentified by the narrator, rather than actually being tournaments in the sense of what contemporaries would have understood by that terminology. The English *Brut* for example described the jousts in Smithfield in 1390 as 'generalle Iustise, that is called a turnement'.⁴⁰ In no other medieval account of this event however, were the jousts described as a 'tournament': the challenge to the combat described the event as 'faict darmes et unes tresnobles joustes', the *Westminster Chronicle* described the event as 'solempnia hastiludia', it was termed 'hastiludia grandia' in the *Historia Vitae et Regni Ricardi Secundi*, and both Froissart's narrative and the *Chronique des Quatre Premiers Valois* described it as variously a 'feste' and 'joustes'.⁴¹ David Crouch has identified the last mêlée tournament in England as

tourney', René d'Anjou, 'Traictié de la forme et devis d'ung tournoy', ed. Elizabeth Bennett, 1997, <http://www.princeton.edu/~ezb/rene/renefran.html> (3 February 2013).

³⁷ *Traictés du Duel Judiciaire: Relations de Pas d'Armes et Tournois*, ed. Bernard Prost (Paris, 1872), pp. 55-133. Claude de Vauldray organised his own formal combats, the *pas de la Dame Sauvage*, at Ghent in 1470. For Claude de Vauldray and this event see Barber & Barker, *Tournaments*, p. 124; Otto Cartellieri, *The Court of Burgundy* (London, 1929), pp. 123-24.

³⁸ See for example *Traictés du Duel Judiciaire*, ed. Prost, p. 60.

³⁹ *Traictés du Duel Judiciaire*, ed. Prost, p. 61.

⁴⁰ *The Brut, or the Chronicles of England*, ed. F.W.D. Brie (2 vols, EETS, London, 1906-1908), vol. 2 p. 343.

⁴¹ TRA MS I-35, ff. 13r-13v; BL MS Lansdowne 285, ff. 46v-47r; *The Westminster Chronicle*, eds. Hector & Harvey, p. 450; *Historia Vitae et Regni Ricardi Secundi*, ed. George B. Stow (Pennsylvania, 1977), pp. 131-2; Froissart, *Oeuvres*, vol. 14 pp. 253-64; *Chronique des quatre premiers Valois*, ed. Luce, pp. 315-6.

that held in 1342 in Dunstable, and narratives do not seem to contain descriptions of mêlée tournaments in England during the period examined in this thesis.⁴²

The reasons for this decline are likely to be diverse; there is no one explanation for the decline of mêlées and the continuing rise in the popularity of jousts, but through examination of the trends in formal combats during the later fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, a number of explanations can be posited. These fall into three main categories: firstly, that individual combats became more popular as they provided a greater opportunity for the audience to see what was happening, which both reflected well on participants and meant that the audience could gain a better understanding of the meanings and messages of the event; secondly, that changes in martial technology meant that single combats became far safer than mêlée tournaments; and thirdly, that single combats were so much less disruptive than mêlées that they appealed to the crown and organisers of formal combats far more readily.⁴³

In other locations however, mêlée tournaments carried on into the fifteenth century. Malcolm Vale has explored the Bruges mêlée of 1393, and assessed whether this was the last large-scale mêlée ever organised.⁴⁴ In a recent article Mario Damen has demonstrated that in fact mêlée tournaments continued into the fifteenth century in the Low Countries: narratives survive of several events fought as mêlées and described as ‘tournaments’ in contemporary narratives.⁴⁵ Damen’s findings support evidence from the work of Évelyne van den Neste, which suggests a slow increase in the number of tournaments being held in

⁴² Crouch, *Tournament*, p. 130; also see Mario Damen, ‘Tournament Culture in the Low Countries and England’, in Hannah Skoda, Patrick Lantschner & R.L.J. Shaw (eds.), *Contact and Exchange in Later Medieval Europe: Essays in Honour of Malcolm Vale* (Woodbridge, 2012), p. 249. For the 1342 Dunstable mêlée tournament see Adam Murimuth, *Continuatio Chronicarum*, ed. E.M. Thompson (London, 1889), pp. 123-124.

⁴³ These issues will be explored later in this thesis.

⁴⁴ M. Vale, ‘Le tournoi dans la France du Nord, l’Angleterre et les Pays-Bas (1280-1440)’, *Théâtre et spectacles hier et aujourd’hui. Actes du 115e congrès national des sociétés savantes (Avignon, 1990)* (Paris, 1991), p. 269.

⁴⁵ Damen, ‘Tournament Culture in the Low Countries and England’, 247-265, on the decline of the mêlée in England and its continuation into the fifteenth century see in particular pp. 249-250. Also see Kaeuper, *Chivalry and Violence*, p. 303, although here the term may be used in a general sense to denote a range of ‘chivalric’ exercises.

Flanders during the second half of the fourteenth, and the first half of the fifteenth centuries. Between 1300 and 1360, van den Neste found evidence for nine encounters in Flanders that were termed ‘tournaments’ by contemporaries.⁴⁶ Contrasting with this, van den Neste found evidence of fourteen such events in the records of Flanders for the period 1400-1460.⁴⁷

In his treatise, René d’Anjou stated that he used the customs of Germany, Brabant and Flanders as inspiration for his work, which then described how he thought that *mêlée* tournaments should be held in the marches of France and elsewhere.⁴⁸ Indeed, Mario Damen has suggested that it was the *mêlée* tournament fought at Bruges in 1393 that provided the exemplar for René’s text.⁴⁹ This combat was organised by Jan van der Aa Lord of Gruuthuse, and fifty other competitors, against Jan Lord of Ghisteltes.⁵⁰ It is thus possible that René intended his work to reflect the practices in areas such as Flanders, where *mêlée* tournaments were still organised, and wished to encourage others in Burgundy (and possibly elsewhere) to restart holding events in this format. This is a clear indication that at the time of writing, René not only acknowledged that tournaments had not been held in France in some time, but that they had been undertaken elsewhere in Europe. His aim was then to provide those who wished to hold a formal combat themselves with a format of encounter, one whose

⁴⁶ Évelyne van den Neste, *Tournois, joutes, pas d’armes dans les villes de Flandre à la fin du Moyen Age, 1300-1486* (Paris, 1996), pp. 214-230.

⁴⁷ Neste, *Tournois, joutes, pas d’armes*, pp. 266-322.

⁴⁸ René d’Anjou ‘laquelle forme j’ay prins au plus près et joute de celle qu’on garde ès Almaines et sur le Rin quant on fait les Tournoys. Et aussi selon la manière qu’ils tiennent en Flandres et en Brabant; et mesmement sur les anciennes façons qu’ils les souloient aussi en France, comme j’ay trouvé par escriptures.’, ‘I have taken this form mostly from that used for organizing tourneys in Germany and on the Rhine, but also from the customs that they follow in Flanders and Brabant, and in the same way from the ancient customs that we used to follow in France, which I have found written down in manuscripts.’, René d’Anjou, ‘Traictié de la forme et devis d’ung tournoy’, ed. Elizabeth Bennett, 1997, ‘<http://www.princeton.edu/~ezb/rene/renefran.html>’ (3 February 2013).

⁴⁹ Damen, ‘Tournament Culture in the Low Countries and England’, p. 249.

⁵⁰ On this event see A. Brown, ‘Urban Jousts in the Later Middle Ages: The White Bear of Bruges’, *Revue belge de philologie et d’histoire*, 78 (2000), p. 321; James M. Murray, ‘The Liturgy of the Count’s Advent in Bruges, from Galbert to Van Eyck’, in Barbara A. Hanawalt & Kathryn L. Reyerson (eds.), *City and Spectacle in Medieval Europe* (Minneapolis & London, 1994), 137-152; Vale, *War and Chivalry*, p.84.

frequency in France had dwindled. Thus, *mêlée* tournaments did not disappear completely from the minds of all contemporaries in the mid fifteenth century.

Damen has charted the continuation of *mêlée* tournaments in the Low Countries as evidence for the divergence of formal combats in these territories as distinct from formal combats in England, where the individual joust eclipsed the *mêlée*.⁵¹ The evidence when comparing England with France however, is that these two countries enjoyed a close association in the forms of formal combat that individuals were undertaking in these territories. In this sense, the Hundred Years War and martial confrontations between England and France may have in fact contributed to a continuing Anglo-French martial culture. Many formal combats throughout the period circa 1380-1440 were held between Frenchmen and Englishmen. This meant that these territories had an inherent interest in continuing formal combats in a manner similar to one another. If English knights were to be challenged to an individual joust by their French counterparts for example, they would not want to be caught at a disadvantage by not having as much experience in this form of formal combat as their French rivals. Furthermore, by continuously challenging and engaging one another in formal combats, French and English knights almost ensured that they continued engaging in formal combats that were the same format in both territories.

Jousts

In addition to these general terms, medieval narrators also employed far more specialised vocabulary to describe different forms of event. These can be broadly grouped into three main forms of combat: jousts; duels; and *pas d'armes*. The term 'joust' was used for those events that were fought between two knights on horseback, who charged each other with lances. In contemporary Latin texts, the term used for jousts was *hastiludia*, which matches the translation for the word, *hasta* meaning spear or lance, and *ludia* meaning game.⁵² Some Latin narratives

⁵¹ Damen, 'Tournament Culture in the Low Countries and England', 247-265.

⁵² Barber & Barker, *Tournaments*, p. 2; Barker, *The Tournament in England*, pp. 1, 138-9 which also includes a history of the use of the term in the earlier fourteenth century, when it came to identify jousts rather than *mêlée* tournaments.

frequently used the term. The *Westminster Chronicle* for example narrated ten separate events that it described as *hastiludia* during the period 1382-1390, ranging from a brief description of formal combats held at Eltham during Christmas 1383, to the large-scale event at Smithfield organised by Richard II in 1390.⁵³ For events that were recorded by more than one contemporary source, the use of this phraseology was often consistent. This was the case for example in the Latin narratives for the formal combat held at Saint Inglevert near Calais in May 1390, which described the encounter as a *hastiludia* in both the *Westminster Chronicle* and the *Chronographia Regum Francorum*.⁵⁴ By comparing the nature of the events described as *hastiludia*, it is evident that although this term appeared to have a very general meaning, the events that it was used to describe were most often large festivals involving many individuals who jousted individually but in large numbers. Thus, it was used to describe the coronation jousts of Charles VI in 1380 in the *Chronographia Regum Francorum*, and to describe the jousts at the marriage of Richard II in 1382 in the *Chronicon Angliae*.⁵⁵ There were exceptions however. The encounter between Courtenay and Clary in 1383 near Calais was described as a *hastiludiare* as well as a *factum armorum* in the *Chronographia Regum Francorum*.⁵⁶ In the narratives for other events for which we might expect the term *hastiludia* to have been used, it was not: for example the jousts at Windsor in 1400 at which the 'Epiphany Rising' was said to have taken place were described in the *Chronographia Regum Francorum* as a *festum*, although the chronicle of Adam Usk did use the term *hastiludia* in the narrative of the event.⁵⁷

⁵³ For the formal combat at Eltham during Christmas 1383 see *The Westminster Chronicle*, eds. Hector & Harvey, pp. 56-7; Smithfield, October 1390: *The Westminster Chronicle*, eds. Hector & Harvey, pp. 450-451. Other events in the Westminster Chronicle described as *hastiludia* are: Westminster, Christmas 1382: pp. 32-33; Westminster, 1385: pp. 110-113; Smithfield, 1386: pp. 164-165; Eltham, Christmas 1388: pp. 374-377; Woodstock, 1389: pp. 408-411; Smithfield, May 1390: pp. 432-433; Saint Inglevert, 1390: pp. 430-431; possibly Smithfield, October 1390: pp. 436-437.

⁵⁴ *The Westminster Chronicle*, eds. Hector & Harvey, pp. 430-1; *Chronographia Regum Francorum*, ed. Moranville, vol. 3 pp. 97-100.

⁵⁵ *Chronographia Regum Francorum*, ed. Moranville, vol. 3 p. 1; *Chronicon Anglie, 1328-88, auctore monachi quondam Sancti Albani*, ed. Edward Maunde Thompson (London, 1965), pp. 332-333.

⁵⁶ *Chronographia Regum Francorum*, ed. Moranville, vol. 3 pp. 55-56.

⁵⁷ *Chronographia Regum Francorum*, ed. Moranville, vol. 3 pp. 178-179; Adam Usk, *The Chronicle of Adam Usk 1377-1421*, ed. & trans. C. Given-Wilson (Oxford, 1997), pp. 86-89.

In French sources, the direct translation *joustes* was used to refer to jousts. The term *jouste* was often used for events that were termed *hastiludia* in Latin sources, such as the formal combats held at Smithfield in October 1390, which were described as ‘tresnobles joustes’ in the challenges to the encounter themselves, and as ‘jouxtes’ in the *Chronique des Quatres Premiers Valois*, in much the same way that they were described as *hastiludia* in the *Westminster Chronicle* and the *Historia Vitae et Regni Ricardi Secundi*.⁵⁸ This similarity in terminology, despite the differing languages of the narrative accounts, demonstrates that medieval narrators did employ a certain specialist vocabulary to indicate a specific form of formal combat, despite also frequently using more vague and generalised terminology.

Occasionally individual charges or courses were described in the narratives of these jousts. These were termed *lancea* in Latin narratives and *coupes de lance* in French accounts, and this form of detail was especially common in challenges when the set number of such courses needed to be ascertained before the combat began, such as those challenges (mostly from literary characters such as Lancelot) issued in honour of Blanche daughter of Henry IV, in 1401, a number of which described ‘six coupes de lance’.⁵⁹

During the later fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, advances in weapons technology made the individual joust much safer, and apparently more attractive to individuals who no longer had to face the physical dangers of the mêlée tournament.⁶⁰ The advent of the barrier down the centre of the jousting area in the 1420s meant that horses were less likely to refuse to run against one another,

⁵⁸ The challenges to the encounter are found in BL MS Lansdowne 285, ff. 46v-47r; TRA MS I-35, ff. 13r-13v. Narratives for this formal combat are found in *Chronique des quatre premiers Valois*, ed. Luce, pp. 315-316; *The Westminster Chronicle*, ed. Hector & Harvey, pp. 450-1; *Historia Vitae et Regni Ricardi Secundi*, ed. Stow, pp. 131-2.

⁵⁹ BL MS Cotton Nero D ii, ff. 260v-262r. For the use of the term in Latin narratives see for example the narrative of Saint Inglevert in 1390 in the *Chronographia Regum Francorum*, ed. Moranville, vol. 3 pp. 97-100.

⁶⁰ On military technology see Barber & Barker, *Tournaments*, pp. 155-6; C. Blair, *European Armour, c.1066-c.1700* (London, 1958), pp. 61, 73, 196-7; Noel Fallows, *Jousting in Medieval and Renaissance Iberia* (Woodbridge, 2010), p. 7; Nickel, ‘The Tournament: An Historical Sketch’, pp. 150-1.

or to collide with one another, increasing the safety of individual combats.⁶¹ The barrier seems to have been introduced from Portugal, and one of the first references to it in north-western Europe was at the jousts for the wedding of Philip the Good Duke of Burgundy (1396-1467) and Isabella of Portugal (1397-1471) at Bruges in 1430. Jean le Fèvre commented that for the jousts held in the manner of the Portuguese guests at the wedding, a wooden barrier covered in a blue cloth was erected down the centre of the jousting area, reaching the height of the horses' shoulders.⁶² By the later 1430s, the barrier had apparently become commonplace, and knights and esquires included it in their challenges to formal combats. It was included in the challenge and regulations for jousts between Piers de Masse and John Astley in 1438 for example, that they should 'make that fielde and the Telle in the myddis for to kepe our horses God save and kepe them from harme'.⁶³

This is not to say that individuals could not injure themselves in jousts. On 30 December 1389 at Woodstock, John Hastings Earl of Pembroke was killed while jousting against John St John.⁶⁴ The *Westminster Chronicle* recorded how, eager to perform *hastiludia*, Hastings was under the direction of an instructor and was practicing his technique against John St John. St John, having been ordered to keep his lance well clear of Hastings, threw his lance to the ground as the two knights met but at the last minute the handle of the lance embedded in the

⁶¹ On the introduction of the barrier see Barber & Barker, *Tournaments*, pp. 94-96; C. Gaier, 'Technique des combats singuliers d'après les auteurs 'bourguignons' du XVe siècle', *Le Moyen Âge*, 91 (1985), p. 437.

⁶² Jean le Fèvre, *Chronique de Jean le Fèvre, seigneur de Saint-Remy*, ed. F. Morand (2 vols, Paris, 1876-1881), vol. 2 p. 170.

⁶³ BL MS Lansdowne 285, f. 15v; for another copy of this challenge see The College of Arms, London, MS L9, ff. 15v-16r. For commentary see G.A. Lester, *Sir John Paston's 'Grete Boke': a descriptive catalogue with an introduction, of British Library MS Lansdowne 285* (Cambridge, 1984), pp. 96-97. On the resulting combat see Barber & Barker, *Tournaments*, p. 128.

⁶⁴ The most detailed narrative for this encounter is that in *The Westminster Chronicle*, ed. Hector & Harvey, pp. 408-11. Other narratives are found in the *Historia Vitae et Regni Ricardi Secundi*, ed. Stow, p. 130; Thomas Walsingham, *The St Albans Chronicle: the 'Chronica Maiora' of Thomas Walsingham*, eds. & trans. John Taylor, Wendy R. Childs & Leslie Watkiss (2 vols, Oxford, 2003-2011), vol. 1 pp. 896-7; there is also a very brief mention during the account of the death of Hastings' widow in Usk, *The Chronicle of Adam Usk*, ed. & trans. Given-Wilson, pp. 114-115. John Hastings (b.1372) was aged seventeen at his death. For the royal pardon issued to John Saint John for the death of Hastings see *Calendar of Patent Rolls, Richard II (1389-1392)*, 'http://sdrc.lib.uiowa.edu/patentrolls/r2v4/body/Richard2vol4page0469.pdf' (9 March 2013).

ground, leaving the other end pointing upwards. This end embedded itself in Hastings' stomach, and the knight died less than an hour later. Despite this horrific accident however, deaths during single combats were rare. It is perhaps the unusual nature of this combat, with the death of John Hastings, that encouraged multiple chroniclers to record the event in their narrative accounts. Usually Christmas jousts featured very little in narrative chronicles and other sources, with only occasional brief passing references; such detailed descriptions in so many narratives indicates that something unusual had made this formal combat stand out, and this was almost certainly the death of one of the participants in what was clearly supposed to be a practice event.⁶⁵

Pas d'Armes

Pas d'armes could be fought in a variety of ways, on horseback, foot, or a combination of the two, with lances, swords, axes or daggers. This term was applied to those events at which an individual or group of knights would 'hold' a place or area of land for a given amount of time, and the combats themselves were often accompanied by large-scale pageantry and entertainments.⁶⁶

Although *pas d'armes* had their roots in events held in earlier centuries, events explicitly termed *pas d'armes* emerged in the fifteenth century. The *Pas de l'Arbre de Charlemagne*, for example, was held near Dijon for twelve weeks in the summer of

⁶⁵ See for example the brief, almost dismissive narrative of the Christmas jousts at Eltham in 1383 in *The Westminster Chronicle*, which are only mentioned in passing: 'Rex tenuit Natale apud Eltham in multis hastiludiis et aliis jocundis solaciis consuetis.', 'The king kept Christmas at Eltham with a great deal of jousting and other pleasant diversions of the usual kinds.', *The Westminster Chronicle*, ed. Hector & Harvey, pp. 56-57.

⁶⁶ For an overview of these events see Barber and Barker, *Tournaments*, pp. 107, 110-125; Jean-Pierre Jourdan, 'Le thème du pas d'armes dans le royaume de France (Bourgogne, Anjou) à la fin du Moyen-Age: aspects d'un théâtre de chevalerie', *Théâtre et spectacle hier et aujourd'hui. Moyen Age et Renaissance: Actes du 115e congrès national des sociétés savantes (Avignon, 1990)* (Paris, 1991), 285-304; Keen, *Chivalry*, pp. 203-205. On the links between *pas d'armes* and romance see Barber, *The Knight and Chivalry*, p. 173; Barker, *The Tournament in England*, p. 156; Ruth Huff Cline, 'The Influence of Romances on Tournaments of the Middle Ages', *Speculum*, 20 no. 2 (Apr. 1945), 204-211; Annette Lindner, 'L'influence du roman chevaleresque français sur le pas d'armes', in J.-M. Cauchies (ed.), *Les sources littéraires et leurs publics dans l'espace bourguignon (XIVe-XVIe siècles)* (Neuchâtel, 1991), 67-78; Armand Strubel, 'Le pas d'armes: le tournoi entre le romanesque et le théâtral', *Théâtre et spectacle hier et aujourd'hui. Moyen Age et Renaissance: Actes du 115e congrès national des sociétés savantes (Avignon, 1990)* (Paris, 1991), 273-284; Vale, *War and Chivalry*, p. 67.

1443.⁶⁷ Olivier de la Marche included a narrative account of the *Pas de l'Arbre de Charlemagne* in his *Mémoires*, and Monstrelet included details of the organisation and preparation for the *pas* in his chronicle, although he did not include an account of the event itself. The *pas* was organised by Pierre de Bauffremont (1400-1472), the lord of Charny, a chamberlain of Philip the Good Duke of Burgundy, and twelve of his companions.⁶⁸ They designated a tree in the hornbeam wood near Marsannay-la-Côte the 'arbre de Charlemagne', and hung two shields on the tree corresponding to the types of arms to be performed: a black shield indicated eleven courses of jousting on horseback with sharp weapons, a violet shield indicated foot combat with either axes or swords. Although the romantic elements of the *Pas de l'arbre de Charlemagne* are not blatant, during other *pas* they were more explicit. A far more literary display followed in 1468 at the wedding of Charles the Bold (1433 - 1477) and Margaret of York (1446 - 1503). The 'Knight of the Golden Tree' ('l'Arbre d'Or'), who served the 'Lady of the Secret Isle', had travelled from afar to set up his tree in the market place of Bruges, where he would defend it for eight days against four opponents each day, concluding with a *mêlée* tournament.⁶⁹ A set ritual was to be followed by all the challengers. A knight who wished to compete had to knock three times on the barrier with a wooden hammer, and a herald then emerged to question him. The knight then rode once around the lists, and then chose one of two lances, at which point a dwarf sounded a horn. Jousts between the combatants were timed, and the knight who broke the

⁶⁷ For narrative accounts of this *pas d'armes* see Olivier de la Marche, *Mémoires d'Olivier de la Marche, maître d'hôtel et capitaine des gardes de Charles le Téméraire*, ed. Henri Beaune & Jules d'Arbaumont (4 vols, Paris, 1883-1888), vol. 1 pp. 282-334; Monstrelet, *Chronique*, vol. 6 pp. 68-73. Secondary analysis of the event may be found very briefly in Neste, *Tournois, Joutes, Pas d'Armes* p. 309, and in more detail in Barber & Barker, *Tournaments*, pp. 112-114; Catherine Emerson, 'Ordre and ordonnance: The Presentation of Combat in the Mémoires', in *Olivier de la Marche and the Rhetoric of Fifteenth-Century Historiography* (Woodbridge, 2004), *passim*; Catherine Blunk, 'La Vois des Hiraus: the poetics of the tournament in late Medieval chronicle and romance' (unpublished PhD thesis, University of Wisconsin-Madison, 2008), pp. 166-167.

⁶⁸ Pierre de Bauffremont (1400-1472), the seigneur de Charny, was a chamberlain of Philip the Good, a knight of the Golden Fleece from its creation in 1430, and also a member of 'La Cour Amoureuse', who married Mary the illegitimate daughter of Philip the Good. See C. Bozzolo & H. Loyau, *La Cour Amoureuse dite de Charles VI* (2 vols, Paris, 1982), vol. 2 p. 21; Marie-Thérèse Caron, 'Pierre de Bauffremont', in Raphaël de Smedt (ed.), *Les Chevaliers de l'Ordre de la Toison d'or au XVe siècle* (Frankfurt am Main, 2000), pp. 45-47; Richard Vaughan, *Philip the Good. The Apogee of Burgundy* (London, 1970), pp. 100-101.

⁶⁹ La Marche, *Mémoires d'Olivier de la Marche*, vol. 2 pp. 123-201; G.A. Lester, *Sir John Paston's 'Grete Boke'* (Cambridge, 1984), pp. 118-22. For secondary analysis see Barber & Barker, *Tournaments*, pp. 121-24.

most lances in half an hour was declared the winner. Extensive feasting followed each day of jousting, and the feast on the final day featured a joust between Hercules, Theseus and two Amazons as the culmination of the jousting festival.

Various elements of a *pas d'armes* appeared earlier than the fifteenth century, for example the presence of a knight or group of knights at a specified geographical location who would face any comers for a given length of time. The jousts at Saint Inglevert in 1390 for example, displayed several elements of *pas d'armes*.⁷⁰ The three French knights who organised the jousts intended to remain in a specific geographical location for a set period of time, awaiting challengers to come and fight them. Shields were hung outside the defenders' tents to differentiate between jousts with sharp weapons and jousts with blunted weapons.⁷¹ It is perhaps due to these similarities between events termed *pas d'armes* and the form of the jousts at Saint Inglevert, that has led to this event being described as 'one of the most famous examples' of a *pas d'armes*.⁷² These jousts were not, however, identified as *pas d'armes* in the surviving narrative accounts from the time, nor in the original challenge sent out by the host knights in preparation for the event.⁷³

Duels

The term duel was used to describe events that were fought between two individuals, and that usually featured more weapons than just the lance. Sometimes these duels formed part of a complex judicial process, identified as a *gaige de bataille*. When a judicial dispute could not be settled by court proceedings, the complainant and defendant could be required to fight a duel in the presence of

⁷⁰ This event is discussed in detail in Chapter 2, 'Formal Combats: Case Studies' below.

⁷¹ Froissart, *Oeuvres*, vol. 14 p. 56.

⁷² Barber, *The Knight and Chivalry*, pp. 173-4.

⁷³ The challenge, recorded in the *Chroniques* of Jean Froissart, described the event at Saint Inglevert as 'armes', 'joute' and 'l'emprise' in Froissart, *Oeuvres*, vol. 14 pp. 55-7; the narratives of the event described it as 'armes', 'jouster', 'lance' in Froissart, *Oeuvres*, vol. 14 p. 105; 'factum', 'hastiludiandum', 'lancearum' in *Chronographia Regum Francorum*, ed. Moranville, vol. 3 pp. 97-100; 'solempnia hastiludia' in *The Westminster Chronicle*, eds. Hector & Harvey, pp. 430-2.

a judicial authority (the king, or his representatives including the constable and the marshals).⁷⁴

The legal definition and role of a *gaige de bataille* was outlined and debated in advice material and rules for judicial combat written during the later fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. In England, these included the regulations of Thomas of Woodstock (d. 1397), composed circa 1386-1388.⁷⁵ Thomas of Woodstock was himself constable of England between 10 June 1376 and 10 July 1397, and composed his treatise outlining the rules and format that judicial duels should take when held as part of the Court of the Constable and the Marshal.⁷⁶ The terminology of *gaige de bataille* was also evident in continental regulatory and advice texts from this period. The *Livre du Seigneur de l'Isle-Adam pour gaige de bataille* was composed by Jean de Villiers, seigneur de l'Isle-Adam, a counsellor and chamberlain of Duke Philip the Good of Burgundy (31 July 1396-15 June 1467) and a knight of the Troison d'Or.⁷⁷ Jean de Villiers dedicated his text to Duke Philip, and wrote explicitly for him; thus this may be seen as another attempt to assert the authority of later medieval princes over judicial combats of this type. Like Thomas of Woodstock, Jean de Villiers was intimately involved in the events that he described. He was made marshal of France for the first time in June 1418, he was a founding member of the Order of the Golden Fleece, formed in January

⁷⁴ The circumstances required for a duel to be used as part of a judicial process are described and analysed in Chapter 3, 'Royal Controls, Rules and Violence' below. For overviews of judicial duels see Robert Baldick, *The Duel: A History of Duelling* (London, 1965), *passim*; Robert Bartlett, *Trial by Fire and Water. The Medieval Judicial Ordeal* (Oxford, 1986), especially pp. 103-26; J.-M. Carbasse, 'Le Duel judiciaire dans les coutumes meridionales', *Annales du Midi*, 87 (1975), 385-403; Vale, 'Aristocratic Violence: trial by battle in the later Middle Ages', 159-181.

⁷⁵ Anthony Tuck, 'Thomas, duke of Gloucester (1355-1397)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Jan 2008, <http://www.oxforddnb.com.ezproxy.york.ac.uk/view/article/27197> (16 March 2013).

⁷⁶ Various copies of this treatise exist, the oldest probably being BL Cotton Nero D vi, ff. 257-260, a manuscript composed for Richard II before 1397. This text will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 3, 'Royal Controls, Rules and Violence' below.

⁷⁷ This work is printed in *Traité du Duel Judiciaire Relations de Pas d'Armes et Tournois*, ed. Bernard Prost (Paris, 1872), pp. 28-41. For the historical background of the text, see Georges Doutrepont, *La Littérature Française à la cour des Ducs de Bourgogne* (Geneva, 1970), p. 312; Sylvie Lefèvre, *Antoine de la Sale: la fabrique de l'oeuvre et de l'écrivain* (Geneva, 2006), p. 137. For biographical details for Jean de Villiers see Bertrand Schnerb, 'Jean de Villiers, seigneur de L'Isle-Adam', in Raphaël de Smedt (ed.), *Les Chevaliers de l'Ordre de la Toison d'or au XVe siècle* (Frankfurt am Main, 2000), 32-33. On de Villier's relationship with Duke Philip see Richard Vaughan, *Philip the Good. The Apogee of Burgundy* (London, 1970), p. 91.

1430, and in May 1432 John Duke of Bedford made him marshal of France once again.⁷⁸ He was therefore not only a martially active knight, but he also fulfilled an important role in the judicial combats that he described.

The terminology employed in contemporary narratives of *gaiges des batailles* reflected these didactic works. In 1386 for example, a judicial duel was fought between Jean de Carrouges and Jacques le Gris, after Carrouges accused le Gris of raping Carrouge's wife Marguerite.⁷⁹ The two men had been engaged in a long dispute regarding their positions in Normandy in relation to their lord, Peter II Count of Alençon (1340-1404).⁸⁰ The *Parlement* of Paris ruled that there was insufficient evidence to settle the matter without a trial by combat, which was to take place on 29 December 1386.⁸¹ In the judicial duel itself, Carrouges eventually succeeded in throwing le Gris to the ground and pinned him, demanding that he confess to the crime. Le Gris vehemently denied his guilt, and Carrouges killed him.⁸² This was the final time that the *Parlement* of Paris would authorise a judicial combat of this nature. In the French narrative of the combat in the *Histoire de*

⁷⁸ On Jean de Villiers career as marshal of France see Schnerb, 'Jean de Villiers', pp. 32-33. For the role of marshals in France see Maurice Keen, *Nobles, Knights and Men-at-Arms in the Middle Ages* (London, 1996), p. 147. One of the most well known marshals of later medieval France was Jean II le Meingre, also known as Boucicaut (1366-1421). For the account of Boucicaut's elevation to the office of marshal in his near-contemporary biography see *Le Livre des fais du bon messire Jehan le Meingre, dit Boucicaut, mareschal de France et gouverneur de Jennes*, ed. D. Lalande (Geneva, 1985), p. 82; also see Denis Lalande, *Jean II le Meingre, Dit Boucicaut. Étude d'une Biographie Héroïque* (Geneva, 1988), pp. 38-39.

⁷⁹ Detailed narratives of this duel appear in *Chronique du Religieux de Saint-Denys* ed. M.L. Bellaguet (6 vols, Paris, 1839), vol. 1 pp. 462-67; Jean Juvénal des Ursins, 'Histoire de Charles VI', vol. 2 p. 371; Froissart, *Oeuvres*, vol. 12 pp. 29-39. For secondary analysis see B. Guenée, 'Comment le Religieux de Saint-Denis a-t-il écrit l'histoire? L'exemple du duel de Jean de Carrouges et Jacques le Gris (1386)', in M. Ornato & N. Pons (eds.), *Pratiques de la culture écrite en France au XV^e siècle* (Louvain, 1995), 331-343; Eric Jager, *The Last Duel* (New York, 2004), *passim*.

⁸⁰ For a narrative of this increasing rivalry between Carrouges and le Gris see Jager, *The Last Duel*, pp. 24-36.

⁸¹ For the *Parlement* of Paris during the reign of Charles VI, although with emphasis on the years after the onset of the king's illness, see R.C. Famiglietti, 'The role of the Parlement de Paris in the ratification and registration of royal acts during the reign of Charles VI', *Journal of Medieval History*, 9 no. 3 (September 1983), 217-225.

⁸² For the end of the combat see *Chronique du Religieux de Saint-Denys* ed. Bellaguet, vol. 1 pp. 466-467.

Charles VI attributed to Jean Juvénal des Ursins, the encounter was clearly described as a *gaige de bataille*.⁸³

In Latin narratives, the term *duellum* was used to describe these judicial duels. This term however was used for a more diverse range of combats than the term *gaige de bataille*, which was generally restricted to legal and judicial contexts. There were two different forms of event that were described as *duellum* in Latin narratives: those decreed as part of a legal process; and those undertaken between individuals privately.

The use of *duellum* corresponded in part with those events that were termed *gaige de bataille* elsewhere, duels with a legal jurisdictional purpose. The duel fought between Carrouges and le Gris outlined above was referred to as a *duellum* in two Latin narratives for the encounter, the *Chronographia Regum Francorum* and the *Chronique du Religieux de Saint-Denys*.⁸⁴ Other combats fought as part of legal proceedings were also frequently referred to in Latin narratives as *duellum*. This was the case for the Latin narratives of the judicial duel fought on 30 November 1384, between John Walsh of Grimsby and Martlet de Villeneuve, an esquire from Navarre who had accused Walsh of treason.⁸⁵ Martlet de Villeneuve lost the combat, and was drawn, hung and beheaded as a consequence of his accusation of treason, which was deemed to have been proved false by his defeat in the combat. Each one of the Latin narratives for this encounter (the *Chronicon Angliae*, the chronicle of Henry Knighton, the *Historia Vitae et Regni Ricardi Secundi*, Walsingham's *St Albans Chronicle*, and the *Westminster Chronicle*) described the encounter as a *duellum*.

⁸³ Jean Juvénal des Ursins, 'Histoire de Charles VI', vol. 2 p. 371.

⁸⁴ *Chronographia Regum Francorum*, ed. Moranville, vol. 3 pp. 84-5; *Chronique du Religieux de Saint-Denys*, ed. & trans. Bellaguet, vol. 1 pp. 462-467.

⁸⁵ The combat was described in *Chronicon Angliae*, ed. Thompson, p. 361; Knighton, *Knighton's Chronicle*, p. 334; *Historia Vitae et Regni Ricardi Secundi*, ed. Stow, pp. 84-85; Walsingham, *The St Albans Chronicle*, vol. 1 pp. 732-734; *The Westminster Chronicle*, eds. Hector & Harvey, pp. 104-107. This combat is discussed in Chapter 2, 'Formal Combats: Case Studies' below.

These judicial combats were not the only events to be described as *duellum* in medieval narratives however. This term was also used for those combats fought privately between individuals, often over a dispute of honour, that were not legally overseen but that were still based around a combative assertion or defence of honour.⁸⁶ Such was the case at Paris in 1383, when Peter Courtenay fought Guy de la Trémoille in a single combat in the presence of Charles VI.⁸⁷ This combat was not part of a legal process and had not been prescribed by a court, but was instead arranged privately by the two combatants. It was however described as a *duellum* in the *Chronographia Regum Francorum*.⁸⁸

The interplay between these two forms of individual combat is complex. Vale has noted that the line between private duels over issues of personal honour, such as that undertaken between Courtenay and de la Trémoille outlined above, and recourse to the formal, legally sanctioned trials by battle, the *gaiges de bataille*, was becoming increasingly blurred.⁸⁹ The blurring of this line is certainly supported by the non-specific use of certain terminology for these events. Huizinga took his analysis even further, concluding that ‘essentially they are the same’, as both forms of combat addressed discourses and balances of honour, on the one hand in the private, and on the other the judicial sphere.⁹⁰ A duel was therefore defined in late medieval narratives not as a judicial proceeding, but instead as a combative encounter between two individuals. In both cases, honour was gained by the winner: in judicial duels, honour was defended or gained through legal defence; in duels that were not part of a legal process, honour was still won and asserted, but not through legal channels.

⁸⁶ On the role of honour in motivating formal combats see Chapter 5, ‘Motivations: Real and Constructed’ below.

⁸⁷ The event was narrated in *Chronique du Religieux de Saint-Denis* ed. & trans. Bellaguet, vol. 1 pp. 392-8; *Foedera*, ed. T. Rymer vol. 7 p. 580; Froissart, *Oeuvres*, vol. 14 pp. 43-55; Jean Juvénal des Ursins, ‘Histoire de Charles VI’, vol. 2 p. 368; Knighton, *Knighton’s Chronicle*, vol. 2 p. 260. This event is discussed in detail in Chapter 2, ‘Formal Combats: Case Studies’ below.

⁸⁸ *Chronographia Regum Francorum*, ed. Moranville, vol. 3 p. 54.

⁸⁹ Vale, ‘Aristocratic Violence: Trial by Battle in the Later Middle Ages’, p. 164.

⁹⁰ J. Huizinga, *Homo Ludens* (London, 1970), p. 115.

à outrance and à plaisance

Most of the forms of formal combat described above could be fought either *à outrance*, or *à plaisance*. Furthermore, they could also be fought using the sharp weapons of war, or the blunted weapons of peace. Historians in the past have confused these two distinctions, associating combats fought *à outrance* with sharpened weapons and combats *à plaisance* with blunted or rebated weapons.⁹¹ Recently however, Will McLean has established that there was a difference between these distinctions.⁹² The distinction between combats of war and combats of peace was determined by which weapons were used; the distinction between combats fought *à outrance* and *à plaisance* was determined by the intentions of the participants.

Many narrators did not explicitly state whether a formal combat was fought *à outrance* or *à plaisance*. Combats *à plaisance* ceased when a given number of hits had been delivered or when the two participants wished; the intention was to overcome one's opponent without killing or seriously wounding him.⁹³ Combats fought in this manner included a variety of weapons that had been pre-approved by the participants, and that could be either sharpened or blunted. In fact, the majority of formal combats during the period circa 1380-1440 were not fights to the death or until one participant was unable to continue, but were rather contests that ended once either side had struck an agreed number of blows or when one combatant was disarmed, or thrown or struck to the ground.

Formal combats fought *à outrance* on the other hand were fought 'to the extreme', or until one of the combatants surrendered, was killed or wounded so that he could not carry on, or until the combat was stopped by a judge. More generally, *outrance* meant to the end or the utmost. In the English *Brut*'s narrative of the aborted duel between Thomas Mowbray and Henry Bolingbroke at Coventry in

⁹¹ Barker, *The Tournament in England*, pp. 14-15; Barber & Barker, *Tournaments*, p. 212; Kaeuper, *Chivalry and Violence* p. 165; Keen, *Chivalry*, p. 86.

⁹² Will McLean, 'Outrance and Plaisance', *Journal of Medieval Military History*, 8 (2010), 155-70.

⁹³ Will McLean, 'Outrance and Plaisance', pp. 157-8.

1398 for example, the narrator describes how ‘these ij worthi lordes comyn in to the ffelde, clene armed and wel arayed with alle her wepon, and redy to do her batayle, and were in the place redy to fight at the vttrest’.⁹⁴ The fact that this formal combat was fought *à outrance* was perhaps unsurprising, given that it was a judicial duel when the intention of both participants was to wound or kill their opponent. Combats fought *à outrance* did not have to be judicial combats however; they could also be fought by mutual consent in private combats with no defamatory quarrel. These combats *à outrance* were also rare, and were often stopped by judges before they could begin or proceed very far. The 1402 formal combat at Montendre near Bordeaux between seven Frenchmen and seven Englishmen was described as a combat *à outrance* in the narratives of the *Religieux de Saint-Denys* and Jean Juvénal des Ursins.⁹⁵ This was despite the fact that one of the combatants wrestled his opponents to the ground, highlighting the fact that this combat was *à outrance* because of the intention of the participants, rather than the sharpness of their weapons.

Whilst the difference between combats *à outrance* and those fought *à plaisance* concerned the intentions of the participants, the distinction between combats of war and combats of peace was rather dependent on the weapons used by the participants. Henry Knighton described the formal combat held at Calais in 1388 between four Englishmen and four Frenchmen as a ‘hastiludiam in forma guerre’.⁹⁶ This did not indicate the intention of the participants, thus from this information we can not judge whether the combat would have been fought *à outrance* or *à plaisance*; rather it is only possible to ascertain that the combat was fought with sharp weapons. Whether or not the participants intended to kill or

⁹⁴ *The Brut*, ed. Brie, vol. 2 p. 355. On this combat see Nigel Saul, *Richard II* (New Haven & London, 1997), pp. 400-401. For biographical details see A.L. Brown & Henry Summerson, ‘Henry IV [known as Henry Bolingbroke] (1367 – 1413)’, *ODNB*, September 2010, ‘<http://www.oxforddnb.com.ezproxy.york.ac.uk/view/article/12951?docPos=2>’ (19 May 2013); C. Given-Wilson, ‘Mowbray, Thomas (I), first duke of Norfolk (1366 – 1399)’, *ODNB*, 2004, ‘<http://www.oxforddnb.com.ezproxy.york.ac.uk/view/article/19459?docPos=2>’ (19 May 2013).

⁹⁵ For narrative accounts of the foot combat at Montendre in 1402 see Jean Juvénal des Ursins, ‘Histoire de Charles VI’, vol. 2 pp. 421-2; *Chronique du Religieux de Saint-Denys* ed. Bellaguet, vol. 3 p. 32. This combat is discussed in detail in Chapter 2, ‘Formal Combats: Case Studies’ below.

⁹⁶ Knighton, *Knighton’s Chronicle*, pp. 432-433.

main with those weapons, or simply to practice with them for a set number of blows or until they had demonstrated their martial skill, is not known.

This distinction is evident in contemporary accounts of the jousts at Saint Inglevert in 1390. Contemporary narrators recorded that each competitor at Saint Inglevert was able to choose between fighting with the weapons of war and those of peace, by sending a representative to touch the shield displaying the weapons they wished to fight with that were hung outside the tent of the Frenchman they wished to fight against. All of the participants chose to fight with the weapons of war. The intentions of the participants however, was not to kill one another. Each individual was only allowed to engage in five passes with their chosen French opponent, and in Froissart's narrative account of the event high approbation was repeatedly reserved for fine encounters that avoided injury. After the tilt of Sir John Holland Earl of Huntingdon, for example, Froissart presented universal agreement among both French and English that the participants 'avoient très-bien jousté sans eulx espargner, ne porter dommage'.⁹⁷ Moreover, this pair of highly regarded combatants had fought with sharp weapons, for Holland's squire had touched the shield of war hanging outside the defender's tent, rather than the shield of peace.⁹⁸ Clearly, the use of weapons of war (sharpened weapons) did not mean that participants had to attempt to deliberately injure one another. Instead, blows that pierced the shield but did not damage the arm were prized.⁹⁹ Despite the use of the weapons of war therefore, the jousts at Saint Inglevert were actually fought *à plaisance*: they were limited in nature and the intention of the participants was not to kill or main.

Although there was a diverse range of terms employed in contemporary narratives for different kinds of formal combats, it is possible to recognise a common vocabulary for formal combats that was shared by many contemporary narrative

⁹⁷ 'had jousted very well indeed, without sparing themselves nor inflicting any injury', Froissart, *Oeuvres*, vol. 14 p. 110.

⁹⁸ Froissart, *Oeuvres*, vol. 14 p. 108. For secondary analysis see Juliet Vale, 'Violence and the Tournament', in Richard W. Kaeuper (ed.), *Violence in Medieval Society* (Woodbridge, 2000), p. 147.

⁹⁹ Froissart, *Oeuvres*, vol. 14 p. 108.

accounts. Furthermore, by examining the use of terminology and the changes in this usage throughout the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, it is possible to chart the changing nature of formal combats themselves over this period. Whilst formal combats remained popular, *mêlée* tournaments became scarce in England and France, and instead gave way to individual combats that featured a combination of jousting and foot combat. Rather than showing a decline in interests in formal combats however, this shift reflected shifting emphases and shifting expectations from formal combats. As individual combats became safer, and the emphasis shifted onto performance and individual skill, the participants as well as the observers wished to better enjoy the opportunities that single combat offered.

Chapter Two

Formal Combats: Case Studies

Knights and men-at-arms fought in formal combats that ranged from large-scale, elaborate events such as those held at Smithfield and Saint Inglevert in 1390, to far smaller and less documented encounters. The larger events were often documented in a number of narrative sources, they may have additional primary material associated with them that has survived, such as challenges, and they often left traces in administrative and organisational archives. All of this information provides the historian with a large corpus of material to work from when examining formal combats. Alongside these large events however, were smaller formal combats that were not recorded so extensively. Narratives for these encounters might exist in only a single narrative source, and even that account might only detail a small amount of information regarding the event itself.

Given the nature of some formal combats as far smaller and less documented, it is not difficult to imagine that some formal combats were not recorded at all by medieval narrators. If a formal combat did not aid the purpose of a narrative, it may have been deliberately omitted. The biographer of Jean le Meingre who composed the *Livre des fais* described in his prologue how Boucicaut's deeds both deserved to be remembered, and provided excellent example.¹ In his narratives of formal combats involving Boucicaut, it is therefore perhaps unsurprising to find that Boucicaut was explicitly praised. In the narrative of the jousts at Saint Inglevert in 1390 for example, the biographer described at length the praise and renown that Boucicaut gained as a result of the event. The narrative described how Boucicaut won honour and praise from Charles VI, from the chivalry of France, and from various lords and ladies of the country.² Just as the biographer's implicit motivations for composing his work were therefore served by his narratives of formal combats, so his narrative would have been unlikely to include any events that featured dishonourable behaviour by Boucicaut.

¹ *Le livre des Fais du Bon Messire Jehan le Maingre, dit Boucicaut, Mareschal de France et Gouverneur de Jennes*, ed. Denis Lalande (Geneva, 1985), pp. 8-9.

² *Le livre des Fais du Bon Messire Jehan le Maingre, dit Boucicaut*, ed. Lalande, pp. 66-74. This event is discussed in detail later in this chapter.

Not all such omissions were necessarily deliberate. The ways that narrators collected their information did not lead to the systematic recording of events. Those who relied on personal eyewitness testimony may simply have been absent from formal combats that they would otherwise have included. Jean le Fèvre, for example, presented his *Chronique* as based on his own testimony: he stressed his own trustworthiness as a narrator since he was a king of arms, and he placed the emphasis on his own role as witness by stating that he recorded ‘choses que je ay veues’.³ While le Fèvre therefore recorded events that he himself was witness to, such as the combat at Arras in 1435, he did not provide narratives for many formal combats that he was not present at, such as the formal combats in 1409 between Jean de Werchin Seneschal of Hainault and John Cornwall, and various companions, that was initially organised in Paris and later relocated to London.⁴ It would therefore be a mistake to attempt to scientifically quantify formal combats throughout a specific time period. Given that many formal combats were documented in contemporary narratives however, it is possible to identify relative patterns in their frequency.

Large-scale events occurred more frequently during truces. It is particularly interesting that two of the largest formal combats to take place during this period – the jousts at Saint Inglevert and the jousts at Smithfield – were both held in 1390 shortly following the truce agreed at Leulinghen in the summer of 1389.⁵ In

³ ‘things that I have seen’, Jean Le Fèvre, *Chronique de Jean le Fèvre, seigneur de Saint-Remy*, ed. F. Morand (2 vols, Paris, 1876-81), vol. 1 pp. 1-4, this quotation from p. 4. On the role of the king of arms of the Troison d’Or, the Order of the Golden Fleece, see D’Arcy Jonathan Dacre Boulton, *The Knights of the Crown: The Monarchical Orders of Knighthood in Later Medieval Europe 1325-1520* (Woodbridge, 1987), pp. 356-396; Françoise de Gruben, *Les Chapitres de la Toison d’Or à l’époque Bourguignonne (1430-1477)* (Louvain, 1997), pp. 35-36, on Jean le Fèvre specifically see pp. 36-37.

⁴ For the challenge and letters organising this event see The British Library, London, Additional MS 21370. This combat was recorded in Enguerrand de Monstrelet, *Chronique d’Enguerrand de Monstrelet*, ed. L. Douët-d’Arcq (6 vols, Paris, 1857-62), vol. 2 pp. 5-6; *The Brut, or the Chronicles of England*, ed. F.W.D. Brie (2 vols, EETS, London, 1906-1908), vol. 2 pp. 369-70; Jehan de Waurin, *Recueil des chroniques et anciennes istories de la Grant Bretagne, a present nomme Engleterre*, ed. William Hardy & Edward L.C.P. Hardy (5 vols, repr. New York, 1965), vol. 4 p. 132. The narratives for this formal combat in the chronicles of Monstrelet and Waurin are incredibly similar, suggesting that Waurin used Monstrelet’s work as a basis for his own. On the potential influence of Monstrelet’s work on that of Waurin see Anne Curry, *The Battle of Agincourt. Sources and Interpretations* (Woodbridge, 2000), pp. 135-36; Joycelyne Gledhill Dickinson, *The Congress of Arras 1435. A Study in Medieval Diplomacy* (New York, 1972), pp. xiv-xv.

⁵ For the background to the truce of Leulinghen see G.P. Cuttino, *English Medieval Diplomacy* (Bloomington, 1985), pp. 102-3; Nigel Saul, *Richard II* (New Haven & London, 1997), pp. 205-6.

times of truce, political and martial tensions were more stable, allowing for such large-scale events to take place. Princes were not so concerned that large groups of foreign men-at-arms would visit their territory. Additionally, during truce time men-at-arms were able to spend increased amounts of both time and money on attending and participating in formal combats. In a similar way, large-scale events declined during periods of open hostility. During these periods, formal combats that were more openly hostile were more common, and were often framed by direct martial action. English and French campaigns in Iberia for example, featured a number of encounters between individuals that were far smaller in scale than events such as those at Saint Inglevert and Smithfield in 1390: these formal combats on campaigns often featured small numbers of individuals, and did not include the extensive pageantry and display that was often associated with truce time events.

Despite the instability of numerical data concerning formal combats during this period, it is possible to undertake qualitative studies of formal combats that do appear in contemporary narratives and organisational records. This chapter therefore examines a number of events that have been identified in contemporary narratives. In presenting these case studies, this chapter serves two purposes. Firstly, the case studies discussed here are examples of formal combats that are referred to throughout this thesis. Before these events are analysed, it is helpful if they can be detailed and their narratives can be established. Once these case studies have been examined in detail, subsequent analysis will make frequent reference back to these important events.

Through this exploration of detailed case studies, this chapter also offers some insight into the range of events that were held throughout the period of this thesis, circa 1380-1440. The events studied below reflect something of the geographical spread of events examined in this thesis. They also represent the range of both formal and informal combats that medieval narrators presented, including both large-scale events held in population centres such as London, involving substantial diplomatic and administrative preparation; and also those events that were held with far less organisation and official oversight. The case studies below have been

selected and identified by the types of formal combat discussed previously in this thesis. These forms of combat are large-scale encounters; jousts; foot combats; judicial duels; and more informal events. Each of these categories will be examined in turn.

Large-scale Events

Saint Inglevert, 1390

One of the largest formal combats that took place during the period circa 1380-1440 was the jousting at Saint Inglevert near Calais in 1390.⁶ There are descriptions of the event in the *Chronographia Regum Francorum*, the *Chroniques* of Jean Froissart, the biography of Jehan le Meingre who was nicknamed Boucicaut, the *Chronique du Religieux de Saint-Denys* by Michel Pintouin, brief accounts in the *Westminster Chronicle* and the work attributed to Jean Juvénal des Ursins, and an anonymous commemorative poem.⁷ In this encounter, three French knights – Jean le Meingre (Boucicaut), Reginald de Roye and Jean de Sempy – challenged all comers from many countries to a month of jousting in a field near Calais.⁸

⁶ On this event see E. Gaucher, 'Les joutes de Saint-Inglevert: perception et écriture d'un événement historique pendant la guerre de Cent Ans', *Le Moyen Âge* 102 no. 2 (1996), 229-243; Denis Lalande, *Jean II le Meingre, dit Boucicaut (1366-1421). Étude d'une biographie héroïque* (Geneva, 1988), pp. 31-36; Lynn Staley, 'Gower, Richard II, Henry of Derby, and the Business of Making Culture', *Speculum* 75 no. 1 (2000), pp. 84-85. The jousting is set within Boucicaut's martial career explicitly in Maurice Keen, *Chivalry* (Nota Bene edn., New Haven & London, 1984), p. 205.

⁷ *Chronographia Regum Francorum*, ed. H. Moranville (3 vols, Paris, 1891-1897), vol. 3 pp. 97-100; Froissart, Jean, *Oeuvres*, ed. Kervyn de Lettenhove (25 vols, Brussels, 1867-77), vol. 14 pp. 43, 55-58, 106-51; *Le livre des Fais du Bon Messire Jehan le Maingre, dit Boucicaut*, ed. Lalande, pp. 66-74; Jean Juvénal des Ursins, 'Histoire de Charles VI, Roy de France', *Novelle Collection des Mémoires pour servir à l'Histoire de France depuis le XIIIe siècle jusqu'à la fin du XVIIIe siècle*, eds. J.F. Michaud & J.J.F. Poujoulat (32 vols, Paris, 1836-39), vol. 2 p. 385; *Chronique du Religieux de Saint-Denys contenant le règne de Charles VI, de 1380 à 1422*, ed. & trans. L.F. Bellaguet (6 vols, Paris, 1839-1852), vol. 1 pp. 672-683; *The Westminster Chronicle, 1381-1394*, ed. L.C. Hector & B.F. Harvey (Oxford, 1982), pp. 430-2. An anonymous poem composed about the event is found in Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris, MS Fonds Français 17272, and published in Froissart, *Oeuvres*, vol. 14 pp. 406-419. A very brief reference to the event is also made in the *Chronique des quatre premiers Valois*, ed. S. Luce (Paris, 1862), p. 315.

⁸ Jean le Maingre, nicknamed Boucicaut (d. 1421), for biographical detail see Lalande, *Jean II le Meingre*, passim. Renaud de Roye (d. 1396) was the son of Mathieu de Roye and Jeanne de Chérisy, a chamberlain of Charles VI. He was killed at the battle of Nicopolis on 25 September 1396. On the relationship between Boucicaut and Renaud de Roye, including their travels together in 1387-88 see Lalande, *Jean II le Meingre*, pp. 21, 26-27. Jean de Sempy (d. 1386) was the son of Jean de Sempy from Artois. He was also a chamberlain of Charles VI. See P. Contamine, *Guerre, État et Société à la fin du Moyen Âge. Études sur les armées des rois de France (1337-1494)* (Paris, 1972), pp. 589-90.

According to the narrative provided in the *Chronographia Regum Francorum*, the challenge issued by these three knights was sent with the herald of the duke of Lancaster to England and several other countries, in order to invite other men-at-arms to participate.⁹ Froissart copied the text of the challenge into his narrative.¹⁰ The jousts were to take place with either lances of war (with sharpened ends) or those of peace (with blunted ends). The three French knights promised to wait at Saint Inglevert for thirty days from 9 May 1390 in order to combat against knights and esquires from any country who desired to compete. Participants were directed to touch the shields hung outside the tents of the three French knights to indicate whom they wished to joust against, and whether they wished to use weapons of war or of peace, or both. The challenge was signed by the three French knights at Montpellier, on 20 November 1389.¹¹

The dates of the event itself were described differently in the various medieval narratives for the jousts. The *Chronographia Regum Francorum* stated that the jousts began on 1 March.¹² *Le livre des faits* stated that the event began on 20 March, the date given by Michel Pintouin was 21 March, and the date given by Froissart was 21 May.¹³ A letter from Charles VI after the event, that granted the three French participants a monetary reward for their endeavours, was dated 13 May 1390 and composed three weeks after the end of the jousts.¹⁴ It therefore seems likely that the dates offered by *Le livre des faits* and in the narrative of Michel Pintouin were

⁹ *Chronographia Regum Francorum*, ed. Moranville, vol. 3 pp. 98. Anthony Wagner, *Heralds and Heraldry in the Middle Ages: an inquiry into the growth of the armorial function of heralds* (London, 1939), p. 163 states that in 1386 Lancaster herald was Roger Durrois, so it may be the same individual that is described here.

¹⁰ Froissart, *Oeuvres*, vol. 14 pp. 56-57.

¹¹ The challenge was likely composed as soon as the three French knights had obtained permission to hold their formal combat from King Charles VI: he was at Montpellier 15-20 November 1389. See Lalande, *Jehan II le Meingre*, p. 31 n. 102; E. Petit, *Séjours de Charles VI (1380-1440)* (Paris, 1894), p. 43.

¹² *Chronographia Regum Francorum*, ed. Moranville, vol. 3 p. 98.

¹³ *Chronique du Religieux de Saint-Denys*, ed. & trans. Bellaguet, vol. 1 p. 676-77; *Le livre des Fais du Bon Messire Jehan le Maingre, dit Boucicaut*, ed. Lalande, p. 67; Froissart, *Oeuvres*, vol. 14 p. 108.

¹⁴ Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris, MS Fonds Français 21809, ff. 11r-15r.

correct: the participants assembled on 20 March, and the first jousts were held on 21 March.¹⁵

The majority of those who responded to the challenge were English, and two of the narratives for the jousts, those of Jean Froissart and Michel Pintouin in the *Chroniques du Religieux de Saint-Denys*, included long lists of the participants.¹⁶ The total number of participants listed in the most detailed narrative accounts of this event, written by Jean Froissart, was forty-two individuals, including the three French defenders.

Froissart's narrative described the very first joust between Boucicaut and John Holland.¹⁷ Holland approached the shields hung outside Boucicaut's tent, and touched the one indicating that he wished to joust with the weapons of war, or the sharpened lances. On the first charge at one another, Boucicaut pierced the shield of Holland with the steel tip of his lance, and narrowly missed wounding the Englishman along the arm. Holland appeared uninjured, and so the two fought on. They rode against each other two more times, although Froissart seemed disappointed by the third course: the horses refused to charge and the course was abandoned.¹⁸ Holland was still apparently eager to joust, and returned to his starting position. Boucicaut however, did not wish to joust against him further. Holland therefore sent his esquire to touch the war shield of Jean de Sempy. Holland and Sempy then jousted, and again in the first course Holland almost suffered injury. Froissart described how Holland's helmet was almost knocked off

¹⁵ This is also the conclusion drawn in Lalande, *Jean II le Meingre*, p. 34 n. 123.

¹⁶ Froissart, *Oeuvres*, vol. 14 pp. 106-51; *Chronique du Religieux de Saint-Denys*, ed. & trans. Bellaguet, vol. 1 pp. 672-683.

¹⁷ Froissart, *Oeuvres*, vol. 14 pp. 108-9. *Chronique du Religieux de Saint-Denys*, ed. & trans. Bellaguet, vol. 1 pp. 676-77 also listed Holland's name first among the names of the combatants, although it is not clear whether the order of names here indicated the order of combat. This would seem likely, as Holland was also described as jousting first in *Le livre des Fais du Bon Messire Jehan le Maingre, dit Boucicaut*, ed. Lalande, pp. 71-72. John Holland (circa 1352-1400) was duke of Exeter and earl of Huntingdon, and half-brother to Richard II. He was a Knight of the Garter and made Lord Great Chamberlain for life in 1389. See M. M. N. Stansfield, 'Holland, John, first earl of Huntingdon and duke of Exeter (circa 1352-1400)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Jan 2008, 'http://www.oxforddnb.com.ezproxy.york.ac.uk/view/article/13529' (16 March 2013).

¹⁸ Froissart, *Oeuvres*, vol. 14 p. 108.

by Sempy's lance.¹⁹ These two knights ran two more courses against one another. In the third joust, Sempy's helmet was almost thrown off by Holland's lance, but both knights survived the encounter uninjured. Froissart stated that Holland wished to joust a seventh time in honour of his lady, but the French knights would not let him as he had already jousting six courses.²⁰ Holland then retired, having apparently earned substantial praise from the French and English men-at-arms present.

The incidental details outlined above that Froissart included in his narrative of this event, seem to indicate that Froissart was himself an eyewitness to these jousts. That was, however, not the case. It is unclear how Froissart sourced his information regarding these jousts. His narrative was by far the most detailed, and included substantial amounts of incidental detail regarding almost each course that he described. Evidence for this lance-by-lance narrative is not found elsewhere. Froissart could have been adding such detail to make his narrative more exciting or appealing for an audience. It may have been however, that Froissart used an unknown source that listed in detail the individual jousts at Saint Inglevert. Such a source was likely to have been heraldic. Froissart blazoned coats of arms for participants at Saint Inglevert elsewhere in his narrative.²¹ A herald could have recorded such information if they were present at the Saint Inglevert jousts, and therefore this could indicate Froissart's immediate source for these particular encounters.²²

The jousting finished once all of the visiting knights and esquires had completed their desired number of courses. It is not clear how winners in the jousts were decided, or even if winners were identified. Michel Pintouin, the Monk of Saint-Denis, described how the French knights had won just prizes for their victory, but

¹⁹ Froissart, *Oeuvres*, vol. 14 p. 109.

²⁰ Froissart, *Oeuvres*, vol. 14 p. 109.

²¹ Froissart, *Oeuvres*, vol. 14 pp. 134, 135, 136, 139, 141-142, 144, 145.

²² On this role of heralds see for example Juliet Vale, 'Violence and the Tournament', in Richard W. Kaeuper (ed.), *Violence in Medieval Society* (Woodbridge, 2000), p. 150.

did not include more detail.²³ The narrative in the *Histoire de Charles VI* stated that the jousts were halted once the judges declared that enough had been done, but again did not elaborate regarding who these judges might have been.²⁴ Froissart also stated that appointed judges decided when the jousts should come to a close, but did not identify who these judges were.²⁵ Other narratives did not identify a winning side, or describe judging of the combats, but instead heaped praise on the three French organisers and hosts. The *Chronographia Regum Francorum* described how the French knights had acquired honour and glory through the encounter.²⁶

The three French knights left Saint Inglevert and, according to the *Histoire de Charles VI*, they presented their horses and harness to the church of Notre Dame in Boulogne, before going to Paris to celebrate the success of their event.²⁷ Charles VI rewarded them with monetary grants. Each received 2000 francs from the king on 13 May 1390, three weeks after the combat.²⁸

Smithfield, 1390

On 9 October 1390 Richard II hosted a series of grand jousts at Smithfield in London.²⁹ A *crie*, or formal announcement, survives that does seem to pertain to

²³ *Chronique du Religieux de Saint-Denis*, ed. & trans. Bellaguet, vol. 1 pp. 682-683.

²⁴ Jean Juvénal des Ursins, 'Histoire de Charles VI', vol. 2 p. 385.

²⁵ Froissart, *Oeuvres*, vol. 14 p. 51.

²⁶ *Chronographia Regum Francorum*, ed. Moranville, vol. 3 pp. 99-100.

²⁷ Jean Juvénal des Ursins, 'Histoire de Charles VI', vol. 2 p. 385.

²⁸ BNF MS Fr. 21809, ff. 11r-15r.

²⁹ For the announcement of this event see *The Westminster Chronicle*, eds. Hector & Harvey, pp. 436-7. The document announcing the jousts is copied in BL MS Lansdowne 285, ff. 46v-47r; other copies exist in The Royal Armouries, Leeds, MS I-35, ff. 8r-8v; The College of Arms, London, MS L19, ff. 46v-47r. The contemporary narratives for this event are *The Brut, or the Chronicles of England*, ed. F.W.D. Brie (2 vols, EETS, London, 1906-1908), vol. 2 p. 343; *The Westminster Chronicle*, eds. Hector & Harvey, pp. 450-1; *Historia Vitae et Regni Ricardi Secundi*, ed. G.B. Stow (Philadelphia, 1977), p. 132; Froissart, *Oeuvres*, vol. 14 pp. 253-64; *Chronique des Quatres Premiers Valois*, ed. S. Luce, pp. 315-16. For the provisioning that preceded the jousts see *Calendar of Patent Rolls (1389-1392)*, 'http://sdr.lib.uiowa.edu/patentrolls/r2v4/body/Richard2vol4page0302.pdf' (2 February 2013). For extensive discussion see Sheila Lindenbaum, 'The Smithfield Tournament of 1390', *Journal of Medieval and Renaissance Studies*, 20 (1990), 1-20.

this formal combat.³⁰ This therefore provides an insight into how the organisation for a formal combat was undertaken, how the invitations and notices for the event were disseminated, and how the plans for a combat changed between the composition of the challenge and the actual event itself.

The *crie* for this event at Smithfield described how twenty knights were to be led through London by twenty ladies, each knight carrying a shield with Richard's white hart badge on it, and each lady wearing a green dress to match the colours worn by the knights.³¹ After three days of jousting at Smithfield, the *crie* promised that the ladies who had observed the jousting would award prizes including a greyhound, a golden horn, and a white girdle to those knights who had performed exceptionally well in the event. In return, Richard II offered prizes of a brooch and golden ring with a diamond for the ladies 'qui mieulx dansera ou qui menera plus joieux vie'.³² This *crie* also described how this document itself was to be circulated by heralds on the continent. This was clearly not an event that was arranged in a hurry. The *Westminster Chronicle* described how the formal combat had been declared earlier in the year, following the council at Westminster in the early summer of 1390.³³ This was not a hastily organised joust to be attended by a handful of nobles, but instead appears from the narratives to have been carefully organised and planned for some time. The invitation to the tournament, sent via heralds on behalf of the royal council to Scotland, Hainault and France, was

³⁰ BL Lansdowne 285, ff. 46v-47r. For a transcription of the copy in the TRA MS I-35, ff. 8r-8v and secondary notes see Ralph Moffat, 'The Medieval Tournament: chivalry, heraldry and reality. An edition and analysis of three fifteenth century tournament manuscripts' (unpublished PhD thesis, 2 vols, University of Leeds, 2010), vol. 1 pp. 117-119, vol. 2 pp. 64-72. On the identification of this document as pertaining to the jousts in October 1390 see Sydney Anglo, 'Financial and Heraldic Record of the English Tournament', *Journal of the Society of Archivists* 2 (1962), pp. 183, 191; Lindenbaum, 'The Smithfield Tournament of 1390', p. 5; G.A. Lester, *Sir John Paston's 'Grete Boke': a descriptive catalogue, with an introduction, of British Library MS Lansdowne 285* (Cambridge, 1984), pp. 142-144.

³¹ BL MS Lansdowne 285, f. 46v.

³² 'who danced the best or who led the most joyous life', BL MS Lansdowne 285, f. 46v.

³³ *The Westminster Chronicle*, eds. Hector & Harvey, pp. 436-437.

answered by many European nobles, among them Waleran de Luxembourg (1358-1415) and William Count of Ostrevant (1365-1417).³⁴

This series of jousts was motivated, according to the *Chroniques* of Jean Froissart, by reports of the ceremonial entry of French queen Isabeau of Bavaria into Paris in August 1389.³⁵ Froissart described how Richard had received reports of the Parisian festivities from the English knights present, among them Henry Bolingbroke. Richard thus decided to demonstrate that he could hold an event to rival even this in its pageantry and display. To emphasise the chivalric rivalry between the courts, Richard apparently deliberately impersonated elements from Isabeau's Parisian entry. At the event at Smithfield, members of the court wore Richard's chivalric badge of the white hart, probably for the first time, as the French court had worn royal livery and Charles VI's badge of the sun at the jousts in Paris the preceding year, when the competing knights had also been led into the lists by women wearing matching gowns as at Smithfield.³⁶

Presumably Richard hoped that news of his event would get back to King Charles VI of France, via the French knights that Froissart stated accompanied Waleran de Luxembourg. Indeed Richard seemed to ensure that Charles would hear of the Smithfield event, by creating William Count of Ostrevant a Knight of the Garter, news that was relayed to the French king, according to Froissart, by the French knights who had attended the event themselves, and was met with displeasure by

³⁴ Waleran III de Luxembourg Count of Saint Pol and Ligny 1371-1415, married in 1374-80 Maud Holland, held important offices in France under Philip of Burgundy and John the Fearless's regency. William II Count of Ostrevant, Hainault and Holland and Duke of Bavaria 1404-1417, married in 1385 Margaret of Burgundy, daughter of Philip of Burgundy. See Anthony Tuck, 'Henry IV and Europe: a dynasty's search for recognition', in R.H. Britnell & A.J. Pollard (eds.), *The McFarlane Legacy: studies in late medieval politics and society* (Stroud, 1995), 107-125 ; Anthony Tuck, 'Richard II and the House of Luxembourg', in James. L. Gillespie (ed.), *The Age of Richard II* (Oxford, 1999), 205-229.

³⁵ Froissart, *Oeuvres*, vol. 14 p. 253. For narratives of the jousts in Paris see *Chronique du Religieux de Saint-Denys*, ed. Bellaguet, vol. 1 pp. 614-615; Froissart, *Oeuvres*, vol. 14 pp. 20-25; Jean Juvénal des Ursins, 'Histoire de Charles VI', pp. 367-368. On Isabeau's entry see Françoise Autrand, *Charles VI* (Paris, 1986), pp. 214-227; Évelyne van der Neste, *Tournois, joustes, pas d'armes dans les villes de Flandre à la fin du Moyen Âge, 1300-1486* (Paris, 1996), p. 259.

³⁶ Froissart, *Oeuvres*, vol. 14 pp. 10-16. For the sun as a badge of Charles VI see R.C. Famiglietti, *Royal Intrigue: crisis at the court of Charles VI, 1392-1420* (New York, 1986), p. xv; Elisabeth Taburet-Delahaye (ed.), *Paris 1400. Les arts sous Charles VI* (Paris, 2004), pp. 378-79.

Charles as well as by William's father Albert of Bavaria and father-in-law Philip Duke of Burgundy.³⁷

There were reasons closer to home however, why holding an elaborate festival of jousting and pageantry before the citizens of London was a politically expedient move for Richard. The city of London had been suffering public disputes between the drapers and the grocers, enduring street fighting, running battles, and the burning of administrative texts for several years.³⁸ By holding a festival in view of many of the citizens of London, Richard was asserting strong royal authority in response to London's lack of order, a potentially dangerous lack of discipline in the country's capital for the king as well as for his image of regality.³⁹ This could explain why the event was held in London: if the sole purpose of the occasion was to woo William Count of Ostrevant and Waleran de Luxembourg, Richard may have been more likely to host the event at Westminster or Windsor, locations without the interference and disruption of London and, in the case of Windsor, with direct links to the Order of the Garter to emphasise the chivalric elements of the enterprise.⁴⁰

The narratives of the event in October 1390 described how the jousting was preceded by a procession of ladies leading knights on horseback with golden chains through London's streets from the Tower to Smithfield.⁴¹ There was some confusion in the contemporary narratives of the event itself, regarding the

³⁷ Froissart, *Oeuvres*, vol. 14 p. 264; also see Hugh E.L. Collins, *The Order of the Garter 1348-1461: chivalry and politics in later Medieval England* (Oxford, 2000), pp. 166-7, 240, which states that gaining allegiance with the count of Ostrevant was the primary reason for the whole occasion.

³⁸ The drapers were led by John of Northampton, and the grocers were led by Nicholas Brembre, and it was this public discord and hostility that led to King Richard's strong intervention in the affairs of the city in 1392. For details of this dispute, see Caroline M. Barron, 'London 1300-1540', in D.M. Palliser, *The Cambridge Urban History of Britain: 600-1540* (Cambridge, 2000), pp. 405-6.

³⁹ Caroline Barron, 'Richard II and London', in James L. Gillespie (ed.), *Richard II the Art of Kingship* (Oxford, 1999), pp. 133, 144-5; Lindenbaum, 'The Smithfield Tournament of 1390', 1-21.

⁴⁰ Caroline Barron has in fact shown that Richard spent little time in London throughout his reign, and usually favoured Westminster: Barron, 'Richard II and London', pp. 130-31.

⁴¹ For the route of this procession from the Tower via Knightbridge's Street and Creed Lane and out at Ludgate towards Smithfield see John Stow, *A Survey of London*, ed. C.L. Kingsford (2 vols, Oxford, 1908), vol. 1 p. 245.

numbers of knights and ladies involved in the procession and subsequent jousts. In his narrative of the event – which is by far the most detailed – Froissart described how the sixty participants in the jousts were led by sixty ladies.⁴² The *Brut* however gave the number of knights (and therefore ladies) in the procession as twenty-four, claiming that these were the twenty-four knights of the Garter.⁴³ It is entirely possible that the knights of the Garter participated at this event, although the Order contained twenty-six member knights at any one time, and one place would have been vacant in October 1390. One of the participants in the jousts, William Count of Ostrevant, would be elected to their number at Windsor directly following the jousts at Smithfield.⁴⁴ The election of William of Ostrevant was to replace as Garter knight Guy de Bryan, first Baron Bryan, who had died on 17 April 1390.⁴⁵ If the *Brut* acknowledged that one Garter place was vacant, and the king rode separately rather than with the knights participating in the jousting, this would then mean that twenty-four knights would comprise the Garter contingent at this event; however the *Brut* did not make this clear. The *Brut* then detailed the white hart badge that decorated the knights' surcoats, armour, shields and horse trappers, and noted that the ladies in the procession as well as the knights wore the white hart livery.⁴⁶

After ladies had led the participating knights to Smithfield, they then observed the jousts from stands that surrounded the combat area. These stands had been supplied and erected under the supervision of Geoffrey Chaucer, as Clerk of the King's Works, and the documents pertaining to their assembly explicitly stated

⁴² Froissart, *Oeuvres*, vol. 14 pp. 253-64.

⁴³ *The Brut*, ed. Brie, vol. 2 p. 343.

⁴⁴ William II Count of Ostrevant (1365-1417) Count of Hainault and Holland and Duke of Bavaria 1404-1417, married in 1385 Margaret of Burgundy, daughter of Duke Philip of Burgundy. For the Garter ceremonies at Windsor following the Smithfield formal combat, and the election of William to the Order, see *Historia Vitae et Regni Ricardi Secundi*, ed. Stow, p. 131; Froissart, *Oeuvres*, vol. 14 p. 264. For the election of William to the Order of the Garter as the primary motivation behind these jousts see Collins, *The Order of the Garter 1348-1461*, pp. 166-67, 240.

⁴⁵ Guy de Bryan, first Baron Bryan (circa 1310-1390), a chamber knight to Richard II. For biographical details see James L. Gillespie, 'Brian, Guy, Baron Brian (circa 1310-1390)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oct. 2008, <http://www.oxforddnb.com.ezproxy.york.ac.uk/view/article/38896> (16 March 2013).

⁴⁶ *The Brut*, ed. Brie, vol. 2 p. 343.

that they were for a royal party composed of the king, the queen, and her ladies.⁴⁷ As opposed to the stone scaffolds at Cheapside, audience stands at Smithfield were made of wood and were erected especially for individual events.⁴⁸

The festival at Smithfield consisted of three days of jousting and feasting. Watching from stands surrounding the combat area were, according to the *Brut*, 'alle maner of strayngers', including high-ranking foreign nobles and their entourages, as well as Richard himself and large numbers of the English nobility.⁴⁹ It is not certain whether Richard II actively participated in the jousts. Certainly *The Westminster Chronicle* depicted Richard as jousting and in fact winning the honours for performing the best on the first day of the jousts.⁵⁰ In his biography of Richard however, Nigel Saul has stated that he does not believe that the king participated.⁵¹

Each of the narrative accounts for this event described the giving or awarding of prizes. The *Brut* stated that these were given out by the king following the jousting.⁵² The *Westminster Chronicle* however stated that the king himself won the 'honours' on the first day of the jousting.⁵³ The narrative of the prize-giving provided by Jean Froissart stated that on the first day the prizes went to William

⁴⁷ The National Archives, Kew, London, E159/167 m. 19d. The mandate issued to Chaucer is also printed in *Chaucer Life-Records*, eds. M.M. Crow & C.C. Olsen (London, 1966), p. 472. For the debate regarding Chaucer's revision of his *Knight's Tale* after the event he assisted in organising in October 1390 see Johnstone Parr, 'The Date and Revision of Chaucer's *Knight's Tale*', *Publications of the Modern Language Association*, 60 (1945), 307-24, which built on arguments outlined in S. Robertson, 'Elements of Realism in the *Knights Tale*', *Journal of English and German Philology*, 14 (1915), 226-55; for the converse argument see Robert A. Pratt, 'Was Chaucer's *Knight's Tale* extensively revised after the middle of 1390?', *PMLA*, 63 no. 2 (June 1948), 726-739.

⁴⁸ Geoffrey Chaucer, *Riverside Chaucer*, ed. Larry D. Benson (3rd edn., London, 1987), p. 834 n.1884; also see Parr, 'The Date and Revision of Chaucer's *Knight's Tale*', 307-24.

⁴⁹ *The Brut*, ed. Brie, vol. 2 p. 343.

⁵⁰ *The Westminster Chronicle*, eds. Hector & Harvey, pp. 450-1.

⁵¹ Saul, *Richard II*, p. 453. Payments for specialised jousting armour were made for Richard throughout his reign, but not in 1390: see C.P. Fletcher, 'Manhood and Politics in the Reign of Richard II', *Past and Present*, 189 (2005), p. 30; J.L. Gillespie, 'Richard II's Knights: Chivalry and Patronage', *Journal of Medieval History*, 13 (1987), p. 144; Lindenbaum, 'The Smithfield Tournament of 1390', pp. 7, 19.

⁵² *The Brut*, ed. Brie, vol. 2 p. 343.

⁵³ *The Westminster Chronicle*, eds. Hector & Harvey, pp. 450-1.

Count of St Pol and John Holland Earl of Huntingdon, and on the second day to William Count of Ostrevant and Hugh Despenser.⁵⁴ Froissart was also the only narrator of this event to provide details on how the prizes for jousting were decided and awarded. He described how the prizes were judged by the ladies, lords and heralds who had been eagerly watching the jousting on each day.⁵⁵ Dancing and festivities were held each evening after the jousting had been concluded, and culminated in dinners that Froissart stated were provided by both Richard II and John of Gaunt after the three days of combat were completed.⁵⁶

An indication of the size of the festivities surrounding the jousting at this event is also provided in administrative archival information pertaining to this encounter. A writ was issued on 15 September 1390 to John Derby and John Loudeseye to supply poultry for the jousting event.⁵⁷ Such a document indicates the preparation needed for this event to take place. This was not a briefly organised meeting of a few knights and esquires in a field, but rather a carefully planned festival involving large numbers of both participants and observers. This event was not solely centred on the jousts, but rather the jousting was one element within a much larger festival that seemed to be aimed at courting the attentions of foreign dignitaries.

⁵⁴ Froissart, *Oeuvres*, vol. 14 pp. 261-2. William III of Luxembourg (1358-1415) Count of St Pol and Ligny, held offices under Philip of Burgundy and John the Fearless's regency. John Holland Earl of Huntingdon (circa 1352-1400), half brother of Richard II, created knight of the Garter in 1381 and Lord Great Chamberlain for life in 1389. See M.M.N. Stansfield, 'Holland, John, first early of Huntingdon and duke of Exeter (circa 1352-1400)', *ODNB*, January 2008, '<http://www.oxforddnb.com.ezproxy.york.ac.uk/view/article/13529?docPos=1>' (4 February 2013). Hugh Despenser, son of Edward le Despenser and brother to Thomas Despenser Earl of Gloucester. Hugh Despenser was not a knight of the Garter; however his brother Thomas was, so it could be that Froissart was mistaken in his identification of the Despenser brother who won the prize here. For Thomas Despenser see T.B. Pugh, 'Despenser, Thomas, second Lord Despenser (1373-1400)', *ODNB*, 2004, '<http://www.oxforddnb.com.ezproxy.york.ac.uk/view/article/7555>' (4 February 2013).

⁵⁵ Froissart, *Oeuvres*, vol. 14 p. 261.

⁵⁶ Froissart, *Oeuvres*, vol. 14 pp. 261-3. Feasting during this event was also mentioned in the narrative provided in *The Brut*, ed. Brie, vol. 2 p. 343, although this narrative is not as detailed as that of Froissart.

⁵⁷ *CPR*, *Richard II* (1389-1392), '<http://sdrc.lib.uiowa.edu/patentrolls/r2v4/body/Richard2vol4page0302.pdf>' (4 February 2013).

Jousts

Paris and Calais, 1383

In 1383 Peter Courtenay (d. 1409), an Englishman knighted by the Black Prince before the Battle of Najera in 1367, travelled to Paris and challenged the Frenchman Guy de la Trémoille (d. 1397), a chamberlain of Philip the Bold Duke of Burgundy, to a series of jousts.⁵⁸ The narrative of the encounter is variously dated in contemporary narratives as 1383 (in the *Chronographia Regum Francorum*), as 1385 (in the *Chronique du Religieux de Saint-Denys*) and as 1386 (in the *Histoire de Charles VI* attributed to Jean Juvénal des Ursins). A document detailing the gifts sent back to France from Peter Courtenay following a recent visit and formal combats undertaken while there suggests that the earliest date is correct.⁵⁹

Peter Courtenay was the seventh son of Hugh Earl of Devon, and Margaret de Bohun. He was knighted by the Black Prince at Vittoria, before the Battle of Najera in 1367, and later held a number of important royal and administrative positions, including principal chamberlain of Richard II (1388), constable of Windsor castle (1390) and captain of Calais (1398), and lieutenant of Henry IV in Picardy, Artois and Flanders. A few years before his death, he was appointed to the Privy Council by Henry IV in 1404.⁶⁰ Guy de la Trémoille was a chamberlain of Duke Philip the Bold of Burgundy. In 1383 he married Marie de Sully, heiress to the fief of Craon and to the strategically important castle of Sully on the Loire. He participated in the Nicopolis campaign of 1396, was taken prisoner by the Turks and was then ransomed. He later died of his wounds on the island of Rhodes.⁶¹

⁵⁸ See Jean Juvénal des Ursins, 'Histoire de Charles VI', vol. 2 p. 368; *Chronographia Regum Francorum*, ed. Moranville, vol. 3 pp. 54-6; Froissart, *Oeuvres*, vol. 14 pp. 43-50, 50-55; *Chronique du Religieux de Saint-Denys*, ed. Bellaguet, vol. 1 pp. 392-97.

⁵⁹ For this document see *Foedera*, ed. Rymer, vol. 7 p. 580.

⁶⁰ A detailed biography of Peter Courtenay is given in Chapter 4, 'Participation, Status and Manhood' below.

⁶¹ For biographical details of Guy de la Trémoille see René Jetté, *Traité de généalogie* (Montreal, 1991), p. 196; Louis de la Trémoille, *Livre de comptes 1395-1406: Guy de la Trémoille et Marie de Sully*

Courtenay asked permission from the king's council to engage in this series of jousts, and was refused.⁶² Michel Pintouin described how the combat had been motivated by Courtenay's desire to prove the superiority of English knights over their French counterparts.⁶³ It is interesting that in his narrative, Michel Pintouin described a close relationship between Guy de la Trémoille and Philip the Bold Duke of Burgundy.⁶⁴ With Charles VI still in his minority, Philip the Bold held a position on the king's council. Guy de la Trémoille was not only a knight of France therefore, but in 1383 he was a chamberlain of one of France's most influential dukes. It was possibly this link to French political power that encouraged Courtney to seek out Trémoille specifically.

Ignoring the refusal of the royal council to grant permission for this combat, Guy de la Trémoille answered that he would fight, and the two combatants prepared to joust against one another in the field of St Martin, in the centre of Paris. When they were ready to fight, Charles VI and the royal princes intervened and forbade the contest to go any further.⁶⁵ Charles' reasons for not allowing the combat to go ahead were not presented in contemporary narratives. Certainly later in his reign, jousts and other deeds of arms were explicitly banned.⁶⁶ Crucial here however was Michel Pintouin's qualification that it was not only Charles VI who prevented this combat from taking place, but also the royal dukes, among them Philip the Bold. With Trémoille as his chamberlain, Philip was presented as fearing personally for his associate. As a member of the royal council, who had already forbidden the

(Nantes, 1887), pp. 1-11, no. 32; Winifred Stephens Whale, *The La Trémoille Family* (Boston, 1914), p. 3.

⁶² Jean Juvénal des Ursins, 'Histoire de Charles VI', vol. 2 p. 368.

⁶³ *Chronique du Religieux de Saint-Denys*, ed. Bellaguet, vol. 1 pp. 392-93.

⁶⁴ *Chronique du Religieux de Saint-Denys*, ed. Bellaguet, vol. 1 pp. 395-95.

⁶⁵ 'Et le conseil du Roy respondit, que tells manieres de faire n'estoit à souffrir, ne point honnestes, veu qu'il n'y avoit point de matiere.' Jean Juvénal des Ursins, 'Histoire de Charles VI', vol. 2 p. 368.

⁶⁶ A prohibition on all jousts and other deeds of arms was issued on 27 January 1405, *Ordonnances des Roys de France*, ed. M. de Lauriere (21 vols, Paris, 1723), vol. 9 pp. 105-6. The approach of later medieval kings to formal combats is discussed in more detail in Chapter 3, 'Royal Controls, Rules and Violence' below.

combat, Philip the Bold was also able to use this personal link to one of the combatants to ensure that the combat did not go ahead.

After this attempted joust failed, Peter Courtenay then travelled around northern France, apparently boasting that no Frenchman dare fight him, until his bluff was called by the lord of Clary. The identity of the lord of Clary is difficult to determine. The most likely candidates seem to be the lords of Ray. Froissart's account of this incident portrayed Philip the Bold Duke of Burgundy as a central figure, who criticised the lord of Clary for his combat against Peter Courtenay and then asked Charles VI for Clary's forgiveness.⁶⁷ The lords of Ray were in the service of the duke of Burgundy, thus perhaps creating a link between this family and the duke that ties their identity down a little more firmly. However there are several potential candidates even amongst this family. The lord of Ray in 1383 was Jean II de Ray (?-1394), seigneur de Ray et de Beaujeu. The lord of Ray directly after him was his eldest son Jean II de Ray, who died at the battle of Nicopolis in 1396. Following Jean, the lord of Ray was his younger brother Bernard de Ray (?-February 1434), seigneur de Ray, de Beaujeu et de Seveux, who assisted at the funeral of Louis II of Flanders (Louis III of Artois and Louis I of Palatine Burgundy) in 1385.⁶⁸ Any of these three men could feasibly be the 'lord of Clary' mentioned here, although the most likely candidate would seem to be Jean II de Ray, lord of Ray at the time of the combat itself.

Clary had been ordered by Charles VI and Philip the Bold to accompany Peter Courtenay between Paris and the English lands near Calais, presumably to ensure that Courtenay got to Calais safely and that he did not cause any further trouble himself.⁶⁹ Froissart presented the terms of Clary's agreement with the king and the duke as being fulfilled; he explicitly stated that it was only once the knights were back in the land of England (the area under English control), that the two knights decided to perform a deed of arms *à outrance* (to the extreme, meaning to purposefully attempt to injure one another) against one another using lances and

⁶⁷ Froissart, *Oeuvres*, vol. 14 pp. 50-1.

⁶⁸ For the lords of Ray, see *Le Grand Dictionnaire Historique*, ed. Louis Moréri (Paris, 1759), p. 85.

⁶⁹ Froissart, *Oeuvres*, vol. 14 pp. 46-7.

swords. After hearing about this combat, the sources described how Charles VI, Philip the Bold and Guy de la Trémoille were very angry; as far as they were concerned, this combat had been fought during the king's safe conduct and this was strictly prohibited.⁷⁰ In addition, the combat between Courtenay and the lord of Clary had been fought secretly, and the duke of Burgundy in particular was most concerned that the combatants had not sought the permission of the king.⁷¹

Clary submitted himself to the judgement of the constable of France, Olivier de Clisson (d. 1407), and was forced to hide for an unspecified amount of time in the marches of northern France.⁷² It is perhaps unsurprising that Clary was so worried; the punishments for the breaking of safe conducts were often severe. According to the ordinances issued by Henry V for his French host at Mantes for example, those who broke the king's safe conduct were to be hanged and drawn, the punishment for traitors.⁷³ Finally however, Philip the Bold personally interceded on Clary's behalf, and asked for his pardoning from the king. Clary was thus able to avoid further retribution.

These two combats undertaken by Peter Courtenay, the first against Guy de la Trémoille cancelled at the last minute, the second against the lord of Clary undertaken in secret, illustrated the range of royal oversight that such events attracted. Although the king attempted to control such events, to direct them under his own auspices, he was not always successful in doing so. Furthermore, the second combat between Courtenay and Clary highlighted the lack of planning that some combats involved. Although the two knights apparently planned their

⁷⁰ For the response of the French see Froissart, *Oeuvres*, vol. 14 pp. 50-1.

⁷¹ Jean Juvénal des Ursins, 'Histoire de Charles VI', vol. 2 p. 368.

⁷² Froissart, *Oeuvres*, vol. 14 pp. 53-4. Clisson was in northern France in summer 1383 as principal French commander of the forces campaigning against the English; it is possible that it was during his time in northern France that Clary submitted to his jurisdiction. Clisson and Philip the Bold were also increasingly political rivals at the time, and perhaps Clary hoped to use this rivalry to encourage Clisson to forgive his injury to Philip: see John Bell Henneman, *Olivier de Clisson and Political Society in France under Charles V and Charles VI* (Philadelphia, 1996), pp. 107-8.

⁷³ *The Black Book of the Admiralty*, ed. T. Twiss (4 vols, London, 1871-7), vol. 1 p. 466; see M.H. Keen, *The Laws of War in the Middle Ages* (London, 1965), p. 206. For more details on Henry V's military ordinances in France see Anne Curry, 'The Military Ordinances of Henry V: Texts and Contexts', in Chris Given-Wilson, Ann J. Kettle & Len Scales (eds.), *War, Government and Aristocracy in the British Isles, c.1150-1500: essays in honour of Michael Prestwich* (Woodbridge, 2008), 214-49.

engagement on the road between Paris and Calais, there is no record that they sent out challenges to one another, or invited others to watch the event as spectators or judges. This was a short-term combat that lacked extensive planning, possibly the reason why Charles VI and his constable were unaware that the event was happening at all.

Arras, 1435

Perhaps the most surprising setting for a formal combat was at the Congress of Arras, a large diplomatic gathering held in August and September 1435. Lengthy accounts of the combat survive in four different narrative texts. Three of these were potentially composed by attendees of the Congress. The most detailed account is that in the journal of Anthoine de la Taverne, the provost of the abbey of St Vaast where the Congress itself was taking place, who could have been at the combat itself. Taverne's account was also written soon after the event itself: Bossuat has ascribed it to 1439.⁷⁴ A further narrative was provided by Enguerrand de Monstrelet, who was also probably at Arras and provided additional details of the Congress not provided elsewhere.⁷⁵ The third substantial narrative of the combat was that composed by Jean Le Fèvre, Troison d'Or King of Arms.⁷⁶ Le Fèvre's presence at the Congress is recorded by another narrative, the long list of attendees given by Jean Chartier.⁷⁷ Much of le Fèvre's narrative of the Congress is occupied with a narrative description of the formal combat, and he was almost certainly present at the combat. The narrative of Monstrelet in fact stated that Troison d'Or King of Arms (le Fèvre himself) proclaimed that no one should interrupt the foot combat on the second day of the formal combat.⁷⁸ A fourth narrative account of the combat at Arras in 1435 was composed by Jean de

⁷⁴ For his narrative of the combat see Anthoine de la Taverne, *Journal de la Paix d'Arras* ed. A. Bossuat (Arras, 1936), pp. 51-2, on his presence at the Congress see p. xiv; Joycelyne G. Dickinson, *The Congress of Arras, 1435: a Study in Medieval Diplomacy* (New York, 1972), pp. xii-xiii.

⁷⁵ Monstrelet's narrative of the combat is in Monstrelet, *Chronique*, vol. 5 pp. 138-43. On Monstrelet's presence at the Congress of Arras see Dickinson, *The Congress of Arras 1435*, p. xiii; A. Molinier, *Les sources de l'histoire de France* (6 vols, Paris, 1901-1906), vol. 4 pp. 192-3.

⁷⁶ Le Fèvre, *Chronique*, ed. Morand, vol. 2 pp. 313-321.

⁷⁷ Jean Chartier, *Histoire de Charles VII*, ed. Vallet de Viriville (3 vols, Paris, 1858), vol. 1 p. 207.

⁷⁸ Monstrelet, *Chronique*, vol. 5 pp. 141-142.

Waurin, although his narrative of the combat seemed to rely heavily on the narrative of Monstrelet, and potentially also that of Jean le Fèvre: the terminology and phraseology for the narrative ostensibly composed by Waurin was almost identical to that offered in other narratives.⁷⁹

The formal combat was fought on 11-12 August between two combatants, the Castilian knight Jean de Merlo and the Burgundian knight Pierre de Bauffremont. Very little is known about Jean de Merlo, other than he travelled from the Iberian peninsular apparently to attend the Congress. Pierre de Bauffremont (1400-1472), the seigneur de Charny, was a chamberlain of Philip the Good, a knight of the Golden Fleece from its creation in 1430, and also a member of 'La Cour Amoureuse', who married Mary the illegitimate daughter of Philip the Good.⁸⁰ The encounter at Arras was in fact fought in the presence of Philip the Good, who was also the judge of the lists.

The combat was apparently fought 'sans querelle diffamatoire pour acquérir honneur'.⁸¹ Merlo had apparently initiated proceedings by challenging Bauffremont to three courses with lances on horseback. Bauffremont agreed, and also added to this challenge that they should then complete a foot combat with swords, axes and daggers, until one of the knights dropped his weapons, placed his hands on his knees or on the ground as a symbol of surrender, or until the judge (Duke Philip the Good) stopped the combat. On the first day, the duke of Burgundy and his knights and esquires assembled in scaffolds in the marketplace at Arras. Merlo apparently appeared in the combat area first. He wore a red tunic that was marked with a white cross, which Monstrelet described as similar to a French badge. He stated that the Burgundians in the audience were outraged that

⁷⁹ For Waurin's narrative see Waurin, *Recueil des chroniques et anciennes istories de la Grant Bretagne*, vol. 4 p. 79. On Waurin's reliance on other narratives for his account of the Congress of Arras see Dickinson, *The Congress of Arras 1435*, pp. xiv-xv.

⁸⁰ C. Bozzolo & H. Loyau, *La Cour Amoureuse dite de Charles VI* (2 vols, Paris, 1982), vol. 2 p. 21; Marie-Thérèse Caron, 'Pierre de Bauffremont', in Raphaël de Smedt (ed.), *Les Chevaliers de l'Ordre de la Toison d'or au XVe siècle* (Frankfurt am Main, 2000), pp. 45-47; Richard Vaughan, *Philip the Good. The Apogee of Burgundy* (London, 1970), pp. 100-101.

⁸¹ 'without defamatory quarrel, but to acquire honour', Monstrelet, *Chronique*, vol. 5 pp. 138-43; this is also the terminology used in Waurin, *Recueil des chroniques et anciennes istories de la Grant Bretagne*, vol. 4 p. 79.

Merlo should show such partiality in the combat, but Merlo defended his choice to fight in such a tunic by stating that the long standing allegiance between Spain and France meant that he must fight in the French badge. The first day of the combat featured jousting on horseback. Neither Merlo nor Bauffremont were wounded by the jousts, although Monstrelet notes that the helm of Merlo was slightly damaged.

Although the first day of the combat had featured jousting, the second day of combat instead featured competition on foot, reflecting a diversification of jousting events into wider combats. Bauffremont appeared in the marketplace first, and was apparently forced to wait an hour until Merlo arrived. Eventually, the foot combat took place, and Merlo fought with his helmet visor raised – against the advice of those knights who attended him – apparently to the consternation of Bauffremont and the pleasure of other knights present. After some time had elapsed, Philip the Good stopped the combat – eight men had been appointed to break up the fight if necessary – and declared that the fighting should not continue. Both of the combatants were upset by this, especially Merlo, who cried that he had come a long way at great expense and deserved to be able to fight further. The duke assured both men that they had performed well. Feasts were subsequently organised by Philip the Good at which certainly Merlo, and probably Bauffremont, were honoured guests. Gifts were given to Jean de Merlo and two heralds who accompanied him from Castile. Merlo was given a golden cup, and the two heralds, who were not identified further, received a small amount of money.⁸²

There was no sense of a ‘winner’ of the combat presented in the narratives. Merlo did receive explicit praise, having fought with his visor raised and thus increasing the danger of the encounter for him personally. Despite this emphasis however, Monstrelet simply stated that both fought with great courage. This encounter was not presented as hostile or confrontational therefore, but instead as a mutually-beneficial act which raised the profile of both participants.

⁸² Dickinson, *The Congress of Arras 1435*, p. 240.

Various knights were assigned to assist the two combatants by Philip the Good. One of these knights was the Englishman William de la Pole Earl of Suffolk.⁸³ Suffolk was in fact most likely the only Englishman present: certainly he was the sole Englishman mentioned in narratives as being at the combat. During the majority of the Congress, English and French ambassadors had apparently avoided all contact; indeed Suffolk's attendance at this encounter was one of only three meetings between the two embassies, and all of these were in the last few days before the departure of the English.⁸⁴ Furthermore, on 1 September Pierre de Bauffremont was a member of a small group, which included Duke Philip, who went to see Cardinal Albergati in the middle of the night, probably to discuss a potential alliance between Burgundy and France.⁸⁵ The timing of the engagement, between a prominent Burgundian knight and a Castilian who fought in French colours because of his country's long affinity with the French cause, so close to the English departure from the Congress, followed by Bauffremont's apparent efforts to support a French-Burgundian alliance, suggests that this combat was a microcosm for wider political and martial themes. The Anglo-Burgundian alliance fought on one side, the Spanish-French alliance on the other. The English apparently refused to even take an active role, sending only one representative, to reinforce their enmity of the French cause.

Only four weeks later, the system of allegiances was broken and the French-Burgundian alliance was being formed. It is possible that this event between supporters of the French and Burgundian forces was in fact an attempt to reinforce the Anglo-Burgundian alliance. If this was the case however, it seems strange that only one English representative was present. In fact, it seems more likely that this event began a shift, conscious or unconscious by the actors present,

⁸³ The earl of Suffolk, William de la Pole (1396-1450) was a Knight of the Garter, and was later created duke of Suffolk. He was Lord Chamberlain and Admiral of England. See John Watts, 'Pole, William de la, first duke of Suffolk (1396-1450)', *ODNB*, September 2012, <http://www.oxforddnb.com.ezproxy.york.ac.uk/view/article/22461?docPos=2> (18 January 2013).

⁸⁴ Dickinson, *The Congress of Arras 1435*, pp. 120-1.

⁸⁵ Niccolò Albergati (1373-1443) was an Italian cardinal and diplomat, who represented Pope Eugene IV at Arras in 1435. He had been created Cardinal of Santa Croce in Jerusalem in 1426. See Dickinson, *The Congress of Arras 1435*, pp. 169-70.

to realign Burgundian and French interests. A chivalric encounter between representatives of these two sides would be a natural meeting point and discussion opportunity for the diplomatic embassies from these two parties.

Foot Combats

Montendre, 1402

As demonstrated in the narratives for the combat at Arras in 1435, some formal combats featured a combination of both jousting and foot combat. Others however, focused solely on combat on foot. In 1398 or 1399, seven French ‘companions’, all of whom were members of the household of Louis Duke of Orléans (1372-1407), sent a challenge via Jean de Grailly, a local English man-at-arms, to English knights to send seven representatives to fight against them in a chivalric encounter *à outrance*, or ‘to the extreme’.⁸⁶ Their motivation for doing so, according to the original challenge, was that they wanted to perform ‘deeds of arms’ and they had heard that the English wished to do likewise, for the love of good women.⁸⁷ This apparent motivation was also supported by the promise of gold rods for the ladies of the French, should the English lose. The seven French companions would wear a device of a diamond until seven English combatants could be found, as a sign of the pledge to fight that they were making.⁸⁸

There appears to have been little or no response from the English for some time. Events in England in 1399, with the usurpation of Henry Bolingbroke to the throne, undoubtedly distracted the attention of the English as well as of the French knighthood. Shortly after the events of 1399 however, Louis Duke of Orléans (1372-1407) apparently decided that such an encounter should be encouraged.

⁸⁶ BL Add. MS 21357, ff. 1r-2r. This Jean de Grailly was the bastard son of the man of the same name who had been a close companion of Edward the Black Prince. For the older Jean de Grailly see Malcolm Vale, ‘Grailly, Jean (III) de’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Jan. 2008, ‘<http://www.oxforddnb.com.ezproxy.york.ac.uk/view/article/50126>’ (16 March 2013). I am indebted to Dr Guilhem Pepin for information regarding his identity.

⁸⁷ BL Add. MS 21357, f. 1r.

⁸⁸ BL Add. MS 21357, ff. 1r-2r.

In 1399, Henry Bolingbroke deposed Richard II as king of England. This was generally regarded with hostility in France, and by Orléans personally.⁸⁹ This combat at Montendre was followed by a challenge from Orléans, addressed to Henry IV personally, asking to meet in formal combat, each with one hundred knights and esquires, to fight until one party forced the other to surrender.⁹⁰

In light of this new and increased hostility, Louis of Orléans appears to have instigated a renewal of arrangements for a chivalric encounter between the original seven companions of his household, and seven English representatives. Louis seemed to believe that the peace with England was a 'Burgundian' peace that should not be respected, and sought ways to undermine such a truce through chivalric encounters of this sort.⁹¹ Eventually he succeeded in encouraging such an encounter, which took place in a field at the castle of Montendre near Bordeaux on 19 May 1402.

In their accounts of this encounter at Montendre in 1402, the French chroniclers were very scathing of the English combatants, a stance that may be expected in light of the French victory as well as more general anti-English sentiments at this time. Christine de Pizan for example criticised the English. She described them as 'angering irritations' who had thus lost their honour and chivalry.⁹² She was

⁸⁹ For French attitudes to Henry's usurpation see *Chronicles of the Revolution*, ed. & trans. Given-Wilson, p. 7; Chris Given-Wilson, 'The Quarrels of Old Women': Henry IV, Louis of Orléans, and Anglo-French Chivalric Challenges in the Early Fifteenth Century', in Gwilym Dodd & Douglas Biggs (eds.), *The Reign of Henry IV: Rebellion and Survival, 1403-1413* (Woodbridge, 2008), 28-47; Craig Taylor, 'Weep thou for me in France': French Views of the Deposition of Richard II', in W. Mark Ormrod (ed.), *Fourteenth-Century England 3* (Woodbridge, 2004), 207-222; Anthony Tuck, 'Henry IV and Europe: a dynasty's search for recognition', in R.H. Britnell & A.J. Pollard (eds.), *The McFarlane Legacy: studies in late medieval politics and society* (Stroud, 1995), 107-125, esp. 107.

⁹⁰ This challenge, the reply from Henry IV, and the subsequent two letters between the pair are copied into Monstrelet, *Chronique*, vol. 1 pp. 43-66. Waurin also copied them, probably from Monstrelet, Waurin, *Recueil des chroniques et anciennes istories de la Grant Bretagne*, vol. 2 pp. 65-85. The challenge is discussed but not copied in *Chronique du Religieux de Saint-Denis*, ed. Bellaguet, vol. 3 pp. 54-61; *Chronographia Regum Francorum*, ed. H. Moranville (3 vols, Paris, 1891-1897), vol. 3 p. 229. On these challenges and their pertinence for Orléans' policy towards Henry IV see Given-Wilson, 'The Quarrels of Old Women', 28-47; P. Morgan, 'Henry IV and the Shadow of Richard II', in R. Archer (ed.), *Crown, Government and People in the Fifteenth Century* (Stroud, 1995), pp. 1-31.

⁹¹ For an account of the Orléans-Burgundy rivalry throughout 1401 and 1402 see Famiglietti, *Royal Intrigue*, pp. 25-7.

⁹² Christine de Pizan, *Oeuvres Poétiques de Christine de Pisan* (3 vols, Paris, 1886-1896), vol. 1 p. 241, l. 26.

writing for the cause of Orléans in his political struggle against the duke of Burgundy, and as such lauded his men as well as him as an individual, further evidence that narrative accounts of encounters such as this could be utilised to further political as well as martial motivations.⁹³

Narratives of the encounter explicitly stated that the combat was to demonstrate the superiority of French knights over English knights, and to demonstrate which of these two nations ought to be considered the bravest.⁹⁴ The narratives presented this combat as going beyond a simple private quarrel between these fourteen knights; they expressed the combat as being a dispute centred on wider national identities, and the combatants as being representatives of those nation-based communities. The encounter itself was motivated, according to the narrative attributed to Jean Juvénal des Ursins, by 'la vraie et raisonnable querelle que le Roy avoit contre ses ennemis anciens d'Angleterre'.⁹⁵ The specific motivation behind the encounter was, according to the narrative by Michel Pintouin, the usurpation of Henry IV and the return to France of Isabella, wife of the late Richard II, after several years of imprisonment in England.⁹⁶ Although the extent of nation-based identity in this combat can not be fully understood, formal combats such as this were presented as based along nation lines in order to both justify them, and to make them seem more exciting to their audience. A combat between fourteenth individuals in western France may not seem a hugely exciting event; a combat to the death between seven noble representatives of France and their historic enemies the English on other hand, might just attract a little interest from the readership of these narratives.

⁹³ See for example Christine de Pizan's description of the duke of Orléans as a 'Prince honnore...louable' in Pizan, *Oeuvres Poétiques*, vol. 1 p. 240, l. 1. On Pizan's dedication of lyrical work to Orléans see Charity Canon Willard, *Christine de Pizan: her life and works* (New York, 1984), p. 155; J.C. Laidlaw, 'Christine de Pizan, the earl of Salisbury and Henry IV', *French Studies*, 36 (1982), pp. 138-9. On her distrust of Henry IV see Laidlaw, 'Christine de Pizan', 129-43, especially pp. 130, 133, 140.

⁹⁴ *Chronique du Religieux de Saint-Denys*, ed. Bellaguet, vol. 3 pp. 30-31.

⁹⁵ 'the true and reasonable quarrel which the king had against this ancient enemy of England', Jean Juvénal des Ursins, 'Histoire de Charles VI', vol. 2 p. 422.

⁹⁶ *Chronique du Religieux de Saint-Denys*, ed. Bellaguet, vol. 3 pp. 30-31.

The fourteen participants in this combat were detailed in an armorial, which listed the names and coats of arms of the seven French combatants followed by their seven English counterparts.⁹⁷ A study of the armorial completed by Jean-Bernard de Vaivre has argued that the document is not contemporary to the combat itself, as mistakes were made in the arms of several of the participants.⁹⁸ Vaivre has argued that the armorial may have instead been composed in the second half of the fifteenth century, and that it may be either a copy of an earlier armorial that has not survived, or a later completion of an armorial that was begun, but not finished, earlier in the fifteenth century. This list of participants and details of their arms may also have been compiled by a herald who used chronicle narratives to compose a list and ascertain the armorial details of the participants.

While the origins of the armorial are therefore uncertain, this document does detail the names of the fourteen participants, which is corroborated in the narratives for this event. The identities and allegiances of these fourteen individuals who participated in the combat seem to further the theory that this was a politically-motivated encounter. Jean-Bernard de Vaivre has completed a survey of the fourteen participants that has shown that the seven French participants were all from the duke of Orléans' household.⁹⁹ The leader of the French participants was Arnaud Guilhelm Lord Barbazan (d. 1431), a chamberlain of Louis of Orléans since 1394.¹⁰⁰ In 1420, Barbazan was captain of Melun during the siege by Henry V, and fought a formal combat in siege tunnels against Henry.¹⁰¹ After the siege Barbazan was charged with the murder of John

⁹⁷ A copy of the original armorial is in BNF Clairambault MS 901. The catalogue entry for this manuscript is detailed in *Catalogue des manuscrits de la collection Clairambault*, ed. Philippe Lauer (3 vols, Paris, 1923-1932), vol. 2 pp. 85-88. This copy of the armorial is discussed in detail in Jean-Bernard Vaivre, 'Le rôle armorié du combat de Montendre', *Journal des Savants*, 2 (1973), 99-125.

⁹⁸ Vaivre, 'Le rôle armorié du combat de Montendre' p. 119.

⁹⁹ Vaivre, 'Le rôle armorié du combat de Montendre', 99-125.

¹⁰⁰ Elizabeth Gonzalez, *Un prince en son hotel: les serviteurs des ducs d'Orléans au XVe siècle* (Paris, 2004), p. 312.

¹⁰¹ Georges Chastellain, *Oeuvres de Georges Chastellain*, ed. Kervyn de Lettenhove (8 vols, Brussels, 1863-1866), vol. 1 p. 157; Monstrelet, *Chroniques*, vol. 3 pp. 409-413; Waurin, *Recueil des chroniques et anciennes istories de la Grant Bretagne*, ed. Hardy (5 vols, repr. New York, 1965), vol. 2 pp. 310-12; *The First English Life of King Henry V*, ed. C.L. Kingsford (Oxford, 1911), p. 170. Jean Juvénal des Ursins, 'Histoire de Charles VI', vol. 2 p. 558-9 also mentions the siege, but makes no mention of

the Fearless.¹⁰² Another of the French combatants, Guillaume du Chastel, had been educated within the house of Louis of Orléans.¹⁰³ A third French participant, Pierre de Brébant, aged nineteen in this encounter, had been an esquire of Louis of Orléans in 1398, was also in the service of Louis of Orléans in 1402, and who would later have his marriage to Marie de Namur arranged by Orléans.¹⁰⁴ The remaining French participants, Guillaume Bataille, Archambaud de Villiers, Guillaume de la Champagne, and Yvon de Karouys were all chamberlains or other members of Louis of Orléans' household.¹⁰⁵

The seven Englishmen, some of whom were knights and some esquires, were all from the household of the earl of Rutland, Edward Plantagenet (d. 1415), the son of Edmund of Langley and grandson of Edward III.¹⁰⁶ Edward of Rutland had been close to his cousin Richard II, and acted for him in marriage negotiations for the hand of Isabella of France. Richard made him duke of Aumerle, which was then declined to earl of Rutland after 1400 as Edward was involved in a conspiracy against Henry IV but betrayed his fellow conspirators to the king. He succeeded to his father's dukedom of York on 1 August 1402, and was confirmed in this office on 5 November 1402. He served as the royal lieutenant in Aquitaine, a position that most likely confirms his role as sponsor of the English knights and also as an apparent referee or guarantor of the seven Englishmen in the combat.¹⁰⁷

combats in the mines. Barber, *The Knight and Chivalry*, p. 245; Keen, *The Laws of War*, pp. 48-9. This combat is discussed further in Chapter 5, 'Motivations: Real and Constructed' below.

¹⁰² On the trial of Barbazan for the murder of John the Fearless see Keen, *The Laws of War*, pp. 48-50.

¹⁰³ Vaivre, 'Le rôle armorié du combat de Montendre', p. 107.

¹⁰⁴ Gonzalez, *Un prince en son hotel*, p. 152; Vaivre, 'Le rôle armorié du combat de Montendre', p. 109.

¹⁰⁵ Vaivre, 'Le rôle armorié du combat de Montendre', pp. 110-114.

¹⁰⁶ Rosemary Horrox, 'Edward [Edward of Langley, Edward of York], second duke of York (circa 1373-1415)', *ODNB*, 2004, 'http://www.oxforddnb.com.ezproxy.york.ac.uk/view/article/22356?docPos=1' (March 17 2013).

¹⁰⁷ Rosemary Horrox, 'Edward, second duke of York (circa 1373-1415)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 'http://www.oxforddnb.com.ezproxy.york.ac.uk/view/article/22356' (16 March 2013).

This combat took place on foot, the seven knights on each side squaring off simultaneously against one another in a restricted version of a *mêlée* combat. They were armed with lances and axes. The combat was fought *à outrance*, meaning that both sides expected injury. This willingness to maim or kill their opponents in the combat was demonstrated when one of the Frenchmen killed Richard Scales. Although the sources refer to him as Robert, there is the strong possibility that this individual was in fact Richard Scales, eldest son of Robert Lord Scales who was the captain of the English combatants. Richard Scales almost certainly died in 1402, as his younger brother then inherited their father's lands at his death later that year, and it seems likely that it was Richard who in fact died at this event in May 1402. At this point in proceedings the fighting appears to have been halted, either by the surrender of the remaining English participants, or by onlookers, some of whom may have been acting as referees.¹⁰⁸ The French, having been declared the winners, returned to Paris as heroes.

The choice of site near Bordeaux is crucial to the understanding of this event in its political context. Bordeaux, as the capital of Guyenne, was a base of English power in an English-controlled province. Guyenne had been a bone of contention between the French and the English for some time; around the turn of the fifteenth century however it seems that Charles VI decided to apply greater pressure to the English occupiers of the area. The grant of Périgord to the duke of Orléans in 1399 and his subsequent alliance with the count of Foix increased the political pressure on Henry IV in Guyenne, and after the return of Queen Isabella, when French pressure on England could afford to become more blatant, Orléans increased military as well as political pressure on the duchy.¹⁰⁹ Charles VI sent a clear signal of his intentions over Guyenne when he created his eldest son duke of Guyenne in January 1402 and required him to do homage for the duchy. Lehoux has in fact argued that Charles VI never had any intention of making war on England itself on behalf of the deposed Richard II, but rather saw the

¹⁰⁸ According to the monk of Saint-Denis Michel Pintouin, Lord Harpedanne and the earl of Rutland were charged to lead and conduct both sides of the combat, presumably acting in a refereeing capacity: *Chronique du Religieux de Saint-Denys*, ed. Bellaguet, vol. 3 p. 32.

¹⁰⁹ Vale, *English Gascony*, pp. 46-9.

Lancastrian usurpation merely as a useful opportunity to stir up trouble in Guyenne.¹¹⁰

This foot combat highlights the political motivations that lay behind some formal combats, even when they were originally presented through purely chivalric motivations. The signs of these political motivations are visible through both the ways that the event was presented in the narrative texts, and also through the participants themselves, their personal histories and allegiances. This combat at Montendre in 1402 was not the final time that the seven French victors would fight together in a pre-arranged formal combat. In 1405-6 the same Frenchmen prepared to undertake a similar feat of arms against seven champions of the house of Burgundy, and again they were challenged explicitly as members of the household of the duke of Orléans.¹¹¹

Legal and Judicial Combats

Westminster, 1384

On 30 November 1384, a duel was fought during the parliament in London between John Walsh of Grimsby, and Martlet de Villeneuve, a native of Navarre.¹¹² John Walsh was the king's victualler and receiver at Cherbourg.¹¹³ The parliament had met on 12 November, for the second time that year, although since this date fell on a Saturday the opening was delayed until Tuesday 15 November.¹¹⁴ The parliament was dissolved on 14 December.¹¹⁵ This judicial

¹¹⁰ F. Lehoux & P. Rycraft, *Jean de France, duc de Berri: sa vie, son action politique (1340-1416)* (Paris, 1966), p. 422.

¹¹¹ *The Unconquered Knight, Gutierre Diaz de Gamez*, ed. & tr. J. Evans (London, 1928), pp. 149-53.

¹¹² Narratives of the duel are recorded in *The St Albans Chronicle*, eds. & trs. John Taylor, Wendy R. Childs & Leslie Watkiss (2 vols, Oxford, 2003), vol. 1 pp. 732-33; Knighton, *Knighton's Chronicle*, pp. 334-35; *Chronicon Angliae*, ed. Edward Maunde Thompson (London, 1965), p. 361; *The Westminster Chronicle*, eds. Hector & Harvey, pp. 104-7; *Historia Vitae et Regni Ricardi Secundi*, ed. Stow, p. 85.

¹¹³ For Walsh at Cherbourg see *Calendar of Close Rolls, Richard II (1381-1385)*, 'http://www.british-history.ac.uk.ezproxy.york.ac.uk/report.aspx?compid=99625' (June 14 2013); CPR, *Richard II (1385-1389)*, 'http://sdr.lib.uiowa.edu/patentrolls/r2v3/body/Richard2vol3page0420.pdf' (15 May 2013).

¹¹⁴ For the summons to the parliament see CCR, *Richard II 1381-5*, 'http://www.british-history.ac.uk.ezproxy.york.ac.uk/report.aspx?compid=99602' (20 May 2013). For secondary

combat was therefore fought almost exactly in the middle of the parliament, in the presence of the king and other parliamentary attendees.

One of the narratives for this judicial duel was possibly composed by an eyewitness, a monk of Westminster who composed a continuation of various other works stemming from the *Polychronicon* of Ranulf Higden. This narrative was written almost contemporaneously with the events that it described.¹¹⁶ Given that the parliament in November 1384, and the judicial duel described here, were both held at Westminster, it seems possible that the narrator of the *Westminster Chronicle* was present at the duel itself, or composed his narrative based on the eyewitness testimony of those who had been present.

The narrative provided in the *Westminster Chronicle* was one of the more detailed narratives of the judicial combat. It described how the judicial duel between these two men had been motivated by Villeneuve's public accusation that Walsh had committed treason. The details of Walsh's supposed treason however, were not included in any narrative of the combat. The two men fought a duel before Richard II and the constable Thomas of Woodstock.¹¹⁷ Thomas Walsingham was the only narrator to provide an alternate motivation for the encounter: according to Walsingham, Villeneuve was actually motivated through anger at Walsh, after Walsh had assaulted Villeneuve's wife. After Walsh had won the duel, Walsingham narrated, Villeneuve confessed that he had been motivated out of

commentary on the November parliament see Saul, *Richard II*, pp. 133-34; Christopher Fletcher, *Richard II. Manhood, Youth, and Politics, 1377-99* (Oxford, 2008), p. 128. In his notes on the November 1384 parliament Chris Given-Wilson highlights that the duel took place alongside several other judicial proceedings: Chris Given-Wilson, 'Introduction November 1384', <http://www.sd-editions.com.ezproxy.york.ac.uk/AnaServer?PROME+0+start.anv+id=RICHARDII> (20 May 2013).

¹¹⁵ CCR, *Richard II* (1381-5), 'http://www.british-history.ac.uk.ezproxy.york.ac.uk/report.aspx?compid=99604' (20 May 2013).

¹¹⁶ Antonia Gransden, *Historical Writing in England II: c.1307 to the early sixteenth century* (Ithaca, New York, 1982), p. 157. For a discussion on the authorship of this chronicle see 'Introduction' above.

¹¹⁷ Anthony Tuck, 'Thomas [Thomas of Woodstock], duke of Gloucester (1355-1397)', *ODNB*, January 2008, 'http://www.oxforddnb.com.ezproxy.york.ac.uk/view/article/27197?docPos=1' (9 March 2013).

defence of his wife, rather than out of suspicion that Walsh was a traitor.¹¹⁸ This motivation behind the duel is not mentioned in the narrative of Henry Knighton, or in the *Chronicon Angliae*. Martlet de Villeneuve lost the combat, and was drawn, hung and beheaded as consequence of his accusation of treason, which was deemed to have been proved false by his defeat in the combat, despite pleading for leniency from the queen and other witnesses. The narrative of Knighton recounted how Walsh was knighted by Richard II after his victory in the duel, and was given gifts by both Richard and John of Gaunt.¹¹⁹

The account of the *Westminster Chronicle* also narrated the most detailed account of the judicial implications of the engagement. It described how the combat was prescribed by the constable and marshal of England, as their function in the Court of the Constable and the Marshal necessitated.¹²⁰ During this period, the office of the constable shifted from being passed down through families, to being open to royal appointment.¹²¹ The office of the marshal was a royal appointment under the direct auspices of the crown.¹²² Such combats were held in the presence of the

¹¹⁸ *The St Albans Chronicle*, eds. Taylor, Childs & Watkiss, vol. 1 pp. 732-33.

¹¹⁹ Knighton, *Knighton's Chronicle*, pp. 334-5.

¹²⁰ For the medieval development and roll of the court of the constable and the marshal (also known as the 'Court of Chivalry') see Keen, *The Laws of War*, pp. 26-8; G.D. Squibb, *The High Court of Chivalry. A study of the civil law in England* (Oxford, 1959), pp. 1-28, esp. 15-16. For broader studies on the court of the constable and the marshal see Richard Cust & Andrew James Hopper (eds.), *Cases in the High Court of Chivalry* (London, 2006), passim; Maurice Keen, *Nobles, Knights and Men-at-Arms*, pp. 167-185; Maurice Keen, *Nobles, Knights and Men-at-Arms*, pp. 135-148.

¹²¹ Squibb, *The High Court of Chivalry*, pp. 228-230 contains a list of the constables of England between Humphrey de Bohun Earl of Hereford and Essex (constable from 1335/6) until Robert Earl of Lindsay (created constable in 1634). It indicates that the period at the end of the fourteenth century and the beginning of the fifteenth saw the increased use of royal appointments to the office of the constable, including a shift on the accession of Henry IV from Edward Earl of Rutland (1373-1415) - son of Edmund of Langley Duke of York, and grandson of King Edward III - to Henry IV's own son John Duke of Bedford (1389-1435). For further details on this shift, see *The Black Book of the Admiralty*, ed. Twiss, vol. 1 p. 300 n. 1.

¹²² As with the office of the constable, the office of the marshal was affected by the turbulent politics towards the end of the Richard II's reign and upon ascension of Henry IV to the throne in 1399. Thomas Mowbray, granted the office of the marshal for life in 1385, was removed from the office upon his trial for treason in 1397/8 and replaced briefly by Thomas Holland, who was then himself replaced as marshal in 1399 by Ralph Neville Earl of Westmorland. For a list of the marshals of England between Thomas Beauchamp Earl of Warwick (marshal from 1369) until Henry Howard Earl of Norwich (appointed marshal in 1672) see Squibb, *The High Court of Chivalry*, pp. 230-233.

constable and the marshal as arbiters of the court and representatives of the crown. Several judicial combats were held at parliaments, in the presence of the monarch and under his oversight and control. In 1384, the constable was Thomas of Woodstock, Richard II's uncle.¹²³ The marshal was Thomas Holland Earl of Kent.¹²⁴ The narrative in the *Westminster Chronicle* went on to describe how, in order to discourage similar appeals in England in the future, the king allowed the judgement on the defeated party to stand and permitted the execution to be carried out.¹²⁵ This reflected the role of the king at judicial combats, who was usually present and whose authority in the proceedings was crucial: he could intervene at any point before or during the combat itself, and apply his own judgement to the case.¹²⁶

More Informal Events

Badajos, 1382

As outlined in the previous chapter of this thesis, some formal combats were fought between individuals on campaign. Such encounters were often more sparsely narrated, without the large amount of narrative material that is available

¹²³ He was appointed constable in 1376: *CPR, Edward III (1374-1377)*, 'http://sdr.lib.uiowa.edu/patentrolls/e3v16/body/Edward3vol16page0279.pdf' (16 March 2013). For biographical details see Anthony Tuck, 'Thomas, duke of Gloucester (1355-1397)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Jan. 2008, 'http://www.oxforddnb.com.ezproxy.york.ac.uk/view/article/27197' (16 March 2013).

¹²⁴ He was appointed marshal in 1379-80: *CPR (1377-81)*, 'http://sdr.lib.uiowa.edu/patentrolls/r2v3/body/Richard2vol3page0011.pdf' (16 March 2013). He was discharged from the office before 30 June 1385: *CPR, Richard II (1385-1389)*, p. 11. M. M. N. Stansfield, 'Holland, Thomas, fifth earl of Kent (1350-1397)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oct. 2008, 'http://www.oxforddnb.com.ezproxy.york.ac.uk/view/article/13544' (16 March 2013).

¹²⁵ *The Westminster Chronicle*, eds. Hector & Harvey, pp. 106-7.

¹²⁶ This interventionist role for the king in judicial combats is outlined in Thomas of Woodstock's treatise on duels presented to Richard II, composed circa 1386-88, 'De ce temps en avant, est a considerer diligemment au conestable, que se le roy veult faire les parties combatans reposer, ou attendre, pour quelconque cause que ce soit, quil preigne bonne garde, coment ilz sont departiz, ainsi quilz soient en mesme estat et degre en toutes choses, se le roy les veult souffrir ou faire aller ensemble arriere...', 'From this tyme forth it is to be considered diligently by the conestable, that yif the kyng will make the partie fightyng departe, reste, or abide, for whom so evir cause it be, that he take gode kepe, hou they ar departid, so that they be in the same estate and degree in all thynges, yif the kyng will sure or make them goo to gidre ageyne...', *The Black Book of the Admiralty*, ed. Twiss, vol. 1 pp. 322-323. For more analysis of the role of kings in relation to judicial combats see Chapter 3 'Royal Controls, Rules and Violence' below.

for larger-scale events that were more formalised. One of these less formal encounters took place at Badajos in 1382.

In 1381 Edmund of Langley (d. 1402) led an English force to the Iberian peninsula in support of the Anglo-Portuguese alliance against Castille.¹²⁷ Edmund's expedition sailed from Plymouth in July 1381.¹²⁸ The lack of any engagement between the Anglo-Portuguese and Castilian forces meant that the English army was forced to spend winter 1381-82 camped at Vila Viçosa, close to the Castilian border. Peace was finally concluded in August 1382, after little combat had taken place.¹²⁹ In light of these martial tensions that were frustrated through the spring and early summer of 1382, Froissart described how many young knights and men-at-arms fought small skirmishes and combats with their Castilian counterparts.¹³⁰ The behaviour of these men-at-arms reflected the tradition, well established by this period, of individual combats between representatives and members of hostile but unengaged armies.¹³¹

Although none of these smaller combats were described, Froissart did provide a narrative of one formal combat, a series of jousts fought between an English esquire and a young French knight who was fighting with the Castilian army. When the peace of Badajos was declared in August 1382, the French knight Tristan de Roye decided that he would not leave Iberia without having performed some worthy combat.¹³² Froissart described how he sent a herald to the English

¹²⁷ On the renewal of the Anglo-Portuguese alliance in 1380 see Saul, *Richard II*, p. 55. The treaty is printed in *Foedera*, ed. Rymer, vol. 7 pp. 262-5. On the 1381-82 campaign see Saul, *Richard II*, pp. 96-99; P.E. Russell, *The English Intervention in Spain and Portugal in the time of Edward III and Richard II* (Oxford, 1955), pp. 302-344. On Edmund of Langley see Anthony Tuck, 'Edmund, first duke of York (1341-1402)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Jan. 2008, 'http://www.oxforddnb.com.ezproxy.york.ac.uk/view/article/16023' (16 March 2013).

¹²⁸ On the embarkation see Russell, *The English Intervention in Spain and Portugal*, pp. 302-306.

¹²⁹ Russell, *The English Intervention in Spain and Portugal*, pp. 336-340.

¹³⁰ Froissart, *Oeuvres*, vol. 9 p. 488. On the peace of Badajos, against which background this combat took place, see Russell, *The English Intervention in Spain and Portugal*, pp. 335-340.

¹³¹ Matthew Strickland, 'Provoking or Avoiding Battle? Duel and single combat in warfare of the High Middle Ages', in Matthew Strickland (ed.), *Armies, Chivalry and Warfare: Proceedings of the 1995 Harlaxton Symposium* (Stamford, 1998), 317-43, esp. pp. 335-43.

¹³² Froissart, *Oeuvres*, vol. 9 pp. 490-92. Tristan de Roye (d. 1386), also known as Matthieu de Roye, was a brother of Renaud de Roye who competed at Saint Inglevert in 1390.

and Portuguese forces, asking if any man-at-arms would joust three courses with him at Badajos the following day.¹³³ An English esquire, Miles Windsor, replied that he would compete.¹³⁴ Windsor was presented as being motivated to accept Roye's challenge explicitly because he desired to become a knight.¹³⁵ His wish was granted: he was knighted directly before participating in the combat.¹³⁶

The following day the two participants met outside Badajos. Froissart narrated that an audience of more than one hundred spectators attended the event, and his narrative repeatedly emphasised the martial status of these individuals.¹³⁷ Firstly Froissart established that there were more than one hundred knights present at the encounter as observers: some had accompanied the two combatants Miles Windsor and Tristan de Roye, whilst others had simply gathered at the combat site in order to observe the proceedings.¹³⁸ Following this observation, Froissart stressed the observing role of this martial audience. He stated that the combat was highly praised by the audience, and that knights from each side (both the English and French partisans) acknowledged that the combat had been good.¹³⁹ Windsor and Roye jousted three courses against one another. They twice broke their lances, and on the third course both lances pierced the shields of the other participant, but neither was injured. Froissart described the resulting spectacle, when shards of lance flew over the heads of the participants.¹⁴⁰

¹³³ Froissart, *Oeuvres*, vol. 9 p. 490.

¹³⁴ Froissart, *Oeuvres*, vol. 9 p. 490. Miles Windsor (d. 1387) was the son of James Windsor and Elizabeth Streech. The encounter is briefly mentioned in Richard Barber, *The Knight and Chivalry* (London, 1970), p. 237, although Barber confuses the challenger and the recipient.

¹³⁵ Froissart, *Oeuvres*, vol. 9 p. 490.

¹³⁶ Froissart, *Oeuvres*, vol. 9 p. 491. For brief analysis of the link between knighting and formal combats see Richard W. Barber & Juliet R.V. Barker, *Tournaments: jousts, chivalry and pageants in the Middle Ages* (Woodbridge, 1989), p. 168; J.R.V. Barker, *The Tournament in England, 1100-1400* (Woodbridge, 1986), pp. 113-4. Also see Chapter 5, 'Motivations: Real and Constructed' below.

¹³⁷ Froissart, *Oeuvres*, vol. 14 pp. 490-92, for very brief notes on this encounter see Barber, *The Knight and Chivalry*, p. 237.

¹³⁸ Froissart, *Oeuvres*, vol. 9 p. 491.

¹³⁹ Froissart, *Oeuvres*, vol. 9 p. 492.

¹⁴⁰ Froissart, *Oeuvres*, vol. 9 p. 491.

Not only did Froissart describe the martial nature of the audience that watched these jousts, but he also used terminology that reflected the increased martial nature of this event. Although he did use the term 'joust' in his narrative to describe these courses between Windsor and Roye, he also used more generic terms with martial overtones. He called the encounter 'les armes' when describing the arrangement for the jousts, and later he commented on how no more 'fait d'armes' were performed at Badajos.¹⁴¹ This combat took place within a martial campaign; Froissart presented it as a suitable substitute for men-at-arms when open battle was no longer viable. Froissart then stressed the martial setting of the event through his presentation of the audience and onlookers, and the terminology that he used to describe the encounter.

Conclusion

These case studies represent only a small number of those formal combats that were held between English and French martial individuals during the period circa 1380-1440. They do however represent a selection of the different forms that these formal combats took. Some of these events were organised months in advance, involving substantial logistical preparations. The jousts at Smithfield in October 1390 for example were planned for several months beforehand. Events such as this provide the historian with a range of sources, from the challenge pertaining to the event, to the narratives describing how the event was actually held, to administrative archival material documenting how the feasts and celebrations held alongside such jousts were provisioned. Occasionally, it took several years before a challenge resulted in a combat. The challenge for the combat of seven Frenchmen against seven Englishmen at Montendre in 1402 had been sent by the French participants at least three years before the engagement actually took place, and it seems that political developments at the turn of the fifteenth century were the final motivating factors that caused this challenge to be pursued to combat.

On other occasions, the levels of preparation for a combat were more short-term. When Peter Courtenay fought against the lord of Clary in the marches of Calais

¹⁴¹ Froissart, *Oeuvres*, vol. 9 pp. 491, 492.

in 1383 for example, neither participant had long to prepare for the encounter, and no challenges or organisational records for the event survive. For such events the historian must rely on the narratives provided by those chroniclers who wrote about the encounter.

At the combat of Courtenay and Clary, no royal oversight was evident, and indeed the lack of royal control formed a crucial element within the narratives of the encounter. In other formal combats however, royal oversight was explicit and extensive. This was particularly the case in judicial duels, such as that between John Walsh and Martlet de Villeneuve held at Westminster in 1384. Not only did the king and his constable prescribe the duel, they also oversaw the combat itself and intervened when they felt that the combat had reached its conclusion. Unlike at larger-scale jousting events when the attendance of the king was described alongside women and wider society, at this judicial combat the emphasis of the narratives was on the legal authorities present in the audience: the king, the constable and marshal, and parliamentary attendees. The political status of audiences and participants was also evident in the narratives of the combat held in the middle of the Congress of Arras in 1435. At this event, the political manoeuvrings of the French, English, and Burgundian factions were apparently put on hold for two days while jousts and foot combats were held between two knights. The allegiances of Pierre de Bauffremont and Jean de Merlo however, indicate that perhaps something more political was going on after all.

The formal combats described above thus offer a range of forms, participants, locations and motivations ascribed to formal combats. These examples, as illustrative of the issues that this thesis will explore, will be referred to throughout the following analytical chapters.

Chapter Three

Royal Controls, Rules and Violence

Introduction: formal combats and violence

The place of violence within later medieval society has attracted considerable study by historians who have focused on the integral role that violence played in areas from politics and justice to art and literature.¹ This has been the case especially in the context of the Hundred Years War, when periods of violent conflict erupted in France and associated surrounding territories.² The range of events that are examined in this thesis under the broad term ‘formal combats’ leads to a range in the amount and nature of violence that those events involved. The association of some kinds of formal combat with violence was well established by the period examined here, towards the end of the fourteenth century. Narrators portrayed earlier *mêlée* tournaments as little removed from actual warfare.³ In 1273, a *mêlée* tournament was held at Châlons between Edward I

¹ For a discussion of violence as common in medieval society see J.G. Bellamy, *Crime and Public Order in England in the later Middle Ages* (London, 1973), p. 29; Philippe Contamine, *War in the Middle Ages*, trans. Michael Jones (Oxford, 1984), pp. 120-123; T.R. Gurr, ‘Historical Trends in Violent Crime: a critical review of the evidence’, *Crime and Justice: an annual review of research*, 3 (1961), 295-353; Guy Halsall, ‘Violence and Society in the early medieval west: an introductory survey’ in Guy Halsall (ed.), *Violence and Society in the early medieval west* (Rochester & New York, 1998), 1-45; J. Huizinga, *The Waning of the Middle Ages* (New York, 1954), pp. 1-21; Richard W. Kaeuper, ‘Chivalry and the ‘Civilising Process’, in Richard W. Kaeuper (ed.), *Violence in Medieval Society* (Woodbridge, 2000), pp. 33-34; Richard W. Kaeuper, *War, Justice and Public Order. England and France in the later Middle Ages* (Oxford, 1988), pp. 134-5; Sean McGlynn, *By Sword and Fire. Cruelty and Atrocity in Medieval Warfare* (London, 2008), pp. 2-5, 5-35; Daniel E. Thiery, *Polluting the Sacred. Violence, Faith and the ‘Civilizing’ of Parishioners in Late Medieval England* (Leiden & Boston, 2009), pp. 12-15. For studies of violence as common in art and literature see for example Kaeuper, *War, Justice and Public Order*, p. 135; R.W. Kaeuper, ‘An Historian’s Reading of The Tale of Gamelyn’, *Medium Aevum*, 52 (1983), 51-62; Barbara Tuchman, *A Distant Mirror: the Calamitous Fourteenth Century* (New York, 1978), pp. 134-5.

² An excellent overview of violence in France during the Hundred Years War is provided in Nicholas Wright, *Knights and Peasants. The Hundred Years War in the French Countryside* (Woodbridge, 1998), *passim*. For other studies of violence in the context of the Hundred Years War specifically see *Society at War. The Experience of England and France during the Hundred Years’ War*, ed. C.T. Allmand (Edinburgh, 1973), p. 6; Maurice Keen, *Chivalry* (Nota Bene edn., New Haven & London, 1984), pp. 229-30; Kaeuper, *War, Justice and Public Order*, p. 136; Nicholas Wright, ‘Ransoms of non-combatants during the Hundred Years War’, *Journal of Medieval History*, 17 (1991), 323-332; N.A.R. Wright, ‘Pillagers’ and ‘brigands’ in the Hundred Years War’, *Journal of Medieval History*, 9 (1983), 15-24.

³ For comments on the violence associated with *mêlée* tournaments see Richard W. Barber & Juliet R.V. Barker, *Tournaments: jousts, chivalry and pageants in the Middle Ages* (Woodbridge, 1989), pp. 139-49; Richard W. Kaeuper, *Chivalry and Violence in Medieval Europe* (Oxford, 1999), p. 164.

and his men, on their way back to England from crusade, and Otto (1248-1302) Count of Châlons and later Count of Burgundy.⁴ Following attacks by the Burgundian infantry against the English forces, the count disgarded his weapons and seized Edward I around the neck, attempting to wrestle him from his horse. Edward resisted, and it was eventually the count who fell to the ground. The Burgundians, seeing their leader on the ground, retaliated, and the English engaged them in a bloody *mêlée* that descended into a brawl, with numerous casualties. In his narrative of the event, Henry Knighton described the encounter as ‘non torniamentum sed parvum bellum de Chalons’.⁵ Even with the potential for embellishment of the episode by the chronicle narrators, this event was clearly viewed as violent, with substantial bloodshed.

Although rarely elucidated in detail, the definitions of violence offered by modern scholars include two elements: the use of physical force, and the shedding of blood.⁶ If violence is defined as such, then formal combats offer an additional form of violent confrontation. Such encounters might be defined as ‘horizontal’ violence, between individuals of a single social group.⁷ Various formal combats, most especially judicial duels, might also be regarded as expressions of what Stuart Carroll has termed ‘vindictory violence’. The term, defined by Stuart Carroll in his *Blood and Violence in early modern France* (2006), encompasses acts of violence such as revenge killing and duelling, which are performed following a perceived attack

⁴ Maurice Keen, *Nobles, Knights and Men-at-Arms in the Middle Ages* (London, 1996), p. 87; Keen, *Chivalry*, p. 86; Michael Prestwich, *Edward I* (London, 1988), pp. 84-5.

⁵ ‘not a tournament, but the small battle of Chalons’, Henry Knighton, *Chronicon Henrici Knighton, vel Cniltton, Monachi Leycestrensis*, ed. J.R. Lumby (2 vols, London, 1889-95), vol. 1 pp. 265-266, the quotation is on p. 266. Other narratives of the encounter reflect a similar amount of uncontrolled violence: *Flores historiarum*, ed. H.R. Luard (3 vols, London, 1890), vol. 3 pp. 30-31; Nicholas Trivet, *Annales*, ed. T. Hogg (London, 1845), pp. 285-286; William Rishanger, *Willelmi Rishanger, quondam monachi S. Albani, et quorundam anonymorum, chronica et annales, regnantibus Henrico Tertio et Edwardo Primo*, ed. Henry T. Riley (London, 1865), pp. 79-80; Walter of Guisborough, *The Chronicle of Walter of Guisborough*, ed. H. Rothwell (London, 1957), 210-212.

⁶ Richard W. Kaeuper, ‘Introduction’, in Richard W. Kaeuper (ed.), *Violence in Medieval Society* (Woodbridge, 2000), p. ix; Mark D. Meyerson, Daniel Thiery & Oren Falk, ‘Introduction’, in Mark D. Meyerson, Daniel Thiery & Oren Falk (eds.), *A Great Effusion of Blood? Interpreting Medieval Violence* (Toronto, 2004), p. 3.

⁷ For a discussion of this ‘intragroup’ violence see Meyerson, Thiery & Falk, ‘Introduction’, p. 4.

on one's honour, or a personal injury.⁸ Although presentations of many different formal combats attributed them to disputes over honour, and the desire to increase one's reputation and to gain more honour through the performance of such acts, the formal combats most associated with such vindictory violence were the judicial duels.

Recent studies in private violence more generally add an interesting lens through which to view and analyse formal combats as further expressions of interpersonal violence. Historians have sought to link the study of the Hundred Years War with studies of private violence and personal feud. In such interpretations, the Hundred Years War is analysed not solely as an international conflict, but also as a series of private conflicts and localised wars within the larger scope of Anglo-French hostility that sought to distance themselves from crown-claimed monopolies on violence.⁹ This was particularly the case since lesser members of society often took advantage of the violent quarrels of greater magnates to cover and disguise their own violent quarrels.¹⁰ It is the nature of this fragmented and private violence, specifically in the context of the Hundred Years War, that has led historians such as John le Patourel to consider it anachronistic to discuss the Hundred Years War in simple terms of a nationalist conflict; instead the war itself is deconstructed into

⁸ Stuart Carroll, *Blood and Violence in early modern France* (Oxford, 2006), p. 5. For further discussion of judicial duels as expressions of aristocratic violence see Malcolm Vale, 'Aristocratic Violence: Trial by Battle in the later Middle Ages', in Richard W. Kaeuper (ed.), *Violence in Medieval Society* (Woodbridge, 2000), 159-181.

⁹ See for example Justine Firnhaber-Baker, 'Seigneurial War and Royal Power in later Medieval Southern France', *Past and Present*, 208 (2010), 37-76; Justine Firnhaber-Baker, 'Techniques of seigneurial war in the fourteenth century', *Journal of Medieval History*, 36 (2010), 90-103, esp. p. 90; Justine Firnhaber-Baker, 'From God's Peace to the King's Order: Late Medieval Limitations on Non-Royal Warfare', *Essays in Medieval Studies*, 23 (2006), 19-30; Roger G. Little & G.R. Elton, *The Parlement of Poitiers: war, government and politics in France, 1418-1436* (New Jersey, 1984), pp. 144, 170-7; Howard Kaminsky, 'The Noble Feud in the Later Middle Ages', *Past and Present*, 177 (2002), 55-83, esp. pp. 71-4; M.G.A. Vale, 'Seigneurial Fortification and Private War in Later Medieval Gascony', in Michael Jones (ed.), *Gentry and Lesser Nobility in late medieval Europe* (Gloucester, 1986), pp. 140-1; Wright, *Knights and Peasants*, pp. 2-4; N.A.R. Wright, 'Pillagers' and 'brigands', 15-24.

¹⁰ Maurice Keen, *English Society in the Later Middle Ages 1348-1500* (London, 1990), p. 195; for the context of the Hundred Years War specifically see Kaminsky, 'The Noble Feud in the Later Middle Ages', pp. 72-4; Vale, 'Seigneurial Fortifications and Private War', pp. 140-1.

conflicts over property rights placed within a wider landscape of regional hostility and opposition, and filled with endemic private noble feuds.¹¹

Private conflict as a concept is difficult to define since so much depends on contemporary terminology and the potentially partisan approaches of the documentation. Guy Halsall stresses this difficulty, although his work focuses on an earlier period in the Middle Ages. He delineates between authorised, legitimate violence on the one hand, and unauthorised, illegitimate violence on the other, and goes on to discuss the difficulties associated with placing these terms under public and private headings.¹² For our period, placing legitimate and public violence against illegitimate and private violence is also too simplified. Justine Firnhaber-Baker states that certainly ‘private war’ as a term should be avoided, since late medieval sources simply described all conflicts as ‘war’, whether waged by the crown or by the nobility.¹³ Howard Kaminsky also criticises the dichotomy between aristocratic war as illegitimate, and war waged by the crown as legitimate.¹⁴ Some sources suggest that the concept of private conflict in later medieval France was in fact viewed as an important element within aristocratic authority. In chapter fifty-nine of the *Coutumes de Beauvaisis* written by the jurist Philippe de Beaumanoir in the early 1280s, the right of the nobility to wage private war was accepted, although with caveats which included that a conflict could not be between individuals within four degrees of kinship, and that certain people were exempt from private war including clerks, those who had entered religion, women, children, and those in leper-houses and hospitals.¹⁵ Occasionally

¹¹ Little & Elton, *The Parlement of Poitiers*, p. 116; John le Patourel, ‘The King and the Princes in Fourteenth-Century France’, in J.R. Hale, J.R.L. Highfield & Beryl Smalley (eds.), *Europe in the Late Middle Ages* (London, 1965), 155-83; John le Patourel, ‘Edward III and the Kingdom of France’, *History*, 43 no. 149 (Oct 1958), 172-189; for discussion of this interpretation see Kaminsky, ‘The Noble Feud in the Later Middle Ages’, pp. 73-4.

¹² Halsall, ‘Violence and Society’, pp. 9-10.

¹³ Firnhaber-Baker, ‘Seigneurial War’, pp. 37-8 n. 4.

¹⁴ Kaminsky, ‘The Noble Feud in the Later Middle Ages’, pp. 55-6.

¹⁵ *The Coutumes de Beauvaisis of Philippe de Beaumanoir*, trans. F.R.P. Akehurst (Philadelphia, 1992), pp. 610-618. Philippe de Beaumanoir (circa 1247/52 – 1296) was a jurist from Clermont, the *bailli* (royal administrator) of Clermont in 1279, of Vermandois (1289-91), Touraine (1291-92) and Senlis (1292-96), as well as *sénéchal* (royal administrator in the south of France) of Poitou (1284-87) and Saintonge (1287-88). For an introduction to Beaumanoir’s life see *The Coutumes de Beauvaisis of Philippe de Beaumanoir*, pp. xiii-xix. The *Coutumes de Beauvaisis* were written in the early 1280s, and

even the king defended the right to wage private conflict, although within a series of limitations: although a series of French *ordonnances* were issued restricting private war during the conflict with England now known as the Hundred Years War, the king also issued some legislation to protect the wider rights of the nobility to wage war.¹⁶ Clearly then, it was not simply the case that ‘private conflict’ was illegal, although it was perceived by some as harmful.

Within this framework it is perhaps possible to conceive of ‘private conflict’, as that engaged in by the nobility without direct participation by royal princes. Occasionally princes restricted this conflict; at other times they permitted such conflict through lack of ability or desire to intervene. This royal role, and the lack of such, as central to the concept of a certain type of violence is an element of Halsall’s argument in earlier medieval Europe, and is also central to Firnhaber-Baker’s definition of ‘seigneurial violence’ in later medieval southern France.¹⁷ Where it is possible to more clearly delineate private conflict from its public counterpart, historians have studied the ways in which the crown attempted to assert its authority over this private conflict.¹⁸

although applicable only to the Beauvais region (the county of Clermont) they provide examples of a selection (though not a complete representation) of the laws of the area; for an introduction to the *Coutumes* see *The Coutumes de Beauvaisis of Philippe de Beaumanoir*, pp. xix-xxiv.

¹⁶ In 1378 for example, Charles V recognised private warfare when the adversaries agreed and followed proper form: *Ordonnances des Roys de France*, ed. E.-J. de Laurière et al (21 vols, Paris, 1723-1849), vol. 3 pp. 646-9. For commentary on this see R. Cazelles, ‘La réglementation royale de la guerre privée de St Louis à Charles V et la precarité des ordonnances’, *Revue Historique de Français et Etranger*, 38 (1960), p. 544; Kaeuper, *War, Justice and Public Order*, p. 235. On the legal role of ordinances in medieval France see André Gouron, ‘Royal ordonnances in Medieval France’, in Antonio Padoi-Schioppa (ed.), *Legislation and Justice* (Oxford, 1997), 57-71.

¹⁷ Firnhaber-Baker, ‘Seigneurial War’, pp. 37-8; Halsall, ‘Violence and Society’, p. 9.

¹⁸ For an overview of the various claims to authority over private war, particularly those opinions of the church, secular clerks and the crown see M.H. Keen, *The Laws of War in the Late Middle Ages* (London & Toronto, 1965), pp. 63-81. See also Richard Barber, *The Knight and Chivalry* (London, 1970), p. 176; Jacques Krynen, *Ideal du prince et pouvoir royal en France à la fin du Moyen Age (1380-1440): étude de la littérature politique du temps* (Paris, 1981), pp. 155-86; discussed in Firnhaber-Baker, ‘Seigneurial War’, p. 37; James L. Gillespie, ‘Richard II: chivalry and kingship’, in James L. Gillespie (ed.), *The Age of Richard II* (Stroud, 1997), p. 120; Bernard Guenée, *States and Rulers in Later Medieval Europe*, trans. Juliet Vale (Oxford, 1985), p. 18; Alan Harding, *Medieval Law and the Foundations of the State* (Oxford, 2002), pp. 240-51; Kaeuper, *Chivalry and Violence*, p. 95; James L. Sheehan, ‘The Problem of Sovereignty in European History’, *American History Review*, 111 (2006), pp. 6-7.

Private violence circumvented the official, regulated channels controlled by princes, and such a satellite martial system, a marginal group of armed men, created a dangerous principle of being able to undermine centralised powers for individual purposes and aims.¹⁹ As Malcolm Vale has noted, in Gascony the ability to wage private war gave the appearance that the Gascon nobility was virtually unhindered or unimpeded by the authority of the French crown.²⁰ Indeed uncontrolled or unsanctioned violence itself created a more lawless, dangerous society for the crown to attempt to govern. As K.B. McFarlane has noted, a lack of strong royal leadership, grounded in strong authority in the person and office of the crown, risked violent uprising, abuse of lordship, and the prevalence of corruption.²¹ If a king was seen to be lenient towards private violence, whether that violence was expressed as private warfare or the staging of formal combats away from royal oversight, he was seen to be open to the use of private violence as a widespread answer to personal quarrels or vendettas. Private violence in itself was particularly hard to control, as it was legally undefined and ambiguous, certainly in England, although perhaps more defined in France during this period.²² What made this private violence particularly dangerous, was the existence of what Maurice Keen has termed a 'supra-nobility' of dukes and earls related to the royal house, whose wealth and status meant that they were able to command significant military force.²³ It was this supra-nobility who posed the greatest threat to the king in terms of illicit and unsanctioned violence. It was therefore the very members of society who participated most regularly in formal combats, whom the king also desired to keep the closest control over when it came to their military or violent exercises.

¹⁹ Keen, *English Society*, p. 195; for historians who argue for the pre-eminence of the later medieval nobility in relation to the monarch, see G.L. Harriss, 'The King and his Magnates', in G.L. Harriss (ed.), *Henry V. The Practice of Kingship* (Oxford, 1985), 31-52; Anthony Tuck, *Crown and Nobility 1272-1461. Political Conflict in late medieval England* (Totowa NJ, 1985), p. 152.

²⁰ Malcolm Vale, *The Angevin Legacy and the Hundred Years War, 1250-1340* (Oxford, 1990), p. 112; see also Kaminsky, 'The Noble Feud in the Later Middle Ages', p. 69; quoting *Recueil general des anciennes lois francaises, depuis l'an 420 jusqu'a la revolution de 1789*, ed. F.A. Isambert et al. (29 vols, Paris, 1822-33), vol. 4 pp. 380-2.

²¹ K.B. McFarlane, *The Nobility of Later Medieval England* (Oxford, 1973), p. 121.

²² For a discussion on the nature of private violence as a legal entity in English society, see Keen, *English Society*, p. 189.

²³ Keen, *English Society*, p. 193.

It is the link between some forms of formal combat, and wider issues of feud and interpersonal violence, that places the analysis of formal combats alongside analyses of other forms of private violence. In the early fourteenth century, the right to challenge an opponent to single combat was considered – at least by the nobles of Burgundy and Forez – as a prescriptive right.²⁴ The right to issue such challenges was intrinsically bound up with the perceived right of the nobility to wage private war – indeed judicial duels have been described as private war’s ‘symbolic sister’.²⁵ As formal combats were thus tied up in debates surrounding private violence more generally, so the responses of kings to regulate private violence and private warfare had direct relevance to their reactions to formal combats.

Formal combats were integral to the expression of tensions between royal authority and noble autonomy that could disrupt the peace of the realm. Such events were repeatedly used as covers for political disputes and rebellion. This was evident in the reign of Edward II (1307-1327).²⁶ At the very beginning of Edward’s reign, chroniclers described how Gaveston’s victory over the English earls at his tournament at Wallingford in 1308 was an important contributory factor in the growth of resentment against the royal favourite, and the *Annales Paulini* narrated how Gaveston was so alarmed that his enemies were plotting to use a mêlée tournament at Stepney for an attempt against his life that he persuaded the king to prohibit it.²⁷ Edward circulated a general prohibition to formal combats in the early summer of 1309, in addition to a number of individual personal prohibitions

²⁴ See for example *Ordonnances*, ed. Lauriere, vol. 1 p. 559 (April 1315).

²⁵ R.H. Bloch, *Medieval French Literature and Law* (Berkeley, 1977), p. 119; also see Kaeuper *War, Justice, and Public Order*, p. 136; Vale, ‘Aristocratic Violence’, pp. 166-67.

²⁶ On tournaments and politics during the reign of Edward II see Barber & Barker, *Tournaments*, p. 31; Maurice Keen & Juliet Barker, ‘The Medieval English Kings and the Tournament’, in Maurice Keen, *Nobles, Knights and Men-at-Arms in the Middle Ages* (London & Rio Grande, 1996), pp. 89-90; A. Tomkinson, ‘Retinues at the tournament of Dunstable, 1309’, *English Historical Review*, 74 (1959), 70-87.

²⁷ *Vita Edwardi Secundi. The Life of Edward the Second*, ed. Wendy R. Childs (Oxford, 2005), pp. 6-7; *Annales Paulini: Chronicles of the Reigns of Edward I and Edward II*, ed. W. Stubbs (2 vols, London, 1882-1883), vol. 1 pp. 258-59; for secondary notes see J.R.V. Barker, *The Tournament in England, 1100-1400* (Woodbridge, 1986), p. 47.

to the earls of Hereford, Lancaster, Surrey, Warwick and Arundel.²⁸ It has been suggested that the eleven grievances presented to the king at the April parliament of 1309 were discussed and drawn up at the Dunstable tournament held a short while before the official parliament in June.²⁹ It may well be that Edward responded to the opportunity that the Dunstable tournament had provided, in facilitating the opportunity for political dissent, by preventing any further events from being held. His fears were apparently well founded; a tournament in 1312 was used for similar political unity against Edward II's authority.³⁰ Edward II, hearing that formal combats were again planned by the leaders of the baronial opposition in 1313, repeated the issuing of individual, personally addressed prohibitions to prevent a recurrence of the events of the previous year.³¹ It is thus clear that formal combats were perceived as a danger to the peace and good governance of the realm, and they presented opportunities for political dissent and the organisation of wider forms of violence. Indeed, an assassination had been successfully carried out at the Croyden tournament of 1286 when Sir William de Warenne, son and heir of the earl of Surrey and Sussex, was ambushed and murdered in the midst of the event.³²

By the later fourteenth century, the decline in frequency of *mêlée* tournaments on the scale of the encounter seen at Châlons in 1273, the example discussed at the beginning of this chapter, had to a certain extent limited the scope of violence at formal combats. This does not mean however, that later fourteenth-century formal combats were purely non-violent episodes. Although the scale of death and destruction that was presented at Châlons was not repeated in the narratives of the later fourteenth century, formal combats remained potentially dangerous

²⁸ *Calendar of Close Rolls, Edward II 1307-13*, 'http://www.british-history.ac.uk.ezproxy.york.ac.uk/report.aspx?compid=97258' (2 March 2013).

²⁹ Barker, *The Tournament in England*, p. 46; J.R. Maddicott, *Thomas of Lancaster 1307-22* (Oxford, 1970), pp. 95-103.

³⁰ *Vita Edwardi Secundi*, ed. Wendy R. Childs, pp. 40-43; Barker, *The Tournament in England*, p. 47.

³¹ *Calendar of Patent Rolls, Edward II 1307-13*, 'http://sdr.lib.uiowa.edu/patentrolls/e2v1/body/Edward2vol1page0520.pdf' (March 12 2013); Barker, *The Tournament in England*, p. 47.

³² *The Chronicle of Bury St Edmunds*, ed. A. Gransden (London, 1964), p. 87.

affairs. An example from the early months of Henry IV's reign illustrates the dangers that formal combats continued to pose for princely authority, even when they were carefully controlled. Following the deposition of Richard II and the usurpation of Henry IV, several nobles were involved in the 'Epiphany Uprising', named for the time of year the plot was to be enacted (5 January, the eve of the Epiphany). In January 1400, Thomas Holland Earl of Kent (circa 1374-1400), his uncle John Holland Earl of Huntingdon (circa 1352-1400) and John Montagu Earl of Salisbury (circa 1350-1400) plotted to kill Henry IV and his sons at Windsor Castle.³³ Interestingly, the conspirators were recorded as having used the guise of a formal combat in order to enter the castle at Windsor in order to carry out their plot.³⁴ The chronicle of Adam Usk described how the conspirators entered Windsor Castle 'simulando se ibidem hastiludia exercere', suggesting that they had organised a mock formal combat as a cover for this assassination plot.³⁵ It was due to the violent risks associated with formal combats in such situations that kings desired to keep close control on them; the opportunity for violent disorder that such events provided was sufficient to warrant the concern of the crown. Indeed attempts on the lives of members of the royal family at formal combats were not unknown, even at those events that were organised by royal authorities.

³³ On Thomas Holland see James L. Gillespie, 'Holland [Holand], Thomas, sixth earl of Kent and duke of Surrey (c.1374-1400)', *ODNB*, October 2008, 'http://www.oxforddnb.com.ezproxy.york.ac.uk/view/article/13545?docPos=4' (4 March 2013). On John Holland see M.M.N. Stansfield, 'Holland, John, first earl of Huntingdon and duke of Exeter (c.1352-1400)', *ODNB*, January 2008, 'http://www.oxforddnb.com.ezproxy.york.ac.uk/view/article/13529?docPos=1' (4 March 2013). On John Montagu see Anthony Goodman, 'Montagu [Montacute], John, third earl of Salisbury (c.1350-1400)', *ODNB*, May 2005, 'http://www.oxforddnb.com.ezproxy.york.ac.uk/view/article/18995?docPos=1' (4 March 2013). For contemporary accounts of the failed assassination plot see 'Annales Ricardi Secundi et Henrici Quarti', *Johannis de Trokelowe et Anon Chronica et Annales*, ed. H.T. Riley (London, 1866), pp. 323-330 [the event, termed 'hastiludiorum' here, is mentioned on p. 323]; *Chronique de la Traison et Mort de Richart Deux Roy Dengleterre*, ed. G.B. Stow (Philadelphia, 1977), pp. 229-51 [the combat is mentioned on p. 229]; *Historia Vitae et Regni Ricardi Secundi*, ed. G.B. Stow (Philadelphia, 1977), p. 164; Adam Usk, *The Chronicle of Adam Usk 1377-1421*, ed. & trans. C. Given-Wilson (Oxford, 1997), pp. 86-9 [the reference to the event, or 'hastiludia' in this source, is found on pp. 88-9]. Historians have examined the uprising in D. Crook, 'Central England and the revolt of the earls, January 1400', *Historical Review*, 64 (1991), 403-10; John L. Leland, 'The Oxford Trial of 1400: Royal Politics and the County Gentry', in James L. Gillespie (ed.), *The Age of Richard II* (Stroud, 1997), 165-90; A. Rogers, 'Henry IV and the revolt of the Earls', *History Today*, 16 (1968), 277-283; Claire Valente, *The Theory and Practice of Revolt in Medieval England* (Aldershot, 2003), p. 209.

³⁴ Usk, *The Chronicle of Adam Usk* pp. 88-89.

³⁵ 'pretending that they were going to hold a tournament there', Usk, *The Chronicle of Adam Usk*, pp. 88-89.

In 1385 a combat in Westminster Hall attended by Richard II and apparently organised by his representatives saw an attempt on the life of John of Gaunt.³⁶

Formal combats could also be used to assert independent authority from the crown and from royal princes. Such was the case in the last months of the reign of Richard II. Froissart reported that in 1399, presumably before the Irish campaign began in June, Richard had a formal combat proclaimed throughout England and Scotland to be held at Windsor, involving forty knights and forty squires, and with the queen in attendance. However, very few barons and nobles apparently attended, and the more general populace were uninterested in the event. Froissart appeared shocked at this lack of interest, and accounted for the lack of public support for the venture by citing their disgust at the king for his banishment of Henry Bolingbroke.³⁷ George Stow has examined the chronicles of Froissart, and has suggested that Froissart was not sympathetic to Richard's kingship.³⁸ Stow examined the increasing theme of poor governance in Froissart's writing, following the explicit condemnation of Richard's treatment of Henry Bolingbroke; this went beyond simply pinning Richard's actions on evil counsel, but explicitly named Richard as culpable for this poor governance.³⁹ Thus Froissart's narration of the attempted jousts in 1399 could have been a further indication of Froissart's lack of approval for the politics of Richard.⁴⁰

³⁶ Thomas Walsingham, *The St Albans Chronicle: the 'Chronica Maiora' of Thomas Walsingham*, eds. & trans. John Taylor, Wendy R. Childs & Leslie Watkiss (2 vols, Oxford, 2003-2011), vol. 1 p. 750; *The Westminster Chronicle, 1381-1394*, eds. L.C. Hector & B.F. Harvey (Oxford, 1982), pp. 110-114.

³⁷ Froissart, Jean, *Oeuvres*, ed. Kervyn de Lettenhove (25 vols, Brussels, 1867-77), vol. 16 p. 151.

³⁸ George B. Stow, 'Richard II in Jean Froissart's Chroniques', *Journal of Medieval History*, 11 (1985), 333-45. A similar interpretation of Froissart's chronicle, although not as critical as that offered by Stow, may be found in A. Gransden, *Historical Writing in England II* (2 vols, Ithaca, 1982), vol. 2 pp. 175, 183.

³⁹ See for example Stow's discussion of Richard's treatment of Henry Bolingbroke: Froissart states that it was explicitly King Richard and all his council who were named by Froissart as culpable; elsewhere Froissart presents the views of the French that Bolingbroke was a gracious knight and a good man, Stow, 'Richard II in Jean Froissart's Chroniques', pp. 337-9.

⁴⁰ Stow also interprets Froissart's representation of these attempted jousts at Windsor as further indication of Froissart's criticism of Richard's governance, Stow, 'Richard II in Jean Froissart's Chroniques', p. 339.

There was a sense in the efforts to regulate formal combats that it was particularly judicial duels that occupied the attention of both the king and the jurists who attempted to assert authority over such events. As such, the approaches to coping with judicial duels were different to those regarding other forms of formal combat. Judicial combats were an integral part of the operation of the Court of the Constable and the Marshal in both England and France, and as such fulfilled an important legal role. The tensions between a population that wished to employ formal combats – often in a judicial framework – and princely authority that wished to curtail violence, had been long in forming. As early as the seventh-century laws of the Lombard kings of Italy, the rights of the nobility to engage in private formal combat – in this case in judicial duels – had been set against the desires of royal authority to control and curtail violence. In the case of the Lombard laws, duels were used as a form of proof alongside compurgation (support from witnesses).⁴¹ The Lombard kings had doubts over the validity of the proof of formal combats and this sentiment was expressed in their laws, such as that of Liutprand (r.712-744) regarding homicide, which stated that although the king was ‘uncertain concerning the judgement of God’ in this matter, he hesitated to curtail the right to judicial combat ‘on account of the customs of the Lombard people’.⁴²

As this chapter will explore, such judicial combats featured at far greater length in legal treatises and advice texts than jousts, other less formalised individual combats, and mêlée tournaments did. Such judicial events carried heavy emphasis on legal authority, and the implications of the outcome of a judicial duel had a direct effect on legal procedure.⁴³ The legal authority over such combats meant that various different groups were explicitly concerned in their regulation and control. It also meant that princes and royal authorities were particularly

⁴¹ On the Lombard use of trial by combat see Bartlett, *Trial by Fire and Water*, pp. 7-8, 103-5; *The Lombard Laws*, ed. Katherine Fischer Drew (Pennsylvania, 1973), p. 239 n. 4; David Whetham, *Just Wars and Moral Victories. Surprise, Deception and the Normative Framework of European War in the later Middle Ages* (Leiden, 2009), pp. 94-95.

⁴² *The Lombard Laws*, ed. Drew, pp. 195-6. Also see Bartlett, *Trial by Fire and Water*, pp. 71-2.

⁴³ On the role of judicial duels as one of several basic forms of judicial procedure in the prosecution of treason in later medieval France specifically see S.H. Cuttler, *The Law of Treason and Treason Trials in later Medieval France* (Cambridge, 1981), p. 85.

concerned with regulating these events; otherwise they risked their legal authority being undermined.

The Policies of Princes

By the period examined in this thesis, the final quarter of the fourteenth century and the first half of the fifteenth century, the princes of both England and France had a long history of regulation and prohibition of formal combats. In order to analyse the approaches taken by Charles VI in France and Richard II in England, and their successors, this section will first briefly examine the policies adopted by their predecessors. In England a firm system of tightly controlled formal combats had been in place for some time, having been perpetuated by royal policy from the twelfth century onwards, although the system was occasionally undermined during periods of lax royal power such as during the reign of Edward II, discussed earlier in this chapter. French royal policy regarding formal combats on the other hand, lacked any definite or firm policy. In France, princely opinion of formal combats changed rapidly and distinctly.⁴⁴

In England, royal princes realised the potential dangers of formal combats to their political authority. Here the legislation against combats by English princes was far more specific than across the Channel in France. English kings, particularly Richard I (1157-1199) and Edward I (1239-1307), issued royal ordinances for the specific regulation of formal combats. These ordinances did not prohibit all formal combats for a limited time, or permanently, but instead sought to regulate formal combats under royal control, and to specific royal benefit. Similar ordinances are not found in the twelfth or thirteenth centuries in France, but they formed a central element in English royal policy during these periods.⁴⁵ The most well-known ‘blanket’ legislation consisted of two texts issued by Richard I and Edward I: the rules for tournaments proscribed by Richard in 1194, and the *Statuta*

⁴⁴ Kaeuper, *War, Justice, and Public Order*, p. 208.

⁴⁵ On the lack of similar legislation on the continent see Keen & Barker, ‘The Medieval English Kings and the Tournament’, p. 84.

Armorum issued by Edward I in 1292.⁴⁶ In addition to these collective regulations however, English princes directed their prohibitions against specific events or towards specific locations where they feared formal combats were particularly likely to occur.⁴⁷ These English prohibitions of individual events throughout the fourteenth century and earlier indicated a certain short-termism, in that the vast majority of prohibitions for formal combats in England were directed against single events rather than all-encompassing, blanket legislation. This approach by English royal authority has been criticised as ineffectual, since the prohibition would arrive at the event at the same time as the participants, and would simply be read aloud before the combat began.⁴⁸ Although this might indicate an element of short-termism, there may have been good reason for the English kings to utilise this means of enacting their prohibitions. If the document was read at the formal combat itself, before the combat got underway, then this almost guaranteed that any individual attending that event heard the prohibition, and understood the king's views on the matter. It was through employing this policy that English kings

⁴⁶ For Richard I's regulations in 1194 see for the text of the regulations The British Library, London, Cotton MS Claudius C iv, f. 233; other contemporary references to these regulations can be found in Roger of Hoveden, *Chronica*, ed. W. Stubbs (4 vols, London, 1868-71), vol. 3 p. 268; William of Newburgh, *Historia rerum Anglicarum*, in R. Howlett (ed.), *Chronicles of the reigns of Stephen, Henry II and Richard I* (4 vols, London, 1884-89), vol. 1 pp. 422-23. For the text of Edward I's *Statuta Armorum* see (for the provision on which the statute is based) A. Luders, *The Statutes of the Realm* (11 vols, London, 1810-1828), vol. 1 pp. 230-1; also BL MS Harleian 69, f.17r; (for the statute itself) *Rotuli Parliamentorum; ut et petitiones, et placita in parliament...*, ed. J. Strachey (6 vols, London, 1767-77), vol. 1 p. 85. For commentary on these regulations see Barker, *The Tournament in England*, pp. 45, 53-59, 191-2; N. Denholm-Young, 'The Tournament in the Thirteenth Century', in R.W. Hunt, W.A. Pantin & R.W. Southern (eds.), *Studies in Medieval History Presented to Frederick Maurice Powicke* (Oxford, 1948), pp. 243-4, 260-1, 264; Keen, *Nobles, Knights and Men-at-Arms*, pp. 84-88; Helmut Nickel, 'The Tournament: an historical sketch', in H. Chickering & T.H. Seiler (eds.), *The Study of Chivalry: resources and approaches* (Kalamazoo, 1988), p. 214; Juliet Vale, 'Violence and the Tournament', in Richard W. Kaeuper (ed.), *Violence in Medieval Society* (Woodbridge, 2000), p. 154; Thomas Zotz, 'Jousts in the Middle Ages', in T.J. Cornell & T.B. Allen (ed.), *War and Games* (Woodbridge, 2003), pp. 96-7.

⁴⁷ For one of many such examples see the prohibition on a tournament at Northampton issued on 4 August 1218 by Henry III. This document was addressed to the participants of the tournament themselves, and was sent to Northampton to be proclaimed once the participants had gathered for the tournament: *CPR, Henry III (1216-1225)*, 'http://sdrclib.uiowa.edu/patentrolls/h3v1/body/Henry3voll1page0174.pdf' (10 March 2013). Many of these prohibitions are found in the *Calendar of Close Rolls*, and the *Calendar of Patent Rolls*. As yet, no comprehensive study of all such prohibitions, and licences to combat, has been completed. For studies of a more limited focus that have been completed around this issue, see Barber & Barker, *Tournaments*, pp. 29-31; Barker, *The Tournament in England*, pp. 62-64; Denholm-Young, 'The Tournament in the Thirteenth Century', 240-268, esp. pp. 245-6.

⁴⁸ Denholm-Young, 'The Tournament in the Thirteenth Century', pp. 245-6; for further discussion of why this was not necessarily the case see Barker, *The Tournament in England*, pp. 62-3.

could be sure that anyone who subsequently fought in that combat had heard the royal prohibition, and chose to ignore it; there was no opportunity for any tourneyer to even attempt to plead ignorance under such a system. Although pleading ignorance was not a defence, it was used in attempts to mitigate some punishment. A legal case from 1290 highlights this, when Bogo de Clare pleaded ignorance of laws regarding breach of the peace during the Hilary parliament that year. Clare defending himself by claiming ‘quod ipse omnino ignoravit quod predictus locus fuit exemptus, et quod non intellexit aliquem contemptum domino regi, seu aliquod prejudicium ejus ministris, per citacioriem illam fecisse’.⁴⁹

After the political turmoil of the reign of Edward II, during which time (as explored earlier in this chapter) formal combats formed an important element in political dissent and factionalism, the reign of Edward III (r.1327-1377) perhaps saw the greatest use of formal combats by an English prince within his own political policy. Edward not only brought formal combats under rigid royal control, he also used these events for his own political ends.⁵⁰ Edward III’s manipulation of formal combats in this manner was not novel; it reflected many of the elements of his grandfather Edward I, who provided a personal example of how formal combats could be politically employed.⁵¹ Edward III organised formal combats to mark important martial victories, and to reward those knights who had served in these campaigns.⁵² His presence at, and participation in formal combats also made it difficult for political opponents to gather there.⁵³

⁴⁹ ‘he was completely unaware that the aforesaid place was exempt, and that he did not mean any contempt to the lord king, or any prejudice to his officials, through having that citation made.’, H.G. Richardson & G.O. Sayles, *The English Parliament in the Middle Ages* (London, 1981), p. 132.

⁵⁰ On Edward III’s formal combat policy see Juliet Vale, *Edward III and Chivalry. Chivalric Society and its Context 1270-1350* (Woodbridge, 1982), pp. 57-75.

⁵¹ On Edward I’s formal combat policy see Denholm-Young, ‘The Tournament in the Thirteenth Century’, pp. 255, 264; F.M. Powicke, *The Thirteenth Century, 1216-1307* (Oxford, 1962), p. 159; Vale, *Edward III and Chivalry*, pp. 15, 17, 60. On the similarities between the policies of Edward I and Edward III see Keen & Barker, ‘The Medieval English Kings and the Tournament’, pp. 95-6.

⁵² On the participants of Edward III’s formal combats as his military captains see Vale, *Edward III and Chivalry*, pp. 76-91.

⁵³ On Edward III’s role in organizing and participating in formal combats throughout the first half of his reign see Vale, *Edward III and Chivalry*, 57-75. See also Barker, *The Tournament in England*, pp. 65-66.

The Scottish campaign of the winter of 1341-1342 for example, which in fact saw little in the way of open conflict, was concluded by a fifteen-day jousting festival in London hosted by Edward III in which many of the knights from the expedition participated, including some of those from Hainault who had fought on this campaign.⁵⁴ The lavish spectacle that Edward III provided at formal combats can be glimpsed by examining one such event, the jousts held at Windsor in January 1344 and the subsequent foundation of a chivalric order by Edward.⁵⁵ Large numbers of the English nobility attended the event, when for three days Edward III and nineteen of his knights jousted against all comers. This was followed by a lavish feast, at which Edward announced his intention to found an Order of the Round Table for three hundred of Edward's knights. By both participating in formal combats himself, and by organising grand events for his court, Edward III established a virtual court monopoly over formal combats in England.

In France, a consistent policy of long-term princely control and prohibition appeared only with Philip the Fair (1268-1314). Previous to this, prohibitions on formal combats tended to be short-term in outlook, attempting to prevent the organisation of these events for a specified period of time only. Louis IX (1214-1270) for example, prohibited *mêlée* tournaments for two years in 1260 after hearing of Christian reverses in the Holy Land.⁵⁶

During the reign of Philip the Fair, a number of specific and general prohibitions on formal combats were issued in an attempt to establish firmer royal control. The

⁵⁴ Jean le Bel, *Chronique*, eds. J. Viard & E. Deprez (2 vols, Paris, 1904-1905), vol. 2 pp. 2-4; see Barker & Barker, *Tournaments*, p. 34 for this and other formal combats held by Edward III at the culmination of a military campaign. For the Scottish campaign of 1341-1342 specifically see W. Mark Ormrod, *Edward III* (New Haven & London, 2011), pp. 247-248.

⁵⁵ Adam Murimuth, *Continuatio Chronicarum*, ed. E.M. Thompson (London, 1889), pp. 155-156; *The Brut, or The Chronicles of England*, ed. F.W.D. Brie (2 vols, EETS, London, 1906-1908), vol. 2 p. 296. For the political and literary background of the Round Table jousts in 1344 see in Barber & Barker, *Tournaments*, p. 35; Barker, *The Tournament in England*, pp. 92-95; Julian Munby, Richard Barber & Richard Brown, *Edward III's Round Table at Windsor. The House of the Round Table and the Windsor Festival of 1344* (Woodbridge, 2007), *passim*. Richard Barber, 'The Round Table feat of 1344', in Munby, Barber & Brown, *Edward III's Round Table at Windsor*, 38-43 provides narratives of the jousting and subsequent feast.

⁵⁶ *Ordonnances*, ed. Laurière, vol. 1 pp. 86-93. Some general background to the prohibition is provided in W.C. Jordan, *Louis IX and the Challenge of the Crusade: A Study in Rulership* (Princeton, 1979), pp. 203-4; Kaeuper, *War, Justice, and Public Order*, p. 208.

concerns of Philip seem to have been two-fold: firstly, that formal combats were being held that risked public peace and good order; and secondly that formal combats distracted his nobility from actually fighting for their king. During his reign, French *ordonnances* prohibited jousts and tournaments alongside private war and the rights to bear arms, such as the *ordonnance* that he issued on 3 December 1311.⁵⁷ Some of these prohibitions targeted tournaments and jousting specifically however, and there is the sense that they were seen as potentially dangerous in their own right, as isolated incidents, not solely as components of wider private violence. This is the case for example with the *ordonnance* issued on 5 October 1314.⁵⁸ Occasionally, as with this prohibition in 1314, these *ordonnances* were sent to several or all *baillis*.⁵⁹ Alongside these however, prohibitions were sent to specific *baillis* to prohibit tournaments, indicating a planned and targeted royal policy.⁶⁰

In addition to this concern that formal combats led to wider unrest, Philip also seemed to have been worried that his nobles were far too preoccupied with holding jousts and other formal combats, rather than in preparing for and fighting in Philip's wars. Several *ordonnances* of Philip's reign, including that sent to the *bailli* of Auvergne in 1296, the order of 5 October 1304 to all *baillis*, that of 13 April 1304 sent to the *bailli* of Sens, and that sent to the *bailli* of Vermandois in 1305, stated that the king's wars took precedence over formal combats.⁶¹ At other times,

⁵⁷ *Ordonnances*, ed. Laurière, vol. 1 p. 493. For an overview of Philip IV's prohibitions on private war alongside those on formal combats, see Contamine, *War In the Middle Ages*, p. 216; Firnhaber-Baker, 'From God's Peace to the King's Order', pp. 21-4; Firnhaber-Baker, 'Seigneurial War and Royal Power', pp. 52-3.

⁵⁸ *Ordonnances*, ed. Laurière, vol. 1 pp. 539-40; for commentary on this *ordonnance* see Barber & Barker, *Tournaments*, p. 40; Barker, *The Tournament in England*, p. 78; Richard W. Kaeuper, *War, Justice, and Public Order*, p. 209.

⁵⁹ Also see for example the *ordonnance* under the title 'Mandement adressé à tous les Baillis, de faire arrester ceux qui iroient aux tournois', 5 October 1304, *Ordonnances*, ed. Laurière, vol. 1 p. 420. Although the titles for these *ordonnances* may not be contemporary, I have referred to *ordonnances* by these titles where necessary for identification purposes.

⁶⁰ See for example 'Mandement adressé au Bailly d'Auvergne, pour empescher les Tournois', 1304, *Ordonnances*, ed. Laurière, vol. 1 pp. 421-2; 'Mandement adressé au Bailly de Vermandois, touchant les Tournois', 1 September 1305, *Ordonnances*, ed. Laurière, vol. 1 pp. 434-5; 'Mandement adressé au Gardien de Lyons, par lequel le Roy deffend les joutes et tournois, conformément à son Ordonance precedente', 28 December 1312, *Ordonnances*, ed. Laurière, vol. 1 pp. 509-10.

⁶¹ *Ordonnances*, ed. Laurière, vol. 1 p. 329 (1296); p. 420 (general prohibition, 1304); p. 426 (Auvergne, 1304); pp. 434-5 (Vermandois, 1305). For historiographical overviews of the early

Philip seemed concerned that formal combats would not eclipse his martial requirements, but would distract from other social and political events that he viewed as more important. An *ordonnance* on 12 December 1312 for example was concerned that the knightings of his sons would be overshadowed by other formal combats held around the same period, so he banned these other events from taking place.⁶² Philip's son, Philip V (1292-1322), continued his father's policy towards formal combats. In an order sent to twelve *baillis* near the start of his reign, on 1 April 1316, he prohibited tournaments throughout the realm during his pleasure; he legitimised this order by citing both the need to guard the peace and security of the realm, and the need of the nobility to concentrate on crusading aims.⁶³

Not all prohibitions were successful however, and simply because a prince took away the right of the nobility to wage trial by battle and other formal combats did not mean that his nobility would accept this. Following the prohibitions of Philip the Fair for example, prohibiting all judicial combat alongside other formal combats, Louis X (1289-1316) had to concede the right to employ trial by battle to the nobles of Burgundy, Amiens and Vermandois, after they had complained about the erosion of their liberties.⁶⁴

Thus by the end of the fourteenth century, both France and England had a substantial history of prohibiting formal combats from taking place. Historians who have studied the ways in which princes controlled formal combats in the later medieval period have tended to interpret their attempts along two themes: the prohibition of private events, and the publicising and sanctioning of their own,

fourteenth century *ordonnances*, see Barber & Barker, *Tournaments*, pp. 40-1; Barker, *The Tournament in England*, p. 78.

⁶² *Ordonnances*, ed. Laurière, vol. 1 pp. 509-10.

⁶³ *Ordonnances*, ed. Laurière, vol. 1 pp. 643-44.

⁶⁴ *Ordonnances*, ed. Laurière, vol. 1 pp. 557-60, 561-7; for commentary on these *ordonnances* see Bartlett, *Trial by Fire and Water*, p. 125.

royal events.⁶⁵ Whilst this approach certainly provides a broad, encompassing theory regarding royal control of formal combats, there is evidence that in both England and France, princes took a more nuanced approach.

This enabled three distinct means of royal control over formal combats, each of which will be discussed in this section. None of these approaches was mutually exclusive, and indeed later medieval monarchs on both sides of the Channel employed these means of royal control throughout the later medieval period. The first means of control was to prohibit all events that were not under the direct authority of the monarch. The second approach was to allow some private events to take place, but only with special royal permissions, licences and supporting documentation that ensured a high level of royal oversight whilst still allowing the combat to be organised and overseen by private individuals. This also included the sponsorship and various royal sanctioning of 'rules' for combat that emerged throughout the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, to a varying degree under royal oversight. The final and perhaps most direct means of controlling formal combats, was for royal princes to organise their own events under their direct auspices.

Perhaps the means of controlling private formal combats employed by princes that was the most difficult to enforce, was the blanket prohibition of all combats not directly organised and held under the auspices of the monarch. The background to royal prohibitions of formal combats in England and France was broadly similar, as outlined previously in this chapter, although individual prohibitions for specific, targeted events do seem to have been more popular in England than in France throughout much of the central medieval period. The kings of both countries in the later fourteenth and fifteenth centuries continued to issue broad legislative rulings in order to limit the number of formal combats being fought. Richard II for example explicitly prohibited formal combats between the English and the French.⁶⁶ Perhaps he feared an escalation of violence

⁶⁵ See for example Barber & Barker, *Tournaments*, pp. 29-44, 146; Barker, *The Tournament in England*, pp. 53-69; Keen, *Nobles, Knights and Men-at-Arms*, pp. 84-8, 90, 94-5, 99; for the earlier period of the *mêlée* tournament see David Crouch, *Tournament* (London, 2005), p. 9.

⁶⁶ 16 May 1396, prohibition of deeds of arms against subjects of France, potentially motivated by his marriage to Isabella of France, *Foedera, conventiones, literae, et cujuscunque generis acta publica*, ed. Rymer (20 vols, London, 1704-1735), vol. 7 p. 832; see Barker, *The Tournament in England*, p. 38.

at such encounters that could have destabilised the peace between the two countries at this time. Both monarchies also issued more general, wide prohibitions against all formal combats. The *Westminster Chronicle* for example reports that Richard II issued a ban on all combats fought *à outrance* in 1390.⁶⁷

The approach of the French princes was slightly different. At first, they seemed to acknowledge the right of private individuals to engage in violence outside the authority of the monarch; in 1378 Charles V recognised private warfare when the adversaries agreed and followed proper form.⁶⁸ Although it is not clear if this *ordonnance* permitted private formal combats, it seems likely that it could have been interpreted along those lines. Such a boon to those wishing to engage in private combats was short-lived however. Charles VI took a slightly more hard-line approach and in 1404 prohibited all duels and armed contests in France.⁶⁹ Thus a consistent policy of royal prohibitions against private formal combats was in place in both England and France by the early fifteenth century.

In addition to these blanket prohibitions, English and French princes allowed a certain number of formal combats to take place under rigid royal control, both through the composition of royally-sanctioned rules, and through other ‘secondary’ means of royal control such as licences and safe conducts to attend specified events.

Princes in England and France encouraged the composition of ‘rules’ and guidelines for the organisation of formal combats. The composition of such treatises was not a new concept at the end of the fourteenth century. Philip IV’s guidelines for judicial combats were composed in 1306 and prescribed the correct way of holding judicial duels, including the acceptable motivations for combat and

⁶⁷ *The Westminster Chronicle*, eds. Hector & Harvey, pp. 436-7.

⁶⁸ *Ordonnances*, ed. Laurière, vol. 3 pp. 646-9; Kaeuper, *War, Justice and Public Order*, p. 235; Cazelles, ‘La réglementation royale de la guerre privée de St Louis à Charles V’, p. 544.

⁶⁹ *Ordonnances*, ed. Laurière, vol. 9 pp. 105-6.

the form and organisation of the combat itself.⁷⁰ In England, the legislation introduced by Richard I in 1194, and the *Statuta Armorum* issued by Edward I in 1292, not only prohibited those events that did not conform to the crown's regulations for formal combats, but also specified a series of rules for combats that were permitted to take place, specifying elements such as the location, time and participants that formal combats should involve.⁷¹ This royal oversight continued to increase and expand throughout the fourteenth century, especially as regards judicial combats and duels. In England, Edward III's policy of strong royal patronage of formal combats expanded until he enjoyed a near-monopoly on these events.⁷² The emergence of the Court of the Constable and the Marshal, or the Court of Chivalry, complimented Edward's assertive efforts to bring other formal combats under his control, and meant that the crown still kept an eye on judicial duels.⁷³ The Court was overseen by the constable and the marshal of England. During this period, the office of the constable shifted from being passed down through families, to being open to royal appointment.⁷⁴ The office of the

⁷⁰ 1 June 1306, issued by Philip IV, printed in *Ordonnances*, ed. Laurière, vol. 1 pp. 435-441; TRA MS I-32; Ashmolean MS 764, ff. 44r-54v, 'De la droite ordonnance du Gage de Bataille par tout le royaume de France'; also see BL Cotton Vespasian 236, f.570r, 'The Ordinances that belong in gayging of battayle, made by quarrell, after the constitutions made by King Philip of France'; BL Cotton Titus, f.434r, 'De la droit ordonnance du gage de bataille, partout le Royaume de France'.

⁷¹ BL Cotton MS Claudius C iv, f.233 [1194]; Luders, *The Statutes of the Realm*, vol. 1 pp. 230-1 [1292].

⁷² For Edward's near-monopoly on formal combats, see Barber & Barker, *Tournaments*, p. 36. For the re-introduction and use of formal combats at court by Edward III see Richard Barber, 'Why did Edward III hold the Round Table? The political background', in Julian Munby, Richard Barber & Richard Brown (eds.), *Edward III's Round Table at Windsor* (Woodbridge, 2007), p. 78. For Edward III's wider policy regarding the promotion of formal combats see Barker, *The Tournament in England*, pp. 65-9.

⁷³ For the medieval development and roll of the court of the constable and the marshal (also known as the 'Court of Chivalry') see Keen, *The Laws of War*, pp. 26-8; G.D. Squibb, *The High Court of Chivalry. A study of the civil law in England* (Oxford, 1959), pp. 1-28, especially pp. 15-16. For broader studies on the court of the constable and the marshal see *Cases in the High Court of Chivalry*, eds. Richard Cust & Andrew James Hopper (London, 2006), *passim*; Maurice Keen, *Nobles, Knights and Men-at-Arms in the Middle Ages* (London, 1996), pp. 135-148, 167-185.

⁷⁴ Squibb, *The High Court of Chivalry*, pp. 228-230 contains a list of the constables of England between Humphrey de Bohun Earl of Hereford and Essex (constable from 1335/6) until Robert Earl of Lindsay (created constable in 1634). It indicates that the period at the end of the fourteenth century and the beginning of the fifteenth saw the increased use of royal appointments to the office of the constable, including a shift on the accession of Henry IV from Edward Earl of Rutland (1373-1415) - son of Edmund of Langley Duke of York, and grandson of King Edward III - to Henry IV's own son John Duke of Bedford (1389-1435). For further details on this shift, see *The Black Book of the Admiralty*, ed. T. Twiss (4 vols, London, 1871-7), vol. 1 p. 300 n.1.

marshal was a royal appointment under the direct auspices of the crown.⁷⁵ As such, the monarch could maintain some influence in the judicial process of duels and combats, or at least could ensure that he was kept fully aware of any such legal combats that took place. Such combats were held in the presence of the constable and the marshal as arbiters of the court and representatives of the crown. In addition to this, the king himself was usually present at judicial combats, and his authority in the proceedings was crucial: he could intervene at any point before or during the combat itself, and apply his own judgement to the case.⁷⁶ Several judicial combats were held at parliaments, in the presence of the monarch and under his oversight and control. Such was the case on 30 November 1384, when a judicial duel between John Walsh of Grimsby and Martlet de Villeneuve, an esquire from Navarre, was held because the latter had accused Walsh of treason.⁷⁷ Martlet de Villeneuve lost the combat, and was drawn, hung and beheaded as a consequence of his accusation of treason, which was deemed to have been proved false by his defeat in the combat. Thus the king ensured tight control over the events that occurred at such encounters.

The situation in France was very similar. As in England, the constable and marshals were appointed by the king, and the constable, as the king's lieutenant,

⁷⁵ As with the office of the constable, the office of the marshal was affected by the turbulent politics towards the end of the Richard II's reign and upon ascension of Henry IV to the throne in 1399. Thomas Mowbray, granted the office of the marshal for life in 1385, was removed from the office upon his trial for treason in 1397/8 and replaced briefly by Thomas Holland, who was then himself replaced as marshal in 1399 by Ralph Neville Earl of Westmorland. For a list of the marshals of England between Thomas Beauchamp Earl of Warwick (marshal from 1369) until Henry Howard Earl of Norwich (appointed marshal in 1672) see Squibb, *The High Court of Chivalry*, pp. 230-233.

⁷⁶ This interventionist role for the king in judicial combats is outlined in Thomas of Woodstock's treatise on duels presented to Richard II, composed circa 1386-88, 'De ce temps en avant, est a considerer diligemment au conestable, que se le roy veult faire les parties combatans reposer, ou attendre, pour quelconque cause que ce soit, quil preigne bonne garde, coment ilz sont departiz, ainsi quilz soient en mesme estat et degre en toutes choses, se le roy les veult souffrir ou faire aller ensemble arriere...', 'From this tyme forth it is to be considered diligently by the conestable, that yif the kyng will make the partie fightyng departe, reste, or abide, for whom so evir cause it be, that he take gode kepe, hou they ar departid, so that they be in the same estate and degree in all thynges, yif the kyng will sure or make them goo to gidre ageyne...', *The Black Book of the Admiralty*, ed. Twiss, vol. 1 pp. 322-323.

⁷⁷ The combat is described in Knighton, *Knighton's Chronicle*, p. 334; *Historia Vitae et Regni Ricardi Secundi*, ed. Stow, pp. 84-5; Walsingham, *The St Albans Chronicle*, vol. 1 pp. 732-4; *The Westminster Chronicle*, eds. Hector & Harvey, pp. 104-7. The parliament was held 12 November - 14 December: see Nigel Saul, *Richard II* (New Haven & London, 1997), pp. 137-8. For a narrative of this combat see Chapter 2, 'Formal Combats: Case Studies' above.

acted on behalf of the crown. The constable and marshals of France also had very similar roles to oversee martial justice to their English counterparts.⁷⁸ This judicial role was recognised in the chronicle accounts of formal combats. The French lord of Clary fought a formal combat against the English Sir Peter Courtenay near Calais in 1383 without royal consent. When Clary learned of the king's anger at his actions, he openly submitted himself to the judgement of the constable and marshals of France.⁷⁹

In the later medieval period, there was also some acceptance that formal combats would take place. After all, neither of the regulation texts produced earlier in the medieval period in England - that of Richard I in 1194 and of Edward I in 1292 - prohibited all combats from taking place, but rather put specific, binding regulations on those that could be permitted. Similarly, the prohibition of various tournaments and formal combats throughout the earlier fourteenth century by the crowns of both England and France did not stop such formal combats from taking place, but instead attempted to limit those that did occur. The crown recognised that the nobility enjoyed participating in - and observing - formal combats, and that such encounters served valuable political, martial and social roles. Thus in a more pragmatic attempt to limit formal combats, the crown issued a system of safe conducts, licences and grants to those wishing to participate in such activities.⁸⁰ This series of documentation, necessary to obtain if an individual wished to hold or attend a formal combat, ensured that princes were both kept aware of any combats that were taking place, and were given the ability to prohibit events, or to prevent individuals from attending events, that were viewed as particularly damaging or dangerous.

⁷⁸ Philippe Contamine, *Guerre, état et société à la fin du Moyen Âge: études sur les armées des rois de France 1337-1494* (Paris, 1972), pp. 519-20; Benoît Garnot & Rosine Fry, *L'infrajudiciaire du Moyen Âge à l'époque contemporaine: actes du colloque de Dijon, 5-6 octobre 1995* (Dijon, 1996), p. 255; Keen, *Nobles, Knights and Men-at-Arms*, p. 147; Gabriel le Barrois d'Orgeval, *Le tribunal de la connétablie de France du XIV^e siècle à 1790: la justice militaire sous l'ancien régime* (Paris, 1918), pp. 19, 21-3.

⁷⁹ Froissart, *Oeuvres*, vol. 14 pp. 53-4. On the identity of lord Clary and Peter Courtenay, alongside a full narrative of this combat and its consequences for Clary, see Chapter 2, 'Formal Combats: Case Studies' above.

⁸⁰ The vast majority of these licences, safe conducts and grants to participate in formal combats are to be found in the various rolls series at the National Archives in Kew, England and at the Archives Nationale in Paris, France. Much of this administrative material has not been examined at all, and extensive work is needed to both identify and contextualise this mass of documentation.

Safe conducts were necessary to attend events that were held outside the political and martial control of the kingdom from which the individuals came.⁸¹ They granted the individual bearer a variety of sureties during their journey, depending on the nature of the safe conduct in question. They could offer a guarantee from physical harm, from prosecution for crimes, or from imprisonment. The legality and ability to respect safe conducts was a concern for legal commentators during the later medieval period. Honorat Bovet, in his *Arbe des Batailles* composed in 1387 and dedicated to Charles VI of France, centred several sections of his text on safe conducts.⁸² Honorat Bovet came from a legal background; he trained as a lawyer and may have brought this training to bear on his work for Charles VI.⁸³ His debate regarding whether a man travelling under safe conduct may be made a prisoner illustrated the confusion that safe conducts carried during this period. Bovet wrote that a knight, having gained safe conduct to speak to a baron with whom the knight is at war, may travel to him to speak with him under that safe conduct; but according to what Bovet referred to as 'written law', once he has spoken to him, he is technically on his 'return journey', and thus is no longer covered by the terms of his safe conduct. The knight is thus open to arrest by the baron.⁸⁴ Bovet however then reversed this statement. He stated that although this

⁸¹ For a general overview of safe conducts see Keen, *The Laws of War*, pp. 197-206. Pierre Chaplais prints various safe conducts that typify such documents in the fourteenth century in Pierre Chaplais, *English medieval diplomatic practice, part 1: documents and interpretation* (2 vols, London, 1982), vol. 1 pp. 311-326. A typical royal safe-conduct to a foreign knight from 1350 is on p. 316 item 170, for a safe-conduct issued by an English noble rather than a king see pp. 319-20 item 174, issued by Peter Courtenay in his position as lieutenant of Henry IV in Picardy, Artois and Flanders and captain of Calais, granted to French ambassadors coming to Leulinghen with a retinue of 100 people for peace talks in 1400. Also see Karsten Plöger, *England and the Avignon Popes. The practice of diplomacy in late medieval Europe* (London, 2005), pp. 126-136; Emily Steiner, *Documentary Culture and the making of Medieval English Literature* (Cambridge, 2003), pp. 179-80.

⁸² The sections of Honorat Bovet's work that focus on safe conducts are Honorat Bovet, 'L'Arbre des Batailles d'Honorat Bovet. Etude de l'oeuvre edition critique des textes français et occitan', ed. Hélène Biu (3 vols, unpublished PhD thesis, University of Paris IV-Sorbonne, 2004), vol. 2 pp. 795-796, 796-797, 797-798, 833.

⁸³ For Honorat Bovet's legal training and background, see *The Tree of Battles of Honoré Bonet*, ed. G.W. Coopland (Liverpool, 1949), pp. 15-20. Although Coopland named the author 'Bonet', Michael Hanley has shown that this was in fact 'Bovet': for a brief biography of Honorat Bovet see Michael Hanley, *Medieval Muslims, Christians, and Jews in Dialogue: The Apparicion maistre Jehan de Meun of Honorat Bovet* (Tempe, 2005), pp. 4-9; for a more detailed biography of Bovet see Michael Hanley & Hélène Millet, 'Les Batailles d'Honorat Bovet: Essai de biographie', *Romania*, 114 (1996), 135-81. For further details on Bovet's name see Gilbert Ouy, 'Honoré Bouvet (appelé à tort Bonet), prieur de Selonnet', *Romania*, 85 (1959), 255-259.

⁸⁴ This side of the debate is found in Bovet, 'L'Arbre des Batailles d'Honorat Bovet', ed. Biu, vol. 2 pp. 795-796.

was how many would interpret this situation, in actual fact written law may also defend the rights of the knight, and in this situation it was Bovet's opinion that the knight should not be arrested, as the law should be interpreted according to the intention of the individual to whom it is made, in this case the knight.⁸⁵ Before participating in a formal combat therefore, it was necessary to acquire a safe conduct from the host of the combat. As such, when Richard Tempest asked Richard II for permission to engage in a formal combat against a Scottish knight, Richard II not only provided a licence for the combat, but he also ordered John Neville of Raby to issue a safe conduct for the Scottish knights and squires involved, so that they could travel into England safely in order to participate in the combat.⁸⁶

Safe conducts were a way for the crown to control formal combats that took place within their own territory, by granting them only to those whom they wished to allow to enter the realm. The crown also developed a system of licences alongside this, to regulate those individuals who wished to fight a formal combat in England, and also crucially those who wished to travel abroad to engage in formal combats in other countries. As such, we find that John Beaumont, Peter Courtenay and their esquire John Hobeldod were granted licences to perform deeds of arms in the marches of Calais, on 24 April 1388.⁸⁷ Such licences also occasionally contained additional clauses prohibiting any other combat, formal or otherwise, in addition to the one explicitly stated; thus on 13 March 1390 letters were sent to Thomas Mowbray, John Holland, Thomas Clifford, John Beaumont, Peter Courtenay and other unnamed individuals, licensing them to attend the jousts at

⁸⁵ Bovet, 'L'Arbre des Batailles d'Honorat Bovet', ed. Biu, vol. 2 pp. 795-796. For discussion of this point see Keen, *The Laws of War*, pp. 200-1.

⁸⁶ Both of these documents are printed in *Foedera*, ed. Rymer, vol. 7 p. 555.

⁸⁷ *Foedera*, ed. Rymer, vol. 7 p. 580. Hobeldod's licence was granted on 3 May 1388. Beltz attributes this licence to the jousts at St Inglevert in 1390 in George Frederick Beltz, *Memorials of the most noble Order of the Garter, from its foundation to the present time* (London, 1841), p. 329. However it would seem that this licence was related to a different combat; the St Inglevert jousts were not held for a further two years, and separate licences were granted to Peter Courtenay, John Beaumont and various other knights to travel to participate in these later jousts, see *Foedera*, ed. Rymer, vol. 7 pp. 665-666.

Saint Inglevert that year but explicitly prohibiting them from engaging in any other form of formal combat except those at Saint Inglevert.⁸⁸

Such licences, prohibitions and grants were all very well, but they would have been almost useless in actively preventing formal combats from taking place unless the crown was able to enforce them in some way. In the administrative material from the period appear some glimpses at the ways in which such licences and prohibitions were enforced, and the punishments inflicted upon those who acted against the royal will. In several cases, the individual who had participated in an illegal event - one without explicit royal sanction - received a royal pardon.⁸⁹ Such was the case for John Bernard of Offeley, who received a pardon from Henry IV on 2 June 1402 having defeated William Balshalf in a judicial combat that had presumably not had full royal consent.⁹⁰ A similar pardon was granted to William de Carnaby, an esquire, on 5 November 1382 for having prosecuted a judicial duel against another of the king's subjects without a licence, before an alien judge and outwith the realm, and thereafter having detained his opponent in prison.⁹¹ It is unclear in this pardon which of the above crimes Richard II was predominantly concerned with. Certainly the prosecution of a judicial duel without the consent and oversight of the king, and the court of the constable and the marshal, would be perceived as a serious felony, as was the previous case involving John Bernard of Offeley. In this instance however, William de Carnaby chose to prosecute his duel in Scotland, under an alien (probably Scottish) judge. This would have been perceived as a particularly great offence then, since by doing so Carnaby had recognised the authority of another monarch to arbitrate the case. Despite this, and despite John Bernard's similarly unsanctioned judicial duel, both of these men

⁸⁸ *Foedera*, ed. Rymer, vol. 7 pp. 665-6.

⁸⁹ On the nature of royal pardons in England in the later medieval period, see Helen Lacey, *The Royal Pardon: access to mercy in fourteenth-century England* (Woodbridge, 2009), *passim*. On pardons for military offenses see Anthony Musson & W.M. Ormrod, *The Evolution of English Justice. Law, politics and society in the fourteenth century* (Basingstoke & London, 1999), pp. 79-80.

⁹⁰ *Foedera*, ed. Rymer, vol. 8 p. 262.

⁹¹ *CPR Richard II (1381-1385)*, 'http://sdr.lib.uiowa.edu/patentrolls/r2v2/body/Richard2vol2page0185.pdf' (10 March 2013). Sir William de Carnaby (?-1407) was constable of Dunstanburgh and Newham castles, and a chief steward and bailiff of the archbishop of York. The combat cited here was held in Scotland against Robert Lowther over inheritance of certain lands from William's mother Margaret.

were pardoned and escaped prosecution. Does this indicate that the king's authority in this area was weak, that he issued pardons simply because he was unable to pursue the perpetrators effectively? In these cases it may, although in other cases it seems that the crown pursued those culpable and only capitulated once they had received specific pleas for pardon from friends or relatives of the accused. This was the case with John St John, who was pardoned for a slightly different crime, that of killing another man, in this case John Hastings Earl of Pembroke, at a joust in December 1389.⁹² The joust had not been illegal; the death of one of the participants however meant that the man who had accidentally killed him, John St John, had to pursue legal channels in order to escape justice. The pardon eventually granted to St John explicitly stated that it was granted at the supplication of Thomas Percy; presumably John St John was concerned about showing himself to the king, thus requiring Thomas Percy to speak on his behalf.⁹³

A further example from France indicates that there too, although the regulations for the organisation and holding of formal combats were sometimes broken, princes attempted to assert themselves sufficiently to act as deterrent to further uncontrolled combats. It has been noted above that the nature of safe conducts meant that they were often difficult to interpret legally. Maurice Keen has established that very often such safe conducts were not guarantees of safety; this vagueness and lack of clarity led to various creative interpretations by one or more of the parties involved in such a document.⁹⁴ The difficulty in enforcing safe conducts, and the attempts by the French crown to assert itself over such documents, can be recognised in this case study from the 1380s. In 1383 Peter Courtenay (1349-1409), an Englishman knighted by the Black Prince before the Battle of Najera in 1367, travelled to Paris and challenged the Frenchman Guy de la Trémoille (1346-1397), a chamberlain of Philip the Bold Duke of Burgundy, to

⁹² *CPR*, *Richard II* (1389-1392), <http://sdrc.lib.uiowa.edu/patentrolls/r2v4/body/Richard2vol4page0469.pdf> (10 March 2013). The pardon was issued on 20 July 1391. The most detailed narrative account of this combat is found in Walsingham, *The St Albans Chronicle*, vol. 1 p. 896.

⁹³ A.L. Brown, 'Percy, Thomas, earl of Wercester (c.1343-1403)', *ODNB*, January 2008, <http://www.oxforddnb.com.ezproxy.york.ac.uk/view/article/21955?docPos=2> (9 March 2013).

⁹⁴ Keen, *The Laws of War in the Middle Ages*, pp. 202-4.

a joust.⁹⁵ Courtenay asked permission from the king's council, and was refused. Ignoring this, Guy de la Trémoille answered that he would fight, and the two combatants prepared to fight in the field of St Martin in Paris. When they were ready to fight, King Charles VI stepped in and forbade the contest to go any further. A French knight, the lord of Clary, was instructed to escort Courtenay between Paris and the English lands near Calais, presumably to ensure that Courtenay got to Calais safely.⁹⁶ The safe conduct under which Peter travelled apparently prevented any harm from coming to him while in French territory. It was only when the two knights arrived in English territory, narrated Jean Froissart, that they decided to engage in a combat *à outrance* with swords and lances. This was not enough to pacify Charles VI and the duke of Burgundy however; as far as they were concerned, this combat had been fought during the king's conduct and thus was strictly prohibited.⁹⁷ Clary submitted himself to the judgement of the constable of France, Olivier de Clisson, and was forced to hide for an unspecified amount of time in the marches of northern France.⁹⁸ It is perhaps unsurprising that Clary was so worried. The punishments for the breaking of safe conducts were often severe. According to the ordinances issued by Henry V for his French host at Mantes for example, those who broke the king's safe conduct were to be hanged and drawn, the punishment for traitors.⁹⁹ This example demonstrates the dual level of prohibitions against formal combats. Firstly, the king or his council could prohibit a combat from taking place, and

⁹⁵ See *Foedera*, ed. Rymer, vol. 7 p. 580; Froissart, *Oeuvres*, vol. 14 pp. 43-55; Jean Juvénal des Ursins, 'Histoire de Charles VI, Roy de France', *Novelle Collection des Mémoires pour servir à l'Histoire de France depuis le XIII^e siècle jusqu'à la fin du XVIII^e siècle*, eds. J.F. Michaud & J.J.F. Poujoulat (32 vols, Paris, 1836-39), vol. 2 p. 368; Knighton, *Knighton's Chronicle*, vol. 2 p. 260. On the identities of Peter Courtenay and Guy de la Trémoille see the longer narrative of this encounter provided in Chapter 2, 'Formal Combats: Case Studies' above.

⁹⁶ Froissart, *Oeuvres*, vol. 14 pp. 46-7. On the identity of the lord of Clary see the narrative of this encounter in Chapter 2, 'Formal Combats: Case Studies' above.

⁹⁷ For the response of the French see Froissart, *Oeuvres*, vol. 14 pp. 50-1.

⁹⁸ Froissart, *Oeuvres*, vol. 14 pp. 53-4. On Olivier de Clisson as constable of France see John Bell Henneman, *Olivier de Clisson and Political Society in France Under Charles V and Charles VI* (Philadelphia, 1996), pp. 103-105.

⁹⁹ *The Black Book of the Admiralty*, ed. Twiss, vol. 1 p. 466; see Keen, *The Laws of War*, p. 206. For more details on Henry V's military ordinances in France see Anne Curry, 'The Military Ordinances of Henry V: Texts and Contexts', in Chris Given-Wilson, Ann J. Kettle & Len Scales (eds.), *War, Government and Aristocracy in the British Isles, c.1150-1500: essays in honour of Michael Prestwich* (Woodbridge, 2008), pp. 214-49.

even if the combatants were eager to participate, the king could step in during the combat itself to stop the violence. Secondly, if a combat took place without royal authority, the perpetrators could be publicly condemned and pursued.

Notably however, the reactions of the writers of the contemporary narratives to this episode did not imply accusation or derision of Clary for breaking the king's laws, but instead suggested an implicit praising of the French knight for fighting the Englishman. Certainly this was the impression given in the account attributed to Jean Juvénal des Ursins, which stated that Clary defended himself by claiming that 'un François pouvoit combattre un Anglois son ennemy mortel', and the narrative ended by dismissing the small ill done the king: 'le Roy pardonna l'offense qu'il luy avoit peu faire, en faisant armes sans son congé'.¹⁰⁰ Similarly Froissart did not seem eager to criticise the French knight for jousting without a licence; he stated that Clary defended himself by describing Courtenay's vanity and over-confidence, how Courtenay had criticised the French knights for not daring to fight him, and how Clary could not therefore allow this Englishman to state such things without answering him.¹⁰¹ The reactions of the chroniclers therefore was not to criticise the Frenchman, nor a rush to defend the French king in attempting to prohibit this event, but was rather to quietly, implicitly praise the Frenchman who stood up to English boasting.

After 1400 there seemed to be a decline in the numbers of general and specific prohibitions, licences and safe conducts that were documented in the sources. The period of truce between England and France was about to come to an end. Since the late 1380s, French and English knights and esquires had enjoyed more than a decade of relative calm under the peace following the truce and then the Treaty of Leulinghen. During this period of relative peace, these men could concentrate their efforts to express martial ideals through arenas other than the battlefield, and thus formal combats outside the context of battle were fought regularly. Such encounters between French and English combatants led the crowns of England

¹⁰⁰ 'a Frenchman ought to fight an Englishman as a mortal enemy', 'the king pardoned him the offense he had scarcely done him, in fighting without his permission', Jean Juvénal des Ursins, 'Histoire de Charles VI', vol. 2 p. 368.

¹⁰¹ Clary's defence is described in detail by Froissart in Froissart, *Oeuvres*, vol. 14 pp. 50-55.

and France to fear aggravating relations once more, so they attempted to stop such combats as well as to assert their authority over those that did take place. Following the resumption of hostilities in the early fifteenth century however, the same Englishmen and Frenchmen who had organised and participated in formal combats against one another suddenly turned once again to open warfare and the organisation of combat proper. As such, the numbers of formal combats between English and French knights and esquires declined, and thus the amount of administrative material needed to assert the crown's authority over them decreased. The presence of the English already in France ensured that safe conducts were no longer necessary, since any formal combat then being organised was held within the context of war and thus tended to be held on the field of battle, rather than arranged to take place in Paris for example.

The systems used by princes to assert their authority over events used outside of their control, including the use of licences and safe conducts for example to attempt to regulate the organisation of such combats, were occasionally expanded to involve actual regulatory documents composed for, or on behalf of, princes. These texts sought to regulate particularly judicial duels, to assert princely legal authority over them. Given the legal import of such events, princes were especially concerned in ensuring that they maintained control of their organisation and execution.

Two of the most important regulatory texts composed during the later medieval period were the ordinances for judicial duels composed by Thomas of Woodstock for Richard II circa 1386–1388, and the *Livre du Seigneur de l'Isle-Adam pour gaige de bataille* composed by Jean de Villiers, the eponymous Seigneur de l'Isle-Adam, for Duke Philip the Good of Burgundy. Both of these texts were dedicated to the princes that these men served. Both were composed not only by men with real martial experience, but also by individuals with personal legal authority over judicial duels in the courts of the constables and marshals of England and France. A more detailed analysis of these two texts, and a comparison between them, reveals distinct similarities in the form of judicial combats between these two territories, and in the proscribed role and authority of the princes in both texts.

In England Thomas of Woodstock (7 January 1355–8/9 September 1397), youngest son of Edward III and thus the uncle of Richard II, composed a treatise outlining the rules and format that judicial duels should take when held as part of the Court of the Constable and the Marshal.¹⁰² This was potentially the earliest attempt to make a written record of rules for this court, and for judicial combats held there.¹⁰³ The dating of the composition of the treatise is uncertain. It was probably written after 6 August 1385, since Thomas of Woodstock was identified as the duke of Gloucester at the start of the text. It also seems likely that it was written before 1388, when Gloucester led the Lords Appellant against Richard II. Thomas of Woodstock was constable of England between 10 June 1376 and 10 July 1397 when he was arrested for treason against Richard II, thus he was writing not only from a position of royal authority and explicitly for his nephew the king, but he was also writing from the position of an officer directly involved in the staging of the very judicial combats that he was writing about. Thus the ordinance itself strongly asserted the authority of not only the monarch, but also of the constable and the marshals. The fee of the marshal was explicitly stated for example, as being the lists, the barriers, and the posts for these; presumably the sale of such items would provide financial remuneration for the marshal's services.¹⁰⁴

Indeed this was a period when several attempts were made to regulate various different types of combat. Thomas of Woodstock was also heavily involved in the

¹⁰² Anthony Tuck, 'Thomas [Thomas of Woodstock], duke of Gloucester (1355-1397)', *ODNB*, January 2008, '<http://www.oxforddnb.com.ezproxy.york.ac.uk/view/article/27197?docPos=1>' (19 March 2013). Various copies of this treatise exist, the oldest probably being BL Cotton Nero D vi, ff.257r-260v, a manuscript composed for Richard II at some point before 1397. This copy of the treatise is in French. For the dating of this manuscript, see Anne Curry, 'The Military Ordinances of Henry V', p. 230 nn. 81, 82; Keen, 'Richard II's Ordinances of War', p. 33 n. 2. An English translation of the treatise, dating from the second half of the fifteenth century, may be found in BL Lansdowne 285, ff.11r-14r. The treatise is printed, in both French and English, in *The Black Book of the Admiralty*, ed. Twiss, vol. 1 pp. 300-329. See also Harold Arthur, Viscount Dillon, 'On a MS. Collection of Ordinances of Chivalry of the fifteenth century, belonging to Lord Hastings', *Archaeologia*, 57 (Jan 1900), pp. 61-66.

¹⁰³ Patricia J. Eberle, 'Richard II and the Literary Arts', in Anthony Goodman & James Gillespie (eds.), *Richard II. The Art of Kingship* (Oxford, 1999), p. 237 n. 15; Squibb, *The High Court of Chivalry*, pp. 14, 23, 187.

¹⁰⁴ 'Le fait du mareschal est avoir les lices, les barres, et estaches dicelles', 'The fee of the marshall is the listes, the barrers, and the postes of them', *The Black Book of the Admiralty*, ed. Twiss, vol. 1 pp. 328-9.

composition of rules for the campaign into Scotland by English forces in 1385.¹⁰⁵ These ordinances for war were written under the direction of Richard II at Durham, and prescribed a series of rules covering the conduct of soldiers in the host for the Scottish campaign. They were followed by a series of similar ordinances for the conduct of war on subsequent campaigns, such as those issued at Nantes in July 1419 for Henry V's French campaign.¹⁰⁶ The treatise for judicial duels written circa 1386-88 thus fits into a wider landscape of royal attempts to regulate and codify martial rules during this period.

In France the period at the beginning of the fifteenth century also saw the composition of rules for judicial combats similar to those produced by Thomas of Woodstock in England. The *Livre du Seigneur de l'Isle-Adam pour gaige de bataille* was composed by Jean de Villiers, seigneur de l'Isle-Adam, a counsellor and chamberlain of Duke Philip the Good of Burgundy (31 July 1396-15 June 1467) and a knight of the Troison d'Or.¹⁰⁷ Jean de Villiers dedicated his text to Duke Philip, and wrote explicitly for him; thus his work may be seen as a further attempt to assert the authority of later medieval princes over judicial combats of this type. Like Thomas of Woodstock, Jean de Villiers was intimately involved in the events that he described. He was made marshal of France for the first time in June 1418, he was a founding member of the Order of the Golden Fleece, formed in January 1430, and in May 1432 John Duke of Bedford made him marshal of

¹⁰⁵ The oldest manuscript of the ordinances is probably BL Cotton Nero D vi; the ordinances are printed in *The Black Book of the Admiralty*, ed. Twiss, vol. 1 pp. 453-58; see Keen, 'Richard II's Ordinances of War', 33-48.

¹⁰⁶ These ordinances are printed in *The Black Book of the Admiralty*, ed. Twiss, vol. 1 pp. 459-72. For a secondary study of Henry V's war ordinances, and a discussion of the various versions and potential dates for these, see Anne Curry, 'The Military Ordinances of Henry V' 214-49. For a comparison between those of Richard II in 1385 and those of Henry V in 1419 see Keen, 'Richard II's Ordinances of War', p. 34.

¹⁰⁷ This work is printed in *Traité du Duel Judiciaire Relations de Pas d'Armes et Tournois*, ed. Bernard Prost (Paris, 1872), pp. 28-41. For the historical background of the text, see Georges Doutrepont, *La Littérature Française à la cour des Ducs de Bourgogne* (Geneva, 1970), p. 312; Sylvie Lefèvre, *Antoine de la Sale: la fabrique de l'oeuvre et de l'écrivain* (Geneva, 2006), p. 137. For biographical details for Jean de Villiers see Bertrand Schnerb, 'Jean de Villiers, seigneur de L'Isle-Adam', in Raphaël de Smedt (ed.), *Les Chevaliers de l'Ordre de la Toison d'or au XVe siècle* (Frankfurt am Main, 2000), 32-33. On de Villier's relationship with Duke Philip see Richard Vaughan, *Philip the Good. The Apogee of Burgundy* (London, 1970), p. 91.

France once again.¹⁰⁸ He was therefore not only a martially active knight, but he also fulfilled an important role in the judicial combats that he described.

The regulatory texts produced by Woodstock and Jean de Villiers demonstrated several similarities. Both were composed for highly politically influential individuals - Richard II King of England, and Philip the Good Duke of Burgundy. Both Woodstock and de Villiers were councillors to these men, who also enjoyed martial positions that would have brought them into close proximity to formal combats held during this period. In these texts, there is some evidence that the authors used the same oral testimony from knights and those involved in judicial combats in order to write their work: Woodstock claimed that he sought out the 'plus saiges, vaillants, et suffisans seigneurs et chevaliers de vostre royalme, qui de fait darmes ont plus la cognoissance', and de Villiers simply stated that 'j'en ay diligemment enquis et trouvé ce qui en est escript en ce petit livre'.¹⁰⁹

There are further similarities between these texts when the particulars of the judicial combats are compared. In each text, the key situation necessary for a judicial combat to take place was when witnesses were unable to prove a case.¹¹⁰ Although de Villiers included further details requiring the crime to be one punishable by death, the sentiment that judicial combat may be used as a solution to otherwise unprovable cases was clearly expressed. In fact, it should be noted that in this respect de Villiers' text bore a striking resemblance to the *ordonnance* issued in 1306 by Philip IV, allowing duels in charges of homicide and other capital crimes only when these were committed secretly, when there were presumptions against the accused and when they could not be convicted by

¹⁰⁸ On Jean de Villiers career as marshal of France see Schnerb, 'Jean de Villiers', pp. 32-33. For the role of marshals in France see Keen, *Nobles, Knights and Men-at-Arms*, p. 147. One of the most well known marshals of later medieval France was Jean II le Meingre, also known as Boucicaut (1366-1421). For the account of Boucicaut's elevation to the office of marshal in his near-contemporary biography see *Le Livre des fais du bon messire Jehan le Meingre, dit Boucicaut, mareschal de France et gouverneur de Jennes*, ed. D. Lalande (Geneva, 1985), p. 82; also see Denis Lalande, *Jehan II le Meingre, Dit Boucicaut. Étude d'une Biographie Héroïque* (Geneva, 1988), pp. 38-39.

¹⁰⁹ 'most wise, valiant, and sufficient lords and knights of your realm, who have the most knowledge of deeds of arms', *The Black Book of the Admiralty*, ed. Twiss, vol. 1 p. 302; 'I have diligently enquired and found what is to be written in this small book', *Traité du Duel Judiciaire*, ed. Prost, p. 29.

¹¹⁰ *Traité du Duel Judiciaire*, ed. Prost, p. 30; *The Black Book of the Admiralty*, ed. Twiss, vol. 1 p. 305.

witnesses; it is entirely possible that de Villiers used this earlier text as a model for his regulations here.¹¹¹

In the actual holding of the combats, the texts contained some differences, but again there is evidence that the combats described in each of these texts would not have looked completely dissimilar to one another. The appellant entered the list first in both texts.¹¹² De Villiers recorded how the combat could be held on foot or on horseback.¹¹³ Woodstock was more vague regarding the combat itself; he did however explicitly state that the combatants could enter the lists on either horseback or foot.¹¹⁴ After the combats described in each text, the vanquished party was led from the lists and killed in the case of judicial combat; Woodstock qualified this by adding that occasionally combats were fought for honour only, in which circumstances neither participant was killed and both left the lists honourably.¹¹⁵ Finally, both texts ended by detailing the payments to various officers: de Villiers cited those rewards given to the constable and marshal, while Woodstock cited those given to the marshal and heralds.¹¹⁶

Both of these texts supposed significant authority for the king or prince in overseeing and arbitrating trials involving judicial combat. They both explicitly defined this authority by stating the roles that they should play in judicial combats. In Woodstock's ordinance, 'le roy veult faire les parties combatans reposer, ou attendre, pour quelconque cause que ce soit ... le roy les veult souffrir ou faire aller ensemble arriere'.¹¹⁷ De Villiers stated that the combats must be 'en présense

¹¹¹ *Ordonnances*, ed. Laurière, vol. 1 pp. 435-41; for commentary on this ordinance see Bartlett, *Trial by Fire and Water*, p. 109.

¹¹² *Traité du Duel Judiciaire*, ed. Prost, p. 31; *The Black Book of the Admiralty*, ed. Twiss, vol. 1 p. 309.

¹¹³ *Traité du Duel Judiciaire*, ed. Prost, p. 33.

¹¹⁴ *The Black Book of the Admiralty*, ed. Twiss, vol. 1 p. 311.

¹¹⁵ *Traité du Duel Judiciaire*, ed. Prost, p. 40; *The Black Book of the Admiralty*, ed. Twiss, vol. 1 p. 325.

¹¹⁶ *Traité du Duel Judiciaire*, ed. Prost, pp. 40-1; *The Black Book of the Admiralty*, ed. Twiss, vol. 1 p. 329.

¹¹⁷ 'the king will make the fighting parties depart, rest, or remain, for whatever cause...the king will wish them to wait or to come together again', *The Black Book of the Admiralty*, ed. Twiss, vol. 1 p. 322.

du roy ou prince'.¹¹⁸ Elsewhere in his text, de Villiers repeatedly referred to this authority as the 'prince', not the king as in Woodstock's ordinance, which was probably in light of his composition for the duke of Burgundy rather than for a king. The appellant - or accuser - had to stand to the right of the prince for example, and the defendant to the left.¹¹⁹ The authority of the king or the prince was then repeatedly reaffirmed in ensuring fair play in the lists, and only the king, prince, constable or marshal could give special dispensation for individuals to break with the regulations to be used during the combat itself, including the carrying of weapons by others in the combat area.¹²⁰ Even the specimens of the cries made to announce the judicial combat were adapted by de Villiers to stress that a prince might take the place of a king in overseeing such combats: he stated that the cry should be made, 'Or oez, or oez, or oez, de par le roy nostre sire, ou de par le prince'.¹²¹

The dating of Jean de Villiers' work is uncertain, although this might provide some tantalising glimpses into why he was so eager to assert princely authority over judicial combats so explicitly. The work identified Philip the Good as the count of Hainault, Holland and Zeeland, so it was almost certainly written after April 1432.¹²² Although the final, complete transference of Hainault, Holland and Zeeland to Philip the Good took place in April 1433, a slightly earlier date could be possible if de Villiers was attempting to assert the duke's claims to these territories before his confirmation as count.¹²³ Philip started asserting his dominance over Hainault, Holland and Zeeland after November 1432, following Duchess Jacqueline Countess of Hainault, Holland and Zeeland's apparent secret marriage and contravention of the 1428 treaty of Delft that named Philip her

¹¹⁸ 'in the presence of the king or prince', *Traité du Duel Judiciaire*, ed. Prost, p. 31.

¹¹⁹ See for example *Traité du Duel Judiciaire*, ed. Prost, p. 32.

¹²⁰ *Traité du Duel Judiciaire*, ed. Prost, p. 35.

¹²¹ *Traité du Duel Judiciaire*, ed. Prost, p. 35.

¹²² *Traité du Duel Judiciaire*, ed. Prost, pp. 28-29.

¹²³ Vaughan, *Philip the Good*, p. 50.

heir.¹²⁴ The year 1432 therefore seems the earlier possible date of composition, if the titles of Philip the Good are used as dating evidence.

Jean de Villiers' repeated references throughout the text to the roles of the constable and the marshal, and his choice of subject matter in the regulations pertaining to judicial combats, perhaps suggests that he composed this text after his second creation as marshal, after 1432, while allied to the English under John Duke of Bedford. In 1435 however, he went back into the service of Charles VII and France.¹²⁵ This text may have thus been an attempt by de Villiers to establish his own authority as marshal of France, as well as to assert the princely authority of Duke Philip. Indeed, the early 1430s presented a politically expedient situation in which Duke Philip might have wished for a regulatory text such as this, that strongly asserted the right of princes, not only kings, to preside over judicial processes. This period saw the initial movement of Burgundy away from allegiance with England, towards allegiance with France.¹²⁶ In 1431–1432, a perceived lack of English financial support and the losses of revenues in Burgundy to the war increasingly alienated Burgundy from England.¹²⁷ In June 1433, an Anglo-Burgundian conference was arranged at St Omer, but although both Philip and John Duke of Bedford arrived in the town, neither was prepared to visit the other and, in spite of determined mediatory efforts by Henry Beaufort, Bedford's uncle, they never met.¹²⁸ In such a political atmosphere, a text dedicated to Philip

¹²⁴ Vaughan, *Philip the Good*, p. 50.

¹²⁵ On his return to French allegiance see Jean Chartier, *Histoire de Charles VII*, ed. Vallet de Viriville (3 vols, Paris, 1858), vol. 1 p. 218. For Jean de Villiers at the siege of Saint-Denis during the congress of Arras see Enguerrand de Monstrelet, *Chroniques d'Enguerrand de Monstrelet*, ed. L. Douët-d'Arcq (6 vols, Paris, 1857-62), vol. 5 pp. 184-187; Joycelyne G. Dickinson, *The Congress of Arras, 1435: a Study in Medieval Diplomacy* (New York, 1972), p. 48. On his political affiliations see Guy Hewelyn Thompson, *Paris and its People Under English Rule. The Anglo-Burgundian Regime 1420-1436* (Oxford, 1991), p. 228 nn. 124, 125; Malcolm Vale, *War and Chivalry: warfare and aristocratic culture in England, France and Burgundy at the end of the Middle Ages* (London, 1981), pp. 48-49.

¹²⁶ Bertram Wolffe, *Henry VI* (New Haven & London, 1981), pp. 70-71.

¹²⁷ Vaughan, *Philip the Good*, pp. 25-26.

¹²⁸ Monstrelet *Chroniques*, vol. 5 pp. 57-58; Vaughan, *Philip the Good*, p. 27. On John Duke of Bedford see Jenny Stratford, 'John [John of Lancaster], duke of Bedford (1389-1435)', *ODNB*, September 2011, '<http://www.oxforddnb.com.ezproxy.york.ac.uk/view/article/14844?docPos=1>' (27 March 2013). On Henry Beaufort see G.L. Harriss, 'Beaufort, Henry [called the Cardinal of England] (1375?-1447)', *ODNB*, January 2008, '<http://www.oxforddnb.com.ezproxy.york.ac.uk/view/article/1859?docPos=1>' (27 March 2013).

that asserted his own authority alongside that of kings, possibly implicitly the English and French crowns, might have been well received.

Philip the Good also took a personal interest in formal combats and specifically judicial duels. In 1425 he arranged to fight a personal combat against Humphrey Duke of Gloucester (1390–1447) over his entitlement to Hainault, Holland and Zeeland.¹²⁹ Gloucester had married Jacqueline of Hainault, and on her behalf pursued territorial claims over Holland and Zeeland from her uncle John of Bavaria, and Hainault from her previous husband John of Brabant. The combat itself was never fought, following a series of prohibitions.¹³⁰ The episode demonstrated however, that Philip had an interest in judicial combat as a means of recourse in matters of personal justice and wider martial concerns.

It would be difficult to state with any certainty that de Villiers - who wrote his text after Woodstock - had access to Woodstock's regulations, or knowledge of them. What is more clear however is that the combats described in these two texts bear resemblance to one another. The ways that the combats were fought, their judicial motivations and their outcomes were similar. This suggests that there was at least some parity between presentations of judicial combats fought in England, and those fought in France. The treatises of Thomas of Woodstock and Jean de Villiers were both written by individuals with a keen interest in the formal combats that they described. As has been explored above, both texts asserted an important role for their prince in overseeing the combat, arbitrating between the opponents and potentially preventing the combat from taking place. Whilst these

¹²⁹ The letters of challenge between Gloucester and Burgundy for this combat were copied by Monstrelet in Monstrelet, *Chroniques*, vol. 4 pp. 213-225, the abandoned combat is also discussed on pp. 227-229. For the proposed combat also see Jean le Fèvre, *Chronique de Jean le Fèvre, seigneur de Saint-Remy*, ed. F. Morand (2 vols, Paris, 1876-1881), vol. 2 pp. 106-107. For background and secondary narrative see Vaughan, *Philip the Good*, pp. 37-39. For Humphrey of Gloucester see G.L. Harriiss, *Humphrey, duke of Gloucester*, May 2011, 'http://www.oxforddnb.com.ezproxy.york.ac.uk/view/article/14155' (16 March 2013).

¹³⁰ It was forbidden by the pope, in *Letters and Papers Illustrative of Wars of the English in France During the Reign of Henry VI*, ed. J. Stevenson (3 vols, London, 1861-1864), vol. 2 pp. 412-414; the English parliament of summer 1425 also forbade any such combat from taking place, in the name of the king's authority, *The Parliament Rolls of Medieval England, 1275-1504*, eds. Chris Given-Wilson et al, 'http://sd-editions.com.ezproxy.york.ac.uk/AnaServer?PROM+502949+text.anv+showall=1' (20 September 2013); John Duke of Bedford also refused to allow the combat to take place, U. Plancher, *Histoire générale et particulière de Bourgogne* (4 vols, Dijon, 1739-1781), vol. 4 no. 46.

texts can therefore be viewed as the assertion of individual authority for the knights – and for the marshals and constables – that they represented, these texts can also be viewed as supporting the right of royal authority over formal combats.

For princely authority in England and France however, the simple licensing and regulating of formal combats that others organised was not enough. Monarchs attempted to expand their monopolies over formal combats by creating their own events and encouraging their nobilities to attend. The desire of medieval English and French monarchs to assert their magnificence and authority for social as well as political ends, may be seen through examining the case studies of Richard II's jousts at Smithfield in 1390, and Charles VI's jousts at the Hôtel de Saint Pol just outside Paris in 1411.

It might have been expected that Richard II's reign would prove to be an anti-climax after the achievements of Edward III. Surprisingly however, Richard was to demonstrate a similar patronage of formal combats as his grandfather had done; perhaps not as extensive, but distinctly unified around the figure of the king and his court. By this time, knights were accustomed to looking to the royal court for patronage of formal combats. On 9 October 1390 Richard hosted a grand festival of jousting at Smithfield in London.¹³¹ The audience at the event was substantial; watching the jousts from the scaffolds surrounding the combat area were, according to the *Brut*, 'alle maner of strayngers', including high-ranking foreign nobles and their entourages, as well as Richard himself and large numbers of the English nobility.¹³² Between twenty-four and sixty knights participated in these jousts, and they were led on gold and silver chains by noblewomen in a carefully-choreographed procession from the Tower of London through the city streets to Smithfield. Three days of jousting and feasting followed, and at the end of the combats Richard sat enthroned in full regalia, in order to demonstrate his

¹³¹ The contemporary narratives for this event are *The Brut*, ed. Brie, vol. 2 p. 343; Froissart, *Oeuvres*, vol. 14 pp. 253-64; *Historia Vitae et Regni Ricardi Secundi*, ed. Stow, p. 132; *The Westminster Chronicle*, eds. Hector & Harvey, pp. 450-1.

¹³² *The Brut*, ed. Brie, vol. 2 p. 343; Froissart supports a large attendance of knights and squires at these jousts: 'si se ordonnèrent de plusieurs pays chevalliers et escuiers pour estre à celle feste, les aucuns plus pour veoir le convenant et ordonnance des Anglois que pour jouter', Froissart, *Oeuvres*, vol. 14 p. 254.

royal dignity.¹³³ This single event can be seen as evidence of increasing royal understanding of the relationships between social display, the crown, and wider society.¹³⁴ By apparently attempting to copy elements of French court jousts from the preceeding year, Richard II demonstrated that he too was capable of providing such grand festivals for his own court, and visiting nobles from the continent.¹³⁵ To emphasise his ability to rival the splendour of the events in Paris, Richard apparently deliberately impersonated elements from Isabeau's entry, including wearing of heraldic badges, and the presence of women in the opening ceremonial procession for the festival.¹³⁶

As at the jousts at Smithfield in 1390, the royal court played a crucial element in the second example studied here, that of the jousts held by Charles VI at his Hôtel de St Pol, just outside Paris, on 9 June (Pentecost) 1411.¹³⁷ Warrants and quittances to eighteen French knights survive as part of Charles' preparations for this event.¹³⁸ The participants in these jousts were apparently members of the

¹³³ *Eulogium Historiarum sive Temporis*, ed. F.S. Haydon (3 vols, London, 1858-63), vol. 3 p. 378; *Historia Vitae et Regni Ricardi Secundi*, ed. Stow, p. 132. For discussion of the date of the writing of this passage see C.L. Kingsford, *English Historical Literature in the Fifteenth Century* (Oxford, 1913), p. 28 which argues that this part was added much later than the period it describes; Antonia Gransden however argues that it was written fairly contemporaneously with events from the late fourteenth century onwards, Gransden, *Historical Writing in England* vol. 2 p. 138 n. 5; also see Nigel Saul, 'The Kingship of Richard II', in Anthony Goodmand & James Gillespie (eds.), *Richard II. The Art of Kingship* (Oxford, 1999), p. 40.

¹³⁴ See for example C.M. Barron, 'Chivalry, Pageantry and Merchant Culture in Medieval London', in Peter Coss & Maurice Keen (eds.), *Heraldry, Pageantry and Social Display in Medieval England* (Woodbridge, 2002), 219-242; Gillespie, 'Richard II: chivalry and kingship', pp. 115, 129; R.H. Jones, *The Royal Policy of Richard II* (Oxford, 1968), p. 7.

¹³⁵ Froissart, *Oeuvres*, vol. 14 p. 253. For narratives of the jousts in Paris see *Chronique du Religieux de Saint-Denis*, ed. Bellaguet, vol. 1 pp. 614-615; Froissart, *Oeuvres*, vol. 14 pp. 20-25; Jean Juvénal des Ursins, 'Histoire de Charles VI', pp. 367-368. On Isabeau's entry see Françoise Autrand, *Charles VI* (Paris, 1986), pp. 214-227; Évelyne van der Neste, *Tournois, joutes, pas d'armes dans les villes de Flandre à la fin du Moyen Âge, 1300-1486* (Paris, 1996), p. 259.

¹³⁶ Froissart, *Oeuvres*, vol. 14 pp. 10-6.

¹³⁷ For comments on this encounter see Barber & Barker, *Tournaments*, p. 108; Évelyne van den Neste, *Tournois, Joutes, Pas d'Armes dans les villes de Flandre à la fin du Moyen Âge (1300-1486)* (Paris, 1996), p. 281. Neste dates this encounter to 31 May, although since many of the replies to the formal invitation sent by Charles VI to his knights are dated after this, a later date must be correct. Pentecost in 1411 was on Sunday 9 June (seven weeks after Easter, on 21 April), thus this seems the most logical date if the jousts were to celebrate Pentecost itself.

¹³⁸ These invitations from Charles, each written on 26 May 1411 are found in Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris, MS Fonds Français 21809, ff. 21, 22, 23, 24, 28, 29, 31, 33, 35, 37, 39, 41, 43, 45, 47, 50, 51, 52.

king's household or the royal court, such as Raoul, Seigneur de Gaucourt, chamberlain of the king.¹³⁹ Charles VI's health in June 1411 is not certain. He had suffered a relapse on 8 November 1410, which had ended on 3 April 1411 with possible periods of lucidity between December and February.¹⁴⁰ He was in relatively good health in July and August 1411, before suffering a relapse in September that lasted until 14 November.¹⁴¹ He seems to have been relatively healthy during the summer of 1411, between these two episodes of illness.

Whilst initially this may appear to have been a relaxed and entertaining gathering of knights and esquires at the king's residence to enjoy some informal jousts together and to celebrate Pentecost, there may have been a deeper motivation behind Charles' desire to hold such an event at this time. May 1411 was in the midst of the increasing hostility between the factions of Burgundy and Orléans.¹⁴² In spring 1411, both factions had once again taken up arms and were apparently preparing for open conflict. In this climate, perhaps Charles VI wished to strengthen the bonds between himself and his knights; many of those present at the jousts in June were his own chamberlains, and it seems possible that he wished to firmly establish his own support in light of his nobles' growing hostility to one another.

This event in 1411 can be compared to other events that Charles VI reputedly organised. In late June 1416, Charles VI scandalized the French court (according to Michel Pintouin) by planning jousts to celebrate the visit of an ambassador sent

¹³⁹ BNF MS Fr. 21809, ff. 37r-38r. Sir Raoul V de Gaucourt (?-1417) was a chamberlain of Charles VI and also *bailli* of Rouen. See Louis Moréri, *Le Grand Dictionnaire Historique* (6 vols, Paris, 1725), vol. 4 p. 271.

¹⁴⁰ For a chronology of Charles VI's illness, that indicates he was well enough to have attended or participated in a formal combat during the summer of 1411, see Bernard Guenée, *La folie de Charles VI Roi Bien-Aimé* (Paris, 2004), pp. 294-296, esp. 296 and 298 n. 39. On Charles VI's health at this time see Monstrelet, *Chroniques*, vol. 2 pp. 100-101.

¹⁴¹ R.C. Famiglietti, *Royal Intrigue. Crisis at the Court of Charles VI 1392-1420* (New York, 1986), p. 99.

¹⁴² For the situation in May 1411 see R.C. Famiglietti, *Royal Intrigue. Crisis at the Court of Charles VI 1392-1420* (New York, 1986), p. 94; the wider rivalry between Burgundy and Orléans around this period is explored in Famiglietti, *Royal Intrigue*, pp. 85-110.

by the king of Hungary.¹⁴³ A great number of French nobles had been captured or killed at Agincourt only eight months before, and the king's uncle, John Duke of Berry (1340-1416), had died on 15 June. According to Michel Pintouin, the French people thought that the court should be in mourning and should therefore refrain from any festivity. Due to a lack of evidence in narrative sources for this period regarding Charles' health, it is not possible to ascertain whether or not he was suffering a relapse during this time; he had certainly recovered from a period of illness in March 1416 so he may have been well enough to participate in these jousts.¹⁴⁴ Charles' passion for organising such events as ceremonial celebrations to welcome his foreign guests was here a possible repeat of jousts that were held in February 1415 to welcome English ambassadors to Paris.¹⁴⁵ At this earlier event, Monstrelet recorded how Charles VI took part in the jousting, although he may have been incorrect regarding the king's participation.¹⁴⁶ Charles may have been ill at this time, as his health was not certain until the end of February, and so not well enough to joust at this event.¹⁴⁷

Royal princes clearly wanted to assert their control over formal combats by sponsoring and organising their own events. The benefits that monarchs could accrue from hosting such events went beyond the mere mitigation of the harms outlined earlier in this chapter as regards the dangers of uncontrolled, private violence within their kingdoms. By organising their own formal combats, royal authorities were able to stress the centralisation and strength of their kingship; provide an opportunity for their nobility to publicly demonstrate their loyalty and

¹⁴³ *Chronique du Religieux de Saint-Denys contenant le règne de Charles VI, de 1380 à 1422*, ed. & trans. L.F. Bellaguet (6 vols, Paris, 1839-1852), vol. 6 pp. 16-18. See Famiglietti, *Royal Intrigue*, p. 17. For Michel Pintouin's criticism of Charles VI's continued participation in formal combats after his coronation see *Chronique du Religieux de Saint-Denys*, ed. Bellaguet, vol. 1 p. 566.

¹⁴⁴ Guenée, *La folie de Charles VI*, p. 296.

¹⁴⁵ *Chronique du Religieux de Saint-Denys*, ed. Bellaguet, vol. 5 pp. 408, 410-4; Monstrelet, *Chroniques*, vol. 3 pp. 59-60; Jehan de Waurin, *Recueil des chroniques et anciennes istories de la Grant Bretagne, a present nomme Engleterre*, eds. William Hardy & Edward L. C. P. Hardy (5 vols, New York, 1965), vol. 2 pp. 170-71; Barber, *The Knight and Chivalry*, p. 215; Barber & Barker, *Tournaments*, pp. 37, 108, 169; Neste, *Tournois, joutes, pas d'armes*, p. 283; Famiglietti, *Royal Intrigue*, p. 159.

¹⁴⁶ Monstrelet, *Chroniques*, vol. 3 p. 60

¹⁴⁷ Guenée, *La folie de Charles VI*, pp. 296 and 298 n. 45. On Charles' varying health at this time see *Chronique du Religieux de Saint-Denys*, ed. Bellaguet, vol. 5 pp. 360-362, 366; Monstrelet, *Chroniques*, vol. 3 pp. 18-24.

allegiance; and establish a publicly-witnessed image of regality. These case studies above also highlight several of the reasons why the crown wished to control private combats. The reasons for this attempted crown control were two-fold: firstly the crown perceived specific dangers to itself if it allowed private formal combats without any royal oversight; and secondly there were specific benefits to formal combats that the crown wished to maintain and accrue for itself.

The first of these benefits to the crown was the assertion of strong royal authority and a strengthening of the image of monarchy, tied closely to an acknowledgement by contemporaries that a strong king controlled formal combats held within his kingdom.¹⁴⁸ Historians have claimed that the later medieval period saw a desire on the part of certain monarchs, most notably Richard II, to strengthen the prestige of the monarchy.¹⁴⁹ Within Richard's policy as regards formal combats however, it is possible to ascertain his reasons for wishing to manipulate such events closely. Contemporary evidence suggested that close royal control of such events was expected from some commentators. Furthermore, Richard II - and his contemporaries in France - realised that they had much to gain practically from hosting formal combats in specific circumstances.

Formal combats were communally-witnessed events. As such, they involved large numbers of the nobility. Whilst some historians have argued that 'Richard II, with his highly developed aesthetic sense and love of refinement...could not share [his] interest with [his] barons and courtiers', it was through events such as formal combats that Richard II - and other later medieval English and French kings - attempted to form a closer bond with the wider nobility.¹⁵⁰ Formal combats were

¹⁴⁸ On contemporary emphasis on a strong royal authority that kept close control over violence (explicitly including judicial duels and other forms of formal combat) see above.

¹⁴⁹ See for example Gillespie, 'Richard II: chivalry and kingship', 115-138; Saul, 'The Kingship of Richard II', pp. 37-8; Saul, *Richard II*, pp. 440-1. The strength of the English monarchy at the turn of the fifteenth century is analysed by John Gillingham, who concludes that the monarchy emerged from the crisis of 1399-1400 relatively unscathed and politically relatively strong, in John B. Gillingham, 'Crisis or Continuity? The Structure of Royal Authority in England 1369-1422', in Reinhard Schneider (ed.), *Das Spätmittelalterliche Königtum im Europäischen Vergleich* (Sigmaringen, 1987), 59-80.

¹⁵⁰ Richard Barber, *Edward, Prince of Wales and Aquitaine* (New York, 1978), p. 238; see also A.R. Myers, *England in the late Middle Ages* (Harmondsworth, 1952), p. 35.

used consciously to aid and cement allegiance and ‘comradeship’. They served as theatres for the provision of largesse to the nobility and as public demonstrations of allegiance and conformity. In this way, princes turned the threat of private violence by the nobility, into a unifying symbol of the monarch’s links with that nobility. Formal combats provided the opportunity for a monarch to demonstrate his shared interests and pastimes with his nobility, whilst simultaneously demonstrating his dominance over them.¹⁵¹

This allegiance to royal authority was expressed openly at formal combats through the dissemination of badges and royal colours. At the jousts at Smithfield in 1390 for example, Richard II distributed his white hart badge.¹⁵² Members of his court pinned this to their clothing in order to show their loyalty to and support of the king, and their membership of his court. Thus the use of such badges aided the king’s image of magnificence and also of course stressed the allegiance of his nobility to him personally, and demonstrated the apparent stability and support for his regime amongst his nobility.¹⁵³ Even without explicit outward symbols of royal support, formal combats could be used to enhance a sense of community among the knightly elites of the realms, with the king firmly at their centre. Such was the case at St Pol in June 1411 for example, when Charles VI held jousts for knights from the French court.¹⁵⁴ Whilst their jousting and feasting may not have held particular explicit political import, that fact that Charles thought it expedient to host such an event suggested that monarchs saw value in using these formal combats as unifying ceremonies to bond their nobilities closer to one another, as well as closer to the office and person of the king. It is therefore evident that there were certain benefits that could be accrued by later medieval monarchs if they

¹⁵¹ On the importance of a king sharing interests with his nobility see Michael Hicks, *English Political Culture in the Fifteenth Century* (London, 2002), pp. 29, 36; K.B. McFarlane, *The Nobility of Later Medieval England* (Oxford, 1973), p. 121.

¹⁵² *Historia Vitae et Regni Ricardi Secundi*, ed. Stow, p. 132. Also see Sheila Lindenbaum, ‘The Smithfield Tournament of 1390’, *Journal of Medieval and Renaissance Studies*, 20 (1990), 1-20.

¹⁵³ Adrian Ailes, ‘Heraldry in Medieval England: symbols of politics and propaganda’, in Peter Coss & Maurice Keen (eds.), *Heraldry, Pageantry and Social Display in Medieval England* (Woodbridge, 2002), 92-104, for badges in the Hundred Years War specifically see pp. 94-5.

¹⁵⁴ For correspondence to and from the court of Charles VI in relation to the jousts at St Pol in 1411, see BNF MS Fr. 21809, ff. 21, 22, 23, 24, 28, 29, 31, 33, 35, 37, 39, 41, 43, 45, 47, 50, 51, 52. For comments on this event see Neste, *Tournois, Joutes, Pas d’Armes*, p. 281.

organised formal combats and utilised them to their own political advantage. There were also however dangers to the crown in allowing uncontrolled formal combats to go ahead, and it was also undoubtedly because of these dangers to themselves that medieval monarchs attempted to assert their control over them.

Princely Participation in Formal Combats

For royal princes in both England and France however, the act of organising formal combats was sometimes not enough to satisfy their aims to stabilise their political and martial positions. There are narrative accounts of princes participating in formal combats throughout this period, although this participation was heavily dependent on the policies of the individual. While Richard II and Charles VI were perhaps the most eager to actively take part in jousts, the participation of the latter was effected by the onset of illness after 1392.

In the earlier years of his reign, Charles VI was a relatively keen jouster. He was recorded as participating in the jousts to celebrate the marriages of William Count of Hainault and Margaret of Burgundy, and Jean of Burgundy and Margaret of Hainault, at Cambrai in April 1385, although the narrative attributed to Jean Juvénal stated that it was unusual for a king to participate in such an event.¹⁵⁵ He also participated in the three-day jousting festival in honour of French queen Isabeau upon her arrival into Paris in August 1389. Froissart described how thirty knights entitled the ‘chevalliers du Ray de Soleil d’or’ arrived at the square of Saint Katherine at three o’clock in the afternoon, where the women and ladies had already been seated in stands surrounding the edges of the combat space.¹⁵⁶ Charles, equipped to joust with armour and lances, then arrived and participated

¹⁵⁵ Jean Juvénal des Ursins, ‘Histoire de Charles VI’, p. 350. Additional narratives of the jousts, that do not mention the participation of the king, are given in *Chronique des quatre premiers Valois*, ed. S. Luce (Paris, 1862), pp. 312-313; Froissart, *Oeuvres*, vol. 10 p. 312. For comments on these jousts see Neste, *Tournois, joutes, pas d’armes*, pp. 257-258. For the political context of these marriages see Vaughan, *Philip the Good*, pp. 31-32.

¹⁵⁶ Froissart, *Oeuvres*, vol. 14 pp. 20-25, esp. 20. For other narratives of these jousts see *Chronique du Religieux de Saint-Denis*, ed. Bellaguet, vol. 1 pp. 614-615; Jean Juvénal des Ursins, ‘Histoire de Charles VI’, pp. 367-368. For secondary notes see Françoise Autrand, *Charles VI* (Paris, 1986), pp. 214-227; Barber, *The Knight and Chivalry*, p. 177; Barber & Barker, *Tournaments*, p. 43; Neste, *Tournois, joutes, pas d’armes*, p. 259.

in the event.¹⁵⁷ Charles also participated in jousts that were held to mark the churching of Valentina Visconti (1368-1408) Duchess of Touraine in 1391, when jousting harness was bought for him.¹⁵⁸ His policy of continued participation in formal combats after his coronation attracted some criticism from Michel Pintouin, the monk of Saint-Denis. Pintouin listed what he considered to be Charles VI's faults, and among these was the fact that Charles had continued to participate in formal combats, explicitly jousts, after having received Holy Unction at his coronation, which according to Pintouin was against royal tradition.¹⁵⁹ Of course, the periods of Charles VI's illness prevented him from engaging more regularly in formal combats later in his reign. During periods of lucidity he did apparently sponsor these events, and occasionally participated in them when his health allowed. He took part in the jousts that he organised at the Hôtel de St Pol in 1411, alongside other knights, that were outlined earlier in this chapter. Enguerrand de Monstrelet and Michel Pintouin recorded that he also participated in jousts at the marriage of his brother-in-law Louis of Bavaria (1368-1447) with Catherine d'Alençon (d. 1462) in October 1413 at the Hôtel de St Pol near Paris.¹⁶⁰

When Charles VI's jousting activities are compared to those of his English contemporary Richard II at the end of the fourteenth century, it is certainly possible to see distinct similarities between the two in addition to the large-scale events that both organised, such as those held in Smithfield in 1390, and in Saint-Denis and Paris in 1389. It is not clear whether Richard II took part in formal combats. The largest of these events during his reign in England, that at

¹⁵⁷ Froissart, *Oeuvres*, vol. 14 p. 22. The participation of Charles VI as a king of France is unusual; French monarchs usually stopped participating in formal combats upon their coronation, but the insistence of Charles VI that he continued to participate in such events has been remarked upon in Famiglietti, *Royal Intrigue*, p. 14.

¹⁵⁸ Writs for the 1391 jousts, alongside those for jousts in 1390 and 1411 jousts are preserved in BNF MS Fr. 21809, ff. 16r-55r. On the jousts in 1391 see Barber & Barker, *Tournaments*, p. 108.

¹⁵⁹ *Chronique du Religieux de Saint-Denys*, ed. Bellaguet, vol. 1 p. 566. On this and other criticisms of Charles VI in the *Chronique du Religieux de Saint-Denys* see Famiglietti, *Royal Intrigue*, p. 14. On the anointing of the kings of France at their coronations more generally see R.A. Jackson, *Vive le Roi! A History of the French Coronation from Charles V to Charles X* (Chapel Hill, 1984), pp. 42-3.

¹⁶⁰ Monstrelet, *Chronique*, vol. 2 pp. 407-408 for Charles' participation in the jousts; *Chronique du Religieux de Saint-Denys*, ed. Bellaguet, vol. 4 p. 205. For commentary see Barber & Barker, *Tournaments*, p. 108.

Smithfield in October 1390, was organised by Richard.¹⁶¹ It is not certain however, whether Richard himself actively participated in the jousts. Certainly *The Westminster Chronicle* depicted Richard as having jousted and in fact as having won the honours for competing the best on the first day of the jousts.¹⁶² In his biography of Richard however, Nigel Saul did not believe that the king participated.¹⁶³ If Richard did participate in these jousts, this would link with the policy of Charles VI in France to participate in those events that were predominantly festivals of jousting, rather than less formal combats. It is noticeable that the jousts that Charles VI – and here Richard II – were recorded as having participated in, were those large festivals of jousting, at which the emphasis was on spectacle, pageantry, and the perceptions of the large audiences that observed the events. Although narratives for these events did not specify the nature of the combats, whether they were fought *à outrance* or the purportedly less dangerous *à plaisance*, it seems acceptable to assume that events such as this were fought without the intention to kill the opponent, especially if one was competing against one's king. These then were safer events, ones that did not intentionally risk the lives of the princes who participated, and were more concerned with displaying the princes' prowess and martial distinction in a regulated and formalised environment.

On other occasions, English kings chose to observe, and be observed at, formal combats rather than participate in them martially. Henry IV observed the jousts during the visit of Jean de Werchin Seneschal of Hainault and nine other

¹⁶¹ For the announcement of this challenge see *The Westminster Chronicle*, eds. Hector & Harvey, pp. 436-7. The document announcing the jousts is copied in BL MS Lansdowne 285, ff. 46v-47r; other copies exist in TRA MS I-35, ff. 8r-8v; CA MS L19, ff. 46v-47r. The contemporary narratives for this event are *The Brut*, ed. Brie, vol. 2, p. 343; *The Westminster Chronicle*, eds. Hector & Harvey, pp. 450-1; *Historia Vitae et Regni Ricardi Secundi*, ed. Stow, p. 132; Froissart, *Oeuvres*, vol. 14 pp. 253-64; *Chronique des Quatre Premiers Valois*, ed. Luce, pp. 315-16. For the provisioning that preceded the jousts see *CPR, Richard II (1389-1392)*, 'http://sdr.lib.uiowa.edu/patentrolls/r2v4/body/Richard2vol4page0302.pdf' (13 March 2013). For extensive discussion see Lindenbaum, 'The Smithfield Tournament of 1390', 1-20.

¹⁶² *The Westminster Chronicle*, eds. Hector & Harvey, pp. 450-1.

¹⁶³ Saul, *Richard II*, p. 453. Payments for specialised jousting armour were made for Richard throughout his reign, but not in 1390: see C.P. Fletcher, 'Manhood and Politics in the Reign of Richard II', *Past and Present* 189 (2005), p. 30; J.L. Gillespie, 'Richard II's Knights: Chivalry and Patronage', *Journal of Medieval History* 13 (1987), p. 144; Lindenbaum, 'The Smithfield Tournament of 1390', pp. 7, 19.

Hainaultiers to England in 1409, when they jousted against English knights.¹⁶⁴ The initial challenge issued by Jean de Werchin in 1408 was addressed to the Knights of the Garter. Although technically this included Henry IV as a member of that Order, this seemed to suggest that primarily Werchin wished to joust against English knights rather than the monarch himself; he actually asked Henry IV to watch the encounter, rather than actively participate.¹⁶⁵ Werchin did however specify that he wished the combat to take place in the presence of the king.¹⁶⁶ Henry IV was present and observed the encounter, but did not participate himself. Instead, other English knights participated, including John Beaufort and John Cornwall, both of whom were knights of the Order of the Garter.¹⁶⁷

Royal princes did not always solely observe formal combats however, even the most dangerous forms of encounter fought on military campaign. During the siege of Melun in 1420 Arnaud Guilhelm Lord Barbazan (d. 1431), the captain of Melun, jousted against English king Henry V.¹⁶⁸ Jean de Waurin described how

¹⁶⁴ Jean de Werchin, seneschal of Hainault and baron of Flanders (1374-1415). For these jousts see *The Brut*, ed. Bric, vol. 1 pp. 369-370. The initial encounter had been organised in France before being prohibited by Charles VI, see Waurin, *Recueil des chroniques*, vol. 2 p. 131-132; Monstrelet, *Chronique*, vol. 2 pp. 5-6. Challenges from the previous year between Jean de Werchin and John Cornwall are found in BL Add. MS 21370. For secondary commentary on these challenges see Chris Given-Wilson, 'The Quarrels of Old Women': Henry IV, Louis of Orléans, and Anglo-French Chivalric Challenges in the early Fifteenth Century', in Gwilym Dodd & Douglas Biggs (eds.), *The reign of Henry IV: rebellion and survival, 1403-1413* (York, 2008), pp. 38-9. On the martial career of Jean de Werchin see W. Paravicini, 'Jean de Werchin, Sénéchal de Hainault, chevalier errant', in F. Autrand, C. Gauvard & J.-M. Moeglin (eds.), *Saint-Denis et la royauté* (Paris, 1999), 125-44.

¹⁶⁵ BL Add. MS 21370, ff. 1r-1v.

¹⁶⁶ BL Add. MS 21370, f. 1v.

¹⁶⁷ G.L. Harriss, 'Beaufort, John, c. 1371 - 1410', May 2011, '<http://www.oxforddnb.com.ezproxy.york.ac.uk/view/article/1861>' (21 June 2013); S.J. Payling, 'Cornwall, John', 2004, '<http://www.oxforddnb.com.ezproxy.york.ac.uk/view/article/54423>' (21 June 2013).

¹⁶⁸ Georges Chastellain, *Oeuvres de Georges Chastellain*, ed. Kervyn de Lettenhove (8 vols, Brussels, 1863-1866), vol. 1 p. 157; Waurin, *Recueil des chroniques*, vol. 2 pp. 310-12; *The First English Life of King Henry V*, ed. C.L. Kingsford (Oxford, 1911), p. 170. Jean Juvénal des Ursins, 'Histoire de Charles VI', vol. 2 p. 558 also mentioned the siege, but makes no mention of combats in the mines. This combat is discussed further in Chapter 5, 'Motivations: Real and Constructed' below. For brief discussion see Barber, *The Knight and Chivalry*, p. 245; Keen, *The Laws of War*, pp. 48-9. For Barbazan see Elizabeth Gonzalez, *Un prince en son hotel: les serviteurs des ducs d'Orléans au XVe siècle* (Paris, 2004), p. 312.

several knights and esquires fought with lances, and how some even gained knighthood through performing these arms so admirably.¹⁶⁹

Henry V's court certainly did not witness a large number of jousting festivals or other types of formal combat. Instead, it seemed that Henry V's inclinations towards formal combats tended towards the martial forms of combat, such as these jousts in siege tunnels, in a martial situation. Henry's preference for formal combats in explicitly martial situations, rather than the elaborate jousting festivals favoured by Richard II, may also explain his challenge to formal combat sent to the French dauphin, Louis Duke of Guyenne, in September 1415.¹⁷⁰ This challenge invited Louis to engage in a single combat with Henry, in order to decide the future of the crown of France in light of Charles VI's continuing illness. Given the preparations underway for the Agincourt campaign, it is particularly interesting that Henry V turned to a formal combat to attempt to prevent further bloodshed.¹⁷¹ This suggests that Henry viewed formal combats as a legitimate tool in his foreign and martial policy, despite his apparent reticence to engage in them at home.

The policies of kings regarding formal combats therefore depended on the individual monarch. Richard II and Charles VI simultaneously followed policies of using formal combats as great spectacles to unite their nobilities, to demonstrate their royal power, and to interact with foreign nobilities through public spectacle. Henry V however, seemed to take a different approach regarding formal combats. He fought in jousts while on campaign, and he challenged Louis Duke of Guyenne to a combat over the right to the French crown. This was not to establish his pre-eminence over formal combats in a diplomatic way, but instead to utilise such encounters within his wider political and martial aims.

¹⁶⁹ Waurin, *Recueil des chroniques*, vol. 2 pp. 310-12.

¹⁷⁰ *Foedera*, ed. Rymer, vol. 9 p. 313. For comment see Famiglietti, *Royal Intrigue*, p. 167. The fact of the challenge was also recorded in *Gesta Henrici Quinti. The Deeds of Henry the Fifth*, trans. Frank Taylor & John S. Roskell (Oxford, 1975), pp. 56-59, although this does not contain the text of the challenge itself.

¹⁷¹ On the preparations for this campaign see for example Christopher Allmand, *Henry V* (New Haven, 1997), p. 72.

A Theorized Framework

The regulatory texts that have been discussed so far in this chapter have generally been composed by either royal princes, claiming their own authority, or by martial individuals who engaged physically in the kinds of combats that they were regulating. There was a third group however who sought to establish control and authority over formal combats. These individuals were the lawyers and those others who claimed legal authority to indicate how formal combats should be regulated. Again, many of these sources were concerned especially with judicial duels as they carried the most pertinent legal importance. They did however also discuss other types of formal combat, and attempted to assert authority over how such events should be controlled.

Perhaps the most important similarity between those regulations composed by martial individuals, and those by judicial parties, was the audience of these texts: the princes themselves. Both groups of texts encouraged princes to assert their authority over formal combats, either to regulate them firmly as in the martial texts of Thomas of Woodstock and Jean de Villiers discussed above, or to largely prohibit them altogether, as in the works by legal authorities examined here.

The interaction that later medieval kings were expected to have with formal combats was not necessarily clear, reflecting the complex relationship between private conflict and legality. There was a very definite sense from other contemporary works that kings should not be seen to waste their time on the frivolities of formal combats. Christine de Pizan presented a firm anti-combat stance in her *Livres des faits d'armes et de chevalerie* on the art of war and military law written in 1410, in the hope that the dauphin, Louis of Guyenne, would profit from reading it as a guide on primarily military and also judicial authority.¹⁷² Pizan's primary concern regarding judicial duels was that they were prone to resulting in wrongful convictions. She asked 'N'a pas Nostre Seigneur souffret occirre mains preudesommes a tort et sans cause, dont les ames en sont

¹⁷² Kate Langdon Forhan, *The Political Theory of Christine de Pizan* (Aldershot, 2002), p. 150.

glorieusement en paradis, que il ne fist pas lors miracles pour eulx?'.¹⁷³ She went on to describe how 'toutes ces folles armes, qui par jeunes ce sans nulle cause ne mais par maniere d'orgueil de vaincre l'un l'autre sans nulle querelle, qui chose estoit des plaisant a Dieu, sont delaissiees.'. ¹⁷⁴ She clearly did not approve of these events, and she described the undertaking of a formal combat later as a 'folle entreprise'.¹⁷⁵ Writing during the political and civil unrest between the houses of Burgundy and Orléans following the assassination of Duke Louis of Orléans in 1407, and debates surrounding good rule and government, her attitudes to formal combats reflected her general ideals of a re-establishment of royal order and the exercise of royal authority through a strong assertion of royal power to control events such as judicial duels.¹⁷⁶

Christine de Pizan clearly viewed strong royal authority as the way to eliminate these 'foolish habits'. She explicitly praised King Charles VI for forbidding all forms of judicial combat as well as other feats of arms: 'Belle amie, sy puez bien veoir que tel batail est reprouvee, a laquelle chose, bon conseil a puis quatre ans ença bien advisé pay quoy plus ne seront en usaige en son royaulme.'. ¹⁷⁷ This, she thought, should provide an example to other Christian kingdoms.

¹⁷³ 'Has not our Lord allowed many brave men to be wrongfully killed without reason, men whose souls are in glory in Paradise, although He performed no miracle for them?' Christine Laennec, 'Christine antygrafe: Authorship and the Self in the Prose Works of Christine de Pizan, with an Edition of B.N. Ms. 603 Le Livre des Fais d'Armes et de Chevalerie' (unpublished PhD thesis, 2 vols, Yale University, 1988), vol. 2 pp. 198, 261.

¹⁷⁴ 'All other foolish feats of arms undertaken through youth and for no reason except for the sort of vanity of conquering each other (something displeasing to God) have been set aside.', Laennec, *Christine antygrafe*, vol. 2 pp. 199, 262.

¹⁷⁵ 'foolish habit', Laennec, *Christine antygrafe*, vol. 2 pp. 199, 263.

¹⁷⁶ On Christine de Pizan's motivations for writing and intended audience for her work see Christopher Allmand, *The De Re Militari of Vegetius. The Reception, Transmission and Legacy of a Roman Text in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge, 2011), pp. 124-7; Françoise Le Saux, 'War and Knighthood in Christine de Pizan's *Livre des faits d'armes et de chevalerie*', in Corinne Saunders, Françoise Le Saux & Neil Thomas (eds.), *Writing War. Medieval Literary Responses to Warfare* (Woodbridge, 2004), 93-106, on Christine de Pizan's readership and audience see especially pp. 94-5.

¹⁷⁷ 'So, fair friend, you can indeed know that such combat is forbidden, for which reason, God be thanked, the king of France and his good council took notice of this four years ago, whereby it can no longer be used in his kingdom.', Laennec, *Christine antygrafe*, vol. 2 pp. 199, 262.

The prohibition that Christine de Pizan was referring to here was issued in Paris on 27 January 1405.¹⁷⁸ It was not however issued to prohibit judicial combats; rather it was focused on specific 'joustes ou faiz d'armes' planned by specific French nobles, to be held in Paris. At least one of the named men, Jean de Garencières, was a chamberlain of Duke Louis of Orléans; Garencières had initially been employed by Orléans as a singer or musician in 1398, before becoming chamberlain in 1403.¹⁷⁹ The prohibition directed towards this group encompassing at least some Orléanists, is particularly interesting given the timing of the document. In January 1405, Duke John the Fearless of Burgundy had recently arrived in Paris and was already engaged in political manoeuvrings for power with Louis of Orléans. Although at this stage relations were not as openly hostile as they would become later in 1405, in January and February John the Fearless was already gaining popular support and attempting to increase his political power at Orléans' expense.¹⁸⁰ Given this prohibition was composed during this period of political maneuvering, it is also particularly interesting to note that John the Fearless was one of the signatories of the prohibition, alongside Charles VI who had only recently regained his health after a winter of illness.¹⁸¹ Rather than a prohibition on formal combats therefore, this document might have in fact been part of John the Fearless' campaign to assert his authority over Parisian politics by preventing Orléanist supporters from gathering at a formal combat. At the least, such a move would help to establish the duke's own authority; it might also prevent Louis of Orléans' supporters from getting a chance to meet in arms. Following the specific prohibition of this event, this document then widened its prohibition to encompass all jousts and deeds of arms that might be held in the realm of France. This may have included judicial combats; it was not made explicit in the text. This document was not therefore quite what Christine de Pizan had envisaged: it did not prohibit all judicial duels, but rather

¹⁷⁸ *Ordonnances*, ed. Laurière, vol. 9 pp. 105-106.

¹⁷⁹ He was a chamberlain in Louis of Orléans' household between 18 November 1403 and 22 October 1416: see Gonzalez, *Un prince en son hôtel*, p. 288.

¹⁸⁰ On the political maneuverings of Burgundy and Orléans in early 1405 see Richard Vaughan, *John the Fearless: the growth of Burgundian Power* (2nd edn., Woodbridge, 2002), pp. 31-32.

¹⁸¹ *Chronique du Religieux de Saint-Denis*, ed. Bellaguet, vol. 3 p. 226; Famiglietti, *Royal Intrigue*, p. 39; Guinée, *La folie de Charles VI*, pp. 295 & 297 n. 22.

all jousts and other formal combats that might have been organised in France without royal oversight.

Christine de Pizan's approach to formal combats, explicitly judicial duels, in the *Livre des fais* was therefore distinctly oppositional; she believed that they should not be held at all, and if they had to be, they should only be held with strong royal control. In a later work however, she expressed a more relaxed view to formal combats as potential tools for military practice. In the *Livre de la paix* composed between 1412 and 1414, she declared formal combats, 'tournois et joûtes', to be necessary training grounds for soldiers to be ready to serve the king in his wars.¹⁸² Again however, her emphasis was on the royal control of such events. They should be organised by the king and they should be attended and regulated by 'le plus notable home en armes du pays' to ensure that they are well run.¹⁸³ Once a year the king should hold a single, centralised tournament for all the military men in the kingdom to come together and practice combat.¹⁸⁴ The change in tone in Christine de Pizan's attitudes to formal combat seemed marked. No longer were formal combats 'foolish habits', but instead potentially useful methods of practicing military combat. Charity Willard suggested that this change in attitude indicated Christine de Pizan's awareness of French military inadequacies that were to lead to the disaster at Agincourt in 1415.¹⁸⁵ Her approach still bore strong elements of her earlier opinion in 1410 however: she repeatedly asserted the role of the king in regulating and controlling formal combats, and she certainly did not advocate the private organisation of formal combats for leisure. In the later text, although her attitude had relaxed to allow formal combats under some circumstances, they were still to be rigidly controlled.

Christine de Pizan's attitude towards formal combats in her earlier work, the *Livre des fais*, may well have been influenced through her use of other earlier texts,

¹⁸² Christine de Pizan, *The Book of Peace*, eds. & tr. Karen Green, Constant J. Mews & Janice Pinder (Philadelphia, 2008), pp. 145, 275.

¹⁸³ Pizan, *The Book of Peace*, eds. Green, Mews & Pinder, pp. 145, 275.

¹⁸⁴ Pizan, *The Book of Peace*, eds. Green, Mews & Pinder, pp. 145, 276.

¹⁸⁵ Christine de Pizan, *The 'Livre de la Paix'*, ed. C.C. Willard (The Hague, 1958), p. 205.

including the *Arbre de Bataille* of Honorat Bovet.¹⁸⁶ Both of these texts criticised judicial combats as legal, law-based activities. Honorat Bovet, in his *Arbre des Batailles* composed in 1387 and dedicated to Charles VI of France, criticised judicial combats as being unlawful, as such combats resulted in innocent men being defeated and tempted God to deliver a verdict.¹⁸⁷ Bovet was explicitly scathing of judicial combats: he stated that a formal combat ‘c’est chose reprouvee, especialment qui sela feroit par sa franche volunté’.¹⁸⁸ He did however allow for royally controlled combats, as long as the prince maintained close control over them. He recognised that ‘selon lez drois de soustume royal et de seigneurie temporele, tel bataille est due en cas que la chose ce requiere de faire’.¹⁸⁹

Pierre Salmon, a secretary to Charles VI, also stated in his text *Les demandes faites par le Roi Charles VI*, presented to the king, that ‘Car plus grant honneur est au Roy et chose plus convenable penser a son gouvernement que chacier et faire feste’.¹⁹⁰ In the second version of his work however, Salmon changed this to ‘plus convenable chose lui est et plus honneste que de chacier ne faire feste tournois et joustes ne vaquier en autres vanitez’, extending his derision of such activities to

¹⁸⁶ On Christine de Pizan’s use of texts such as the *L’Arbre de Bataille* see Allmand, *The De Re Militari of Vegetius*, pp. 124-7; Forhan, *The Political Theory of Christine de Pizan*, p. 150; Le Saux, ‘War and Knighthood in Christine de Pizan’s *Livre des faits d’armes et de chevalerie*’, 93-106.

¹⁸⁷ Bovet, ‘L’Arbre des Batailles d’Honorat Bovet’, ed. Biu, vol. 2 p. 734. The sections of Honorat Bovet’s work concerned with judicial combats in addition to this are Bovet, ‘L’Arbre des Batailles d’Honorat Bovet’, ed. Biu, pt 4 ch. cxi [pp. 195-6]; pt 4 ch. cxii [pp. 196-8; this section states that judicial duels may only be permitted in very limited instances]; pt 4 ch. cxiii - cxviii [pp. 198-203]; pt 4 ch. cxxx [pp. 206-8]. For overviews of judicial duels see Bartlett, *Trial by Fire and Water*, passim; Carbasse, ‘Le Duel judiciaire’, 385-403.

¹⁸⁸ ‘is a thing condemned, especially if it is done of free will’, Bovet, ‘L’Arbre des Batailles d’Honorat Bovet’, ed. Biu, vol. 2 p. 734.

¹⁸⁹ ‘according to the rights of royal custom and temporal lordship, such combat is due in cases where the matter requires it’, Bovet, ‘L’Arbre des Batailles d’Honorat Bovet’, ed. Biu, vol. 2 p. 734.

¹⁹⁰ ‘For the highest honour, and most convenable thing for a king is to think of his government rather than to hunt and make festivals’, BNF MS Fr. 23279, ff.16v-17r; Pierre Salmon, *Les demandes faites par le Roi Charles VI, et les réponses de son secrétaire et familier Pierre Salmon*, ed. Georges-Adrien Crapelet (Paris, 1833), p. 37. The different editions of Pierre Salmon’s text are printed in Anne D. Hedeman, *Of Counselors and Kings. The Three Versions of Pierre Salmon’s Dialogues* (Urbana & Chicago, 2001). For a general overview of Salmon’s text see Anne D. Hedeman, ‘Pierre Salmon’s Advice for a King’, *Gesta*, 32 no.2 (1993), 113-123.

explicitly include tournament and jousts.¹⁹¹ There were certainly contemporary indications therefore, that kings were expected to keep close control over formal combats, and that they should set the clear example of prioritising serious governance over participating in such events.

In each of these texts, the role of the prince as arbiter and controller of formal combats was important. There were strong suggestions in contemporary literature that a strong king was one who was in control of all expressions of violence within the realm. This was the case in for example *Le Songe du Vergier* written circa 1378 for Charles V of France (1338-1380), probably by Jean le Fèvre, the abbot of St-Vaast who also had a doctorate in canon law from a French university, probably that of Paris.¹⁹² The *Songe* was in most part a translation of another text, the *Somnium Viridarii* composed circa 1376 also for Charles V, probably by Evrart de Trémaugon, a doctor of law who was possibly a pupil of the Bolognese jurist Giovanni da Legnano.¹⁹³ One section of the debate between the clerk and the knight (representing the pope and the king respectively) was concerned with whether a king should provide and allow duels.¹⁹⁴ The clerk began, ‘je vous demande se ce n’est grant cuauré et grant inhumanité a un Roy ou a un aultre prince terrien d’ajuger un champ de bataille entre sez subjés, lequel champ de

¹⁹¹ ‘It is more convenable and more honest for him than to hunt, or to participate in festivals, tournaments, or jousts, nor to attend other vanities’, Bibliothèque de Genève, MS Fr. 165, f.21v. I am very grateful to Kristin Bourassa, University of York, for highlighting this text and providing this reference.

¹⁹² For bibliographical notes on Jean le Fèvre and his identity as the author of the text see Pierre Chaplais, ‘Jean le Fèvre, Abbot of Saint-Vaast, Arras, and the *Songe du Vergier*’, in Colin Richmond & Isobel Harvey (eds.), *Recognitions: essays presented to Edmund Frye* (Aberystwyth, 1996), 203-228. The author of this text had previously been identified as Evrart de Trémaugon by Marion Schnerb-Lièvre in *Le Songe du Vergier. Édité d’Après le Manuscrit Royal 19CIV de la British Library* (2 vols, Paris, 1982), vol. 1 pp. lxxxv-lxxxviii; she expanded upon the arguments that she made two years previously in Marion Schnerb-Lièvre, ‘Evrart de Trémaugon et le *Songe du Vergier*’, *Romania*, 101 (1980), 527-30. Evrart was also the author argued for in A. Coville, *Evrart de Trémaugon et le Songe du Vergier* (Paris, 1933).

¹⁹³ For biographical notes on Evrart de Trémaugon see Jenny Stratford, ‘The Illustration of the *Songe du Vergier* and some fifteenth-century manuscripts’, in Godfried Croenen & Peter Ainsworth (eds.), *Patrons, Authors and Workshops: Books and Book Production in Paris Around 1400* (Louvain, 2006), pp. 473-5. On John of Legnano’s *Tractatus de bello* and his *Somnium* as inspirations for the *Songe* see Chaplais, ‘Jean le Fèvre, Abbot of Saint-Vaast, Arras, and the *Songe du Vergier*’, pp. 208-9; G.W. Coopland, ‘An Unpublished Work of John of Legnano: the ‘*Somnium*’ of 1372’, *Nuovi Studi Medievali*, 2 (1925-6), p. 65.

¹⁹⁴ The debate regarding judicial duels is found in Schnerb-Lièvre, *Le Songe du Vergier*. vol. 1 pp. 348-354.

bataille est reprouvé, tant de Droit naturel que de Droit divin, et de Droit civil aussi'.¹⁹⁵ He looked at three kinds of duels: those of hatred, glory, and compurgation.¹⁹⁶ He disapproved of duels of hatred, intended only to destroy the other party; he was however more lenient towards those who fought for glory, for they served a better purpose.¹⁹⁷ Elsewhere however, he criticised tournaments and other formal combats as a waste of human life and human souls.¹⁹⁸ The most acceptable form of duel, the knight stated, was the duel of compurgation, or those duels fought as part of the legal process, because these were allowed in several specific cases, including homicide during peacetime.¹⁹⁹ Even these were ideally to be prohibited however, because under divine and canon law they tempted God to deliver miracles to save the weaker but innocent, and under the law of nations they enabled a stronger man to win despite his cause being potentially unjust.²⁰⁰

At no point in the knight's rebuttal did he question the role of the king to oversee judicial combats, but rather he presumed the role of the king was to provide judicial combats as a lawful answer to problematic trials of this type. Given the potential influence of Giovanni da Legnano over Trémaugon, it is worth also stating that in his work the *Tractatus de Bello*, Legnano discussed the permissible circumstances necessary for judicial duels, and emphasised the importance of standardised legal proceedings; in Legnano's work however the role of king was not explicit, but instead he insisted that judicial duels (when they were allowed) has to be carefully undertaken as a formal trial under the control of a judge.²⁰¹

¹⁹⁵ 'I ask you, is it not great cruelty and great inhumanity the king or another earthly prince judges a judicial duel between his subjects, the said judicial duel is reproved as much by natural right as by divine right, and by civil right also', Schnerb-Lièvre, *Le Songe du Vergier*, vol. 1 p. 348.

¹⁹⁶ Giovanni da Legnano, *Tractatus de bello, de represaliis et de duello*, ed. Thomas Erskine Holland (Washington, 1917), p. 331.

¹⁹⁷ Legnano, *Tractatus de bello*, pp. 335-36.

¹⁹⁸ Legnano, *Tractatus de bello*, p. 340.

¹⁹⁹ Schnerb-Lièvre, *Le Songe du Vergier*, vol. 1 p. 353.

²⁰⁰ Legnano, *Tractatus de bello*, pp. 342-43.

²⁰¹ Legnano, *Tractatus de bello*, pp. 331-354.

These texts therefore constituted debates surrounding the divine, legal and political authority to allow judicial combats, as well as other kinds of formal combat. Given the presentation of several of these legal treatises to kings, it was perhaps unsurprising that they often explicitly emphasised the role of the prince in authorising such combats. Such an approach reflected the wider aims of the kings themselves, who wished to assert control over formal combats but who were not always successful in doing so.

Conclusion

Authority over the form and frequency of formal combats during the later medieval period, thus fell to three key groups. The first of these was the jurists and legal theorists, who stressed the role that royal authority played in the organisation of formal combats. Some of these theorists stated that formal combats were permissible, but only under direct royal authority and usually as a component in rigid judicial practice. The second of these interested parties was the knights, those martial individuals who actively participated most frequently in formal combats. Their association with combats was two-fold. Firstly they composed treatises that examined the form and organisation of formal combats, stressing not only their own role but also the role of the prince. Secondly however, and more at odds with the aims of royal and princely authority, these knights organised and undertook formal combats themselves, often without royal, princely control. Countering the interests of the knights were the royal princes, the final group with an explicit interest in formal combats. These later medieval monarchs and princes were left in a quandary. On the one hand, they were being encouraged by contemporary commentators to refuse participation in formal combats and to concentrate on the serious business of governing their realm. They also wished to prohibit such activities that caused direct harms to themselves, or that risked being used as a means of undermining their royal position. Yet on the other hand, the crown recognised that much could be gained through careful, conscious choreographing of certain formal combats to suit its own ends. The approach of princes was thus nuanced. They prohibited non-royal events from taking place, while also publicly endorsing their own formal combats. They patronised the writing of regulations

and treatises to dictate the forms and format of combats, while only allowing those individuals who sought their official licence to participate in any such event.

Ultimately, later medieval monarchs were able to assert control over formal combats in very similar ways in both England and France. The approach of the crown in both of these realms was centred around a three-stage methodology that encompassed prohibiting private combats, regulating those that they wished to go ahead as much as possible (whilst punishing those who flagrantly ignored this legislation), and holding their own events that attempted to outshine any private combat with their display and magnificence. By employing this strategy, later medieval kings wished to not only assert their own chivalric, martial and political authority, but they also sought to outdo one another in their attempts to control formal combats.

Chapter Four

Participation, Status and Manhood

The previous chapter examined the role that kings and princes played in relation to organising and regulating formal combats. As discussed, they were important sponsors and patrons of formal combats, but did not necessarily frequently participate themselves. Instead, the participants were, in the vast majority of cases, members of the wider aristocracy. This group were predominantly knights and esquires with an explicit martial role.¹ This chapter will seek to examine the participation of the aristocracy in formal combats. It will examine two central elements in the nature of the participants of formal combats. Firstly, it will address youth, age, and the place of formal combats in the 'life cycle' of a martial individual. Secondly, it will examine the martial status of the participants, specifically the nature of participants as knights and as esquires.

Youth and Age

Geoffroi de Charny (d. 1356) envisaged a linear progression of formal combats within the framework of an individual's martial career in his *Livre de chevalerie* written around 1350.² In his discussion on the amount of honour accrued through participation in martial endeavours, Charny described how those who jousted did not have as much honour as those who tourneyed; similarly, those who tourneyed did not have as much honour as those who engaged in open warfare.³ This presentation of a system in which it was possible to delineate between those who

¹ Richard Barber, *The Knight and Chivalry* (London, 1970), pp. 21-46; Richard Barber, 'When is a Knight not a Knight?', in Stephen Church & Ruth Harvey (eds.), *Medieval Knighthood V. Papers from the Sixth Strawberry Hill Conference 1994* (Woodbridge, 1995), p. 17; Constance Brittain Bouchard, 'Strong of Body, Brave and Noble', *Chivalry and Society in Medieval France* (Ithaca & London, 1998), pp. 13-15, 23-26; Christine Carpenter, 'England: the nobility and the gentry', in S.H. Rigby (ed.), *A Companion to Britain in the later Middle Ages* (Oxford, 2003), p. 262; Maurice Keen, *Chivalry* (Nota Bene Ed., New Haven & London, 1984), pp. 145, 152, 247. On the martial role of knights specifically see Martin Aurell, 'The Western Nobility in the late Middle Ages: a survey of the historiography and some prospects for new research', in Anne J. Duggan (ed.), *Nobles and Nobility in Medieval Europe. Concepts, Origins, Transformations* (Woodbridge, 2000), p. 271; Philippe Contamine, *La Noblesse au royaume de France de Philippe le Bel à Louis XII: essai de synthèse* (Paris, 1997), p. 329.

² Geoffroi de Charny, *The Book of Chivalry of Geoffroi de Charny: text, context and translation*, eds. Richard W. Kacuper & Elspeth Kennedy (Philadelphia, 1996), pp. 86-88.

³ Charny, *The Book of Chivalry*, p. 88.

merely jousted, those who tourneyed (here used to described mêlée combats) and those who participated in warfare was very neat, and engaged with Charny's maxim that those who did more were of more worth.⁴ In reality however, the picture of participation in formal combats was much more diverse, and far less neat and formalised.

In secondary historiography, this sense of a linear career of formal combats, that jousts provided training grounds for young knights to practice martial skills, has sometimes continued. In such descriptions, relatively inexperienced knights and young men, who had not yet achieved knighthood, learned the martial skills necessary to perform a career in arms through participation in mêlées, jousts and other formal combats.⁵ These young men often travelled around northern and western Europe, becoming knights errant and pursuing military adventures in an echo of glamorous literary models that attributed participation in formal combats with the young.⁶ Georges Duby called them the 'iuvenes', and described how they formed the majority of mêlée tournament participants in the twelfth century.⁷ In these studies, participation in formal combats was itself a strong component in proving and asserting an individual's developing manhood.⁸

The participation in such activities is not solely presented as practice for martial pursuits and learning skills in arms however, but also as forming part of a 'ritual of manhood', a test that must be passed before manhood is attained.⁹ Ruth Mazzo

⁴ See for example Charny, *The Book of Chivalry*, p. 88.

⁵ Ruth Mazo Karras, *From Boys to Men. Formations of Masculinity in Late Medieval Europe* (Philadelphia, 2003), pp. 23, 29; Nicholas Orme, *From Childhood to Chivalry. The Education of the English Kings and Aristocracy 1066-1530* (London and New York, 1984), pp. 189-90.

⁶ M. Bennett, 'Military Masculinity in England and Northern France, c. 1050-c. 1225', in D.M. Hadley (ed.), *Masculinity in Medieval Europe* (London, 1999), pp. 77-9; J. Flori, 'Qu'est-ce qu'un Bachelor? Étude Historique de Vocabulaire dans les Chansons de Geste du XIIe Siècle', *Romania*, 96 (1975), 289-314; Karras, *From Boys to Men*, p. 39.

⁷ Georges Duby, *The Chivalrous Society*, ed. & trans. C. Postan (London, 1977), chapter 7 passim.

⁸ On learning martial skill as an important component of manhood see Bennett, 'Military Masculinity', pp. 73-76; Orme, *From Childhood to Chivalry*, pp. 181-191; S. Shahar, *Childhood in the Middle Ages* (London, 1990), pp. 210-11.

⁹ David D. Gilmore, *Manhood in the Making. Cultural Concepts of Masculinity* (New Haven, 1990), pp. 9, 11; Christopher Fletcher, *Richard II. Manhood, Youth, and Politics 1377 - 99* (Oxford, 2008), pp. 39-

Karras has argued that manhood was understood as dominance, which was achieved through violence.¹⁰ For individuals whose futures will be heavily combat-orientated, these rituals of manhood took on that combative flavour and thus became based on the exercise of combat and competition against their peers.¹¹ Formal combats offered an environment in which to express and experience this competition. It is this that John Tosh has described as a turn from masculinity as a set of cultural attributes, to masculinity as a social status, demonstrated in specific social contexts.¹² In this sense, manhood and masculinity were identities – as things in which individuals had a stake to shape themselves.¹³ If manhood was a goal to be attained, rather than a set of attributes that men may or may not possess, then it follows that failure to achieve this social status could be met with threats to an individual's honour and a danger of shame.¹⁴ As well as testing themselves against one another however, this youthful assertion of manhood was also dependent on the display and affirmation of this manliness; it was only through displaying manly qualities through participation in publically-witnessed events that such affirmation of manhood could be attained.¹⁵

It is difficult to see in reality however, the neat model of ever-progressing manhood that was presented in the work of Geoffroi de Charny, and that has been suggested by some historians and anthropologists. Certainly the period of youth was used to develop the martial skills necessary in later life. In modern

41; John Tosh, 'What Should Historians do with Masculinity? Reflections of Nineteenth-Century Britain', *History Workshop Journal*, 38 (1994), p. 184.

¹⁰ Karras, *From Boys to Men*, pp. 11, 21.

¹¹ Leo Braudy, *From Chivalry to Terrorism: war and the changing nature of masculinity* (New York, 2005), p. xv; D.M. Hadley, 'Introduction: Medieval Masculinities', in D.M. Hadley (ed.), *Masculinity in Medieval Europe* (London & New York, 1999), p. 2; Karras, *From Boys to Men*, p. 11; Jacqueline Murray, 'Introduction', *Conflicted Identities and Multiple Masculinities. Men in the Medieval West* (New York & London, 1999), p. xii; Derek G. Neal, *The Masculine Self in Late Medieval England* (Chicago & London, 2008), pp. 15-16.

¹² Tosh, 'What Should Historians do with Masculinity?', p. 184.

¹³ Neal, *The Masculine Self*, p. 6.

¹⁴ Vern Bullough, 'On Being a Male in the Middle Ages', *Medieval Masculinities: Regarding Men in the Middle Ages* (Minneapolis, 1994), p. 34; Fletcher, *Richard II*, p. 33.

¹⁵ Pierre Bourdieu, *Masculine Domination*, trans. Richard Nice (Stanford, 2001), p. 52; Neal, *The Masculine Self*, p. 7; Tosh, 'What Should Historians do with Masculinity?', p. 184.

anthropological and historical studies of masculinity and manliness, the period of youth is recognised as a crucial time in the emergence of an individual's manhood.¹⁶ This was a time when young men practiced the skills necessary to the societal roles that they would play in later life. In the case of men who would become knights, that role was strongly martial. Formal combats provided the opportunity to participate in activities that strengthened an individual's martial abilities. The events that young men took part in were generally training events, designed for practice, not large-scale jousting events or combats on the front during open warfare. In 1415, Regnault d'Angennes received 200 livre tournois for having taught Louis Duke of Guyenne (1397-1415) to joust and having been the first knight to joust with him.¹⁷ Regnault was 'premier varlet trenchant' of Charles VI and 'chevalier, conseiller et chambellan du roy'.¹⁸ Indeed, at this time Louis was flexing his muscles in formal combats in public. He participated in jousts for a deputation of English ambassadors that visited Paris in December 1414 until March 1415 in order to negotiate on behalf of Henry V for Catherine of France's hand in marriage.¹⁹ Although Neste has dated the jousts to mark the ambassadors' visit to January 1414, the attendance described in chronicle narratives matched the ambassadors who were sent to Paris in December 1414 – March 1415 in order to negotiate for Henry V's marriage to Catherine of France.²⁰ Monstrelet and Waurin listed the attendees as Thomas Beaufort Duke of Dorset, Richard Lord Grey of Codnor, Richard Courtenay Bishop of Norwich

¹⁶ Bennett, 'Military Masculinity', p. 74; Gilmore, *Manhood in the Making*, pp. 9, 11; Michelle Z. Rosaldo, 'Women, Culture and Society: a Theoretical Overview', in M.Z. Rosaldo & L. Lamphere (eds.), *Woman, Culture and Society* (Stamford, 1974), p. 28; Tosh, 'What Should Historians do with Masculinity?', p. 184.

¹⁷ Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris, MS Fonds Français 32511, ff. 21v-22r.

¹⁸ On Regnault d'Angennes see R.C. Famiglietti, *Royal Intrigue. Crisis at the Court of Charles VI 1392-1420* (New York, 1986), p. 250 n. 11.

¹⁹ *Chronique du Religieux de Saint-Denis contenant le règne de Charles VI, de 1380 à 1422*, ed. & trans. L.F. Bellaguet (6 vols, Paris, 1839-1852), vol. 5 pp. 408-409.

²⁰ Évelyne van der Neste, *Tournois, joutes, pas d'armes dans les villes de Flandre à la fin du Moyen Age, 1300-1486* (Paris, 1996), p. 283. The main narrative sources for the ambassadorial visit are Monstrelet, *Chronique*, vol. 3 p. 60; Waurin, *Recueil des chroniques et anciennes istories de la Grant Bretagne*, vol. 2 pp. 170-171; le Févre, *Chronique*, vol. 1 p. 211. On this embassy see James Hamilton Wylie, *The Reign of Henry the Fifth* (3 vols, Cambridge, 1914), vol. 1 pp. 435-444. For overviews of the diplomatic missions between France and England at this time see Christopher Allmand, *Henry V* (New Haven 1997), pp. 70-71; G.P. Cuttino, *English Medieval Diplomacy* (Bloomington, 1985), pp. 107-108.

and Thomas Langley Bishop of Durham.²¹ The jousts must therefore have been in January 1415, at the time that Louis was recorded as having instruction for his jousting.

This concept of a young knight training to joust was also practiced in England. On 30 December 1389, John Hastings Earl of Pembroke (1372-1390) was practicing his skill in arms against John St John.²² The *Westminster Chronicle*, which offers the most detailed narrative of the encounter, described how St John, under orders from Pembroke's instructor, aimed his lance to the side in order to avoid striking his opponent; however the handle turned back and impaled the eighteen-year-old earl.²³ Pembroke's youth and desire to practice jousting was explicitly stressed in the narratives: the *Westminster Chronicle* described him as 'juvenis', while both the *St Albans Chronicle* and the *Historia Vitae et Regni Ricardi Secundi* related how Pembroke had finally fulfilled his wish to take part in jousts.²⁴ In the same way that Louis Duke of Guyenne had learned how to joust by practising in friendly encounters with trusted associates, so young men learned how to joust in England by practising with their contemporaries in regulated, purportedly safer surroundings – although the dangers of armed encounters still meant that some were very unlucky indeed.

The presentation of young men participating in formal combats continued out from these practice events and training jousts into larger, more formalised events.

²¹ Monstrelet, *Chronique*, vol. 3 p. 60; Waurin, *Recueil des chroniques et anciennes istories de la Grant Bretagne*, vol. 2 pp. 170-171. Le Fèvre stated that the duke of York led the deputation, although this was not correct, le Fèvre, *Chronique*, vol. 1 p. 211.

²² John Hastings was the fourteenth earl of Pembroke although only the third from the Hastings family to bear the title. Some biographical details for John Hastings can be found in *The Chronicle Maiora of Thomas Walsingham 1376-1422*, trans. David Preest (Woodbridge, 2005), p. 277. For the royal pardon issued to John St John by Richard II in 1391 for Pembroke's death see *Calendar of Patent Rolls, Richard II (1389-1392)*, 'http://sdr.lib.uiowa.edu/patentrolls/r2v4/body/Richard2vol4page0469.pdf' (28 May 2013).

²³ *The Westminster Chronicle, 1381-1394*, eds. L.C. Hector & B.F. Harvey (Oxford, 1982), pp. 408-411.

²⁴ *Historia Vitae et Regni Ricardi Secundi*, ed. George B. Stow (Pennsylvania, 1977), pp. 130-31; Thomas Walsingham, *The St Albans Chronicle: the 'Chronica Maiora' of Thomas Walsingham*, eds. & trans. John Taylor, Wendy R. Childs & Leslie Watkiss (2 vols, Oxford, 2003-2011), vol. 1 pp. 896-7; *The Westminster Chronicle*, eds. Hector & Harvey, pp. 408-411.

In a foot combat with axe, sword and dagger in 1414 during the siege of Arras for example, Jean le Fèvre described Charles of Artois Count of Eu as a ‘josne enfans’; Eu would have been nineteen or twenty in 1414 and thus still a youth, albeit one with battle experience.²⁵ Further descriptions of young knights appeared in Froissart’s narrative account of the jousts at Saint Inglevert in 1390, in which he described the participants of the jousts as ‘joeunes aventuriers et qui armes à faire désiroient’.²⁶ Some of the participants in these jousts certainly were young men. One of the French organisers and participants in the event, Jean le Meingre, was twenty-four years old in 1390.²⁷ One of his English counterparts, Thomas Mowbray Earl of Nottingham and Duke of Norfolk (1366-1399), was the same age.²⁸ These might have been young men, but they were not however martially inexperienced. Jean le Meingre had already served on various military campaigns, such as that to the Iberian peninsular in 1387.²⁹ Thomas Mowbray, although lacking Boucicaut’s campaigning experience, had also established a strong martial

²⁵ Jean le Fèvre, *Chronique de Jean le Fèvre*, ed. F. Morand (2 vols, Paris, 1876), vol. 1 pp. 177-78. Charles of Artois (1394-1472) was created count of Eu in 1397. A lieutenant of the king in Normandy and Guyenne, later he was governor of Paris. He was taken prisoner at the Battle of Agincourt (1415) and not released until 1438.

²⁶ ‘young adventurers, and those who wished to do arms’, Jean Froissart, *Oeuvres*, ed. Kervyn de Lettenhove (25 vols, Brussels, 1867-77), vol. 14 p. 106.

²⁷ On Boucicaut’s role at Saint Inglevert see *Chronographia Regum Francorum*, ed. H. Moranville (3 vols, Paris, 1891-1897), vol. 3 pp. 97-100; Froissart, *Oeuvres*, vol. 14 pp. 43, 55-58, 106-51, 406-419; *Le livre des Fais du Bon Messire Jehan le Maingre, dit Boucicaut, Mareschal de France et Gouverneur de Jennes*, ed. Denis Lalande (Geneva, 1985), pp. 66-74; Jean Juvénal des Ursins, ‘Histoire de Charles VI, Roy de France’, *Novelle Collection des Mémoires pour servir à l’Histoire de France depuis le XIIIe siècle jusqu’à la fin du XVIIIe siècle*, eds. J.F. Michaud & J.J.F. Poujoulat (32 vols, Paris, 1836-39), vol. 2 p. 385; *Chronique du Religieux de Saint-Denys contenant le règne de Charles VI, de 1380 à 1422*, ed. & trans. L.F. Bellaguet (6 vols, Paris, 1839-1852), vol. 1 pp. 672-683; *The Westminster Chronicle*, eds. Hector & Harvey, pp. 430-2. The narrative for these jousts is given in Chapter 2, ‘Formal Combats: Case Studies’ above.

²⁸ On his participation at Saint Inglevert against Renaud de Roie see *Chronique du Religieux de Saint-Denys*, ed. & trans. Bellaguet, vol. 1 pp. 676-677; Froissart, *Oeuvres*, vol. 14 p. 110. For biographical details see C. Given-Wilson, ‘Mowbray, Thomas, first duke of Norfolk’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 2004, ‘<http://www.oxforddnb.com.ezproxy.york.ac.uk/view/article/19459?docPos=2>’ (14 May 2013).

²⁹ On Boucicaut’s presence on this campaign see Froissart, *Oeuvres*, vol. 13 pp. 135-136; Denis Lalande, *Jehan II le Meingre, dit Boucicaut (1366-1421): étude d’une biographie héroïque* (Geneva, 1988), pp. 23-25. For a narrative of the campaigns in Iberia in 1386-1387 see Anthony Goodman, *John of Gaunt. The Exercise of Princely Power in Fourteenth-Century Europe* (Harlow, 1992), pp. 115-132.

position for himself: he had been retained as a king's knight by Richard II in 1382.³⁰ He was also appointed marshal of England for life in June 1385.³¹

Jean le Meingre and Thomas Mowbray were not quite therefore the youthful knights that Charny envisaged in his text, participating in jousts before they moved on to *mêlée* tournaments and wars. They may have participated in the jousts at Saint Inglevert to enhance their martial reputations and to practice martial skills, but they did not do so in an attempt to initially establish their martial reputations.³² In fact, it is actually difficult to find more than a few examples in practice that match the rhetoric from writers including Charny and Froissart, who commonly described formal combats as elements in youthful experiences of martial engagements, training for knighthood or aristocratic manhood, in creating one's reputation and proving one's masculinity.

It would indeed be wrong to assume that jousts were the preserve of only young knights, even if they had substantial martial experience. Another of the English participants in the jousts at Saint Inglevert in 1390 was John Holland (circa 1352-1400).³³ Holland was in his late thirties when he participated in these jousts, against Jean le Meingre. He already had extensive martial experience, having campaigned as constable of the English army that went to Castile to support John of Gaunt's claims there in 1386.³⁴ While he was on this expedition, he had in fact

³⁰ C. Given-Wilson, *The Royal Household and the King's Affinity. Service, Politics and Finance in England 1360-1413* (New Haven & London, 1986), p. 285; Saul, *Richard II*, pp. 122-123. He was identified as such in *Calendar of Patent Rolls, Richard II, 1381-1385*, 'http://sdr.lib.uiowa.edu/patentrolls/r2v2/body/Richard2vol2page0176.pdf' (16 May 2013).

³¹ *CPR, Richard II (1385-1389)*, 'http://sdr.lib.uiowa.edu/patentrolls/r2v3/body/Richard2vol3page0011.pdf' (16 May 2013).

³² The motivations behind formal combat participants are discussed in Chapter 5, 'Motivations: Real and Constructed' below.

³³ Froissart, *Oeuvres*, vol. 14 pp. 108-9. For other narratives of Holland's participation at Saint Inglevert also see *Chronique du Religieux de Saint-Denys*, ed. & trans. Bellaguet, vol. 1 pp. 676-77; *Le livre des Fais du Bon Messire Jehan le Maingre, dit Boucicaut*, ed. Lalande, p. 667. John Holland was duke of Exeter and earl of Huntingdon, and half-brother to Richard II. He was a Knight of the Garter and made Lord Great Chamberlain for life in 1389. See M. M. N. Stansfield, 'Holland, John, first earl of Huntingdon and duke of Exeter (c.1352-1400)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Jan 2008, 'http://www.oxforddnb.com.ezproxy.york.ac.uk/view/article/13529' (16 March 2013).

³⁴ P. E. Russell, *The English Intervention in Spain and Portugal in the time of Edward III and Richard II* (Oxford, 1955), p. 406.

engaged in a joust against one of the French combatants at Saint Inglevert, Renaud de Roye, at Entença in 1387.³⁵ At the time of the jousts at Saint Inglevert in 1390, his professional martial career was established. He had been made captain of the strategically important Breton port of Brest on 1 June 1389.³⁶ Furthermore, shortly following his participation at Saint Inglevert, he would be made chief chamberlain of England in May 1390.³⁷ Holland was therefore not an inexperienced young knight seeking to make a martial name for himself by performing in these formal combats, as Froissart might have led his readers to believe.

Even those events that were held at grand ceremonies and at court were not solely the preserve of young knights eager to display their prowess. Some far more experienced individuals also participated in these. Jousts were held following the marriage in 1424 of Jean de la Trémoille (1377-1449) seigneur de Jonvelle, grand maître d'hôtel and chamberlain of John and Philip of Burgundy, and Jacqueline d'Amboise (d. 1449).³⁸ One of the participants at these jousts was John Duke of Bedford (1389-1435), 'qui oncquez-mais n'avoit jousté'.³⁹ Bedford was in his mid-thirties when this marriage and the jousts that followed it took place. Whether or not this was his first encounter is unclear. His name did not appear in narratives for jousts earlier in his life. Bedford was significantly older than might be expected

³⁵ Froissart, *Oeuvres*, vol. 12 pp. 115-124; *John of Gaunt's Register 1379-83*, eds. E.C. Lodge & R. Somerville (2 vols, London, 1937), n. 1233. For secondary narrative of these jousts see J.R.V. Barker, *The Tournament in England, 1100-1400* (Woodbridge, 1986), p. 32; Russell, *The English Intervention in Spain and Portugal*, p. 483.

³⁶ *The Westminster Chronicle*, eds. Hector & Harvey, p. 414.

³⁷ *CPR*, *Richard II* (1389-1392), <http://sdr.lib.uiowa.edu/patentrolls/r2v4/body/Richard2vol4page0252.pdf> (16 May 2013). On John Holland's appointments by Richard II see Nigel Saul, *Richard II* (London, 1997), pp. 243-244.

³⁸ The wedding took place on 17 July 1424 at the hôtel d'Artois in Paris, with the jousts also being held there, Pierre de Féin, *Mémoires de Pierre de Féin*, ed. E. Dupont (Paris, 1837), pp. 224-225; Enguerrand de Monstrelet, *Chroniques d'Enguerrand de Monstrelet*, ed. L. Douët-d'Arcq (6 vols, Paris, 1857-62), vol. 4 p. 209; Waurin, *Recueil des chroniques et anchiennes istories de la Grant Bretaigne*, vol. 3 pp. 130-131. On the role of the 'Grand Maître d'Hôtel' in Burgundy see Otto Cartellieri, *The Court of Burgundy* (London, 1929), p. 67.

³⁹ Féin, *Mémoires*, p. 225. On Féin see Anne Curry, *The Battle of Agincourt. Sources and Interpretations* (Woodbridge, 2000), p. 116. For John Duke of Bedford see Jenny Stratford, 'John [John of Lancaster], duke of Bedford (1389-1435)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, September 2011, 'http://www.oxforddnb.com.ezproxy.york.ac.uk/view/article/14844?docPos=1' (22 July 2013).

from a knight eager to prove his military worth. In the presentation of Bedford as participating in this formal combat, the role of established martial individuals as inexperienced in formal combats was clearly suggested.

The explanation for why narrators such as Froissart sometimes presented the participants of formal combats as young and eager to prove themselves, possibly related to their desire to provide models of behaviour that could be emulated by young knights. These narratives were composed to act as didactic, instructive texts designed to encourage their readers and audiences to behave in a certain way.⁴⁰ As such, their material was often aimed specifically at young men, knights at the start of their careers whom the narrators hoped to advise and influence. Froissart for example explicitly stated in the prologue to his first book that he wrote to provide an example.⁴¹ In the second redaction to this prologue he made the didactic aim of his work even more explicit: he stated that he wrote to encourage others and provide an example.⁴² He therefore shaped his narrative to reflect the role that he assumed, that of educator and moraliser.⁴³ A similar sentiment is expressed by Enguerrand de Monstrelet, who wrote in his prologue that one of his motivations in writing was the ‘instruction and information’ of those who wished to undertake feats of arms and win honour.⁴⁴ In this way, Froissart and other medieval narrators sought to present in their writing ‘universal truths’, including what made a good knight, how a martial career should develop, and how men-at-arms were supposed to behave in martial engagements.⁴⁵ By providing their audience with

⁴⁰ On the didactic nature of medieval chronicles in general see for example Philippe Contamine, ‘Froissart: Art Militaire, Pratique et Conception de la Guerre’, in J.J.N. Palmer (ed.), *Froissart: Historian* (Woodbridge, 1981), pp. 136-7; Chris Given-Wilson, *Chronicles. The writing of history in medieval England* (London, 2004), pp.2-6; J. Taylor, *English Historical Literature in the Fourteenth Century* (Oxford, 1987), p.155.

⁴¹ Froissart, *Oeuvres*, vol. 1 p.1.

⁴² Froissart, *Oeuvres*, vol. 1 p.5.

⁴³ On Froissart’s text as didactic and moral work see for example Peter Ainsworth, *Jean Froissart and the Fabric of History: truth, myth and fiction in the ‘Chroniques’* (Oxford, 1990), p.78; P. Tucoo-Chala, ‘Froissart dans le Midi Pyrénée’, in J.J.N. Palmer (ed.), *Froissart: Historian* (Woodbridge, 1981), p.118; P.E. Russell, ‘The War in Spain and Portugal’, in J.J.N. Palmer (ed.), *Froissart: Historian* (Woodbridge, 1981), p.99.

⁴⁴ Monstrelet, *Chronique*, vol. 1 p. 2.

⁴⁵ On didacticism as the presentation of ‘universal truth’ see Given-Wilson, *Chronicles*, pp. 2-3; Contamine, ‘Froissart: Art Militaire’, pp. 136-7.

examples of young men performing these deeds, as well as more martially-experienced knights, so medieval narrators were able to provide a greater motivational model by suggesting an idealised way of developing one's martial career, very similar to that model presented by Geoffroi de Charny.

There was clearly substantial evidence to demonstrate the participation of older and more experienced knights in formal combats, often alongside and against younger and less experienced men. The concepts of manhood and manliness have in the past been associated with intergenerational confrontation by anthropologists and historians, who have emphasised the need for younger generations to assert their own generational authority, often by coming into confrontation with older generations.⁴⁶ The mixed nature of participation at formal combats in terms of age and experience however, suggests that this intergenerational confrontation was not as prevalent in this respect. Divisions along generational lines between youths and experienced older men are not visible in formal combats precisely because this desire to emulate and ape those older and more experienced led to the repeated assertion that formal combats played an important part in the life of an armigerous man.

An examination of the career of a single knight will offer a more detailed insight into the role that formal combats played in the lifespan of an armigerous individual. Peter Courtenay (circa 1349-circa January 1405) enjoyed a long martial career that featured battles on land and martial service on the sea, as well as numerous formal combats, and distinguished martial positions under Richard II and Henry IV.⁴⁷ Courtenay was knighted at the battle of Nájera in 1367, aged

⁴⁶ Karras, *From Boys to Men*, p. 11; D.M. Hadley, 'Introduction: Medieval Masculinities', in D.M. Hadley (ed.), *Masculinity in Medieval Europe* (London & New York, 1999), p. 5; Neal, *The Masculine Self*, p. 22.

⁴⁷ The exact date of Courtenay's death is not know, however he must have died by 12 Feb 1405 as a grant exists, dated then, to Queen Joan of some of Courtenay's lands after his death, *CPR, Henry IV (1401-1405)*, '<http://sdr.lib.uiowa.edu/patentrolls/h4v2/body/Henry4vol2page0454.pdf>' (27 May 2013). For biographical details on Peter Courtenay see George Frederick Beltz, *Memorials of the most noble Order of the Garter, from its foundation to the present time* (London, 1841), pp. 328-332; Thomas Westcote, *A View of Devonshire in MDCXXX: With a Pedigree of Most of Its Gentry* (Exeter, 1845), pp. 209-212; E. Cleaveland, *A genealogical history of the noble and illustrious family of Courtenay. In three parts* (Exeter, 1735), pp. 197-200; on the position of the Courtenay family in the south-west of England, see M. Cherry, 'The Courtenay Earls of Devon: the formation and disintegration of a late medieval aristocratic affinity', *Southern History*, 1 (1979), 71-97.

eighteen. He enjoyed a long association with Richard II: he was one of several former comrades of the Black Prince who became chamber knights from the time of Richard's accession.⁴⁸ His martial career featured service in the standing force in Gascony 1368-9; a naval expedition in 1371; and a further naval expedition and French expedition in 1372-4. An additional naval expedition in 1378 led to his capture by Spaniards off Brittany. A subsequent grant was made on 15 October 1379 to Courtenay as a prisoner, in consideration of his capture as he was unable to pay his ransom.⁴⁹ Courtenay was martially active until at least 1403: on 19 October that year he was commissioned to retain twenty men at arms and fifty archers to go to the town of Dunster and castle of Carmarthen to stay for three months, to arrest and imprison all those who refused to go, and to take ships and boats for the passage to Dunster.⁵⁰ In England, he also assumed a strong martial position. He was appointed constable to Windsor Castle, and was commissioned to repair its walls and fortifications.⁵¹ In 1388 he was elected a member of the Order of the Garter, and was appointed Richard II's principal chamberlain. In 1398 he became captain of Calais, and in 1404 was elected to the Privy Council.

Courtenay participated in at least five formal combats against French opponents during his martial career. These began in 1383 when Courtenay was thirty-three, with a joust against Guy de la Trémoille in Paris, followed by an illegal joust against the Lord of Clary in the marches near Calais.⁵² In 1386 he fought another

⁴⁸ Chris Given-Wilson, *The Royal Household and the king's affinity: service, politics, and finance in England, 1360-1413* (New Haven & London, 1986), pp. 161-2, 283.

⁴⁹ *CPR Richard II (1377-1381)*, 'http://sdr.lib.uiowa.edu/patentrolls/r2v1/body/Richard2vol1page0392.pdf' (16 May 2013).

⁵⁰ *CPR Henry IV (1401-1405)*, 'http://sdr.lib.uiowa.edu/patentrolls/h4v2/body/Henry4vol2page0439.pdf' (16 May 2013).

⁵¹ Appointed constable 18 October 1393, *CPR Richard II (1391-1396)*, 'http://sdr.lib.uiowa.edu/patentrolls/r2v5/body/Richard2vol5page0322.pdf' (15 May 2013); writ to repair Windsor Castle alongside other manors 3 November 1390, *CPR Richard II (1389-1392)*, 'http://sdr.lib.uiowa.edu/patentrolls/r2v4/body/Richard2vol4page0323.pdf' (15 May 2013); also in 1393, *CPR Richard II (1391-1396)*, 'http://sdr.lib.uiowa.edu/patentrolls/r2v5/body/Richard2vol5page0321.pdf' (15 May 2013).

⁵² Froissart, *Oeuvres*, vol. 14 pp. 43-50; Jean Juvénal des Ursins, 'Histoire de Charles VI', vol. 2 p. 368; for a licence probably for this combat against Trémoille see *Foedera, conventiones, literae, et cujuscunque generis acta publica*, ed. T. Rymer (20 vols, London, 1704-35), vol. 3 p. 161.

joust against Jean le Meingre.⁵³ The two would meet again at the jousts near Saint Ingelvert in 1390.⁵⁴ In the meantime, Courtenay had fought as part of a team of four English knights against four Frenchmen near Calais in 1388.⁵⁵ When his formal combat career began therefore, Courtenay had already served on campaign in France, fought in battle at Nájera, and participated in three naval campaigns. By the time he fought in the encounter at Saint Ingelvert, he was forty-one years old, and had been martially active for at least two decades. This was not a young and inexperienced nobleman using formal combats as a way to kick-start his military career and generate some much-needed income. The martial career of Peter Courtenay instead demonstrates that even knights with long military experience participated in formal combats alongside their more youthful companions.

Knights and Esquires

This chapter has so far been occupied with the age and experience of the participants in formal combats. Rather than arenas for youths to gain skill and reputation, formal combat participants reflected a wider range of ages and experiences. The second half of this chapter turns to address the social rank of those participants. Legislative examples from the twelfth and thirteenth centuries suggested that participation during these periods was predominantly the reserve of the knight. In Richard I's decree of 1194 for example, the lowest category of individual permitted to engage in formal combats was the landless knight.⁵⁶ In

⁵³*Le livre des Fais du Bon Messire Jehan le Maingre, dit Boucicaut*, ed. Lalande, pp. 52-60. Jean le Meingre, or 'Boucicaut' (1366-1421) was around sixteen years Courtenay's junior, and at the time of this encounter in 1386 had just returned from a campaign in Poitou. Although already knighted, Boucicaut would not be made marshal of France until 1391: see *Le livre des Fais du Bon Messire Jehan le Maingre, dit Boucicaut*, ed. Lalande, p. 82; Lalande, *Jehan II le Meingre*, pp. 38-39.

⁵⁴ Froissart, *Oeuvres*, vol. 14 p. 105; *Chronique du Religieux de Saint-Denys*, ed. & trans. Bellaguet, vol. 1 p. 674; *Le livre des Fais du Bon Messire Jehan le Maingre, dit Boucicaut*, ed. Lalande, pp. 66-74; *Chronographia Regum Francorum*, ed. Moranville, pp. 97-100.

⁵⁵ For the licence see *Foedera*, ed. Rymer, vol. 7 p. 580; for narrative see Henry Knighton, *Henry Knighton's Chronicle, 1337-1396*, ed. G.H. Martin (Oxford, 1995), p. 42.

⁵⁶ Richard I's 1194 decree: BL Cotton MS Claudius C iv, f. 233.

Edward I's *Statuta Armorum* issued in 1292, only knights were presumed to tourney and the roles of squires were again restricted.⁵⁷

Narrative accounts however, also included instances of esquires taking part in formal combats. The role of the esquirey at formal combats had begun to evolve since the thirteenth century. Festivals began to be arranged especially for esquires by the end of the 1200s. In June 1288 at Boston Fair for example, a 'bohort' (or mock tournament) was held for esquires, who both organised and fought in the combat; no knights were permitted to participate.⁵⁸ Even in the later period, squires' combats could be separated from those of the knights. At the royal jousts at Saint-Denis in 1389 for example, the squires fought on a different day to the knights, against one another.⁵⁹

In some instances, the rank of esquire was clearly seen as sufficient to allow participation in a formal combat. Such was the case with John Kyngeston, who was made an esquire by Richard II in 1389 before his combat against a Frenchman.⁶⁰ In this instance, demonstrating Kyngeston's nobility through a grant of esquirey was enough to enable him to participate; the rank of knight was not necessary. This case suggests that perhaps some esquires were participating martially in just the same ways that knights had traditionally done.⁶¹ Indeed, the role of esquires in formal combats seems to have expanded throughout this period,

⁵⁷ For the text of Edward I's *Statuta Armorum* see (for the provision on which the statute is based) A. Luders, *The Statutes of the Realm* (11 vols, London, 1810-1828), vol. 1 pp. 230-1; (for the statute itself) *Rotuli Parliamentorum; ut et Petitiones, et Placita in Parlamento*, eds. Richard Blyke, John Strachey et al. (8 vols, London, 1767-77), vol. 1 p. 85. For discussion of the role that this piece of legislation played in the participation of esquires at formal combats see Barker, *The Tournament in England*, pp. 57-60; Peter Coss, *The Origins of the English Gentry* (Cambridge, 2003), p. 219 n. 11; Maurice Keen, 'Heraldry and Hierarchy: Esquires and Gentlemen', in Jeffrey Denton (ed.), *Orders and Hierarchies in late Medieval and Renaissance Europe* (Basingstoke, 1999), pp. 94-5.

⁵⁸ *The Chronicle of Walter of Guisborough*, ed. H. Rothwell (Camden Society, 3rd series, lxxxix, 1957), pp. 224-5; for brief notes see David Crouch, *The Birth of Nobility. Constructing Aristocracy in England and France 900-1300* (Harlow, 2005), p. 251.

⁵⁹ Froissart, *Oeuvres*, vol. 14 pp. 20-25; Richard W. Barber & Juliet R.V. Barker, *Tournaments: jousts, chivalry and pageants in the Middle Ages* (Woodbridge, 1989), p. 43.

⁶⁰ *Foedera*, ed. Rymer, vol. 7 p. 630; see for additional detail Barker, *The Tournament in England*, p. 116; Michael Prestwich, *Armies and Warfare in the Middle Ages. The English Experience* (New Haven & London, 1996), p. 18.

⁶¹ Maurice Keen, *Origins of the English Gentleman* (Stroud, 2002), p. 78.

so that they not only took part in formal combats in their own right, but also participated in them alongside, and against, knights. Such was the case as presented in narratives of the series of jousts held in Brittany during and immediately after Thomas of Woodstock's campaign there in 1380-1381, between nine Englishmen and seven of their French counterparts.⁶²

Of these men, several were experienced knights. One of these was Renaud de Thouars, vicomte de Thouars.⁶³ Having previously served the English cause, de Thouars returned to French obedience after 1372. His father died in August 1377, allowing him to succeed to the family lordship.⁶⁴ Given his military experience, and his recent acquisition of a title, de Thouars could not be described as a young or inexperienced knight when he participated in the combats in Brittany in 1380-1381. Some of the English participants in these combats were similarly experienced. Jean d'Ambrecicourt was originally from Hainault but was raised and educated at the English court of Edward III. He had served in English campaigns from 1369, and had been a steward of the household of John of Gaunt.⁶⁵ These events in 1380-1381 were not d'Ambrecicourt's first experience of formal combats: his arms were blazoned in an armorial narrating a formal combat three years earlier at Saint-Omer in 1377.⁶⁶ This encounter in Brittany would also not be his last formal combat: he participated in the jousts at Saint Ingelvert in

⁶² Froissart, *Oeuvres*, vol. 9 pp. 323-41. A lengthy narrative of the campaign is available in Froissart, *Oeuvres* vol. 9 pp. 243-322. Additional brief details are provided in *Chronicon Anglie*, ed. Thompson, pp. 266-7. For secondary commentary see Anthony Goodman, *The Loyal Conspiracy. The Lords Appellant under Richard II* (London, 1971), pp. 123-26; J.J.N. Palmer, *England, France, and Christendom, 1377-99* (London, 1972), p. 6; Nigel Saul, *Richard II* (New Haven & London, 1999), pp. 52-55.

⁶³ Renaud de Thouars (d.1385), vicomte de Thouars and lord of Pouzages and Tiffauges, the son of Miles de Thouars and Jeanne de Rochecouart. For a biographical overview see M.G.A. Vale, 'A Fourteenth-Century order of chivalry: the "Tiercelet"', *The English Historical Review*, 82 no.323 (Apr. 1967), pp. 332-341, especially pp. 334-5.

⁶⁴ Vale, 'A Fourteenth-Century order of chivalry', p. 334.

⁶⁵ Jean d'Ambrecicourt (d.1415), see C. Roskell, *History of the Parliament. The Commons 1386-1421* (London, 1992), pp. 728-33. He would later go on to have a role in the campaigns of John of Gaunt in Iberia, including conducting Philippa of Lancaster to her wedding with John I of Portugal, Froissart, *Oeuvres*, vol. 10 p. 349. He would go on to become a Judge of Appeals in Bordeaux in 1400, and Captain of Calais 1399-1402. He was elected a Knight of the Garter in 1413.

⁶⁶ The armorial explicitly lists 'les chevaliers et le escuyers qui firent fair darmes devant saint omer', BNF MS Fr. 32753, ff. 149r-150r.

1390 against two of the French defenders.⁶⁷ Although relatively early in his career, d'Ambrecicourt was therefore martially experienced and had already achieved knighthood when he participated in these formal combats in 1380-1381. Alongside individuals of his experience however, were others whose experiences are less documented, and apparently less noteworthy than these more famous individuals. The bastard of Clarins for example, was described by Froissart as an esquire from Savoy.⁶⁸ Other than his apparently impressive physical build, Froissart provided no further detail regarding this individual's identity, nor did Clarins appear further in Froissart's narrative.

Other events show an even greater amount of martial diversity. A foot combat of seven Frenchmen against seven Englishmen at Montendre near Bordeaux in 1402 featured individuals with an apparent range of martial experience.⁶⁹ The leader of the English party at the combat was Robert Lord Scales, an English baron.⁷⁰ Fighting alongside him was the squire John Heron, a member of the retinue of Edward Earl of Rutland who went on to fight for Edward after the latter was made lieutenant in south Wales in 1403, and who was stationed at various garrisons in southern Wales throughout 1404.⁷¹ But the most surprising combatant at Montendre was a figure referred to simply as 'Champagne' in the contemporary narrative accounts of the event.⁷² Jean-Bernard Vaivre has identified this individual as Guillaume de la Champagne, a chamberlain of Louis Duke of Orléans.⁷³ According to the narrative attributed to Jean Juvénal des Ursins, the leader of the French combatants Arnaud Guillemme de Barbazan had to ask Louis of Orléans' permission for Champagne to compete in the combat, as he

⁶⁷ Froissart, *Oeuvres*, vol. 14 pp. 136-38.

⁶⁸ Froissart, *Oeuvres*, vol. 9 pp. 326-7.

⁶⁹ For the full narrative of this event see Chapter 2, 'Formal Combats: Case Studies' above.

⁷⁰ For Lord Scales as the leader of the English party see *Chronique du Religieux de Saint-Denys*, ed. & trans. Bellaguet, vol. 3 p. 32; Robert Lord Scales (d.1418), sixth Baron Scales. See Jean-Bernard Vaivre, 'Le rôle armorié du combat de Montendre', *Journal des Savants*, 2 (1973), pp. 115-116.

⁷¹ The career of John Heron in south Wales is traceable at *The Soldier in Medieval England*, 2006-2007, 'http://www.medievalsoldier.org/search_musterd.php' (2 February 2013).

⁷² *Chronique du Religieux de Saint-Denys*, ed. & trans. Bellaguet, vol. 3 p. 32; Jean Juvénal des Ursins, 'Histoire de Charles VI', vol. 2 pp. 421-2.

⁷³ Vaivre, 'Le rôle armorié du combat de Montendre', pp. 113-114.

had never been to war, nor was he ennobled, but was an extremely good wrestler and thus would be useful for the French cause.⁷⁴ Although permission had to be sought for Champagne to participate in the event, the presence of a wrestler in the field of combat, with no apparent martial experience, suggests that the combatants of this event at least represented a far larger breadth of society than only knights.

A similar theme is also identifiable in perhaps the most famous formal combat of the period, that at Saint Inglevert in 1390.⁷⁵ The participants included both knights and esquires, ranging from experienced military individuals to young knights and esquires. The most detailed narrative account of this event, written by Jean Froissart, detailed the individual jousts of forty-two individuals, including the three French defenders. Of those, twenty-five were knights and seventeen were esquires. Most interestingly, these individuals did not segregate into knights and esquires, but instead appeared to congregate as a group and fought in no recognisable order based on social rank. Rather than the esquires fighting on a separate day, their combats were inter-mingled with those of the knights. Since all three of the French defenders were also knights, esquires fought knights in the jousts: there was no separate combat for men of apparently lesser social rank.

This increasing breadth in the social status of participants was reflected in the challenges that were sent, throughout this period, to large groups of armigerous individuals, including knights, esquires and gentlemen (in the fifteenth century). In one collection of challenges between French and English knights from the period 1399-1424, the challenges were addressed to knights and esquires, whoever should wish to take up the challenge, regardless of their rank of nobility.⁷⁶ One esquire's challenge was addressed to 'les gentis ho[m]mes ch[eva]ll[ier]rs et escuiers

⁷⁴ Jean Juvénal des Ursins, 'Histoire de Charles VI', vol. 2 pp. 421-2.

⁷⁵ For the full narrative of the jousts at Saint Inglevert in 1390 see Chapter 2, 'Formal Combats: Case Studies' above.

⁷⁶ See the challenges between English and French knights dating from 1399-1424 in BL MS Add. 21357 passim, esp. ff. 1r, 3r. For further examples see the jousting challenges for the marriage of Lady Blanche dating from 1401 in BL MS Cotton Nero Dii, ff. 260v-262r; also see the cry for the jousts held at Smithfield in October 1390 in The British Library, London, MS Lansdowne 285, f. 47r.

francois sans repreche'.⁷⁷ The concern here was not the title or social rank of the opponent that the English esquire was seeking out, but rather that the opponent was 'without reproach'. This phrase appeared elsewhere in challenges from the period. In a challenge given by Piers de Masse and addressed to John Astley in 1438, the terms of the document insisted that the participants be 'born de quatre cotes of his armys w[i]t[h]oute ony reproche'.⁷⁸ The definition of 'without reproach' seems to have been broad.⁷⁹ A list of actions that led to reproach was provided in *Le Trainté des Anciens et des Nouveux Tournois* composed by Antoine de la Sale in 1459. In this text, la Sale provided a list of ways that an individual could gain reproach and would therefore not be permitted to participate in a formal combat.⁸⁰ Actions that led to reproach included the violation of churches, the dishonour of women, murder, arson, and any fugitives from the law.⁸¹ These challenges were not therefore particularly concerned with the social status of the individuals involved, but instead were occupied with ensuring that one's opponent was sufficiently morally worthy to be included in the combat.

Clearly these events were not therefore restricted solely to those of knightly status, but rather to those men-at-arms who could perhaps aspire to knighthood, or at least claim nobility through esquirehood. Indeed, such an analysis fits within historians' wider work regarding nobility at this time. This work has sought to demonstrate that the fourteenth century saw the term 'chivalry' shifting to

⁷⁷ 'French gentle men knights and esquires without reproach', BL Additional MS 21357, f. 5r.

⁷⁸ BL MS Lansdowne 285, f. 15v; for another copy of this challenge see The College of Arms, London, MS L9, ff. 15v-16r. For commentary see G.A. Lester, *Sir John Paston's 'Grete Boke': a descriptive catalogue with an introduction, of British Library MS Lansdowne 285* (Cambridge, 1984), pp. 96-97. On the resulting combat see Barber & Barker, *Tournaments*, p. 128. John Astley (d. 1486), created Knight of the Garter in 1461. See Viscount Harold Arthur Dillon, 'On a manuscript collection of ordinances of chivalry of the fifteenth century belonging to Lord Hastings', *Archaeological Journal*, 57 (1900), p. 38.

⁷⁹ Definitions are offered and discussed in Keen, *Chivalry*, pp. 211-212.

⁸⁰ Sylvie Lefevre, *Antoine de la Sale. La fabrique de l'oeuvre et de l'écrivain* (Geneva, 2006), pp. 309-310.

⁸¹ Lefevre, *Antoine de la Sale*, p. 310.

encompass all those entitled, on account of their birth, to aspire to knighthood, but who may or may not be knights.⁸²

Historians have widened their use of the term 'nobility' to include a wider range of individuals than solely the armigerous knights of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. The emergence of the esquire was not a sudden process, as successive works by historians have demonstrated.⁸³ In England, their martial role has been dated back to the thirteenth century, although there is some debate as to their social status during this period.⁸⁴ Gradually in the fourteenth century however, the social position of the esquire crystallised.⁸⁵ Both the sumptuary legislation of 1363 and the graduated Poll Tax grant from 1379 delineated the esquire as a distinct social position.⁸⁶ The sumptuary legislation in 1363 attempted to regulate the apparel which different social strata should be allowed to wear, and explicitly identified two levels of esquire: those who were on the same level economically as knights and their immediate families, and other esquires and all manner of gentlemen below the estate of knight. The Poll Tax of 1379, being a graded tax, distinguished between three types of esquire, each to be taxed at different times. This growing social delineation and role of the esquire has been linked to the

⁸² See Keen, *Chivalry*, p. 145; Maurice Keen, *The Laws of War in the late Middle Ages* (London, 1965), pp. 254-7; N. Denholm-Young, *The Country Gentry in the Fourteenth Century* (Oxford, 1969), p. 141.

⁸³ See for example P. Coss, *The Knight in Medieval England* (Stroud, 1993), pp. 60-71, 229; Crouch, *The Birth of Nobility*, pp. 248-9, 252; Keen, *Origins of the English Gentleman*, pp. 71-3; Keen, 'Heraldry and Hierarchy: Esquires and Gentlemen', p. 100; Nigel Saul, *Knights and Esquires: the Gloucestershire Gentry in the Fourteenth Century* (Oxford, 1981), pp. 6, 20-3.

⁸⁴ Crouch, *The Birth of Nobility*, pp. 248-9, 252. Cf. Coss, who argues that the role of esquires was martial, rather than distinctly social, during this period, Coss, *The Origins of the English Gentry*, p. 218.

⁸⁵ Coss, *The Origins of the English Gentry*, p. 236; P.R. Coss, 'The Formation of the English Gentry', *Past and Present*, 147 (1995), p. 53; see also P.R. Coss, 'Knights, esquires and the origin of social gradation', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 5 (1995), 155-78; Keen, *Origins of the English Gentleman*, pp. 71-3.

⁸⁶ For this legislation see Luders, *The Statutes of the Realm*, vol. 1 pp. 380-1; *Rot. Parl. Edward I*, vol. 3 p. 578. For commentary see Coss, *The Origins of the English Gentry*, pp. 228-32; Saul, *Knights and Esquires*, p. 6.

increased territorial possessions that esquires asserted, and the attendant local administrative roles of lesser landowners not of knightly rank.⁸⁷

In England, the aristocracy as a whole was fluid during the fourteenth century, with about 200 great nobles, the barons who would come to form the House of Lords, and about 3000 knights and esquires, the lesser figures who would come to be viewed as the gentry. With their wives and children, these 3200 men constituted perhaps two percent of the total population.⁸⁸ By 1500 England claimed approximately sixty peers; 500 knights; 800 esquires; and 5000 gentlemen entitled to coats of arms.⁸⁹

In France, the numbers of the aristocracy have been estimated at around 200,000 in 1500, comprising approximately 40,000 families.⁹⁰ The aristocracy in France was perhaps more rigidly defined in legal rights and abilities in the later medieval period than their counterparts in England, with fiscal exemptions from taxes being the most obvious mark of aristocracy, although the military role of the French nobility also continued to be important throughout the fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries.⁹¹ Within these aristocratic families, an increasing number of those able to claim knighthood through right were not doing so, but were instead electing to remain esquires, mainly due to the huge expenses that knighthood

⁸⁷ Coss, 'The Formation of the English Gentry', p. 53; Coss, 'Knights, esquires and the origin of social gradation', 155-78. For an alternative view, that esquires emerged as the ranks of knights retreated and filled the space left behind, see Crouch, *The Birth of Nobility*, pp. 248-9, 252.

⁸⁸ Jonathan Dewald, *The European Nobility 1400-1800* (Cambridge, 1996), p. 25; Chris Given-Wilson, *The English Nobility in the later Middle Ages* (London, 1987), pp. 13-15.

⁸⁹ Given-Wilson, *The English Nobility in the late Middle Ages*, p. 70; G.E. Mingay, *The Gentry* (London, 1976), p. 4. These figures are quoted in Keen, 'Heraldry and Hierarchy: Esquires and Gentlemen', p. 97 although Keen points out that these figures are undoubtedly imprecise.

⁹⁰ Contamine, *La noblesse au royaume de France*, pp. 56-57.

⁹¹ On French noble tax exemptions see John Bell Henneman, 'Nobility, Privilege and Fiscal Politics in Late Medieval France', *French Historical Studies*, 13 no. 1 (Spring 1983), 1-17. Also see Contamine, *La noblesse au royaume de France*, pp. 25-30; S.H. Rigby, *English Society in the later Middle Ages. Class, Status and Gender* (Basingstoke, 1995), p. 202. On the military role of the French aristocracy in the later medieval period see for example Aurell, 'The Western Nobility in the Late Middle Ages', p. 271-272; Contamine, *La noblesse au royaume de France*, p. 329; André Corvisier, 'La Noblesse Militaire: Aspects militaires de la noblesse française du XVe au XVIIIe siècles: état des questions', *Histoire Sociale*, 11 (1978), p. 336.

increasing entailed.⁹² Philippe Contamine has estimated that only 15 percent of the French nobility ranks as knights in 1340, and just 10 percent by 1400.⁹³ A very substantial majority of French nobles were therefore esquires.

By the end of the fourteenth century in France and England therefore, men of lower social rank, most notably esquires, were to be found under the general term 'nobility'.⁹⁴ Alongside this apparent growing social presence, the martial role of the esquire remained important throughout the fourteenth century.⁹⁵ They constituted a sizeable number of combatants in campaigns throughout the fourteenth century; in fact they substantially outnumbered knights in English forces for campaigns throughout the Hundred Years War for example.⁹⁶ As such, they apparently demanded a greater societal recognition for this martial service: heraldic devices were increasingly claimed and used by men who were of a lower social rank than knight, so much so that in 1417 Henry V issued a writ condemning the practice.⁹⁷

Despite the increasing number of participants in formal combats that were described as 'esquires' therefore, there may have in fact been little difference between those who participated in formal combats between the period studied in this thesis (circa 1380 to circa 1440) and in earlier centuries. In this later period however, individuals who might previously have been distinguished as knights

⁹² For France see Crouch, *The Birth of Nobility*, pp. 248-9, 252; John Bell Henneman, *Olivier de Clisson and Political Society in France Under Charles V and Charles VI* (Philadelphia, 1996), p. 12; Maurice Keen, *Chivalry*, pp. 144-145.

⁹³ P. Contamine, 'The French Nobility and the War', in K. Fowler (ed.), *The Hundred Years War* (London, 1971), p. 145.

⁹⁴ See for example Coss, *The Knight in Medieval England*, pp. 60-71, 229; Crouch, *The Birth of Nobility*, pp. 169-171, 248-9, 252; Keen, *Origins of the English Gentleman*, pp. 71-3; Maurice Keen, 'Heraldry and Hierarchy: Esquires and Gentlemen', p. 100; Keen, *Chivalry*, pp. 144-145; Saul, *Knights and Esquires*, pp. 6, 20-3.

⁹⁵ A. Ailes, 'Up In Arms: the rise of the armigerous 'valettus'', *Coats of Arms New Series*, 12 (1997), 10-16; Keen, *Origins of the English Gentleman*, p. 74; Keen, 'Heraldry and Hierarchy: Esquires and Gentlemen', p. 98; Saul, *Knights and Esquires*, pp. 20-25.

⁹⁶ Andrew Ayton, 'Knights, esquires and military service: the evidence of the armorial cases before the Court of Chivalry', in A. Ayton & G.L. Price (eds.), *The Medieval Military Revolution* (London, 1995), p. 83; Contamine, 'The French Nobility and the War', p. 145; Keen, 'Heraldry and Hierarchy: Esquires and Gentlemen', pp. 98-100; Nicholas Wright, *Knights and Peasants: the Hundred Years War in the French Countryside* (Woodbridge, 1998), p. 9.

⁹⁷ *Foedera*, ed. Rymer, vol. 9 pp. 457-8; Keen, *Origins of the English Gentleman*, p. 77.

were instead titled esquires. The role that they played in formal combats indicated that some of the aristocracy at least saw a small enough distinction between those of the rank of knight and those of esquire, to interchange them as combatants in these events. Although some combats did differentiate between esquires and knights, many others did not, allowing participants to engage with any man who would answer their challenge. In the majority of cases however, this did not necessarily form a break away from previous practices that were more dominated by knights. It was often individuals who might have been knights a century earlier, who during this period participated in these combats as esquires.

Conclusion

Rather than a wide diversity of social status at formal combats, the ages and experiences of participants cannot be easily classified as a homogenous group of individuals. Although some have depicted the stereotypical participant in jousts and tournaments to be an inexperienced and eager youth, hungry for martial glory, a far more diverse picture emerges from the source material from the later medieval period. To describe these men solely as ‘youths’ and to dismiss their activities as those of the young with much to learn and a lot of energy to burn off, is to miss a crucial element in the participation of formal combats.

It is true that many participants were young men. Informal, practice jousts and training events provided young men with the opportunity to learn how to joust, and to practise in an environment that was supposedly safer, before they went on to participate in full-scale formal combats later in life. These events were not however, solely the preserve of the young; many other participants were martial individuals with long careers in arms already behind them. These individuals were often in the midst of their martial careers, had participated in several formal combats already, and therefore did not need to learn the techniques required. Participants who represented such a range of ages and martial experiences must have been motivated through a range of factors. A young man at his first joust for example, may well not be there for the same reasons as a man in the middle of a long martial career. The next chapter, on motivations, will now turn to examine

some of the reasons why individuals chose to participate in formal combats that were presented in medieval challenges and narratives.

Chapter Five

Motivations: Real and Constructed

This chapter addresses the motivations behind participation in formal combats, and suggests a number of reasons why medieval martial individuals might have engaged in these activities. There are two different groups of sources that can add to an analysis of the motivations behind participation in formal combats. The first of these groups are challenges to participate in formal combats. These were composed by contemporaries who were actually intending to compete in the events that they were organising. The second group of sources are narrative accounts of formal combats, composed after the encounters themselves took place, usually not composed by participants in those combats. These two groups of sources were written with quite different purposes and objectives. This chapter examines these sources to firstly investigate what motivations were attributed to formal combats, and used to justify their organisation and participation in them. Secondly, this chapter examines why these sources presented different motivations behind formal combats, and what they were trying to achieve by doing this.

Chronicles and other narrative sources not composed by individuals directly connected with a formal combat may have ascribed motivations to a formal combat that the participants themselves did not feel. Their reasons for doing so are likely to have been deeply tied to the motivations behind the composition of their work. In chronicles such as those of Jean Froissart and Enguerrand de Monstrelet for example, the stated motivations were not only to narrate great deeds and feats of arms, but also to encourage others to copy these examples and perform great deeds themselves. Froissart stated in his prologue that the *Chroniques* were intended both to narrate brave and courageous deeds, and to encourage others to emulate these examples.¹ In other words, Froissart explicitly wished to present information that would encourage others to emulate in their own lives the deeds that he described.² A similar sentiment of didacticism was expressed by

¹ Jean Froissart, *Oeuvres*, ed. Kervyn de Lettenhove (25 vols, Brussels, 1867-77), vol. 2 p.1; he also expressed a similar sentiment in his second redaction to the prologue, Froissart, *Oeuvres*, vol. 1 p. 5.

² On Froissart's text as a didactic work see for example Peter F. Ainsworth, *Jean Froissart and the Fabric of History: truth, myth and fiction in the Chroniques* (Oxford, 1990), p.78; P. Tucoo-Chala,

Enguerrand de Monstrelet, who wrote in his prologue that one of his motivations in writing was ‘à l’advertissement et introduction de ceulx qui, à juste cause, se voudroient en armes honnorablement exercer’.³ Monstrelet offered his own work as a series of exemplars, to inspire and instruct those who wished to perform great deeds.⁴ In the same way that the anonymous biographer of Jean le Meingre described how his subject’s deeds deserved to be remembered until the end of the world, he then stated that they provided excellent example.⁵ In these ways, Froissart and other medieval narrators sought to present ‘universal truths’ through their writing, including what made a good knight, how a martial career should develop, and how men-at-arms were supposed to behave in martial engagements.⁶

It seems unsurprising therefore, that these narratives attributed formal combats to the desire of martial individuals to prove themselves courageous, to perform the role of ideal martial figures, and to display their chivalric credentials. Froissart described at length the renown and praise that was heaped on those individuals who performed well in formal combats; by lingering on the acclaim that such events encouraged, he emphasised the benefits to martial and chivalric reputation

‘Froissart dans le Midi Pyréné’, in J.J.N. Palmer (ed.), *Froissart: Historian* (Woodbridge, 1981), p.118; P.E. Russell, ‘The War in Spain and Portugal’, in J.J.N. Palmer (ed.), *Froissart: Historian* (Woodbridge, 1981), p.99. On the didactic nature of medieval chronicles more generally see for example Chris Given-Wilson, *Chronicles. The writing of history in medieval England* (London, 2004), pp.2-6; Douglas Kelly, ‘Imitation, Metamorphosis, and Froissart’s use of the exemplary modus tractandi’, in Donald Maddox & Sara Sturm-Maddox (eds.), *Froissart Across the Genres* (Gainesville, 1998), p. 101; Stephen G. Nichols Jr., ‘Discourse in Froissart’s ‘Chroniques’’, *Speculum*, 39 no. 2 (April 1964), p. 279; J. Taylor, *English Historical Literature in the Fourteenth Century* (Oxford, 1987), p.155.

³ ‘for the advice and introduction of those who, for just cause, would like to honourably exercise arms’, Enguerrand de Monstrelet, *Chronique d’Enguerrand de Monstrelet*, ed. L. Douët-d’Arcq (6 vols, Paris, 1857-62), vol. 1 p. 2.

⁴ Monstrelet, *Chronique*, vol. 1 p. 2. On Monstrelet’s treatment of knights as exemplars more generally see Georges le Brusque, ‘Chronicling the Hundred Years War in Burgundy and France in the Fifteenth Century’, in Corinne Saunders, Françoise le Saux and Neil Thomas (eds.), *Writing War: medieval literary responses to warfare* (Cambridge, 2004), pp. 78-81; Georges le Brusque, ‘From Agincourt (1415) to Fornovo (1495): aspects of the writing of warfare in French and Burgundian fifteenth century historiographical literature’ (unpublished PhD thesis, University of London, 2001), pp. 35-40.

⁵ *Le livre des Fais du Bon Messire Jehan le Maingre, dit Boucicaut, Mareschal de France et Gouverneur de Jennes*, ed. Denis Lalande (Geneva, 1985), pp. 8-9.

⁶ On didacticism as the presentation of ‘universal truth’ see Given-Wilson, *Chronicles*, pp. 2-3; Philippe Contamine, ‘Froissart: Art Militaire, Pratique et Conception de la Guerre’, in J.J.N. Palmer (ed.), *Froissart: Historian* (Woodbridge, 1981), pp. 136-7.

that participating in such events could bring.⁷ Monstrelet sought to add additional authority to his narrative by claiming to quote verbatim from challenges and invitations to formal combats. Honour and renown were explicitly discussed in these challenges, and promised to individuals who answered them and swore to compete.⁸ Monstrelet did not cite how he received the information from these documents, but he presented them as clear examples of how such challenges should be undertaken. Given that Monstrelet himself cited heralds as the sources for much of his information, it may be that these challenges were verbatim copies and reflected accurately the documents sent to combatants before a formal combat took place.⁹ It is not possible to know solely from Monstrelet's text however, how representative these documents were of the body of challenges that were sent between martial individuals during the first half of the fifteenth century.

Chronicles therefore aimed to motivate and provide exemplars of behaviour, and these influences affected the ways that they presented the motivations behind a single event. Even when it is possible to examine a primary source written by a participant, it is difficult to assess how much these documents stated the motivations that truly governed the authors' decision to hold a formal combat, and how much they were adhering to acceptable or popular rules of practice.

⁷ See for example Froissart's extensive praise of those who participated in the 1390 jousts at Saint-Inglevert, Froissart, *Oeuvres*, vol. 14 pp. 106-47.

⁸ See for example the challenge copied into Monstrelet's text from Michel d'Oris to any Englishman wishing to fight him, in Monstrelet, *Chronique*, vol. 1 pp. 11-30 Other examples include the challenge of Louis of Orléans to Henry IV, the challenge of Waleran III Count of Luxembourg to Henry IV, and responses to both of these, vol. 1 pp. 43-67. On Monstrelet's use of these copies of texts see Rosalind Brown-Grant, 'Narrative Style in Burgundian Chronicles of the later Middle Ages', *Viator*, 42 n.2 (2011), p. 249.

⁹ See Monstrelet, *Chronique*, vol. 1 pp. 3-4. On heralds and formal combats specifically see Hiltmann, Torsten, 'Information et tradition textuelle. Les tournois et leur traitement dans les manuels des hérauts d'armes au XVe siècles', in Claire Boudreau, Kouky Fianu, Claude Gauvard & Michel Hébert (eds.), *Information et société en Occident à la fin du Moyen Âge* in *Actes du colloque international tenu à l'Université du Québec à Montréal et à l'Université d'Ottawa (9-11 mai 2002)* (Paris, 2004), 219-31. On heralds as disseminators of narrative material, as well as their roles in wider martial society, see Claire Boudreau, 'Messagers, rapporteurs, juges et 'voir-disant'. Les hérauts d'armes vos par eux-mêmes et par d'autres dans les sources didactiques (XIVe-XVIe siècles)', in Claire Boudreau, Kouky Fianu, Claude Gauvard & Michel Hébert (eds.), *Information et société en Occident à la fin du Moyen Âge. Actes du colloque international tenu à l'Université du Québec à Montréal et à l'Université d'Ottawa (9-11 Mai 2002)* (Paris, 2004), 233-245.

This chapter is therefore governed by both the ways in which the motivations were presented in sources, and by the actual motivations that influenced medieval individuals in their decision to participate in these events. Although such an analysis can only begin to uncover the true motivations behind this participation, it will address further the ways in which formal combats were understood and presented by medieval contemporaries who narrated and described them. The motivations that were constructed and presented in contemporary narratives fall into three broad categories, each of which will be explored in turn. The first, and perhaps most common motivation strand in contemporary sources is that of honour and, closely associated to this, renown. These are presented as the motivations behind encounters in a range of sources, including in original challenges to formal combat and also in narrative accounts of encounters. The second set of motivations behind formal combats that will be explored in this chapter, are those centred on material gain and gift exchange. Formal combats functioned as arenas in which an individual could earn large material benefits, as well as those benefits accrued to his honour and socio-martial position. The third and final motivation strand explored here, is martial practice and martial expression. Formal combats were not only motivated by a desire to practise martial skills; they were also used to express martial rivalries and tensions, especially significant for the purposes of this study in the context of the Hundred Years War and tensions between English and French partisans. The third section of this chapter will therefore also examine how participation in formal combats was presented as an expression of martial hostility, as well as an opportunity for martial practice.

Honour, Fame and Reputation

There was an expectation that medieval martial individuals could gain honour through participation in great deeds. In the second redaction to his *Chroniques*, Jean Froissart related how he aimed to record ‘honnourables emprises’ so that others might learn of them, and could copy their example.¹⁰ In the introduction to the anonymous biography of Jean le Meingre, the narrator stated that those who

¹⁰ Froissart, *Oeuvres*, vol. 2 p. 4.

wished to gain honour through martial deeds could learn from the examples that Boucicaut himself had performed, and that were then narrated in the text.¹¹

Honour and the maintenance of one's reputation were even portrayed as the most important benefits accrued through formal martial combat. In his *Livre de chevalerie* written around 1350, Geoffroi de Charny (d. 1356) envisaged a linear progression of honour through martial endeavours.¹² In his discussion on the amount of honour accrued through participation in different forms of martial combat, Charny described how those who took part in jousts would not have as much honour as those who competed in *mêlée* tournaments; similarly, those who competed in tournaments would not have as much honour as those who engaged in open warfare.¹³ This presentation of systematised honour engaged with Charny's maxim that those who did more were of more worth.¹⁴ In addressing why honour was so important to the martial individual, Charny described how 'pour ce doit l'en metre en ce mestier plus son cuer et s'entente a l'onnour, qui tous temps dure, que a profit et gaing qu l'en peut perdre en une seule heure'.¹⁵ For Charny therefore, honour was preferred to material gain because, as long as it was not forfeit, honour had the potential to last forever. It was eternal. In this sense, honour and reputation became central to an individual's status during life, and continued to affect his reputation after death.

The importance of honour and reputation, and the public weighing of these in front of one's peers, was expressed in the letters of institution pertaining to the Order of the Golden Fleece founded by Philip the Good Duke of Burgundy (1396-

¹¹ *Le livre des Fais du Bon Messire Jehan le Maingre, dit Boucicaut*, ed. Lalande, p. 9.

¹² Geoffroi de Charny, *The Book of Chivalry of Geoffroi de Charny: text, context and translation*, eds. Richard W. Kaeuper & Elspeth Kennedy (Philadelphia, 1996), pp. 86-88.

¹³ Charny, *The Book of Chivalry*, p. 88.

¹⁴ See for example Charny, *The Book of Chivalry*, p. 88.

¹⁵ 'In this vocation one should therefore set one's heart and mind on winning honour, which endures forever, rather than on winning profit and booty, which one can lose within one single hour', *The Book of Chivalry of Geoffroi de Charny: text, context and translation*, ed. Richard W. Kaeuper & Elspeth Kennedy (Philadelphia, 1996), p. 99.

1467), dated 27 November 1431.¹⁶ The statutes for the order were recorded in the *Chronique* of Jean le Fèvre, who was himself the king of arms for the order from 1431 until 1468.¹⁷ At each chapter (or meeting) of the order, the reputations of the companions were to be examined during the part of the chapter known as the ‘corrections’.¹⁸ Members of the order had to demonstrate that they lived lives that led to the ‘accroissement d’honneur et bonne renommée’.¹⁹ The acquisition of honour was a theme also encouraged in earlier chivalric orders. The Order of the Star, founded by King Jean II of France in 1351, was similarly motivated by ‘essaucement de Chevalerie et accroissement d’onneur’.²⁰ Jean le Bel echoed this sentiment in his narrative of the order’s foundation, written almost contemporarily with the event, in which he described the requirement of knights to report on their prowess and honour.²¹

¹⁶ On the foundation of the order see D’Arcy Jonathan Dacre Boulton, *The Knights of the Crown: The Monarchical Orders of Knighthood in Later Medieval Europe 1325-1520* (Woodbridge, 1987), pp. 356-396; Jacques Paviot, ‘Étude préliminaire’, in Raphaël de Smedt (ed.), *Les Chevaliers de l’Ordre de la Toison d’or au XVe siècle* (Frankfurt am Main, 2000), pp. xv-xxxii. For examples of chapters of the order see Françoise de Gruben, *Les Chapitres de la Toison d’Or à l’époque Bourguignonne (1430-1477)* (Louvain, 1997), *passim*.

¹⁷ The letters of institution are copied into le Fèvre’s work in Jean le Fèvre, *Chronique de Jean le Fèvre, seigneur de Saint-Remy*, ed. F. Morand (2 vols, Paris, 1876-1881), vol. 2 pp. 210-254. For Jean le Fèvre’s own identification of himself as the King of Arms for the Order of the Golden Fleece see le Fèvre, *Chronique*, vol. 1 pp. 2, 3-4. On the role of the king of arms of the Troison d’Or, the Order of the Golden Fleece, see Boulton, *The Knights of the Crown*, pp. 356-396; Gruben, *Les Chapitres de la Toison d’Or*, pp. 35-36, on Jean le Fèvre specifically see pp. 36-37.

¹⁸ On this part of the regulations see Bernhard Sterchi, ‘The Importance of Reputation in the Theory and Practice of Burgundian Chivalry: Jean de Lannoy, the Croÿs, and the Order of the Golden Fleece’, in D’Arcy Jonathan Dacre Boulton & Jan R. Veenstra (eds.), *The Ideology of Burgundy: the Promotion of National Consciousness, 1364-1565* (Leiden, 2006), pp. 108-109. On the wider issues of reputation and honour within the Order of the Golden Fleece see M.G.A. Vale, *War and Chivalry: warfare and aristocratic culture in England, France and Burgundy at the end of the Middle Ages* (London, 1981), pp. 46-51.

¹⁹ ‘increase of honour and good name’, le Fèvre, *Chronique*, vol. 2 pp. 227-228.

²⁰ ‘exaltation of knighthood and the increase of honour’, *Ordonnances des Roys de France*, ed. M. de Laurière (21 vols, Paris, 1723), vol. 2 pp. 465-466, here p. 465. On this document see Boulton, *The Knights of the Crown*, pp. 178-179. For the motivations behind Jean’s foundation of the order, primarily regarding his desire to reinvigorate and inspire French knighthood, see Boulton, *The Knights of the Crown*, pp. 178-179, 184-185, on the Order of the Star generally see pp. 167-210.

²¹ Jean le Bel, *Chronique*, eds. J. Viard & E. Deprez (2 vols, Paris, 1904-1905), vol. 2 p. 205, the section on the foundation of the order is on pp. 204-207. On le Bel’s narrative of the order’s foundation see Boulton, *The Knights of the Crown*, pp. 180-181.

This public need to pursue honour was strongly tied to the enhancement of one's reputation. In contemporary sources, this personal fame was often described as *renommée* or renown.²² Although an individual's *renommée* was an important legal concept that was often a key element in the judicial process, challenges and narratives of formal combats also suggested that one's wider *renommée* and reputation could be enhanced through participation in such events.²³ The concern of participants that they should gain renown and *renommée* alongside honour perhaps suggests that these two were linked in the minds of those who took part in formal combats. The challenges to combat and narratives reflected a desire to gain honour, and a belief that this enhanced renown. The public settings of these formal combats also indicated that acknowledgement of honour was essential in establishing and maintaining *renommée*. For an honourable deed to have an impact on one's life, it had to be witnessed and reported. It was only through the dissemination of the fact that one was honourable, that that honour had an impact on one's life. As such, the public recognition of honour was crucial to the effect that honourable deeds had on a martial career. In this way, status was achieved through interactions with a community, who were the arbiters of reputation.²⁴ Formal combats thus provided forums in which this honour could be attained, and then displayed in front of an individual's peers.

²² On the definition of *renommée* as renown and medieval links between this and reputation see Thelma Fenster & Daniel Lord Smail, 'Introduction', in Thelma Fenster & Daniel Lord Smail (eds.), *Fama. The Politics of Talk and Reputation in Medieval Europe* (Ithaca & London, 2003), 1-11. On the equivalency of 'honour' and 'reputation' in anthropological studies see Frederick G. Bailey, *Gifts and Poison. The Politics of Reputation* (Oxford, 1971), p. 19; Christian Giordano, 'Mediterranean Honor and Beyond. The Social Management of Reputation in the Public Sphere', *Sociology. Thought and Action*, 1 (2005), pp. 45-49; Michael Herzfeld, 'Honour and Shame: Problems in the Comparative Analysis of Moral Systems', *Man*, new series, 15 no. 2 (June 1980), p. 340.

²³ On *renommée*, often specifically *bonne renommée*, in a legal setting see for example F.R.P. Akehurst, 'Good Name, Reputation, and Notoriety in French Customary Law', in Thelma Fenster & Daniel Lord Smail (eds.), *Fama. The Politics of Talk and Reputation in Medieval Europe* (Ithaca & London, 2003), pp. 80-82; Barbara A. Hanawalt, 'Of Good and Ill Repute'. *Gender and Social Control in Medieval England* (Oxford, 1998), pp. 1-2; Annick Porteau-Bitker & Annie Talazac-Laurent, 'La renommée dans le droit penal laïque du XIIIe au XVe siècle', *Médiévales. La Renommée* 24 (1993), 67-80.

²⁴ Claude Gauvard, *Violence et ordre public au Moyen Age* (Paris, 2005), pp. 14-15; W.I. Miller 'Emotions, Honor, and the Affective Life of the Heroic', *Humiliation: And other essays on Honor, Social Discomfort, and Violence* (Ithaca, 1993), p. 116. The role of audiences at formal combats as witnesses to honour will be discussed in detail in the Chapter 6, 'Audience, Interaction and Gender' below.

These conceptions of honour and renown were all idealised. The chronicles reflected honour as a motivating factor behind great deeds, because they wished to entice others into performing similar estimable feats of arms. If they could promise honour to individuals who sought it, then they would encourage those individuals to live honourable lives. Similarly, the ways that honour was presented in these orders of chivalry outlined above suggested that living an idealised honourable life was not only possible, but should be the concern of every one of their members.

The sources relating to formal combats reflected a similar idealised conception that martial endeavours could add to an individual's honour and help them to gain renown, and so should be strived for at every opportunity. Contemporary challenges to compete certainly cited the acquisition of honour as a motivation behind the organisation of, and participation in, formal combats. This was the case for those challenges offered for formal combats between Jean de Werchin seneschal of Hainault, and Henry IV and his knights in 1408.²⁵ In November 1408 Werchin wrote a letter to Henry IV and asked to be allowed to challenge a member of the Order of the Garter or, failing that, any English knight, in the presence either of the king himself, or of the Prince of Wales.²⁶ Werchin stated that his reason for wishing to undertake these combats was to maintain his good name, and to demonstrate Werchin's own 'honour en les honourables faiz darmes'.²⁷

There was clearly an expectation that renown, along with honour, would be gained through participation in formal combats. Froissart stated in the prologue to his *Chroniques* that young knights should learn from renowned deeds and seek to

²⁵ The initial challenge and subsequent letters that organised the eventual encounter are copied in The British Library Additional MS 21370. Jean de Werchin, seneschal of Hainault and baron of Flanders (1374-1415). For narratives of the combats eventually resulting from this challenge, see *The Brut, or the Chronicles of England*, ed. F.W.D. Brie (2 vols, EETS, London, 1906-1908), vol. 2 pp. 369-70; Monstrelet, *Chronique*, vol. 2 pp. 5-6. For secondary commentary see Chris Given-Wilson, 'The Quarrels of Old Women': Henry IV, Louis of Orléans, and Anglo-French Chivalric Challenges in the early Fifteenth Century', in Gwilym Dodd & Douglas Biggs (eds.), *The reign of Henry IV: rebellion and survival, 1403-1413* (York, 2008), pp. 38-9. On the martial career of Jean de Werchin see W. Paravicini, 'Jean de Werchin, Sénéchal de Hainault, chevalier errant', in F. Autrand, C. Gauvard & J.-M. Moeglin (eds.), *Saint-Denis et la royauté* (Paris, 1999), 125-44.

²⁶ The initial challenge from Jean de Werchin to Henry IV and his knights is in British Library, London, Additional MS 21370, ff. 1r-1v.

²⁷ 'honour through honourable deeds of arms', BL Additional MS 21370, f. 1v.

copy them.²⁸ In the prologue to the anonymous biography of Jean le Meingre, the narrator declared that he wrote to provide an example to those who wished to gain ‘bonne renommée’.²⁹ It was through performing in formal combats that contemporaries hoped to enhance their reputations enough that they might imitate these renowned individuals, who were presented as exemplars of how martial endeavours should be performed. Jean de Werchin described the acquisition of renown alongside honour as the motivation for his 1408 challenge to Henry IV and the English knights of the Garter. Werchin stressed that he was motivated to organise the proposed combat in order to maintain his ‘bon renom’, linking this explicitly to his desire to gain honour.³⁰

The maintenance of one’s *renommée* was commonly a stated motivation behind formal combats, as these individuals sought to make names for themselves as martially vigorous and successful individuals. In August 1400 the Aragonese esquire Michel d’Oris sent a challenge to Englishmen stationed in Calais, outlining that he wished to participate in a formal combat against any Englishman who wished to answer his call.³¹ His challenge described that his motivation behind wishing to combat in such a way was to exalt his own name through the performance of noteworthy deeds of arms and martial endeavours.

The maintenance of renown was also a motivation stressed by Jean Count of Clermont and (from 1410) Duke of Bourbon, in a challenge to Henry IV’s second son, Thomas of Lancaster, dated 6 July 1406.³² Clermont had been campaigning

²⁸ Froissart, *Oeuvres*, vol. 1 p. 2.

²⁹ *Le livre des Fais du Bon Messire Jehan le Maingre, dit Boucicaut*, ed. Lalande, p. 9.

³⁰ BL Additional MS 21370, f. 1v.

³¹ Monstrelet, *Chronique*, vol. 1 pp. 11-30; Richard Barber, *The Knight and Chivalry* (London, 1970), p. 202; Richard W. Barber & Juliet R.V. Barker, *Tournaments: jousts, chivalry and pageants in the Middle Ages* (Woodbridge, 1989), p. 126; J.R.V. Barker, *The Tournament in England, 1100-1400* (Woodbridge, 1986), p. 157.

³² John (1380-1434) Count of Clermont and Duke of Bourbon. The letter is in BL Additional MS 18840, ff.1r-1v. There are additional copies in The College of Arms, London, MS L6, ff. 141v-142r; Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris, Fonds Français 1167, ff. 65r-66r. The safe conduct issued by Henry IV for Clermont and his companions to come to England for the formal combat proposed is in *Foedera, conventiones, literae, et cujuscunque generis acta publica*, ed. T. Rymer (20 vols, London, 1704-35), vol. 8 p. 626. There is no evidence however that the formal combat itself ever

against the English for several years, including in Gascony earlier in 1406.³³ He chose however, to phrase his initial challenge in the language of politeness and chivalric virtue rather than political calculation. The challenge was sent on 6 July, issued jointly with Jean de Foix, the eldest son of Count Archembaud de Foix, Clermont's campaigning partner in Gascony that year.³⁴ The combat was explicitly motivated by Bourbon's desire to acquire 'bonne Renommee'. He stated that he had heard that Lancaster also wished to increase his renown, and thus Clermont proposed a combat of eight men against eight, to be fought *à outrance*, before an impartial judge that both parties agreed upon in advance.

Actual contemporary narratives of events themselves similarly reflected the idea that honour and renown could be gained through participation in formal combats. This was the case in narratives of the combat between Sir Jean de Mello and Pierre de Bauffremont during the Congress of Arras in 1435 for example.³⁵ The formal combat was fought on 11-12 August between two combatants, the Castilian knight Jean de Merlo and the Burgundian knight Pierre de Bauffremont, and featured mounted jousts on the first day, and foot combats on the second. In his narrative of the event, Monstrelet described how the combat was fought 'sans querelle diffamatoire pour acquérir honneur'.³⁶ This was also the phraseology used by Waurin.³⁷ Although Joycelyne Dickinson has demonstrated that the narrative of Waurin for the Congress of Arras as a whole was heavily based on

took place. For the background to this encounter and additional notes see Given-Wilson, "The Quarrels of Old Women", pp. 38-40.

³³ For the martial career of Clermont see Given-Wilson, "The Quarrels of Old Women", pp. 38-39; M.G.A. Vale, *English Gascony, 1399-1453: a study of war, government and politics during the later stages of the Hundred Years' War* (London, 1970), p. 48.

³⁴ Jean de Foix (1384-1436) Vicomte of Castelbon and Count of Foix. See Vale, *English Gascony*, p. 52.

³⁵ For these narratives see Monstrelet, *Chronique*, vol. 5 pp. 138-43; Jehan de Waurin, *Recueil des chroniques et anciennes istories de la Grant Bretagne, a present nomme Engleterre*, eds. William Hardy & Edward L. C. P. Hardy (5 vols, New York, 1965), vol. 4 p. 79. Jean de Merlo was a knight from Castile. Pierre de Bauffremont (1400-1472), lord of Charny and Montfort and chamberlain of Philip the Good, was also a knight of the Golden Fleece. This event is examined in detail in Chapter 2, 'Formal Combats: Case Studies' above.

³⁶ 'without defamatory quarrel, but to acquire honour', Monstrelet, *Chronique*, vol. 5 p. 139.

³⁷ 'sans querelle diffamatoire, pour acquérir honneur', Waurin, *Recueil des chroniques et anciennes istories de la Grant Bretagne*, vol. 4 p. 79.

that composed by Enguerrand de Monstrelet, there were differences in the way that the narrative for this combat was presented.³⁸ The narrative in Waurin was far shorter, neglecting many of the details that Monstrelet described. Monstrelet's narrative was potentially based on eye-witness testimony; he was probably at Arras for the congress, and could have witnessed the formal combats between Bauffremont and Merlo.³⁹ Waurin's exact use of Monstrelet's terminology indicated that he did indeed use the latter's narrative as the basis for his own account. If that was the case, his choice to cut out other details from the narrative, including most of the description of the actual combats themselves, but yet still include honour as the motivation for the encounter, perhaps suggests that this was an important element in Waurin's narrative. Of course, as this study has already addressed, the combat between Bauffremont and Merlo could have been motivated by more than the desire to gain honour.⁴⁰ The timing of the engagement, between a prominent Burgundian knight and a Castillian who fought in French colours because of his country's long affinity with the French cause, so close to the English departure from the Congress, followed by Bauffremont's apparent efforts to support a French-Burgundian alliance, suggests that this combat was a microcosm for wider political and martial themes. The Anglo-Burgundian alliance fought on one side, the Spanish-French alliance on the other. The lack of English observers at the event suggested that this was focused on building Franco-Burgundian links, an idea supported by Bauffremont's role in possibly assisting to arrange a potential alliance between Burgundy and France.⁴¹ The audience, composed of French and Burgundian individuals, would have been given an opportunity to socialise and interact that could, consciously or otherwise, have aided the Franco-Burgundian reconciliation. It was notable however, that honour was used as the motivation by the chroniclers to justify this engagement.

³⁸ On the reliance of Waurin's narrative on that of Monstrelet for the Congress of Arras as a whole see Joycelyne Gledhill Dickinson, *The Congress of Arras 1435. A Study in Medieval Diplomacy* (New York, 1972), pp. xiv-xv.

³⁹ On Monstrelet's presence at the congress see Dickinson, *The Congress of Arras 1435*, p. xiii; A. Molinier, *Les sources de l'histoire de France* (6 vols, Paris, 1901-1906), vol. 4 pp. 192-3.

⁴⁰ See Chapter 2, 'Formal Combats: Case Studies' above.

⁴¹ Niccolò Albergati (1373-1443) was an Italian cardinal and diplomat, who represented Pope Eugene IV at Arras in 1435. He had been created Cardinal of Santa Croce in Jerusalem in 1426. See Dickinson, *The Congress of Arras 1435*, pp. 169-70.

Such an emphasis on honour would fit within Monstrelet's stated aim, outlined in his prologue to the *Chronique*: that he wrote to introduce and instruct those who wished to honourably exercise arms.⁴² Monstrelet envisaged honour as tied to the exercise of arms, of 'fais d'armes' as he described in his prologue, so his emphasis on the honour desired by his protagonists here fit within his wider desires as a narrator.

Challenges and narratives of formal combats therefore strongly encouraged participation in such deeds in order to gain honour and increase one's renown and reputation. A further distinct feature of many challenges and narratives for formal combats, was the lack of emphasis that was placed on shame should one party 'lose' the encounter. In the above example of Jean of Clermont's challenge to Thomas of Lancaster in 1406, both participants were represented as wishing to gain renown from participating in a formal combat.⁴³ Clermont proposed a combat in which they both simultaneously had an opportunity to enhance their reputations.

This concept, that something could be gained by all participants in a formal combat regardless of whether one lost or was victorious, raises important questions regarding how loss and shame were dealt with in regard to these events. Richard W. Kaeuper has worked on the presentation of violence and attitudes towards violent conduct in the later medieval period, and has interpreted honour as a competitive construct, in that the desire to acquire honour created a medieval society that was violently competitive.⁴⁴ Kaeuper saw the evidence for this confrontational honour culture in chivalric literature, where honour was gained through hostile and violent competition between martial individuals.⁴⁵ Others have also described the acquisition of honour as a confrontational event. Anthropologists such as Julian Pitt-Rivers have examined how honour must be

⁴² Monstrelet, *Chronique*, vol. 1 p. 2.

⁴³ BL, Additional MS 18840, ff. 1r-1v; CA, MS L6, ff. 141v-142r; BNF Fr. 1167, ff. 65r-66r.

⁴⁴ Richard W. Kaeuper, *Chivalry and Violence in Medieval Europe* (Oxford, 1999), p. 149.

⁴⁵ Kaeuper, *Chivalry and Violence*, pp. 150-155.

vindicated through the display of physical violence.⁴⁶ In such analyses, a society occupied with the acquisition of honour - as suggested by the rhetoric in the challenges and narratives examined here - will be violently competitive; it will seek the correction of perceived wrongs through violent confrontation.⁴⁷ In turn, the loss of honour, through defeat, thus becomes shameful.⁴⁸

Material in the challenges and narratives of formal combat however, indicated that there was a more nuanced approach to honour, shame and loss in such encounters. Challenges to formal combats did not dictate that a loser would face any loss of honour. Multiple challenges to formal combats denied any ill-feeling, or reproach, on the part of either combatant. The challenge of Piers de Masse to John Astley (d.1486) in 1438 was one such example. It stated explicitly that the combat was to be fought ‘w[i]t[h]oute ony reproche for to do armes on horsbak half at my request and half at his request’.⁴⁹ There was a strong suggestion that Astley and Masse acknowledged one another in this challenge as equals, as both knights ‘without reproach’.⁵⁰ Such an analysis would suggest that mutual acknowledgement of honour was necessary to challenge another knight: to offer a challenge was to credit an opponent with a reputation and with honour to match the challenger’s own.⁵¹

⁴⁶ J. Pitt-Rivers ‘Honour and Social Status’, in J.G. Peristiany (ed.), *Honour and Shame: The Values of Mediterranean Society* (London, 1965), 22-73, especially pp. 21-9; Nigel Saul, *For Honour and Fame. Chivalry in England 1066-1500* (2005), p. 187. For violence and honour in early modern England see Mervyn James, ‘English Politics and the Concept of Honour 1485-1642’, *Society, Politics and Culture: Studies in Early Modern England* (Cambridge, 1986), pp. 308-9; Kaeuper, *Chivalry and Violence*, p. 149.

⁴⁷ For more discussion on this see Kaeuper, *Chivalry and Violence*, p. 149.

⁴⁸ Miller, ‘Emotions, Honor and the Affective Life of the Heroic’, p. 118.

⁴⁹ BL MS Lansdowne 285, f. 15v; for another copy of this challenge see CA MS L9, ff. 15v-16r. For commentary see G.A. Lester, *Sir John Paston’s ‘Grete Boke’: a descriptive catalogue with an introduction, of British Library MS Lansdowne 285* (Cambridge, 1984), pp. 96-97. On the resulting combat see Barber & Barker, *Tournaments*, p. 128. John Astley (d. 1486), created Knight of the Garter in 1461. See Viscount Harold Arthur Dillon, ‘On a manuscript collection of ordinances of chivalry of the fifteenth century belonging to Lord Hastings’, *Archaeological Journal*, 57 (1900), p. 38.

⁵⁰ Definitions of ‘without reproach’ are offered and discussed in Maurice Keen, *Chivalry* (Nota Bene edn., New Haven & London, 1984), pp. 211-212. On ‘without reproach’ see Chapter 4, ‘Participation, Status and Manhood’ above.

⁵¹ Pierre Bourdieu, ‘From the ‘Rules’ of Honour to the Sense of Honour’, in *Outline of a Theory of Practice* (Cambridge, 1977), pp. 11-12.

The lack of animosity between combatants however, did not necessarily mean that the formal combat was fought as a nicety and as a polite ritual. In the combat resulting from this challenge between Piers de Masse and John Astley, fought in Paris in front of Charles VII and the French court, Masse was killed when Astley's lance punctured his skull.⁵² Clearly this had not been a pleasant show-combat, but had been fought with enough vigour to lead to death. This combat clearly featured violence. In the challenge to the encounter however, the combat was presented as peaceful and motivated by a desire to gain renown rather than to express hostility or induce shame.

Medieval narratives reflected this evidence from challenges to combat. These narratives often attributed honour and renown to both sides in a formal combat, regardless of the combat's outcome. Such was the case in the formal combat fought between the Castilian knight Jean de Merlo and the Burgundian Pierre de Bauffremont during the Congress of Arras in 1435. The combat was fought according to Enguerrand de Monstrelet, 'sans querelle diffamatoire pour acquérir honneur'.⁵³ There was no sense of a 'winner' of the combat in Monstrelet's narrative. Merlo did receive explicit praise, having fought with his visor raised and thus having increased the danger of the encounter for him personally. In addition to placing emphasis on Merlo's bravery in the face of such dangers however, Monstrelet simply stated that both fought with great courage. This encounter was not presented as hostile or confrontational, a 'loser' was not even identified, but instead both parties gained through mere participation.

Similar mutual benefit was ascribed in other narratives. In several French narrative accounts of the jousting at Saint Inglevert in 1390, the emphasis was placed on the three French participants, citing their desire to demonstrate their honour through participating in such an event. Perhaps the most obvious in this was the biography of Jean le Meingre, who was himself one of the French

⁵² BL MS Lansdowne 285, f. 15v.

⁵³ 'without defamatory quarrel, but to acquire honour', Monstrelet, *Chronique*, vol. 5 pp. 138-43, here p. 139; also Waurin, *Recueil des chroniques et anchiennes istories de la Grant Bretagne*, vol. 4 p. 79. This event is discussed in detail in Chapter 2, 'Formal Combats: Case Studies' above.

participants.⁵⁴ The biographical narrative of these jousts described how Boucicaut had organised and participated in this honourable combat in order to increase his personal renown and honour.⁵⁵ This narrative went on to describe how the three French knights performed so well in the jousts that eventually the honour went to the French side.⁵⁶ It is perhaps not an enormous surprise that a biography of one of the French participants sought to laud the role of its subject and his comrades above all others, and described them as the most honourable of the participants. Similarly, the French *Chronographia Regum Francorum* reflected the glory of the encounter onto the French participants by stating that their performance in these jousts had heaped honour on France.⁵⁷

In these narratives, honour was not being violently defended, but instead won by demonstrating the ability to participate well in such encounters. Furthermore, in other narratives a more balanced view of the honour accrued at the Saint Inglevert event emerged. In the narrative of Jean Froissart, praise was heaped upon both English and French combatants simultaneously. Froissart described for example, how both Henry Beaumont and Jean de Sempy jousted well against one another, with no obvious winner and without either getting hurt.⁵⁸ In a subsequent joust between the English squire John Savage and Sir Renaud de Roye, Froissart described how the encounter was much applauded for its correctness and vigour.⁵⁹ Similar praise was heaped on both Sir William Masquelee and Boucicaut, for they had both performed excellently.⁶⁰ The narrative attributed to Jean Juvénal meted out equal praise in a similar manner, by stating that both England and France had

⁵⁴ This event is discussed at length in Chapter 2, 'Formal Combats: Case Studies' above.

⁵⁵ *Le livre des Fais du Bon Messire Jehan le Maingre, dit Boucicaut*, ed. Lalande, p. 66.

⁵⁶ *Le livre des Fais du Bon Messire Jehan le Maingre, dit Boucicaut*, ed. Lalande, p. 73-74.

⁵⁷ *Chronographia Regum Francorum*, ed. H. Moranville (3 vols, Paris, 1891-1897), vol. 3 p. 100, for the narrative of the jousts at Saint Inglevert see p. 97-100.

⁵⁸ Froissart, *Oeuvres*, vol. 14 pp. 111-112.

⁵⁹ Froissart, *Oeuvres*, vol. 14 pp. 127-9.

⁶⁰ Froissart, *Oeuvres*, vol. 14 pp. 146-8.

gained honour through the encounter.⁶¹ There was no judgement made in these narratives regarding the loss of honour or shame of those who jousted against the French knights. Clearly here, the emphasis was not placed on who had ‘won’ or ‘lost’, but rather on the honour that was gained in the combat.

The concept of mutually-gained respect through participation in formal combats was again highlighted in Froissart’s narrative of the encounter between the English squire Miles Windsor and the French knight Tristan de Roye at Badajos in 1382, during the English campaign on the Iberian peninsular in support of the Anglo-Portuguese alliance against Castille led by Edmund of Langley.⁶² Froissart described how many young knights and men-at-arms fought small skirmishes and combats with their Castilian counterparts in the spring and early summer of 1382.⁶³ One of these smaller combats was the series of jousts fought between Tristan de Roye and Miles Windsor outside Badajos.⁶⁴ Froissart narrated that an audience of more than one hundred spectators attended the event, and his narrative repeatedly emphasised the martial status of these individuals: some had accompanied the two combatants, whilst others had simply gathered at the combat site in order to observe the proceedings.⁶⁵ Froissart stressed that the combat was highly praised by the audience, and that knights from each side (both the English and French partisans) acknowledged that the combat had been good.⁶⁶ Windsor and Roye jousted three courses against one another. They twice broke their lances, and on the third course both lances pierced the shields of the other

⁶¹ Jean Juvénal des Ursins, ‘Histoire de Charles VI, Roy de France’, *Novelle Collection des Mémoires pour servir à l’Histoire de France depuis le XIII^e siècle jusqu’à la fin du XVIII^e siècle*, eds. J.F. Michaud & J.J.F. Poujoulat (32 vols, Paris, 1836-39), vol. 2 p. 385.

⁶² On the 1381-82 campaign see Nigel Saul, *Richard II* (London, 1997), pp. 96-99; P.E. Russell, *The English Intervention in Spain and Portugal in the time of Edward III and Richard II* (Oxford, 1955), pp. 302-344. The jousts between Windsor and Roye are detailed in Chapter 2, ‘Formal Combats: Case Studies’ above.

⁶³ Froissart, *Oeuvres*, vol. 9 p. 488. On the peace of Badajos, against which background this combat took place, see Russell, *The English Intervention in Spain and Portugal*, pp. 335-340.

⁶⁴ Froissart, *Oeuvres*, vol. 9 pp. 490-92. Tristan de Roye (d. 1386), also known as Matthieu de Roye, was a brother of Renaud de Roye who competed at Saint Inglevert in 1390.

⁶⁵ Froissart, *Oeuvres*, vol. 14 pp. 490-92, esp. 491. For very brief notes on this encounter see Barber, *Knight and Chivalry*, p. 237.

⁶⁶ Froissart, *Oeuvres*, vol. 9 p. 492.

participant, but neither was injured. Froissart described the resulting spectacle, when shards of lance flew over the heads of the participants.⁶⁷ Froissart ended his narrative by describing that after the combat, the two knights took leave of each other with much respect.⁶⁸ Froissart did not describe honour as being defended in these jousts. He did not dwell on who was deemed to have won or lost; a 'loser' was apparently not even identified.

In the examples outlined above, honour was not represented as a concept to be defended through hostile action. Both parties in the above combats were represented as gaining honour through participation. There was a distinct lack of shame attributed to those who lost these encounters, both in the challenges that outlined the proposed combats and in the narratives that went on to describe them. The narrative sources were often less concerned with identifying a 'winner' who had successfully defended his honour, and were frequently eager to heap praise on both combatants for having performed well.⁶⁹

Of course, there were formal combats in which honour was violently asserted or defended: judicial duels. There were some arguments over honour that could only be addressed through the legal process and the test of a duel.⁷⁰ The later medieval period did feature judicial duels in which the reputation or social position of an individual was called into question, and subsequently defended through violent and hostile action. Accusations of treason and treachery were possibly the most common disputes fought out in such a manner. Such was the case in the dispute

⁶⁷ Froissart, *Oeuvres*, vol. 9 p. 491.

⁶⁸ Froissart, *Oeuvres*, vol. 9 p. 492.

⁶⁹ This is the conclusion drawn by Bagge pertaining to performance in warfare, S. Bagge, 'Honour, Passions and Rationality. Political Behavior in a Traditional Society, in Fredrik Engelstad & Ragnvald Kalleberg (eds.), *Social Time and Social Change. Historical Perspectives in Social Science* (Oslo, 1999), pp. 111, 124. Bagge states that in the eyes of medieval contemporaries, the honour gained through participating in a given way was more important than any additional honour accrued through victory.

⁷⁰ Robert Baldick *The Duel: a history of dueling* (London, 1970), p. 22; Barber, *The Knight and Chivalry* p. 176; Bourdieu, 'From the 'Rules' of Honour to the Sense of Honour', pp. 11-12; Penelope D. Johnson, 'Fighting Words and Wounded Honour in late Fourteenth Century France', in S. Hayes-Healey (ed.), *Medieval Paradigms: essays in honour of Jeremy DuQuesnay Adams* (2 vols, New York, 2005), vol. 1 p. 144; M.H. Keen *The Laws of War in the late Middle Ages* (London, 1965), pp. 41-2, 127; Saul, *For Honour and Fame*, p. 188.

between John Annesley and Thomas Catterton in 1380.⁷¹ Annesley accused Catterton of having surrendered the castle of St Sauveur-le-Vicomte in Normandy to the French for money in the summer of 1375. Various pledges in support of the accusation were presented to the Court of the Constable and the Marshal, and eventually the constable of England, Thomas of Woodstock, ruled that the case should be settled by a trial by battle.⁷² The duel itself was fought at Westminster, before Richard II and his court. *The St Albans Chronicle* stressed the legal defence that was being expressed through this violent confrontation. It reported how Thomas Catterton was warned, ‘defensor, compareas defensurus causam tuam, pro qua dominus Iohannes de Anneslee, miles et appellator, te publice et in scriptis appellavit’.⁷³ In the end, the combat came to a violent conclusion. Thomas Catterton passed out during a pause in the fighting. Following further insults and taunts from Annesley, Catterton was led from the combat area and died the following day.⁷⁴

On 30 November 1384, a similar judicial duel was fought during the parliament in London between John Walsh of Grimsby and Martlet de Villeneuve of Navarre.⁷⁵ The narrative provided in the *Westminster Chronicle* described how the

⁷¹ The summonses to combat by Thomas of Woodstock as constable of England is in *Calendar of Patent Rolls, Richard II (1377-1381)*, <http://sdr.lib.uiowa.edu/patentrolls/r2v1/body/Richard2vollpage0485.pdf> (19 May 2013). Narrative accounts of this case and the subsequent combat are *Chronicon Anglie 1328-1388, auctore monachi quondam Sancti Albani*, ed. Edward Maunde Thompson (London, 1874), pp. 261-65; Thomas Walsingham, *The St Albans Chronicle: the ‘Chronica Maiora’ of Thomas Walsingham*, eds. & trans. John Taylor, Wendy R. Childs & Leslie Watkiss (2 vols, Oxford, 2003-2011), vol. 1 pp. 356-65; also see the translation of this in *The Chronica Maiora of Thomas Walsingham 1376-1422*, trans. David Preest (Woodbridge, 2005), pp. 104-6; *Historia Vitae et Regni Ricardi Secundi*, ed. George B. Stow (Pennsylvania, 1977), pp. 58-9.

⁷² *CPR, Richard II (1377-1381)*, <http://sdr.lib.uiowa.edu/patentrolls/r2v1/body/Richard2vollpage0485.pdf> (19 May 2013). Initially the duel had not been allowed on the grounds that English territory could not be settled by a trial by combat within England. Eventually however this ban was lifted and the combat was allowed to take place. For further discussion see J.G. Bellamy, ‘Sir John de Annesley and the Chandos Inheritance’, *Nottingham Medieval Studies*, x (1966), pp. 94-98.

⁷³ ‘appellant, you are to prepare to defend your cause, for which Sir John Annesley, knight and appellant, has challenged you publically and in writing’, Walsingham, *The St Albans Chronicle*, vol. 1 pp. 358-9.

⁷⁴ Walsingham, *The St Albans Chronicle*, vol. 1 pp. 362-65. These are also the details described in *Chronicon Angliae*, ed. Thompson, pp. 264-65.

⁷⁵ Narratives of the duel are recorded in Walsingham, *The St Albans Chronicle*, vol. 1 pp. 732-33; Knighton, *Knighton’s Chronicle*, pp. 334-35; *Chronicon Angliae*, ed. Thompson, p. 361; *The Westminster*

judicial duel between these two men had been motivated by Villeneuve's public accusation that Walsh had committed treason. The details of Walsh's supposed treason however, did not appear in any narrative of the combat. The two men fought a duel before the English king Richard II, the English constable Thomas of Woodstock, and the marshal Thomas Holland Earl of Kent.⁷⁶ Thomas Walsingham was the only narrator to provide an alternate motivation for the encounter. According to Walsingham, Villeneuve was actually motivated through anger at Walsh, after Walsh had assaulted Villeneuve's wife. After Walsh had won the duel, Walsingham narrated, Villeneuve confessed that he had been motivated out of defence of his wife, rather than out of suspicion that Walsh was a traitor.⁷⁷ Martlet de Villeneuve lost the combat, and was drawn, hung and beheaded as a consequence of his accusation of treason, which was deemed to have been proved false by his defeat in the combat.

Both of these examples were motivated through accusations of treason.⁷⁸ Treason was agreed upon as an acceptable reason to fight in a judicial combat in two treatises on judicial combat that were produced around this time.⁷⁹ The first, the ordinances for judicial duels composed by Thomas of Woodstock for Richard II circa 1386–1388, stated that judicial duels could be undertaken during cases in

Chronicle, eds. Hector & Harvey, pp. 104-7; *Historia Vitae et Regni Ricardi Secundi*, ed. Stow, p. 85. This duel is discussed in more detail in Chapter 2, 'Formal Combats: Case Studies' above.

⁷⁶ For Thomas of Woodstock see for his appointment as constable *CPR, Edward III (1374-1377)*, 'http://sdrc.lib.uiowa.edu/patentrolls/e3v16/body/Edward3vol16page0279.pdf' (23 June 2013). For biographical details see Anthony Tuck, 'Thomas, duke of Gloucester (1355–1397)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Jan. 2008, 'http://www.oxforddnb.com.ezproxy.york.ac.uk/view/article/27197' (23 June 2013). For Thomas Holland see for his appointment as marshal *CPR (1377-81)*, 'http://sdrc.lib.uiowa.edu/patentrolls/r2v3/body/Richard2vol3page0011.pdf' (23 June 2013). For biographical details see M. M. N. Stansfield, 'Holland, Thomas, fifth earl of Kent (1350–1397)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oct. 2008, 'http://www.oxforddnb.com.ezproxy.york.ac.uk/view/article/13544' (23 June 2013).

⁷⁷ Walsingham, *The St Albans Chronicle*, vol. 1 pp. 732-33.

⁷⁸ On the role of judicial duels in the prosecution of treason in later medieval France specifically see S.H. Cuttler, *The Law of Treason and Treason Trials in later Medieval France* (Cambridge, 1981), p. 85. On treason trials and the English Court of Chivalry more generally see Maurice Keen, *Nobles, Knights and Men-at-Arms in the Middle Ages* (London & Rio Grande, 1996), pp. 149-166.

⁷⁹ For both of these texts and discussion of their presentation of judicial combat see Chapter 3, 'Royal Controls, Rules and Violence' above.

which no witnesses were able to prove or disprove allegations.⁸⁰ Woodstock clearly envisaged judicial duels taking place in response to accusations of treason however; his text dictated that if the judicial duel concerned treason, then the defeated party should be led away and hanged.⁸¹ In the second text, the *Livre du Seigneur de l'Isle-Adam pour gage de bataille* composed by Jean de Villiers for Duke Philip the Good of Burgundy, treason was also cited as a legitimate cause for a judicial combat, as long as the case could not be proven by witnesses or other means.⁸² Judicial combats were therefore legally accepted in cases where guilt or innocence could not otherwise be proven; however, as this thesis has previously examined, there was a distinct unease regarding such judicial combats by many during the later medieval period.⁸³

According to Walsingham however, the true nature of the above combat was not treason at all, but instead the defence of Villeneuve's wife after an assault from Walsh. After Walsh had won the duel, Walsingham narrated, Villeneuve confessed that he had been motivated out of defence of his wife, rather than out of suspicion that Walsh was a traitor.⁸⁴ The roles of women in relation to judicial duels were twofold, and both of these were tied to the concept of honour. The first was as individuals whose honour had to be defended by men acting on their behalf. It is this kind of defensive action that was cited in narratives of judicial combats as the motivating factor behind the engagement. The second way that women might have acted as motivators for a formal combat was through martial individuals fighting in their name. In this instance, honour was gained through performance on behalf of women. In such combats, the honour of a woman was not being defended; rather individual men wished to win honour and the love of women by competing in formal combats for their attentions and affections. The first of these is relevant for our discussion here regarding judicial duels; the second is discussed at greater length in the following chapter.

⁸⁰ *The Black Book of the Admiralty*, ed. T. Twiss (4 vols, London, 1871-7), vol. 1 pp. 304-305.

⁸¹ *The Black Book of the Admiralty*, ed. Twiss, vol. 1 p. 324-325.

⁸² *Traité du Duel Judiciaire Relations de Pas d'Armes et Tournois*, ed. Bernard Prost (Paris, 1872), p. 30.

⁸³ On this see Chapter 3, 'Royal Controls, Rules and Violence' above.

⁸⁴ Walsingham, *The St Albans Chronicle*, vol. 1 pp. 732-33.

The first way that women were presented as engaging with formal combats, was through the active defence of their honour, name and reputation by the undertaking of a violent, martial act. This principle of reaction through violent confrontation to perceived infringements on a woman's honour even extended to women not closely associated with a particular man. There was a sense in medieval texts that a man-at-arms should act in defence of any women whose honour or person required his action. Geoffroi de Charny for example, stated that martial individuals were bound to protect and defend the honour of all ladies against any who would threaten that honour.⁸⁵ In reality, this interest to defend women was expressed in chivalric orders such as the *Ordre de l'Escu vert a la Dame Blanche*, founded on 11 April 1400 by Jean le Meingre, known as Boucicaut.⁸⁶ Although this order was primarily tasked with defending women, especially widows, from harm, all members also pledged to provide opponents for anyone unable to gain release from a vow to perform a specific deed of arms in the lists because of a lack of challengers.⁸⁷

The role of men to defend women's honour by seeking judicial violent confrontation was further expressed in legal treatises from the period, although the role of men to defend the honour of women in these texts was quite different. They did not stress the role of men to protect all women, but rather the right of men to protect women in specific legal circumstances. This was the case in for example the *Tractatus de Bello* composed by the Bolognese jurist Giovanni de Legnano, which discussed the permissible circumstances necessary for judicial duels.⁸⁸ Legnano stated that it was permissible for a man to engage in a judicial

⁸⁵ *The Book of Chivalry of Geoffroi de Charny: text, context and translation*, eds. Richard W. Kaeuper & Elspeth Kennedy (Philadelphia, 1996), pp. 94-5.

⁸⁶ See Denis Lalande, *Jean II le Meingre, dit Boucicaut (1366-1421). Étude d'une Biographie Héroïque* (Geneva, 1988), pp. 93-94.

⁸⁷ Richard Barber & Juliet Barker, *Tournaments. Jousts, Chivalry and Pageants in the Middle Ages* (Woodbridge, 2000), p. 112; for the order's statutes see *Livre des fais du bon messire Jehan le Meingre, dit Bouciquaut, mareschal de France et gouverneur de Jennes*, ed. D. Lalande (Geneva, 1985), pp. 164-170.

⁸⁸ Giovanni da Legnano, *Tractatus de Bello, de Represaliis et de Duello*, ed. Thomas Erskine Holland, trans. J.L. Brierly (Oxford, 1917), pp. 186-87, 344-5. On the Lombard Laws relating to dueling see Chris Wickham, 'Land disputes and their social framework in Lombard-Carolingian Italy, 700-900', in Wendy Davies & Paul Fouracre (eds.), *The Settlement of Disputes in Early Medieval Europe* (Cambridge, 1992), pp. 112-13. On the influence of the Lombard Laws regarding dueling on legal works in the later medieval period see David Whetham, *Just Wars and Moral Victories. Surprise,*

duel 'si maritus suspicetur quod quis turpiter se habuerit cum uxore'.⁸⁹ Furthermore, Legnano stated that if a woman was accused of having committed adultery, these laws allowed a champion to fight a judicial combat in her place, as a legal defence.⁹⁰ The work of Giovanni da Legnano potentially also had an influence over the composition of the *Somnium Viridarii*, composed circa 1376 for Charles V, probably by Evrart de Trémaugon, a doctor of law who was possibly a pupil of Legnano.⁹¹ This in turn was translated and extended in *Le Songe du Vergier* written circa 1378 for Charles V of France (1338-1380), probably by Jean le Fèvre, the abbot of St-Vaast who also had a doctorate in canon law from a French university, probably that of Paris.⁹² One section of the debate between the clerk and the knight (representing the pope and the king respectively) was concerned with the legal justification and processes of judicial duels.⁹³ Although generally negative in its expression of the motivations behind formal combats, the *Songe* did acknowledge that duels were fought for reasons of legal defence and to clear one's name of an accusation of criminal activity.⁹⁴ Again in the *Arbre de Bataille* of Honorat Bovet composed 1386-89 and dedicated to Charles VI of France, judicial

Deception and the Normative Framework of European War in the later Middle Ages (Leiden, 2009), pp. 94-5; Markku Peltonen, *The Duel in Early Modern England: civility, politeness, and honour* (Cambridge, 2003), p. 3.

⁸⁹ 'if a husband suspects that another has misconducted himself with his wife', Legnano, *Tractatus de Bello, de Represaliis et de Duello*, pp. 186, 344-5.

⁹⁰ Legnano, *Tractatus de Bello, de Represaliis et de Duello*, pp. 187, 345.

⁹¹ For biographical notes on Evrart de Trémaugon see Jenny Stratford, 'The Illustration of the *Songe du Vergier* and some fifteenth-century manuscripts', in Godfried Croenen & Peter Ainsworth (eds.), *Patrons, Authors and Workshops: Books and Book Production in Paris Around 1400* (Louvain, 2006), pp. 473-5. On Giovanni da Legnano's *Tractatus de bello* and the *Somnium* as inspirations for the *Songe* see Pierre Chaplais, 'Jean le Fèvre, Abbot of Saint-Vaast, Arras, and the *Songe du Vergier*', in Colin Richmond & Isobel Harvey (eds.), *Recognitions: essays presented to Edmund Frye* (Aberystwyth, 1996), pp. 208-9; G.W. Coopland, 'An Unpublished Work of John of Legnano: the 'Somnium' of 1372', *Nuovi Studi Medievali*, 2 (1925-6), p. 65.

⁹² For bibliographical notes on Jean le Fèvre and his identity as the author of the text see Pierre Chaplais, 'Jean le Fèvre', 203-228. The author of this text had previously been identified as Evrart de Trémaugon by Marion Schnerb-Lièvre in *Le Songe du Vergier. Édité d'Après le Manuscrit Royal 19CIV de la British Library* (2 vols, Paris, 1982), vol. 1 pp. lxxxv-lxxxviii; she expanded upon the arguments she had made in an article two years previously in Marion Schnerb-Lièvre, 'Evrart de Trémaugon et le *Songe du Vergier*', *Romania*, 101 (1980), pp. 527-30; Evrart was also the author argued for in A. Coville, *Evrart de Trémaugon et le Songe du Vergier* (Paris, 1933).

⁹³ The debate regarding judicial duels is found in Schnerb-Lièvre, *Le Songe du Vergier*, vol. 1 pp. 348-354.

⁹⁴ Schnerb-Lièvre, *Le Songe du Vergier*, vol. 1 p. 348.

duels were defined as permissible in the defence of women.⁹⁵ Although none of these legal treatises make a case for the use of judicial combats as a defence of personal or female honour in contemporary French legal proceedings, the presence of the recognition of the role of judicial combats within the Lombard Laws cited in each of these texts indicates that there was an awareness of such a principle.

The combat described above between Villeneuve and Walsh was fought to defend a woman's honour. In this case, the honour of the woman was presented as a passive construct: the inability of the woman to defend her own honour was rectified by the ability of her husband to defend that honour on her behalf. Other than presumably reporting the compromise to her honour to her defender, the woman in this case was presented as fading almost immediately from view, her voice being subsumed by the men now acting on her behalf.

Such an analysis fits with the models posited elsewhere that seek to communicate how men may choose to defend a woman's honour through violent recourse.⁹⁶ Penelope D. Johnson has construed this as a partially self-interested action on the part of the men: since a man's honourable status was closely associated with the women in his circle, it fell to him to defend the good repute of any women associated with him. Certainly this would fit within a model of a husband seeking judicial recourse for a perceived dishonouring of his wife.⁹⁷ In the combat in defence of Villeneuve's wife, there was the potential that the honour of the men themselves was at stake. In order to defend his wife's honour, Villeneuve was also defending his own. Ruth Mazzo Karras has also discussed this within the framework of formal combats, and argues that the success of men in fighting on

⁹⁵ Honorat Bovet, 'L'Arbe des Batailles d'Honorat Bovet. Etude de l'oeuvre edition critique des textes français et occitan', ed. Hélène Bui (3 vols, unpublished PhD thesis, University of Paris IV-Sorbonne, 2004), vol. 2 pp. 846-48. On Honorat Bovet as the author of this text, and the date of its composition, see Michael Hanly & Helene Millet, 'Les batailles d'Honorat Bovet: essai de biographie', *Romania*, 114 (1996), p. 143.

⁹⁶ See for example Wikan, 'Shame and honour: a contestable pair', p. 638.

⁹⁷ Johnson, 'Fighting Words and Wounded Honour in late-fourteenth century France', vol. 1 p. 144. See also John Carmi Parsons, 'Loved Him – Hated Her': honour and shame at the medieval court', in J. Murray (ed.), *Conflicted Identities and Multiple Masculinities: men in the medieval west* (New York, 1999), p. 292.

behalf of women was not meant to necessarily defend or impress them, but was instead motivated by a desire to impress other men with their perceived martial standing.⁹⁸ This self-interested defence is quite different from the ideal represented in literature of the selfless knight acting as a champion for an unknown, helpless woman, as reflected in for example Boucicaut's order of chivalry.

The examples of judicial duels described above were fought in order to defend reputation – either personal after an accusation of treason, or that of a woman – through legal recourse. In each case, this defence took the form of a hostile encounter, fought with violence and ending in the death of one of the participants. Markku Peltonen has analysed how duels of honour in the early modern period were based on trials by combat and judicial duels in the middle ages, particularly those fought over treason and accusations of wrongdoing.⁹⁹ Honour is constructed in such studies as a form of self-protection in societies without state mechanisms to redress personal or legal grievances, as a means of protection and a deterrent from threats.¹⁰⁰ In these examples however, it was a legal channel that permitted the defence of honour through combats of this type. Judicial systems did not prevent or neglect the defence of honour, but in fact provided an opportunity to defend honour when other proofs were not available.

Material Gain and Gift Giving

Representations in the texts discussed above therefore strongly connected formal combats with the acquisition of honour and renown. It is possible however, to go further than this in establishing the motivations behind formal combats, by examining the elements in contemporary narratives that suggested additional gains for participants. One of these was the dissemination of material goods, gifts

⁹⁸ Ruth Mazo Karras, *From Boys to Men. Formations of Masculinity in Late Medieval Europe* (Philadelphia, 2003), pp. 25, 48.

⁹⁹ Markku Peltonen, *The Duel in Early Modern England: civility, politeness, and honour* (Cambridge, 2003), pp. 2-4; see also Ute Frevert, *Men of Honour: a social and cultural history of the duel* (Cambridge, 1995), pp. 2-3.

¹⁰⁰ D. Cohen, J. Vandello & A.K. Rantilla, 'The sacred and the social: Cultures of honor and violence', in P. Gilbert & B. Andrews (eds.), *Shame: Interpersonal behaviour, psychopathology, and culture* (Cambridge, 1998), p. 262.

and prizes at formal combats. K.B. McFarlane has been keen to distance material gain from the pursuit of honour. He has stated that English martial individuals who fought in the wars of the fourteenth century ‘made no pretence of fighting for love of king or lord, still less for England or for glory, but for gain’.¹⁰¹

On the other hand, several historians have stressed the economic advantage of participating in deeds of arms, and have linked this with the economic gains that could be made in warfare.¹⁰² The history of gift-giving at formal combats seems to go back to the early days of *mêlée* tournaments, and the practice was certainly in use during the time of William Marshal.¹⁰³ These gifts and prizes were usually symbolic, but were often nonetheless expensive items.¹⁰⁴ As well as prizes from the organiser and host of a formal combat, participants in early *mêlée* tournaments could also expect to earn a significant amount of money from ransoms: it was possible for a successful individual to make a career on the tournament circuit, because every man he defeated would usually have to pay a ransom.¹⁰⁵ At this early stage in the history of formal combats, the capture of horses was also crucially important as a financial incentive for participation in the events.¹⁰⁶ The concept of awarding prizes continued into the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, with the values of the gift at times quite significant. There is little evidence however that the winning of horses continued past the middle of the fourteenth century.

¹⁰¹ K.B. McFarlane, *The Nobility of later medieval England* (Oxford, 1973), p. 21. On the pursuit of monetary reward during the Hundred Years War in general see J. Barnie *War in Medieval Society: social values and the Hundred Years War, 1337-99* (London, 1974), pp. 34-6; Michael Prestwich, *Plantagenet England 1225-1360* (Oxford, 2005), p. 328; Michael Prestwich, *The Three Edwards. War and State in England, 1272-1377* (2nd edn., London, 2003), pp. 180-181; Michael Prestwich, *Armies and warfare in the Middle Ages: the English experience* (New Haven, 1996), pp. 83-114; Paul Robinson, *Military Honour and the Conduct of War: from ancient Greece to Iraq* (Abingdon, 2006), p. 66.

¹⁰² William Urban, *Medieval Mercenaries. The Business of War* (London, 2006), p. 205; Barber, *The Knight and Chivalry*, pp. 208, 243; Keen *Nobles, Knights, and men-at-arms*, p. 98.

¹⁰³ See for example *L'Histoire de Guillaume le Maréchal*, ed. P. Meyer (Paris, 1901), ll. 2773-5, 3681-3; Barber & Barker, *Tournaments*, p. 23; Keen, *Chivalry*, pp. 88-9.

¹⁰⁴ David Crouch, *Tournament* (London, 2005), p. 36.

¹⁰⁵ Keen, *Chivalry*, pp. 25, 95-6, 100; Constance Brittain Bouchard, ‘Strong of Body, Brave and Noble’. *Chivalry and Society in Medieval France* (Ithaca & London, 1998), p. 123.

¹⁰⁶ Barber & Barker, *Tournaments*, p. 191.

Substantial historiographical and anthropological work has already been completed on the role of ritual and ceremony within cultures of gift-giving, and on the place of gifts within larger rituals and ceremonies.¹⁰⁷ Formal combats provided occasions at which gifts could be earned, both for simple participation and for distinguished individual performance.¹⁰⁸ The first system of awarding prizes was to award them to all participants in a formal combat, and often many of the attendees as well, regardless of their performance but rather solely because they had participated in some way in the encounter. The second way to award prizes at a formal combat was to give them specifically to the individuals deemed to have ‘won’ an encounter. These selective prizes were usually awarded by the organiser or sponsor of a formal combat, often a monarch or prince. The roles that gifts and prizes played in these two different situations were distinct from one another, and so it is necessary to examine each different form of gift-giving in turn.

The rewards for participation in a formal combat, granted to all participants of one nationality or one party, were often granted in situations of heightened ritual and ceremony. Such was the case following the jousts organised by Richard Beauchamp Earl of Warwick (1382-1439) at Guînes near Calais in 1413.¹⁰⁹ During the period between 6-8 January 1413, Beauchamp jousted on horseback against three French knights: Gerald Herbaumes, Hugh de Lannoy and Colart de Fiennes.¹¹⁰ Following the combat Beauchamp, as organiser and sponsor of the

¹⁰⁷ See for example Janet L. Nelson, ‘Introduction’, in Wendy Davies & Paul Fouracre (eds.), *The Languages of Gift in the Early Middle Ages* (Cambridge, 2010), 1-11; Andrew Cowell, *The Medieval Warrior Aristocracy. Gifts, Violence, Performance, and the Sacred* (Cambridge, 2007), p. 8.

¹⁰⁸ Carol M. Chattaway, *The Order of the Golden Tree. The Gift-Giving Objectives of Duke Philip the Bold of Burgundy* (Turnhout, 2006), p. 87.

¹⁰⁹ The narratives for this encounter are the *Beauchamp Pageant*, BL MS Cotton Julius E iv, ff. 13v-16r; BL Lansdowne MS 285, ff. 16r-17v. There is a later sixteenth-century copy of the text from Lansdowne in CA MS L5, ff. 85v-87r. On the identity of Lansdowne 285 as the Paston ‘Grete Boke’ see G.A. Lester, ‘The Books of a Fifteenth-Century English Gentleman, Sir John Paston’, *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen*, 88 (1987), 200-217; G.A. Lester, ‘Sir John Paston’s *Grete Boke*: A Bespoke Book or Mass-Produced?’, *English Studies*, 66 (1985), 93-104; Lester, *Sir John Paston’s ‘Grete*, pp. 34-43. The most recent edited edition of the text from the ‘Grete Boke’ is Yin Liu, ‘The Challenge of an Ancestor of the Earl of Warwick’: The Guînes *pas d’armes* of 1413’, *Opuscula*, 1 no. 4 (2011), 1-10. For further secondary commentary, also see Yin Liu, ‘Richard Beauchamp and the Uses of Romance’, *Medium Aevum*, 74 no. 2 (2005), 271-87. See also Henry Noble MacCracken, ‘The Earl of Warwick’s Virelai’, *Publications of the Modern Languages Association of America*, 22 no. 4 (1907), 597-607.

¹¹⁰ Gerald Herbaumes, governor of Coucy, died at Agincourt in 1415. See Monstrelet, *Chronique*, vol. 2 p. 304; vol. 3 p. 117. Hugh de Lannoy, governor of Compiègne. He was captured at

event as well as a participant himself, awarded his three French opponents with various jewels and cups of gold, following an apparently extravagant feast.¹¹¹ In this event, material gain was not a competitive acquisition, but instead was gained through simple participation in an event. There was no sense that anyone was judged to have performed more successfully than any other competitor. In this sense, the acquisition of material gains at formal combats reflected the acquisition of intangible gains, such as honour. This chapter has previously examined how honour was often depicted as being gained through participation in formal combats irrespective of whether an individual won or lost. At these events, neither party was depicted as ‘shameful’, but all participants behaved with honour. The awarding of prizes to all participants similarly suggests that at some formal combats, no party was selected as a ‘winner’ or ‘loser’, but instead that all gained some profit.

There were formal combats however, at which selective gift-giving did occur. Alongside more general rewards to large groups of participants, formal combats also featured prizes granted to those who were deemed to have performed ahead of their opponents. Charles VI awarded prizes of this kind at the royal French jousts held at Saint-Denis in 1389.¹¹² The French king also distributed prizes after royal jousts in 1390 and 1391, which took the form of rings, clasps and jewels that were presented to the knights and esquires who were declared winners on both sides of the contest.¹¹³ Likewise in England at the same time, Richard II was depicted as eager to bestow gifts on the winners of the jousts at Smithfield in October 1390.¹¹⁴ These gifts demonstrated a distinct difference from the strategy employed by Richard Beauchamp when awarding his three French opponents

Agincourt but escaped during the night. See Comte Baudouin de Lannoy, *Hughes de Lannoy, le bon seigneur de Santes* (Brussels, 1957) passim; Raphaël de Smedt, *Les Chevaliers de l'Ordre de la Toison d'or au XVe siècle* (Frankfurt am Main, 2000), p. 7. Colart de Fiennes, governor of the castle of Pierrefons, died at Agincourt 1415. Monstrelet, *Chronique*, vol. 2 p. 304; vol. 3 p. 117.

¹¹¹ See Liu, ‘The Challenge of an Ancestor of the Earl of Warwick’, p. 8.

¹¹² Froissart, *Oeuvres*, vol. 14 pp. 20-25.

¹¹³ See for example BNF MS Fr. 21809, ff. 17, 19, 54, 55. For some brief comments on the prizes given in 1390 and 1391 see Vale, *War and Chivalry*, p. 80.

¹¹⁴ *The Brut*, ed. Brie, vol. 2 p. 343; *Historia Vitae et Regni*, ed. Stow, pp. 131-2. On the Smithfield 1390 jousts see Chapter 2, ‘Formal Combats: Case Studies’ above.

with prizes after their encounter in 1413. In these situations, Charles VI and Richard II deliberately marked out specific individuals above their peers, for special commendation. In this sense, the awarding of gifts moved from a collective act deliberately designed to assert one's own authority through the giving of expensive and lavish gifts, fundamentally 'showing off', towards instead the giving of gifts to enhance competition within a group of individuals.

The prizes that narratives recorded being awarded in formal combats were often deliberately ostentatious. Amongst the more surprising prizes were diamonds, which were presented by narrators as having been awarded during formal combats on campaign. One such apparently incongruous gift was made following a combat in the siege tunnels under Arras in 1414, between Charles of Artois Count of Eu (1394-1472) and Thomas Montagu Earl of Salisbury (1388-1428).¹¹⁵ The two men had agreed to do arms in the siege tunnel, and if Montagu was able to get past Artois and leave the siege tunnel, then Artois would be required to reward him with a diamond; if Montagu was unable to fight his way past Artois, then Montagu would be required to pay the diamond. Eventually Montagu won the diamond, 'pour donner à sa dame'.¹¹⁶ It is by no means certain that this combat indeed took place, or that the diamond was awarded. Jean le Fèvre's narrative is the primary account of the formal combat, and even this was decidedly sparse on details of the combat. This encounter, and the subsequent presentation of the diamond, did however say something about the ways that formal combats were presented as opportunities to win such prizes. Montagu did not solely gain renown as a martially successful individual whose name was recorded to posterity after participating in this formal combat. He was also presented as having gained a sizeable financial reward, a material expression of his martial ability. Such a prize, alongside the honour and recognition already

¹¹⁵ Le Fèvre, *Chronique*, vol. 1 pp. 177-78. Charles of Artois (1394-1472) was created count of Eu in 1397. A lieutenant of the king in Normandy and Guyenne, later he was governor of Paris. He was taken prisoner at the Battle of Agincourt (1415) and not released until 1438. On Thomas Montagu Earl of Salisbury see Anne Curry, 'Montagu, Thomas [Thomas de Montacute], fourth earl of Salisbury (1388-1428)', *ODNB*, January 2008, 'http://www.oxforddnb.com.ezproxy.york.ac.uk/view/article/18999?docPos=1' (19 August 2013); Mark Warner, 'Chivalry in Action: Thomas Montagu and the War in France, 1417-28', *Nottingham Medieval Studies*, 42 (1998), 162-166.

¹¹⁶ 'to give to his lady', le Fèvre, *Chronique*, vol. 1 p. 178.

discussed in this chapter, would have made a powerful incentive for other martial individuals to undertake similar encounters in order to amass their own reputational and material treasures.

Not all prizes took the form of precious jewels however. The career of John Astley demonstrates the financial gains that were possible through participation in formal combats, not only as prizes for success but also as monetary grants for participation. John was the son of Thomas Astley, a knight from Nailston in Leicestershire. On 29 April 1438, when still a squire, John Astley jousted against Piers de Masse in Paris before Charles VII, and killed Masse.¹¹⁷ Four years later, on 30 January 1442, Astley fought a second combat, this time in London in the presence of Henry VI against Philippe de Boyle, a knight from Aragon. Having completed this formal combat, Astley was knighted by Henry VI and granted 100 marks a year for life as a direct result of his success in the encounter.¹¹⁸ This monetary prize, rather than an expensive but more symbolic prize such as a diamond, reflected a direct benefit to Astley's financial status. He was awarded the money not only as a participant in this combat, but as a 'winner'. In this sense, it is perhaps possible to see evidence of Andrew Cowell's analysis of how gift-giving fosters competition within a group, as individuals compete to gain status and prestige through gift-giving.¹¹⁹ In this way, as well as individuals competing over gifts in order to forward their own socio-political positions, they also competed to gain gifts from their king or sponsor in order to assert their own social and political positions within the court. Certainly John Astley's knighthood indicated that he gained increased prestige by participating in the event.

¹¹⁷ BL MS Lansdowne 285, ff. 15v-16r.

¹¹⁸ BL MS Lansdowne 285, ff. 15r-15v.

¹¹⁹ Cowell, *The Medieval Warrior Aristocracy*, pp. 7-9; Jacques T. Godbout & Alain Caillé, *The World of the Gift*, trans. Donald Winkler (Montreal & Ithaca, 1998), p. 105; Barry Schwartz, 'The Social Psychology of the Gift', in Aafke Komter (ed.), *The Gift: an Interdisciplinary Perspective* (Amsterdam, 1996), pp. 79-80.

Martial Practice and Martial Motivations

The above analysis has explored how honour was an explicit stated motivation in both challenges to combat, and in the narrative accounts of those combats themselves; and how material acquisition, while not a stated motivation behind combats, constituted an additional valuable gain for martial individuals. This section will now turn to examine a range of motivations behind formal combats that came together to link these events to martial causes. Some historians have claimed that the formal combat was so divorced from warfare by the second half of the fourteenth century that the two had little if anything in common with one another; that the formal combat survived not as a legitimate method of practicing the skills required in warfare, but rather as an anachronistic reference to past glories.¹²⁰

Changes in the forms of formal combat being organised did suggest that the relationship between such combats and warfare became more complex, as *mêlée* tournaments disappeared in England and France, although they retained their popularity in the Low Countries.¹²¹ Historians have outlined a number of possible explanations for this shift. Some have pointed to the ease of identification of acts of prowess in jousts, and suggested that the increasing popularity of jousting was a consequence of participants' increased desires to acquire and display honour, prowess and renown.¹²² Others have examined how changes in technology made single combat much safer.¹²³ Changes in the armour used in formal combats for example, especially for those combats fought *à plaisance*, placed greater emphasis on the protection of the wearer. This included the use of different helmets for

¹²⁰ Bouchard, 'Strong of Body, Brave and Noble', p. 126; N. Denholm-Young, 'The Tournament in the Thirteenth Century', in R.W. Hunt, W.A. Pantin & R.W. Southern (eds.), *Studies in Medieval History presented to Sir Maurice Powicke* (Oxford, 1948), pp. 240-1. For criticism see Maurice Keen, 'Huizinga, Kilgour and the Decline of Chivalry', *Medievalia et Humanistica*, 8 (1977), pp. 4-6, 8-10.

¹²¹ See Mario Damen, 'Tournament Culture in the Low Countries and England', in Hannah Skoda, Patrick Lantschner & R.L.J. Shaw (eds.), *Contact and Exchange in Later Medieval Europe: Essays in Honour of Malcolm Vale* (Woodbridge, 2012), 247-265.

¹²² On the identification of individual prowess see Barker, *The Tournament in England*, pp. 139-40; Vale, *War and Chivalry*, p. 76.

¹²³ On military technology see Barber and Barker, *Tournaments*, pp. 86, 155-6; C. Blair, *European Armour, c.1066-c.1700* (London, 1958), pp. 61, 73, 196-7; Noel Fallows, *Jousting in Medieval and Renaissance Iberia* (Woodbridge, 2010), p. 7; Nickel, 'The Tournament', pp. 150-1.

warfare and jousts fought *à plaisance*, apparently distancing the practice of formal combats from the reality of martial risks on the battlefield.¹²⁴ The introduction of the barrier down the centre of the jousting area, intended to prevent horses from clashing into one another, or bolting completely, was a further change in formal combats that seemed to distance them from the realities of martial action. The barrier seems to have been introduced from Portugal, and one of the first references to it in north-western Europe was at the jousts for the wedding of Philip the Good and Isabella of Portugal at Bruges in 1430. Jean le Fèvre commented that for the jousts held in the manner of the Portuguese guests at the wedding, a wooden barrier covered in a blue cloth was erected down the centre of the jousting area, reaching the height of the horses' shoulders.¹²⁵ By the later 1430s, this barrier was apparently in common use, and knights and esquires included it in their challenges to combat against one another. It was included in the challenge and regulations for jousts between Piers de Masse and John Astley in 1438 for example, that they should 'make that fielde and the Telle in the myddis for to kepe our horses God save and kepe them from harme'.¹²⁶

Whilst these changes may have made the relationship between some forms of formal combat and warfare more opaque, there remained substantial links between these engagements and martial hostility. Historians of later medieval chivalry and warfare have examined formal combats as forms of martial practice, not only in the earlier days of the *mêlée* tournament and massed cavalry, but also throughout the later medieval period. Maurice Keen has stressed the role of formal combats as providing training in martial horsemanship, large-scale cavalry action, and other military activity, and his work does not stand alone: Malcolm

¹²⁴ The inventory of the duke of Gloucester in 1397 for example, listed two bascinets for jousts of war, and three helms for jousts of peace. See 'An inventory of the goods and chattels belonging to Thomas, duke of Gloucester, and seized in his castle at Pleshy', ed. Viscount Dillon & W.H. St John Hope, *Archaeological Journal*, 54 (1897), p. 305.

¹²⁵ Le Fèvre, Jean, *Chronique de Jean le Fèvre, seigneur de Saint-Remy*, ed. F. Morand (2 vols, Paris, 1876-1881), vol. 2 p. 170. On the introduction of the barrier see Barber & Barker, *Tournaments*, pp. 94-96; C. Gaier, 'Technique des combats singuliers d'après les auteurs 'bourguignons' du XVe siècle', *Le Moyen Âge*, 91 (1985), p. 437.

¹²⁶ BL MS Lansdowne 285, f. 15v; for another copy of this challenge see The College of Arms, London, MS L9, ff. 15v-16r. For commentary see G.A. Lester, *Sir John Paston's 'Grete Boke': a descriptive catalogue with an introduction, of British Library MS Lansdowne 285* (Cambridge, 1984), pp. 96-97. On the resulting combat see Barber & Barker, *Tournaments*, p. 128.

Vale and others have come to similar conclusions.¹²⁷ This section however, will go further than ask whether formal combats could have had military relevance for warfare during the period circa 1380–1440. It will also examine how contemporaries perceived formal combats as martial actions, and how these events provided additional outlets for martial aggressions. Furthermore, this section will contextualise formal combats within wider areas of political-martial interaction, specifically diplomatic arenas.

Of course, under the rubric of ‘formal combats’, existed a number of different combat forms. When addressing martial relevance it is important that the form of combat is taken into account. Some of these forms lent themselves more obviously to martial relevance than others. Those combats fought with a specific martial and political grievance were often fought as hostile combats, *à outrance*. This does not mean that combats fought *à plaisance* did not have any martial importance however; rather it indicates that just as formal combat narratives presented a range of events, so those different events interacted with martial themes in different ways.

There are three key ways that formal combats might have been militarily useful for medieval martial individuals, thus indicating potential martial motivations in participating in them. The first of these involves the skills that both formal combats and warfare developed. This is where much of the historiographical argument surrounding the martial relevance of formal combats has previously centred. As well as training and developing similar skills as those required in warfare, formal combats also increasingly adapted to encompass other skills such as foot combat, indicating that medieval contemporaries consciously continued to keep formal combats relevant to their martial careers. The second way that formal combats could be martially useful was by addressing tensions that were also expressed during warfare. This touches on issues that have already been examined

¹²⁷ Keen, *Chivalry*, pp. 100, 205–8. Also see Barker, *The Tournament in England*, pp. 17–44; Prestwich, *Armies and Warfare*, p. 227; Vale, *War and Chivalry*, pp. 80–87. For the martial use of deeds of arms in the earlier fourteenth century, see Barber, *The Knight and Chivalry*, pp. 178, 201, 208; Keen, *Chivalry*, pp. 100, 205–8; J. Sumption, *The Hundred Years War: trial by battle* (London, 1990), p. 181; Vale, *War and Chivalry*, p. 63.

in this study, including the role of formal combats in offering an alternative to warfare by addressing grievances through an alternative channel. It also includes formal combats that were motivated by war and presented through a nation-based rhetoric of martial and political hostility in narrative accounts. Linking back to earlier in this chapter, formal combats were also seen as opportunities for the acquisition and maintenance of honour when warfare itself was not possible. As this section will explore however, martial intent did not necessarily mean violence or hostility. Finally then, in contrast to the above analyses, formal combats played an important role in wartime interactions between groups, in providing opportunities for discourse that were not always confrontational but that included elements of sociability, including during diplomatic meetings.

Medieval commentators clearly saw links between martial endeavour, skill, and formal combats. Christine de Pizan stressed the importance of formal combats in preparing for martial endeavours. In the *Livre de la paix* composed between 1412 and 1414, she declared formal combats, ‘tournois et joûtes’, to be necessary training grounds for soldiers to make ready to serve the king in his wars.¹²⁸ Pizan began her *Livre de la paix* in September 1412, shortly after the peace treaty between the Burgundians and Armagnacs at Auxerre meant that there was renewed hope in France that the French nobility could unite against the English foe.¹²⁹ In light of these hopes for a new collective French offensive, Christine de Pizan wrote to stress the necessity for military preparedness. In order to ensure that ‘les nobles soient en tout temps excercitez aux armes’, she stressed that these formal combats would also be followed by a ‘tournoy’ organised by the king of France, so that he could review his military forces.¹³⁰ In the mid-fifteenth century, Antoine de la Sale linked formal combats and battle in his *Livre des anciens et des nouveaux tournois*, by balancing the martial nature of formal combats with the emphasis on the display of an individual’s arms during the event; they represented ‘courtoise bataille’ because they included martial individuals, but with heavy elements of display and

¹²⁸ Christine de Pizan, *The Book of Peace*, eds. & tr. Karen Green, Constant J. Mews & Janice Pinder (Philadelphia, 2008), pp. 145, 275.

¹²⁹ Richard Vaughan, *John the Fearless* (London, 1966), pp. 97-98; Vale, *War and Chivalry*, p. 63.

¹³⁰ Pizan, *The Book of Peace*, pp. 145, 276.

pageantry.¹³¹ At the end of the fifteenth century, Olivier de la Marche commented in his *Livre de l'Advis de gaige de bataille*, composed in 1494 for Philip I of Castille (d. 1506), that 'les armes de plaisance font pour exercer les armes et pour continuer le mestier, pour habiller les corps et apprendre a valloir pour la defense du bien publique'.¹³² Again, de la Marche expressed the idea that formal combats were a companion to warfare; that the two did not exist independently from each other. Indeed, his main argument to encourage combats à *plaisance* and condemn *gaiges de batailles* – the central subject of his work – was that the former encouraged the learning of arms, where as the latter were undertaken through pride and arrogance, placing honour and lives in danger unnecessarily.¹³³

Throughout the fifteenth century therefore, commentators were elucidating the concept that formal combats had pertinence to warfare, whether because the forms of combat were similar, or because such events could provide martial training. Furthermore, throughout the later fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, formal combats formed a central part of many chronicle narratives of wider martial action. In the narrative accounts of the great campaigns and chevauchées of the period, formal combats were organised alongside more explicit war.

One example of this martial contextualisation of formal combats, was in Froissart's narrative of the major campaign and chevauchée undertaken in northern France in 1380 under the command of Thomas of Woodstock Earl of Buckingham, Richard II's youngest uncle.¹³⁴ The crossing to France from Dover was completed in stages in mid-July and on 24 July the English forces began their

¹³¹ Sylvie Lefèvre, *Antoine de la Sale: la fabrique de l'oeuvre et de l'écrivain* (Geneva, 2006), p. 306.

¹³² 'arms à *plaisance* are performed in order to exercise arms and to continue the matter, to train the body, and to learn how to assert oneself for the defence of the public good', Olivier de la Marche, 'Le Livre de l'Advis de gaige de bataille', *Traité du Duel Judiciaire relations de pas d'armes et tournois*, ed. Bernard Prost (Paris, 1872), pp. 23-24. On the 'Livre de l'Advis' see Alistair Miller, 'Olivier de la Marche and the Court of Burgundy, c. 1425-1502' (unpublished PhD thesis, University of Edinburgh, 1996), pp. 161-168.

¹³³ La Marche, 'Le Livre de l'Advis de gaige de bataille', p. 3.

¹³⁴ A lengthy narrative of the campaign is available in Froissart, *Oeuvres* vol. 9 pp. 243-322. Additional brief details are provided in *Chronicon Anglie*, ed. Thompson, pp. 266-7. For secondary commentary see Anthony Goodman, *The Loyal Conspiracy. The Lords Appellant under Richard II* (London, 1971), pp. 123-26; J.J.N. Palmer, *England, France, and Christendom, 1377-99* (London, 1972), p. 6; Nigel Saul, *Richard II* (New Haven & London, 1999), pp. 52-55.

chevauchée south-east from Calais, towards Rheims and Troyes, cutting south of Paris before heading westwards into Beauce. During this campaign, jousting was organised between a French esquire from Beauce, Gauvain Micaille, and his English esquire counterpart Joachim Cator, outside Toury.¹³⁵ French and English forces were skirmishing outside the walls when Micaille stepped forward and challenged any Englishman to engage in a deed of arms with him; Joachim Cator answered. They did not have time to complete their formal combat, so Woodstock offered that the French esquire accompany the English forces until such time as the combat could be done again. Micaille apparently agreed, and the combat was completed some time later. Micaille was injured, and Woodstock sent him back to his garrison at Toury with one hundred francs, under the protection of a herald. Following the chevauchée through northern France, once the English had arrived in Brittany, further jousts were held between English and French individuals, who had apparently challenged one another at the combat of Micaille and Cator and who leapt at the chance to perform these challenges once the campaign had drawn to a close.¹³⁶

In the fifteenth century, the concept of holding formal combats while on active campaign continued; again evidence of such encounters was narrated in contemporary accounts. On the 1415 Agincourt campaign, jousting was held between the French knight Lancelot Pierres and an unnamed Englishman, outside Eu following Henry V's departure from Harfleur with the English forces.¹³⁷ Henry sent his messengers before Eu to assert his rights over the territory, and a skirmish ensued between English forces and the French defenders. The Frenchman Lancelot Pierres charged against an English esquire, who was not identified in the narrative sources. They apparently clashed so vigorously that they impaled one another with their lances, and both died. In the narratives, this jousting encounter was embedded within narratives of the march of the English forces through

¹³⁵ Froissart, *Oeuvres*, vol. 9 pp. 275-78.

¹³⁶ Froissart, *Oeuvres*, vol. 9 pp. 323-41.

¹³⁷ Narratives for this encounter are in le Févre, *Chronique*, vol. 1 pp. 231-32; Monstrelet, *Chronique*, vol. 3 pp. 95-6; Waurin, *Recueil des chroniques et anciennes istories de la Grant Bretagne*, vol. 2, pp. 188-89. For a narrative of Henry V's march from Harfleur and over the Somme see Clifford J. Rogers, 'Henry V's Military Strategy in 1415', in L.J. Andrew Villalon & Donald J. Kagay (eds.), *Hundred Years War. A Wider Focus* (Leiden, 2005), pp. 419-20.

northern France and the general martial activities of Henry's English army. As such, it was presented as a feature of the wider martial campaign. One of the main narratives for this encounter was composed by Jean le Fèvre, who was serving as a pursuivant with the English forces during the campaign and thus could have been an eye-witness to the combat.¹³⁸ Le Fèvre's narrative therefore provides a sense of the way that jousting played a role in military campaigns as interpreted by an actual observer and by an individual with martial experience.

In assessing the role that formal combats played on such campaigns, and the reasons for the inclusion of formal combat narratives amongst other accounts of martial action, it is first necessary to review the main focus of this debate to date, the relevance of the actual skills gained in formal combats to warfare. Historiography on later medieval warfare suggests that cavalry skills were still required by the nobilities of England and France, so Christine de Pizan's notion that 'tournois et joûtes' could be used to practise the martial skills necessary on the later medieval battlefield do seem in part realistic.¹³⁹ In light of what Clifford J. Rogers has termed the 'infantry revolution', some historians have doubted the continued role for cavalry on the battlefields of later medieval western Europe.¹⁴⁰ This movement contained two key components. The first was that martial individuals increasingly fought on foot, with weapons very effective against cavalry such as the longbow and the pike.¹⁴¹ Alongside this increased use of foot combat,

¹³⁸ On Jean le Fèvre as a pursuivant with the English army on this campaign see Anne Curry, *The Battle of Agincourt. Sources and Interpretations* (Woodbridge, 2000), pp. 135, 137-8. It is also likely that le Fèvre's narrative influenced that of Waurin: for the relationship between the narratives of le Fèvre and Waurin for the Agincourt campaign, and the battle in particular, see Curry, *The Battle of Agincourt*, pp. 135-40, esp. 136; more generally Brusque, 'Chronicling the Hundred Years War in Burgundy and France', p. 78.

¹³⁹ Pizan, *The Book of Peace*, pp. 145, 275.

¹⁴⁰ On the 'infantry revolution' see Clifford J. Rogers, 'The Military Revolutions of the Hundred Years War', in Clifford J. Rogers (ed.), *The Military Revolution Debate. Readings on the Military Transformation of Early Modern Europe* (Oxford, 1995), 55-93. Other studies on the impact of later medieval changes to warfare include Andrew Ayton, *Knights and Warhorses. Military Service and the English Aristocracy under Edward III* (Woodbridge, 1994), pp. 9-25; Geoffrey Parker, *The Military Revolution. Military innovation and the rise of the West 1500-1800* (2nd edn., Cambridge, 1996), p. 118; Prestwich, *The Three Edwards*, pp. 62, 213. For the perception that cavalry did not have a definitive role in the later medieval period see J. Keegan, *The Face of Battle* (London, 1976), p. 317; Oman, *A History of the Art of War*, vol. 2 p. 426.

¹⁴¹ Robert Hardy, 'The Longbow', in A. Curry & M. Hughes (eds.), *Arms, Armies and Fortifications in the Hundred Years War* (Woodbridge, 1994), p. 161; C.W.C. Oman, *A History of the Art of War in the*

mixed retinues comprising archers and men-at-arms emerged as the dominant martial tactic.¹⁴² By the start of the Lancastrian occupation of northern France in the fifteenth century therefore, the optimum archer to man-at-arms ratio was deemed to be three to one, though in reality during the later stages of the war the ratio was sometimes nearer to ten to one.¹⁴³ J. Keegan has stated that 'knightly warfare was probably already nearly a century out of date by the time of Agincourt'; combat on foot became the norm, even for militaries such as the French who were slower to begin to form mixed retinues.¹⁴⁴

This irrelevancy of cavalry and mounted combat has, however, been questioned by historians such as Malcolm Vale. He has examined the relationship between mounted cavalry and foot soldiers and has concluded that in fact, to dismiss later medieval cavalry as a relic from the past that was replaced in the fourteenth century by infantry dominance misrepresents the actual, delicate balance between cavalry and infantry that existed on later medieval battlefields.¹⁴⁵ Furthermore, cavalry still constituted the core of armies throughout the fifteenth century, in France, Burgundy and Brittany.¹⁴⁶ At Crécy, although initially the English cavalry dismounted to stand alongside the rest of the infantry, later in the battle the English men-at-arms remounted, charging the surviving groups of French horsemen on the field and the infantry still standing in their lines behind.¹⁴⁷ In fact,

Middle Ages (London, 1924), pp. 426-7; Prestwich, *Armies and Warfare*, pp. 318-23; Rogers, 'The Military Revolutions of the Hundred Years War', p. 58; Vale, *War and Chivalry*, p. 100.

¹⁴² Christopher Allmand, *The Hundred Years War. England and France at War c.1300-c.1450* (Cambridge, 1988), pp. 60-62; Ayton, *Knights and Warhorses*, pp. 13-14 and n. 18; Curry, *The Battle of Agincourt*, pp. 419-20; Anne Curry, 'The Organization of Field Armies in Lancastrian Normandy', in Matthew Strickland (ed.), *Armies, Chivalry and Warfare in Medieval Britain and France. Proceedings of the 1995 Harlaxton Symposium* (Stamford, 1998), p. 216; Philip Morgan, *War and society in medieval Cheshire, 1277-1403* (Manchester, 1987), pp. 37-49; Prestwich, *Armies and Warfare*, pp. 327-8, 336-7; Rogers, 'The Military Revolutions of the Hundred Years War', pp. 60-61.

¹⁴³ Christopher Allmand, *Henry V* (New Haven, 1997), pp. 213; Christopher Allmand, *Lancastrian Normandy, 1415-1450* (Oxford, 1983), p. 200.

¹⁴⁴ J. Keegan, *The Face of Battle* (London, 1976), p. 317.

¹⁴⁵ Vale, *War and Chivalry*, p. 128.

¹⁴⁶ Contamine, *Guerre, État et Société*, pp. 278-90; Philippe Contamine, *Agincourt* (Paris, 1964), pp. 21-6; M.E. Mallett, *Mercenaries and their Masters: Warfare in Renaissance Italy* (London, 1974), pp. 146-7; Vale, *War and Chivalry*, p. 101-102, 114.

¹⁴⁷ Kelly DeVries, *Infantry Warfare in the early Fourteenth Century. Discipline, Tactics and Technology* (Woodbridge, 1996), pp. 161-2; Rogers, 'The Military Revolutions of the Hundred Years War', p.

the French at Crécy fought predominantly on horseback, the cavalry being the main body of the French army. It was the apparent lack of organisation within the mounted French cavalry that gave the English mixed retinues of archers combined with foot combatants the advantage, leading to the eventual rout of the French.¹⁴⁸ In the fifteenth century, the role of cavalry was still evident on the battlefield, especially in the armies of France. In the battle plan for Agincourt composed by the French commanders for example, plans to stage cavalry charges were made explicit: the mounted cavalry would attack archers and move behind the English lines to attack baggage, servants, and the rear of the English forces.¹⁴⁹

Formal combats as training for warfare were therefore still relevant for the methods of fighting that were employed on the later medieval battlefield. Although it is possible for modern commentators to regard the later medieval period as a time of transition, when the role of the mounted knight was declining and becoming reformed, it is all too easy to presume that this shift was observed and acted upon by contemporaries. Even though battles such as Agincourt were fought predominantly by individuals on foot, the cavalry still held a major role, especially in France. Later medieval individuals did not know whether battles would once again be fought using cavalry charges and requiring the skills learned in the formal combat. Rather than losing any sense of this training and practice by ceasing to exercise with lance and sword on horseback, medieval contemporaries continued to hone their skills in these areas, not knowing when their commanders would require these skills in battle.

59; Jonathan Sumption, *The Hundred Years War. Volume I. Trial by Battle* (London, 1999), pp. 525-531.

¹⁴⁸ DeVries, *Infantry Warfare in the early Fourteenth Century*, pp. 170-1. On the use of combined retinues at Crécy see Matthew Bennett, 'The Development of Battle Tactics in the Hundred Years War', in Anne Curry & Michael Hughes (eds.), *Arms, Armies and Fortifications in the Hundred Years War* (Woodbridge, 1994), pp. 5-10.

¹⁴⁹ Curry, *The Battle of Agincourt*, p. 469. Translated from C.J. Phillpotts, 'The French plan of battle during the Agincourt campaign', *English Historical Review*, 99 (1984), pp. 64-66, which in turn was transcribed from BL MS Cotton Caligula D v, ff. 43v-44r. For commentary on this battle plan see Matthew Bennett, 'The Myth of the Military Supremacy of Knightly Cavalry', in Matthew Strickland (ed.), *Armies, Chivalry and Warfare in Medieval Britain and France* (Stamford, 1998), p. 315; Bennett, 'The Development of Battle Tactics', 1-20.

There is also strong evidence that the nobility was not only willing to practise these established martial skills in formal combats, but that they were also willing to adapt formal combats to suit changing martial needs. This did not mean abandoning jousts, but it did mean that other forms of formal combat were undertaken, most notably the formal foot combat. These were fought between two individuals, or between two groups of equal size, in a formalised setting and with some external oversight by judges or another authority.¹⁵⁰ Examples of formal foot combats exist throughout the later medieval period. At Montendre in 1402 for example, seven Englishmen fought seven Frenchmen on foot, using a variety of weapons including swords and axes.¹⁵¹ One of the participants even used his bare hands, wrestling his opponents to the ground so that his fellow French combatants could then subdue them with sharpened weapons.¹⁵² Similarly, a series of combats fought between Portuguese and French knights and esquires in and near to Paris in 1415 were fought predominantly on foot. In one of these combats the Portuguese esquire Rui Mendes Cerveira fought with an axe against the Bourbon Guillaume du Bars.¹⁵³ Shortly afterwards, Rui Mendes Cerveira was back in combat on foot.¹⁵⁴ This time he was accompanied by two of his Portuguese companions Alvaro Gonçalves Continge (circa 1383-1445) and Pedro Gonçalves

¹⁵⁰ For a more detailed discussion on formal foot combats see chapter 2, 'What were Formal Combats?' above.

¹⁵¹ For narratives of this combat see *Chronique du Religieux de Saint-Denys*, ed. Bellaguet, vol. 3 pp. 30-31; Jean Juvénal des Ursins, 'Histoire de Charles VI, Roy de France', vol. 2 p. 422. Some secondary analysis, particularly on the participants, is provided in 'The Quarrels of Old Women': Henry IV, Louis of Orléans, and Anglo-French Chivalric Challenges in the Early Fifteenth Century', in Gwilym Dodd & Douglas Biggs (eds.), *The Reign of Henry IV: Rebellion and Survival, 1403-1413* (Woodbridge, 2008), pp. 31-32; Jean-Bernard Vaivre, 'Le rôle armorié du combat de Montendre', *Journal des Savants*, 2 (1973), 99-125. On this combat see Chapter 2, 'Formal Combats: Case Studies' above.

¹⁵² This was Guillaume de la Champagne. The narrative attributed to Jean Juvénal des Ursins stated that although Champagne had never been in such a combat, he was a very good wrestler, and so was given special dispensation to participate, Jean Juvénal des Ursins, *Histoire de Charles VI*, p. 422. On Champagne see in Vaivre, 'Le rôle armorié du combat de Montendre', pp. 113-114.

¹⁵³ Le Fèvre, *Chronique*, vol. 1 pp. 206-8. On fifteenth century axe combat see Sydney Anglo, 'Le Jeu de la Hache. A Fifteenth-century Treatise on the Technique of Chivalric Axe Combat', *Archaeologia*, 109 (1991), 113-128.

¹⁵⁴ Le Fèvre, *Chronique*, vol. 1 pp. 209-10; *Journal d'un Bourgeois de Paris 1405-1449*, ed. Alexandre Tuetey (Paris, 1881), pp. 59-60; Monstrelet, *Chronique*, vol. 3 pp. 61-62.

de Malafaia, against three Frenchmen, François de Grignols, Maurignon de Songnacq, and François La Rocque.¹⁵⁵ All six fought on foot with axes.

Even in *pas d'armes*, more formalised and ritualised combats with emphasis on allegory and literary models, the use of formal foot combats was evident.¹⁵⁶ The *Pas de l'Arbre de Charlemagne* for example was held near Dijon for twelve weeks in the summer of 1443.¹⁵⁷ Olivier de la Marche included an account of the *Pas de l'Arbre de Charlemagne* in his *Mémoires*, and Monstrelet included the organisation and preparation for the *pas* in his chronicle although he did not include an account of the event itself. The *pas* was held by Pierre de Bauffremont (1400-1472), the lord of Charny, a chamberlain of Philip the Good Duke of Burgundy, and twelve of his companions.¹⁵⁸ They designated a tree in the hornbeam wood near Marsannay-la-Côte the 'arbre de Charlemagne'. The host knights then hung two shields on the tree corresponding to the types of arms to be performed: a black shield indicated eleven courses of jousting on horseback with sharp weapons; a violet shield indicated foot combat with either axes or swords. In each of these events, combats on foot with predominantly swords and axes were undertaken alongside, or in preference to, combats on horseback with lances.

¹⁵⁵ François de Grignols, chamberlain of Charles VI, captain and governor of La Rochelle until 25 October 1414, died at battle of Verneuil. Maurignon de Songnacq, Gascon esquire, died in the massacres in 1418. Either Archambaud de la Roque, Gascon esquire; or François de Rocque, Poitevin knight. See *Journal d'un Bourgeois de Paris*, ed. Tuetey, pp. 59-60 n. 4. For commentary on this encounter see C.G. Riley & A.M. Rodrigues, 'Les joutes d'Alvaro Gonçalves Coutinho à Paris: une épisode portugais du conflit entre les maisons de Valois et de Bourgogne', *Théâtre et spectacle hier et aujourd'hui. Moyen Âge et Renaissance: Actes du 115e Congrès national des sociétés savants (Avignon 1990)*, section d'histoire médiévale et de philologie (Paris, 1991), 305-319.

¹⁵⁶ For a more detailed discussion on *pas d'armes* and their literary precedents see chapter 1, 'What were Formal Combats?' above.

¹⁵⁷ For narrative accounts of this *pas d'armes* see Olivier de la Marche, *Mémoires d'Olivier de la Marche, maître d'hôtel et capitaine des gardes de Charles le Téméraire*, ed. Henri Beaune & Jules d'Arbaumont (4 vols, Paris, 1883-1888), vol. 1 pp. 282-334; Monstrelet, *Chronique*, vol. 6 pp. 68-73. Secondary analysis of the event may be found very briefly in Évelyne van den Neste, *Tournois, Joutes, Pas d'Armes dans les villes de Flandre à la fin du Moyen Âge (1300-1486)* (Paris, 1996), p. 309, and in more detail in Barber & Barker, *Tournaments*, pp. 112-114; Catherine Emerson, *Olivier de la Marche and the Rhetoric of Fifteenth-Century Historiography* (Woodbridge, 2004), ch. 6 passim; Catherine Blunk, 'La Voie des Hiraus: the poetics of the tournament in late Medieval chronicle and romance' (unpublished PhD thesis, University of Wisconsin-Madison, 2008), pp. 166-167.

¹⁵⁸ See C. Bozzolo & H. Loyau, *La Cour Amoureuse dite de Charles VI* (2 vols, Paris, 1982), vol. 2 p. 21; Marie-Thérèse Caron, 'Pierre de Bauffremont', in Raphaël de Smedt (ed.), *Les Chevaliers de l'Ordre de la Toison d'or au XVe siècle* (Frankfurt am Main, 2000), pp. 45-47; Richard Vaughan, *Philip the Good. The Apogee of Burgundy* (London, 1970), pp. 100-101.

This would seem to dispute the idea that the later medieval nobility were reluctant to adapt to new methods of fighting, and defiant in the face of new technologies and ideas.¹⁵⁹ In studies that have suggested this reluctance, the ‘passion for single combat’ of the military elite produced a general noble resistance to military change.¹⁶⁰ Formal combats performed amongst peers at court and in small-scale campaign combats became clearly distanced from the realities of warfare, and the practicalities of fighting on foot alongside archers and other men-at-arms.¹⁶¹ Recently however, this approach has been questioned. The work of Malcolm Vale and others has suggested that the later medieval nobility embraced martial inventions and innovations, and took an active part in their encouragement.¹⁶² The evidence from formal combats seems to support this argument for the willingness of the later medieval nobility to adopt new techniques and adapt to new innovations. These combats were fought during the ‘infantry revolution’ that saw martial individuals increasingly fight on foot, with weapons very effective against cavalry such as the longbow and the pike.¹⁶³ The undertaking of formal combats on foot indicates that the nobility were willing to train in and practise their increasingly foot-based role through the formalised combats that they were used to and enjoyed. Formal combats were therefore not static entities that referred back to antiquated skills, but instead can be seen as changing and adapting as new skills were increasingly required from martial individuals.¹⁶⁴

Undertaking foot combats was one way that the nobility showed their readiness to adapt to new martial situations through formal combats. Another was the

¹⁵⁹ As outlined in for example J. Keegan, *The Face of Battle* (London, 1976), pp. 316-7; J.U. Nef, *War and Human Progress, c.1494-c1640* (London, 1950), p. 32.

¹⁶⁰ Keegan, *The Face of Battle*, pp. 316-7.

¹⁶¹ Ayton, ‘English Armies in the Fourteenth Century’, p. 35; Ayton, *Knights and Warhorses*, pp. 19-20.

¹⁶² Bennett, ‘The Myth of the Military Supremacy of Knightly Cavalry’, p. 315; Vale, *War and Chivalry*, p. 105-118.

¹⁶³ Ayton, *Knights and Warhorses*, pp. 9-25; Hardy, ‘The Longbow’, p. 161; Oman, *A History of the Art of War*, pp. 426-7; Parker, *The Military Revolution*, p. 118; Prestwich, *The Three Edwards*, pp. 62, 213; Rogers, ‘The Military Revolutions of the Hundred Years War’, 55-93; Vale, *War and Chivalry*, p. 100.

¹⁶⁴ This argument is briefly outlined in Barker, *The Tournament in England*, p. 40.

adoption of new military technologies in formal combats that were also emerging on the later medieval battlefield. The lance-rest developed in the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries.¹⁶⁵ This was an attachment that assisted in supporting the weight of the lance, meaning that the mounted combatant could lower and strike with his lance whilst moving very swiftly, increasing the effect of a cavalry charge in battle.¹⁶⁶ Although developed for war, it was also of course useful in formal jousting combats, and there is evidence that it was used from the early fifteenth century.¹⁶⁷ Lord Scrope owned ‘un paire Wrestes, pur Justis’ in 1415.¹⁶⁸ The challenge to John Astley from Piers de Masse in 1438, stated that the two would compete ‘withoute ony schilde and reste of avauntage’, presumably to ensure that the two participants engaged in a fair and even combat.¹⁶⁹ The use of this new technology not only by martial combatants in battle, but also in formal combats, indicates a willingness to incorporate new advances in military technology into their previous martial practices.

In practical terms then, formal combats maintained some relevance for martial training, as suggested by Christine de Pizan and, later, by Olivier de la Marche. There were more subtle ways however, that formal combats and warfare interacted. One of these was the provision made in formal combats for expressions of wider martial and political hostility, particularly when open warfare was not possible. The second half of the Hundred Years War was characterised by a long enforced truce during the 1390s, followed by the brief renewal of open hostilities culminating in the Agincourt campaign, and subsequently a series of sieges during

¹⁶⁵ C. Blair, *European Armour, c.1066-c.1700* (London, 1958), pp. 61, 69, 73, 196-7; F. Buttin, ‘La lance et l’Ârret de la Cuirasse’, *Archaeologia* 99 (Jan 1965), pp. 96-104, 148, 177-8; Kelly DeVries, *Medieval Military Technology* (Ontario, 1992), p. 15; Vale, *War and Chivalry*, p. 118.

¹⁶⁶ On definitions and the use of the lance-rest see Blair, *European Armour*, pp. 61, 161; C. Blair, *European and American Arms, c. 1100-1800* (London, 1962), pp. 27-28; Buttin, ‘La lance et l’Ârret de la Cuirasse’, 77-178; Ralph Moffat, ‘The Medieval Tournament: chivalry, heraldry and reality. An edition and analysis of three fifteenth century tournament manuscripts’ (unpublished PhD thesis, 2 vols, University of Leeds, 2010), vol. 1 pp. 36-40; Vale, *War and Chivalry*, p. 118.

¹⁶⁷ For the emergence of the lance rest in jousting see Barber & Barker, *Tournaments*, pp. 155-6; Barker, *The Tournament in England*, p. 178.

¹⁶⁸ C.L. Kingsford, ‘Two Forfeitures in the Year of Agincourt’, *Archaeologia*, 70 (1920), p. 89.

¹⁶⁹ BL MS Lansdowne 285, f. 15v.

the 1410s and 1420s.¹⁷⁰ During these truces, individuals sought to express martial tension by recourse to formal combats as other forms of martial activity. In these situations, formal combats became alternatives to warfare, as they provided opportunities for the expression of martial aggression without necessarily disrupting truces or undermining political obligations. Such a use for formal combats, as secondary options when warfare was not possible, or could not be risked, was supported in narrative sources. Such motivations were notably expressed in formal combats between English and French partisans. A nation-based rhetoric of war and political-martial hostility was used in narrative accounts to highlight this tension between parties in formal combats, and perhaps to indicate that the political and martial motivations behind the encounter had their roots in larger hostilities.

As previously elucidated, a foot combat was fought at Montendre near Bordeaux in 1402, between seven Englishmen and seven Frenchmen with a variety of weapons including swords and axes. This combat took place during a period of truce between France and England. The encounter itself was motivated, according to the narrative attributed to Jean Juvénal des Ursins, by ‘la vraye et raisonnable querelle que le Roy avoit contre ses ennemis anciens d’Angleterre’.¹⁷¹ Michel Pintouin, the monk of Saint-Denis, described how the French knights had been aggravated into combat by the usurpation of Henry IV and the return to France of Isabella, wife of the late Richard II, after several years of imprisonment in England. Pintouin went on to state however, that the seven French participants did not want to risk open hostility with the English, ‘et quia in eos apperte insurgere non audebant, ne violators inducialium federum viderentur, occasionem

¹⁷⁰ For an overview of the scarcity of battles through the medieval period see Prestwich, *Armies and Warfare*, pp. 306-8. Prestwich does however recognize that during the Hundred Years War, although major battles were few, experienced soldiers would certainly have built up considerable knowledge of how to fight in smaller-scale encounters. See also Rogers, ‘The Military Revolutions of the Hundred Years War’, p. 66; Nicholas Wright, *Knights and Peasants. The Hundred Years War in the French Countryside* (Woodbridge, 1998), p. 7.

¹⁷¹ ‘the true and reasonable quarrel which the king had against this ancient enemy of England’, Jean Juvénal des Ursins, ‘Histoire de Charles VI, Roy de France’, vol. 2 p. 422.

honestam injurias intollerabiles vindicandi sic querebant'.¹⁷² Such a formal combat was not perceived, by the combatants themselves or apparently by the monk of Saint-Denis, as contravening the truce, certainly not to the extent that open warfare, or skirmishing with the English in a less formalised setting, may have done. Open warfare would have been against the peace treaty, so instead alternative methods of expressing this growing rivalry were utilised.¹⁷³

Narratives of this encounter explicitly stated that the combat was to demonstrate the superiority of French knights over English knights, and to establish which of these two nations ought to be considered the bravest.¹⁷⁴ The narratives presented this combat as surpassing a simple private quarrel between these fourteen individuals; they expressed the combat as being over national identities, and the combatants as being representatives of those national communities. Indeed, this rhetoric stretched beyond the presentation of the combat itself. Before even engaging in combat, the English knights were depicted as drinking extensively before the encounter, 'mais aucuns dissent qu'en s'habillant ils beuvoient et mangeoient tres bien'.¹⁷⁵ This was directly contrasted against the French, who prepared for the formal combat by receiving Mass and devoting themselves to prayer. The juxtaposition of the English as rebellious and prone to usurping their king, and the French as pious, honourable defenders of the rightful king and as acting in support of their king's political and martial needs, has been noted and reflected on by historians seeking to trace the beginnings of a national consciousness in medieval France and England.¹⁷⁶ It may never be possible to identify to what extent the participants in this combat felt some wider sense of

¹⁷² 'and they did not venture to rise up openly against them [the English], or be seen as having violated the truce, and so they sought an honourable opportunity for revenging their intolerable injuries.', *Chronique du Religieux de Saint-Denys*, ed. Bellaguet, vol. 3 pp. 34-35.

¹⁷³ On Louis of Orléans' use of formal combats and challenges to combat as alternate means of diplomatic aggression against Henry IV see Given-Wilson, 'The Quarrels of Old Women', 28-47, on the combat at Montendre specifically see pp. 31-33.

¹⁷⁴ *Chronique du Religieux de Saint-Denys*, ed. Bellaguet, vol. 3 pp. 30-31.

¹⁷⁵ 'some say that while arming themselves they ate and drank very well', Jean Juvénal des Ursins, 'Histoire de Charles VI, Roy de France', vol. 2 p. 422.

¹⁷⁶ Colette Beaune, *The Birth of an Ideology. Myths and Symbols of Nation in Late-Medieval France* (Oxford, 1991), p. 286; P.S. Lewis, 'Two Pieces of Fifteenth-Century Iconography', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institute*, 27 (1964), pp. 317-20.

nation-based identity. What is evident however, is that formal combats such as this were presented as based along national lines in order to justify their organisation.

Jean-Bernard de Vaivre has demonstrated that the seven French participants were all from the household of the duke of Orléans'.¹⁷⁷ The leader of the French participants was Arnaud Guilhelm lord of Barbazan (d. 1431), a chamberlain of Louis of Orléans since 1394.¹⁷⁸ Another of the French combatants, Guillaume du Chastel, had been educated within the house of Louis of Orléans.¹⁷⁹ This combat, fought between seven members of Orléans' household, fit within wider tensions between Orléans and England, particularly between the duke and Henry IV. The recent usurpation of Henry IV and the murder of Richard II, combined with the subsequent imprisonment of Isabella, had proved personally problematic for Louis of Orléans.¹⁸⁰ During Henry's exile in 1399 he had taken up residence at the French court.¹⁸¹ During this same period, he had formed an official allegiance with Louis of Orléans that was made explicit when the two signed an alliance in 1399.¹⁸² Following Henry's return to England and the death of Richard II however, Louis became keen to distance himself from Henry. This combat at Montendre was followed by a challenge addressed to Henry IV personally, asking to meet in formal combat, each with one hundred knights and esquires, to fight until one party forced the other to surrender.¹⁸³ In the initial challenge composed

¹⁷⁷ Vaivre, 'Le rôle armorié du combat de Montendre', 99-125.

¹⁷⁸ Elizabeth Gonzalez, *Un prince en son hotel: les serviteurs des ducs d'Orléans au XVe siècle* (Paris, 2004), p. 312.

¹⁷⁹ Vaivre, 'Le rôle armorié du combat de Montendre', p. 107.

¹⁸⁰ On Henry IV and Orléans see Bertrand Schnerb, *Les Armagnacs et les Bourguignons: La maudite guerre* (Paris, 1988), pp. 64-67; Craig Taylor, 'Weep thou for me in France': French Views of the Deposition of Richard II', in W. Mark Ormrod (ed.), *Fourteenth-Century England 3* (Woodbridge, 2004), p. 219.

¹⁸¹ See for example *Chronique du Religieux de Saint-Denys*, ed. Bellaguet, vol. 2 pp. 674-676, 697-708.

¹⁸² *Chronicles of the Revolution, 1397-1400: the reign of Richard II*, ed. & trans. C. Given-Wilson (Manchester, 1993), pp. 105-106, 109-114.

¹⁸³ This challenge, the reply from Henry IV, and the subsequent two letters between the pair are copied into Monstrelet, *Chronique*, vol. 1 pp. 43-66. Waurin also copied them, probably from Monstrelet, Waurin, *Recueil des chroniques et anciennes istories de la Grant Bretagne*, vol. 2 pp. 65-85. The challenge is discussed but not copied in *Chronique du Religieux de Saint-Denys*, ed. Bellaguet, vol. 3 pp. 54-61; *Chronographia Regum Francorum*, ed. H. Moranville (3 vols, Paris, 1891-1897), vol. 3 p. 229. On these challenges and their pertinence for Orléans' policy towards Henry IV see Chris Given-Wilson, 'The Quarrels of Old Women': Henry IV, Louis of Orléans, and Anglo-French Chivalric

by Orléans, the combat was proposed ostensibly to gain honour.¹⁸⁴ There was no hint of martial aggression in the challenge; Orléans even addressed Henry IV as ‘Très hault et puissant prince, Henry, roy d’Angleterre’.¹⁸⁵ Certainly Christine de Pizan did not believe anything untoward had happened; she wrote that the challenges displayed Louis’ courage in being prepared to offer the combat.¹⁸⁶

At the same time, Guillaume de Chastel, one of the French participants in this combat at Montendre, also sent a challenge to Henry Percy, asking him to participate alongside King Henry in Orléans’ proposed combat.¹⁸⁷ It is possible that Percy was selected as the recipient for Chastel’s challenge after his role in the downfall of Richard II, although Percy was also constable of England at this time, providing an additional possible cause for the challenge.¹⁸⁸ The responses to these challenges from both Henry IV and Henry Percy were both strongly negative. Henry IV could not believe that Louis would have sent a challenge during truce time.¹⁸⁹ Percy responded to Chastel by stating that no one should challenge a man of Henry’s rank in the eyes of God.¹⁹⁰ These responses reflected a wider unease at

Challenges in the Early Fifteenth Century’, in Gwilym Dodd & Douglas Biggs (eds.), *The Reign of Henry IV: Rebellion and Survival, 1403-1413* (Woodbridge, 2008), 28-47.

¹⁸⁴ Monstrelet, *Chroniques*, vol. 1 p. 44.

¹⁸⁵ Monstrelet, *Chronique*, vol. 1 p. 43.

¹⁸⁶ Christine de Pizan, *Le Livre des fais et bonnes meurs du sage roy Charles V*, ed. S. Solente (2 vols, Paris, 1936-1940), pp. 170-171. On Pizan’s praise of Orléans see J.C. Laidlaw, ‘Christine de Pizan, the earl of Salisbury and Henry IV’, *French Studies*, 36 (1982), pp. 138-9; on her distrust of Henry IV see Laidlaw, ‘Christine de Pizan’, 129-43, especially pp. 130, 133, 140.

¹⁸⁷ Although the challenge from Guillaume de Castel does not survive, a copy of the reply from Percy does in BL Additional MS 24062, f. 140v; a transcription and translation of this document is provided in Given-Wilson, ‘The Quarrels of Old Women’, pp. 42-44. For Guillaume de Chastel see Vaivre, ‘Le rôle armorié du combat de Montendre’, pp. 107-108. On Henry Percy and his links to Henry IV’s kingship and the overthrow of Richard II see J.M.W. Bean, ‘Henry IV and the Percies’, *History*, 44 (1959), 212-227.

¹⁸⁸ J.M.W. Bean, ‘Percy, Henry, first earl of Northumberland (1341-1408)’, *ODNB*, ‘<http://www.oxforddnb.com.ezproxy.york.ac.uk/view/article/21932?docPos=4>’ (14 March 2013). For Percy’s appointment as constable see *CPR, Henry IV (1399-1401)* ‘<http://sdr.lib.uiowa.edu/patentrolls/h4v1/body/Henry4voll1page0012.pdf>’ (17 March 2013). For Percy’s role in the 1399 rebellion and his relationship with Henry IV see J.M.W. Bean, ‘Henry IV and the Percies’, *History*, 44 (1959), 212-227; Saul, *Richard II*, pp. 408-409, 424.

¹⁸⁹ Monstrelet, *Chronique*, vol. 1 p. 46. On Henry’s response see Bertrand Schnerb, *Jean Sans Peur. Le prince meurtrier* (Paris, 2005), p. 158; F.C. Wilson, ‘Anglo-French Relations in the Reign of King Henry IV of England, 1399-1413’ (unpublished PhD thesis, McGill University, 1973), p. 179.

¹⁹⁰ BL Additional MS 24062, f. 140v.

Orléans' challenge. Although Michel Pintouin acknowledged that Orléans had not broken the truce, he described how others in France had deemed the challenge inappropriate and as potentially threatening the stability of the truce.¹⁹¹

After he had received the reply from Henry IV, and presumably heard of the reply from Henry Percy, the veneer began to slip from Orléans' challenge, which had claimed to be solely concerning with honour. His reply to Henry IV's refusal to engage him in combat was far more hostile. He stated that Henry had no divine right or virtue at all, in other words accusing him of being a usurper.¹⁹² Furthermore, Henry's cruelty towards Isabelle had been such that Orléans was bound to seek redress for her treatment.¹⁹³ In the third letter, gone was the polite address to Henry as king of England; this letter opened with a description of Henry as the duke of Lancaster, unduely regent of England, murderer of Richard II.¹⁹⁴

Clearly, by 1403, Orléans' true purpose in originally challenging Henry IV had emerged. Perhaps originally he had wished only to accrue honour; but given the organisation of the combat at Montendre at the same time as the first challenge was issued, and the selection of Henry Percy as the simultaneous recipient of the challenge from Guillaume du Chastel, it seems likely that Orléans had been motivated through animosity. In the challenge from Louis of Orléans to Henry IV, there was evidence that the concept of 'honour' was used to disguise true, martial intentions. Honour was being used as a socially acceptable script in this challenge, to give Orléans an opportunity to challenge a political rival without drastically upsetting the balance of political peace. Indeed, challenges and narratives frequently presented honour as the motivating force for formal combats during martial situations. As this example demonstrates, this appears to have at times been used as a disguise for more martial motivations.

¹⁹¹ *Chronique du Religieux de Saint-Denys*, ed. Bellaguet, vol. 3 pp. 56-57.

¹⁹² Monstrelet, *Chronique*, p. 55.

¹⁹³ Monstrelet, *Chronique*, pp. 56-57.

¹⁹⁴ BL Additional MS 30663, ff. 281r-286r.

There was also a sense in these narratives however, that formal combats provided opportunity to gain honour and renown when warfare was no longer available. As Geoffroi de Charny envisaged, jousts were used when battle could not be, to gain honour when no other avenue was available.¹⁹⁵ In 1381 Edmund of Langley (d. 1402) led an English force to the Iberian peninsula in support of the Anglo-Portuguese alliance against Castille.¹⁹⁶ Peace was finally concluded in August 1382, after little combat had taken place.¹⁹⁷ In light of these martial tensions that were frustrated through the spring and early summer of 1382, Froissart described how many young knights and men-at-arms fought small skirmishes and combats with their Castilian counterparts.¹⁹⁸

Froissart provided a narrative of one formal combat, a series of jousts fought between an English esquire and a young French knight who was fighting with the Castilian army. When the peace of Badajos was declared in August 1382, the French knight Tristan de Roye decided that he would not leave Iberia without having performed some worthy combat.¹⁹⁹ In this situation, when de Roye could not undertake martial deeds in warfare, a formal combat was undertaken as a direct substitute. Froissart described how he sent a herald to the English and Portuguese forces, asking if any man-at-arms would joust three courses with him

¹⁹⁵ Geoffroi de Charny, *The Book of Chivalry of Geoffroi de Charny: text, context and translation*, eds. Richard W. Kaeuper & Elspeth Kennedy (Philadelphia, 1996), pp. 86-88.

¹⁹⁶ On the renewal of the Anglo-Portuguese alliance in 1380 see Saul, *Richard II*, p. 55. The treaty is printed in *Foedera*, ed. Rymer, vol. 7 pp. 262-5. On the 1381-82 campaign see Saul, *Richard II*, pp. 96-99; Russell, *The English Intervention in Spain and Portugal*, pp. 302-344. On Edmund of Langley see Anthony Tuck, 'Edmund, first duke of York (1341-1402)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Jan. 2008, '<http://www.oxforddnb.com.ezproxy.york.ac.uk/view/article/16023>' (16 March 2013).

¹⁹⁷ Russell, *The English Intervention in Spain and Portugal*, pp. 336-340.

¹⁹⁸ Froissart, *Oeuvres*, vol. 9 p. 488. On the peace of Badajos, against which background this combat took place, see Russell, *The English Intervention in Spain and Portugal*, pp. 335-340.

¹⁹⁹ Froissart, *Oeuvres*, vol. 9 pp. 490-92. Tristan de Roye (d. 1386), also known as Matthieu de Roye, was a brother of Renaud de Roye who competed at Saint Inglevert in 1390.

at Badajos the following day.²⁰⁰ An English esquire, Miles Windsor, replied that he would compete.²⁰¹

The following day the two participants met outside Badajos. Windsor and Roye jousted three courses against one another. They twice broke their lances, and on the third course both lances pierced the shields of the other participant, but neither was injured. Froissart used terminology that reflected the increased martial nature of this event. Although he did use the term 'joust' in his narrative to describe these courses between Windsor and Roye, he also used more generic terms with martial overtones. He called the encounter 'les armes' when describing the arrangement for the jousts, and later he commented on how no more 'fait d'armes' were performed at Badajos.²⁰² This combat took place within a martial campaign; Froissart presented it as a suitable substitute for men-at-arms when open battle was no longer viable. Froissart then stressed the martial setting of the event through the terminology that he used to describe the encounter.

In the combat between these two, it was the apparent lack of opportunity for gaining honour and renown through battle that motivated these men to engage one another in a formal combat. Of course, in presenting this as a motivation behind this encounter, Froissart used this narrative to enhance his own goals as narrator. By describing Roye and Windsor as competing for honour and renown when no other arena for the acquisition of such things was available, Froissart provided a model of martial individuals constantly seeking renown. Such a representation fit within Froissart's stated motivations, to encourage those who wished to advance themselves, and to gain renown, to do great feats of arms.²⁰³ When confronted with a martial situation, Froissart clearly believed that men-at-

²⁰⁰ Froissart, *Oeuvres*, vol. 9 p. 490.

²⁰¹ Froissart, *Oeuvres*, vol. 9 p. 490. Miles Windsor (d. 1387) was the son of James Windsor and Elizabeth Streech. The encounter is briefly mentioned in Richard Barber, *The Knight and Chivalry* (London, 1970), p. 237, although Barber confuses the challenger and the recipient.

²⁰² Froissart, *Oeuvres*, vol. 9 pp. 491, 492.

²⁰³ Froissart, *Oeuvres*, vol. 1 p. 2. On Froissart's use of example to illustrate worthy behaviour see Kelly, Douglas, 'Imitation, Metamorphosis, and Froissart's use of the exemplary *modus tractandi*', in Donald Maddox & Sara Sturm-Maddox (eds.), *Froissart Across the Genres* (Gainesville, 1998), 101-118.

arms should actively pursue honour and renown through any opportunity available to them.

Campaigns were not the only martial situations in which later medieval men-at-arms were presented as desiring to perform formal combats when open warfare was not available to them. Narratives also described formal combats occurring during sieges. During the siege of Melun in 1420 for example, Arnaud Guilhelm lord of Barbazan (d. 1431), the captain of Melun, jousted against English king Henry V.²⁰⁴ Jean de Waurin described how several knights and esquires fought with lances, and how some even gained knighthood through performing these arms so admirably.²⁰⁵ Waurin – whose narrative of this encounter can not have been dependent on that of le Févre since the latter's narrative of the siege makes no mention of combats in the siege tunnels – described the combats as fine passages of arms; he described how several (unnamed) knights and esquires thrust lances against one another, and how several gained knighthood through performing these arms so admirably.²⁰⁶ Eventually Barbazan was forced to surrender, and was charged with the murder of John the Fearless Duke of Burgundy in 1419. In Barbazan's trial, details of which are recorded in *The First English Life of King Henry V*, he was condemned to death but appealed on the basis that he was the brother-in-arms of Henry V, as a direct consequence of this combat 'which battle was held by the heralds of arms in like strength as if he had fought with the king body to body within the lists'.²⁰⁷ His defence was that no man, having his brother-in-arms at his will, might put him to death.²⁰⁸ The narrative of

²⁰⁴ Georges Chastellain, *Oeuvres de Georges Chastellain*, ed. Kervyn de Lettenhove (8 vols, Brussels, 1863-1866), vol. 1 p. 157; Waurin, *Recueil des chroniques*, vol. 2 pp. 310-12; *The First English Life of King Henry V*, ed. C.L. Kingsford (Oxford, 1911), p. 170. Jean Juvénal des Ursins, 'Histoire de Charles VI', vol. 2 p. 558 also mentions the siege, but makes no mention of combats in the mines. For brief discussion see Barber, *The Knight and Chivalry*, p. 245; Keen, *The Laws of War*, pp. 48-9. For Barbazan see Elizabeth Gonzalez, *Un prince en son hotel: les serviteurs des ducs d'Orléans au XVe siècle* (Paris, 2004), p. 312.

²⁰⁵ Waurin, *Recueil des chroniques*, vol. 2 pp. 310-12.

²⁰⁶ Waurin, *Recueil des chroniques et anchiennes istories de la Grant Bretagne*, vol. 2 pp. 310-12.

²⁰⁷ *The First English Life of King Henry V*, ed. Kingsford, p. 170; see Keen, *The Laws of War*, p. 49. Titus Livius mentions the trial but gives no details, Titus Livius, *Vita Henrici Quinti*, ed. T. Hearne (Oxford, 1716), pp. 89-90.

²⁰⁸ Analysed in Keen, *The Laws of War*, pp. 49-50. Of particular interest is the appeal to the heralds, as international arbiters of the laws of arms, and Henry V's adherence to their ruling not as a

Barbazan's trial indicated that such a combat, fought during a military campaign, held the same legal import for the heralds as an encounter held in a more formalised atmosphere; certainly it was presented in similar terms. This was not however the only example of two individuals on opposing sides fighting by arrangement during a siege that led to a shift in their apparent relationship. At Limoges in 1370, John of Gaunt fought Jean de Villemur in a mine; and Jean was then one of the few knights spared when the town was taken.²⁰⁹ Whether this can be attributed to the two knights' combat was not explicitly stated in contemporary narratives. There are indications however, that this sort of combat altered the relationship between the participants. It is also certainly possible that Barbazan would have asked for Henry V's legal protection if they truly were brothers-in-arms. Such was the case in an agreement made in 1361, in which four knights of Languedoc were bound to assist their companions in any law suit to which another was party by every means possible. Each man was to use all his influence to expediate his companions' affairs.²¹⁰ A similar agreement existed between Nicolas de Molyneux and John Winter, two English esquires, made in 1421. This was predominantly an agreement of mutual legal assistance.²¹¹ Five out of the eleven clauses concerned the eventuality of being captured by the enemy. If either was taken prisoner, the free party was bound to do all that was possible to secure his freedom, including acting as a hostage while the captive brother was granted release to secure a ransom. The statutes of the Order of the Golden Fleece laid down clearly that a knight of the order was bound to do all he could to obtain the release of a captured companion.²¹² There are therefore indications that Barbazan could have used this sort of formalised relationship to negotiate with Henry V after his capture, although whether their jousts at Melun were enough to secure this legalised protection is unclear.

prince, but as a knight and a soldier. On the concept of brotherhood-in-arms more generally see M. H. Keen, 'Brotherhood in Arms', *History*, 47 (1962), 1-17; Keen, *Nobles, Knights, and Men-at-Arms*, pp. 43-62.

²⁰⁹ *Chronique des Quatres Premiers Valois*, ed. S. Luce (1872), p. 209. See Barber, *The Knight and Chivalry*, p. 245; Keen, *The Laws of War*, p. 49.

²¹⁰ Keen, *Nobles, Knights and Men-at-Arms*, pp. 54-55.

²¹¹ It was published and commented on by K.B. McFarlane, 'A Business-Partnership in War and Administration, 1421-1445', *English Historical Review*, 78 (1963), 290-308.

²¹² Le Fèvre, *Chronique*, vol. 2 p. 218.

The formal combat at Melun in 1420 clearly demonstrated that formal combats were fought during sieges. There are a number of possible explanations for why these engagements were fought in these surroundings. The long monotony of a siege might easily be lifted by the organisation of an exciting feat of arms.²¹³ Certainly in his narrative for the siege of Melun discussed above, Jean de Waurin lamented that during the eighteen-week siege, nothing was achieved apart from some small skirmishes.²¹⁴ It was with apparent glee that he then described how barriers could be constructed once the mine and countermine collapsed on one another, creating a space large enough for more exciting engagements to take place.

Formal combats during sieges also provided knights with an opportunity to win honour in participating in action, rather than waiting for the siege to end. In combats in a siege tunnel during the siege of Arras in 1414, the participants in the formal combat were not just competing for honour; they also had the opportunity to win a diamond.²¹⁵ The combat was held between Charles of Artois Count of Eu (1394-1472) and Thomas Montagu Earl of Salisbury (1388-1428).²¹⁶ If Montagu could escape the mine he would win a diamond from Charles d'Artois. If he did not, he was expected to give a diamond. In his narrative of the combats, Jean le Fèvre described how Charles d'Artois performed so valiantly in the combats that he was presented with the diamond by Montagu.²¹⁷ Although in this case the prize was awarded to the 'winner' of the combats in the mine, the contemporary narrative for this encounter did not necessarily suggest that this was an

²¹³ The breaking of a siege's monotony is the explanation given for formal combats during sieges given in Barker, *The Tournament in England*, pp. 32-33

²¹⁴ Waurin, *Recueil des chroniques*, vol. 2 p. 311.

²¹⁵ Le Fèvre, *Chronique*, vol. 1 pp. 177-78.

²¹⁶ Charles d'Artois (1394-1472) was created count of Eu in 1397. On Thomas Montagu Earl of Salisbury see Anne Curry, 'Montagu, Thomas [Thomas de Montacute], fourth earl of Salisbury (1388-1428)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, January 2008, 'http://www.oxforddnb.com.ezproxy.york.ac.uk/view/article/18999?docPos=1' (19 August 2013).

²¹⁷ Le Fèvre, *Chronique*, vol. 1 p. 178.

antagonistic combat to gain honour. Le Fèvre described how Montagu willingly surrendered the diamond to Artois, after he had fought so valiantly.²¹⁸

Indeed, formal combats provided the opportunity for engagement with other martial individuals that was not necessarily centred on aggression. This nuance in the role of formal combats was seen clearly in the nature of the challenges sent between French and English martial rivals and their partisans. These challenges did not always reveal animosity between these two communities, as was demonstrated by the series of challenges that survive between French and English partisans dating from the 1400s. One of these was issued by Jean de Werchin seneschal of Hainault.²¹⁹ In November 1408 he wrote a letter to Henry IV asking to be allowed to challenge a member of the Order of the Garter or, failing that, any English knight, in the presence either of the king himself, or of the prince of Wales. Henry IV thought that Werchin had challenged all of the Garter knights simultaneously, and told him tactfully that he might want to be a little less ambitious and challenge just one knight at a time. Eventually in 1409 Werchin got his wish when he and the English knight Sir John Cornwall met in combat, firstly before John the Fearless at Lisle, and then before Charles VI in Paris.²²⁰ On each occasion they were prevented from actually engaging one another by the French king. They came to England to attend an eight-day joust, one joust each day, between Hainault and England later that year.²²¹ The Hainaultiers were led by Werchin, the English by John Beaufort (circa 1373–1410), eldest of the four

²¹⁸ Le Fèvre, *Chronique*, vol. 1 p. 178.

²¹⁹ Jean de Werchin, seneschal of Hainault and baron of Flanders (1374–1415). The challenge and further letters that organized this combat are found in BL Additional MS 21370. For narratives of the combats eventually resulting from this challenge, see *The Brut*, ed. Brie, vol. 2 pp. 369–70; Monstrelet, *Chronique*, vol. 2 pp. 5–6. On the martial career of Jean de Werchin see Paravicini, ‘Jean de Werchin, Sénéchal d Hainault, chevalier errant’, 125–44.

²²⁰ For the refusal of Charles VI to allow this event see Waurin, *Recueil des chroniques et anciennes istories de la Grant Bretagne*, vol. 2 p. 132; Monstrelet, *Chronique*, vol. 2 pp. 5–6. For John Cornwall see S.J. Payling, ‘Cornewall, John, Baron Fanhope (d. 1443)’, *ODNB*, 2004, ‘<http://www.oxforddnb.com.ezproxy.york.ac.uk/view/article/54423?docPos=1>’ (3 March 2013).

²²¹ See *The Brut*, ed. Brie, vol. 2 pp. 369–370; Monstrelet, *Chronique*, vol. 2 p. 6. For secondary commentary see Barber & Barker, *Tournaments*, pp. 126–128; Given-Wilson, ‘The Quarrels of Old Women’, pp. 38–9.

illegitimate children of John of Gaunt.²²² Despite this combat taking place between an Englishman and a partisan of the French, and despite Charles VI's apparent concern that this combat would increase hostilities and his subsequent prohibition of the encounter in France, there is little evidence that Werchin, Cornwall, or any of the participants of the jousts in 1409 were openly hostile to one another. Werchin's initial letter to Henry IV was worded politely, opening with a courtly address to Henry IV's majesty as 'Tres hault trespuissant et exxellant seigneur le roy dengleterre'.²²³ Political or martial motivations were absent from the challenge itself, which instead cited simply the acquisition of renown and honour that was to be gained in the pursuit of 'les honourables faiz darmes'.²²⁴ Without an account of his motivations from Werchin himself, it is not possible to say with certainty whether this formal combat was motivated by hostility or by the aims that Werchin stated here; but on the face of it at least, he was eager to appear civil, even friendly.

Alongside this lack of hostility, at least openly, in the challenges between combatants in formal combats, even those conducted *à outrance*, there is also evidence that formal combats provided a social setting in which English and French individuals could openly meet and even socialise. During Thomas of Woodstock Earl of Buckingham's campaign in northern France in 1380-81 for example, the encounter between Gauvain Micaille and Joachim Cator, which is discussed above, led to opportunities for Englishmen and Frenchmen to talk to one another.²²⁵ This resulted in additional challenges to formal combats being made, but Froissart did not present these as being made forcefully or with open hostility; instead Froissart presented these challenges as an opportunity for some entertainment and some further martial engagement for these men. Froissart also described how, whilst this encounter was going on, opposing commanders were

²²² See G.L. Harriss, 'Beaufort, John, marquess of Dorset and marquess of Somerset (c.1371-1410)', *ODNB*, May 2011, <http://www.oxforddnb.com.ezproxy.york.ac.uk/view/article/1861?docPos=1> (24 April 2013).

²²³ BL Add. MS 21370, f. 1r.

²²⁴ BL Add. MS 21370, f. 1v.

²²⁵ Froissart, *Oeuvres*, vol. 9 p. 323.

taking the opportunity to talk to one another at Verbi.²²⁶ The juxtaposition of this discussion next to the formal combat between Gauvain and Micaille, detracted from the atmosphere of martial tension, and seemed to suggest instead a situation in which the two sides were in open discussion with one another.

An additional example of such a combat was that between Renaud de Roye and Sir John Holland at Entença in 1387, during John of Gaunt's campaign.²²⁷ While Holland, the constable of the English forces, was lodged with John of Gaunt Duke of Lancaster and other English combatants in Entença, a herald arrived from Valladolid. He presented Holland with a challenge from Renaud de Roye. The challenge was for three courses with the lance, three attacks with the sword, three with the battle axe, and three with the dagger. Holland took the challenge straight to John of Gaunt. His reasons for doing this were not expressed in the narrative of the encounter; it is possible that he was seeking Gaunt's approval for his participation, and more specifically asking Gaunt if the combat could be held on English territory, which would have required a safe conduct from Gaunt. Holland was not to be disappointed. Gaunt stated that the formal combat could be held in Entença. The safe conduct, granted to Roye and fifty other knights and esquires, supported the idea that it was held in English-held territory.²²⁸ Given the dating of the safe conduct, the combat itself was probably held between 20 - 25 May.

The ecclesiastical chronicler Thomas Walsingham noted that English and French men-at-arms were prepared to integrate socially with one another to a surprising degree. He described the conversations and familiarity between English martial individuals and their French counterparts: they 'in remotis partibus tanquam

²²⁶ Froissart, *Oeuvres* vol. 9 pp. 280-1.

²²⁷ Froissart, *Oeuvres*, vol. 12 pp. 115-24. The safe conduct issued to Renaud de Roye is printed in *John of Gaunt's Register 1379-83*, eds. E.C. Lodge & R. Somerville (2 vols, London, 1937), no. 1233. On this Anglo-Portuguese campaign in León (26 March-2 June 1387) see Russell, *The English Intervention in Spain and Portugal*, pp. 449-494. John Holland was constable of the English army on this expedition, see M.M.N. Stansfield, 'Holland, John, first earl of Huntingdon and duke of Exeter (c.1352-1400)', *ODNB*, January 2008, 'http://www.oxforddnb.com.ezproxy.york.ac.uk/view/article/13529?docPos=1' (30 April 2013).

²²⁸ *John of Gaunt's Register* eds. Lodge & Somerville, no. 1233.

fratres sibimet subvenire, et fidem ad invicem inviolabilem observare.’²²⁹ In his narrative of this event at Entença, Jean Froissart described how the Frenchmen were lodged in good houses and were well cared for.²³⁰ This event did contain elements of danger. The two knights jousted with sharpened lances, and then with axes swords and daggers. There was some consternation from English onlookers; they believed that Renaud de Roye was cheating by not lacing his helmet securely. John of Gaunt however silenced their appeal by pointing out that Holland was able to do loosen his if he so wished, and that regardless Renaud de Roye appeared to be a better joustier than Holland.

Despite these elements of hostility, Froissart also described the pageantry of the occasion. He emphasised that the audience applauded the spectacle as the two combatants appeared, and as they broke each lance.²³¹ He particularly noted the presence of Philippa of Lancaster and ladies who accompanied her, alongside her new husband King Joao of Portugal. After the combats had been completed, before Renaud de Roye and the French knights returned to their own territory, John of Gaunt held a lavish feast in their honour.²³² Froissart described how the feast included a conversation about the legitimacy of the war on the Iberian peninsular. The narrative of this event was not, therefore, purely centred on the martial setting of the encounter. Martial aspects certainly did feature in Froissart’s narrative: he emphasised the danger of the combat with sharpened weapons; he related accusations of cheating throughout the combat; and the debate at the subsequent feast was clearly couched in martial language. Froissart however balanced this by also including the splendour of the occasion, the presence of ladies as keen observers, and the subsequent lavish banquet hosted by the duke of Lancaster. Froissart’s emphasis on both the martial vigour and the splendour of this occasion highlighted his interest in great accomplishments, and his desire to narrate these events for his readers, whom he expected to share his zeal for martial

²²⁹ ‘in remote parts helped them as if they were brothers, and they were loyal to one another’, Walsingham, *Historia Anglicana*, vol. 2 p. 193.

²³⁰ Froissart, *Oeuvres*, vol. 12 pp. 115-24.

²³¹ Froissart, *Oeuvres*, vol. 12 pp. 119-122.

²³² Froissart, *Oeuvres*, vol. 12 pp. 123-124.

splendour.²³³ In his depiction of this event therefore, he balanced the martial elements of the encounter, with similar emphasis on the pageantry surrounding the occasion.

In these narratives, the audience was provided with more than simple representations of English knights versus French knights, of hostile confrontation based around a martial enterprise. Of course, martial elements were evident. But there was also a sense that these events superseded national hostilities to a certain extent. In presenting the participants and attendees at Entença as enjoying the combats together, as feasting and drinking afterwards in the company of one another, Froissart was emphasising the collective identity of the group, as well as the rivalries that evidently existed between them.²³⁴

This sense of formal combats as a collective activity that was shared and enjoyed by individuals across national or political boundaries, was also an element in the presentation of formal combats that marked diplomatic events. As has previously been examined, a formal combat took place at one of the largest diplomatic events of the fifteenth century, the Congress of Arras in 1435.²³⁵ The combat, fought on 11-12 August between two combatants, the Castilian knight Jean de Merlo and the Burgundian knight Pierre de Bauffremont, was attended by many of the Burgundian and French participants in the congress.²³⁶ This was certainly an

²³³ On Froissart's narration of martial splendor see audience see Peter Ainsworth, *Jean Froissart and the Fabric of History: truth, myth and fiction in the 'Chroniques'* (Oxford, 1990), pp. 70-85; John Bell Henneman, 'The Age of Charles V', in J.J.N. Palmer (ed.), *Froissart, Historian* (Woodbridge, 1981), pp. 46-49; 'Froissart: Art Militaire, Pratique et Conception de la Guerre', in J.J.N. Palmer (ed.), *Froissart: Historian* (Woodbridge, 1981), 132-144.

²³⁴ On Froissart's depiction of 'international' knighthood see le Brusque, Georges, 'Chronicling the Hundred Years War in Burgundy and France in the fifteenth-century', in C. Saunders, F. Le Saux and N. Thomas (eds.), *Writing War: Medieval Literary Responses to Warfare* (Cambridge, 2004), pp. 86-87.

²³⁵ The narratives for this combat are le Fèvre, *Chronique*, vol. 2 pp. 313-321; Monstrelet, *Chronique*, vol. 5 pp. 138-43; Anthoine de la Taverne, *Journal de la Paix d'Arras*, ed. A. Bossuat (Arras, 1936), pp. 51-2; Waurin, *Recueil des chroniques et anciennes istories de la Grant Bretagne*, vol. 4 p. 79.

²³⁶ For Pierre de Bauffremont (1400-1472) see C. Bozzolo & H. Loyau, *La Cour Amoureuse dite de Charles VI* (2 vols, Paris, 1982), vol. 2 p. 21; Marie-Thérèse Caron, 'Pierre de Bauffremont', in Raphaël de Smedt (ed.), *Les Chevaliers de l'Ordre de la Toison d'or au XVe siècle* (Frankfurt am Main, 2000), pp. 45-47; Richard Vaughan, *Philip the Good. The Apogee of Burgundy* (London, 1970), pp. 100-101.

opportunity for intermingling and sociability, away from the English; only one Englishman, William de la Pole Earl of Suffolk, was present at the combat.²³⁷ The timing of the engagement, between a prominent Burgundian knight and a Castillian who fought in French colours because of his country's long affinity with the French cause, so close to the English departure from the Congress, followed by Bauffremont's apparent efforts to support a French-Burgundian alliance, suggested that this was an important opportunity for French-Burgundian interaction, as allegiances were beginning to realign.

The use of formal combats to explore political unity, whether consciously or unconsciously, was not only hinted at during events between apparently opposing political groups. Formal combats were also used to increase the appearance, and in some cases the reality, of social cohesion. This was in evidence at the jousts held in Paris in January 1415 to mark the visit of English ambassadors to France in December 1414 – March 1415 in order to negotiate for Henry V's marriage to Catherine of France.²³⁸ Monstrelet and Waurin listed the attendees as Thomas Beaufort Duke of Dorset, Richard Lord Grey of Codnor, Richard Courtenay Bishop of Norwich and Thomas Langley Bishop of Durham.²³⁹

In order to welcome the English ambassadors to Paris, jousting was organised in the Rue St Antoine between a number of the French princes. Although Wylie has attributed the general festivities to the completion of the Treaty of Arras, this was

²³⁷ The earl of Suffolk, William de la Pole (1396-1450) was a Knight of the Garter, and was later created duke of Suffolk. He was Lord Chamberlain and Admiral of England. See John Watts, 'Pole, William de la, first duke of Suffolk (1396-1450)', *ODNB*, September 2012, 'http://www.oxforddnb.com.ezproxy.york.ac.uk/view/article/22461?docPos=2' (18 January 2013).

²³⁸ Éveline van der Neste, *Tournois, joustes, pas d'armes dans les villes de Flandre à la fin du Moyen Âge, 1300-1486* (Paris, 1996), p. 283. The main narrative sources for the ambassadorial visit are Monstrelet, *Chronique*, vol. 3 p. 60; Waurin, *Recueil des chroniques et anciennes istories de la Grant Bretagne*, vol. 2 pp. 170-171; le Févre, *Chronique*, vol. 1 p. 211. On this embassy see James Hamilton Wylie, *The Reign of Henry the Fifth* (3 vols, Cambridge, 1914), vol. 1 pp. 435-444. For overviews of the diplomatic missions between France and England at this time see Christopher Allmand, *Henry V* (New Haven 1997), pp. 70-71; G.P. Cuttino, *English Medieval Diplomacy* (Bloomington, 1985), pp. 107-108.

²³⁹ Monstrelet, *Chronique*, vol. 3 p. 60; Waurin, *Recueil des chroniques et anciennes istories de la Grant Bretagne*, vol. 2 pp. 170-171. Le Févre stated that the duke of York led the deputation, although this was not correct, le Févre, *Chronique*, vol. 1 p. 211.

not signed until after the festivities were over; these were clearly meant to mark the arrival of the English ambassadors.²⁴⁰ Charles VI apparently jousted against John I Duke of Alençon (1385-1415), Anthony Duke of Brabant (1384-1415) competed against Charles Duke of Orléans (1394-1465), and the Dauphin Louis Duke of Guyenne (1397-1415) apparently performed with admirable skill and vigour. The participation of Charles VI however was questionable – he was ill throughout the winter of 1414-1415 and his health may not have recovered by this time.²⁴¹

Narratives of the jousts described the English and French spectators as enjoying the spectacle, although the grandeur and wealth of the English attendees apparently caused something of a sensation.²⁴² These were clearly events that all present were able to enjoy, because such events were common to both parties. The use of formal combats in this way, as mutually-enjoyable occasions that marked specific ambassadorial occasions, suggests that they were at least superficially enjoyed by those present as a social occasion, rather than a martial one. Of course, there were also more complex reasons why the French high nobility wished to present such a grand and united picture in Paris in 1415. The jousts, between French princes, demonstrated the cohesiveness of the French court and displayed its strength and its unity to the English.²⁴³ In light of Burgundian-Orléanist tensions, and Charles VI's recent (potentially on-going) bout of illness, the French nobility were keen to use these jousts as an opportunity for the display of French power and political stability. These desires were reflected in the narrative accounts of the jousts. Monstrelet emphasised that Anthony Duke of Brabant, the brother of John the Fearless Duke of Burgundy, jousted with Charles of Orléans with much cordiality.²⁴⁴ Waurin described how the people of Paris were

²⁴⁰ Wylie, *The Reign of Henry the Fifth*, vol. 1 pp. 438-439; on the Treaty of Arras see Richard Vaughan, *John the Fearless: the growth of Burgundian Power* (2nd edn., Woodbridge, 2002), pp. 199-203.

²⁴¹ Bernard Guenée, *La folie de Charles VI Roi Bien-Aimé* (Paris, 2004), pp. 296 & 298 n. 45.

²⁴² Monstrelet, *Chronique*, vol. 3 p. 60; Waurin, *Recueil des chroniques et anciennes istories de la Grant Bretagne*, vol. 2 p. 171 (his narrative is very similar to that of Monstrelet, suggesting that he was heavily dependent on that narrative in his account).

²⁴³ R.C. Famiglietti, *Royal Intrigue: Crisis at the Court of Charles VI, 1392-1420* (New York, 1986), p. 159.

²⁴⁴ Monstrelet, *Chroniques*, vol. 3 p. 60.

especially happy to see Philip Duke of Burgundy reunited with the rest of the French court.²⁴⁵

Groups of martial individuals established and displayed their allegiance to one another at formal combats. Documentation from the period seemed to suggest that the attendance and participation of retinues at formal combats was expected. For example, an anonymous fifteenth-century treatise of *mêlée* tournaments described how five men should fight under a single lord's banner, and four under a pennon.²⁴⁶ The day before the tournament was due to begin, all were to process under these banners, wearing the same livery. A similar concept of tournament 'teams' was expressed by René d'Anjou in his work on tournaments written circa 1460, in which he stated that pennons and banners should be displayed in teams of five, which would then comprise a tournament company.²⁴⁷ There was thus a suggestion in treatises and instructional material that formal combats were intended to be used to enhance martial relationships within 'teams'. Allegiances and groupings that were established for war were also visible at formal combats. Strickland has stressed the role of formal combats in unifying knights and men-at-arms in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.²⁴⁸ Malcolm Vale has suggested that this continued into the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, particularly in the Low Countries.²⁴⁹

There is evidence to suggest that formal combats were also used elsewhere to develop relationships that also extended into more explicit martial arenas. At the large jousting festival held at Saint Inglevert in 1390 for example, the retinue of Henry Bolingbroke was described by Michel Pintouin, the monk of Saint-Denis,

²⁴⁵ Waurin, *Recueil des chroniques et anciennes istories de la Grant Bretagne*, vol. 2 p. 171.

²⁴⁶ BNF MS Fr. 1280, f. 127r.

²⁴⁷ René d'Anjou, 'Traictié de la forme et devis d'ung tournoy', ed. Elizabeth Bennett, 1997, 'http://www.princeton.edu/~ezb/rene/renefran.html' (14 April 2013).

²⁴⁸ Matthew Strickland, *War and Chivalry: The Conduct and Perception of War in England and Normandy, 1066-1217* (Cambridge, 1996), p. 150.

²⁴⁹ Vale, *War and Chivalry*, 80-84.

as the most skilled and honourable of all the competitors present.²⁵⁰ As narrated in Pintouin's narrative, Henry was accompanied to Saint Inglevert by a retinue of ten men-at-arms, all of whom apparently competed against the three French organisers.²⁵¹

One of the topics possibly discussed at Saint Inglevert was Louis II Duke of Bourbon's projected crusade to North Africa.²⁵² Bolingbroke himself certainly wished to attend – he sent two esquires to Paris in May 1390 in order to acquire a safe conduct from Charles VI to travel through France to Genoa in order to embark upon this expedition.²⁵³ Bolingbroke's plans changed however, and instead he planned and executed an expedition to campaign in Prussia, from August 1390 until March 1391.²⁵⁴

Of the ten men-at-arms who had accompanied Henry to Saint Inglevert as his retinue, there are records of only one – Thomas Swynford – accompanying him on his subsequent campaign in Prussia.²⁵⁵ Of the other participants at Saint

²⁵⁰ *Chronique du Religieux de Saint-Denis*, ed. Bellaguet, vol. 1 p. 674. Derby and his retinue were also mentioned in the anonymous poem composed on Saint Inglevert, in Froissart, *Oeuvres*, vol. 14 pp. 407-419, although Froissart himself did not mention their attendance.

²⁵¹ *Chronique du Religieux de Saint-Denis*, ed. Bellaguet, vol. 1 p. 674.

²⁵² On the role of the jousts at Saint Inglevert in recruitment for Louis II Duke of Bourbon's crusade see Timothy Guard, *Chivalry, Kingship and Crusade. The English Experience in the Fourteenth Century* (Woodbridge, 2013), pp. 59-60.

²⁵³ Froissart, *Oeuvres*, vol. 14 p. 156. On Bolingbroke's plans regarding the expedition to Africa see Anthony Goodman, *John of Gaunt: the Exercise of Princely Power* (London, 1992), p. 147; J.L. Kirby, *Henry IV King of England* (London, 1970), pp. 29-30; Christopher Tyerman, *England and the Crusades, 1095-1588* (Chicago, 1988), pp. 278-289. For the most recent analysis of this crusade and its wider implications for English politics see Guard, *Chivalry, Kingship and Crusade*, pp. 57-71.

²⁵⁴ For the expedition to Prussia see F.R.H. du Boulay, 'Henry of Derby's Expeditions to Prussia 1390-1 and 1392', in F.R.H. du Boulay & C. Barron (eds.), *The Reign of Richard II: Essays in Honour of May McKisack* (London, 1971), 153-172. Also see Timothy Guard, *Chivalry, Kingship and Crusade. The English Experience in the Fourteenth Century* (Woodbridge, 2013), pp. 81-82; Anthony Tuck, 'Henry IV and Chivalry', in Gwilym Dodd & Douglas Biggs (eds.), *Henry IV: the Establishment of the Regime, 1399-1406* (York, 2003), pp. 57-60. The most detailed English narrative for the expedition was that provided in *The Westminster Chronicle, 1381-1394*, eds. L.C. Hector & B.F. Harvey (Oxford, 1982), pp. 444-449, which was most likely based on an external written source, see p. 444 n. 1.

²⁵⁵ Kirby, *Henry IV*, p. 30 notes Swynford's attendance at Saint Inglevert and subsequent presence on the expedition, but does not note that several other members of Henry's household during the Prussia expedition were also at Saint Inglevert. On Swynford see Simon Walker, 'Sir Thomas Swynford (1368-1432)', *ODNB*, January 2008, 'http://www.oxforddnb.com.ezproxy.york.ac.uk/view/article/26858/26859' (19 May 2013). For Swynford's jousts at Saint Inglevert see *Chronique du Religieux de Saint-Denis* ed. Bellaguet, vol. 1 pp.

Inglevert detailed by Michel Pintouin and Jean Froissart however, at least ten others joined Henry's retinue before the campaign departed for Prussia in the summer of 1390. The lists of attendees at the jousts at Saint Inglevert provided by Froissart and Pintouin are very different. Although Froissart went into considerably more detail regarding each joust, Pintouin's narrative recorded long lists of the names of the participants. This was potentially due to the nature of the resource that each used to compile his narrative. Froissart possibly used a heraldic account, which could have listed each lance individually.²⁵⁶ It appears that Pintouin was reliant on a much-abbreviated source for his information, as he did not discuss the combats in particular detail but instead listed those who participated on the different days of the event.

Henry's retinue in Prussia consisted of several individuals who had also attended the jousts at Saint Inglevert. Alongside Thomas Swynford, Henry's retinue in Prussia also contained two other knights, Peter Buckton, the steward of his household, and John Clifton, both of whom attended the event at Saint Inglevert.²⁵⁷ These knights were also accompanied in Prussia by seven esquires. Five of these, and an additional valet, remained in Bolingbroke's household for the duration of the expedition, including during the *reysa* from 18 August until 22 October 1390, and then in Bolingbroke's winter household at firstly Königsberg (22 October – 31 March 1391) and Dantzic (15 February – 31 March). These were John Dalyngrigge,²⁵⁸ Richard Doncaster,²⁵⁹ Thomas Haseldene,²⁶⁰ Ralph de

680-681. For the details of his payments in Prussia see *Expeditions to Prussia and the Holy Land made by Henry Earl of Derby (Afterwards King Henry IV) in the Years 1390-1391 and 1392-93*, ed. L. Toulmin Smith (London, 1894), pp. 121, 128, 133.

²⁵⁶ On Froissart's use of heraldic narrative accounts for his chronicle see Peter Ainsworth, 'Configuring Transience: patterns of transmission and transmissibility in the *Chroniques* (1395-1995)', in Donald Maddox & Sara Sturm-Maddox (eds.), *Froissart across the Genres* (Gainesville, 1998), pp.20-21; Peter Ainsworth, *Jean Froissart and the Fabric of History: truth, myth and fiction in the 'Chroniques'* (Oxford, 1990), p.8.

²⁵⁷ For the narrative of Peter Bucton jousting at Saint Inglevert see *Chronique du Religieux de Saint-Denys* ed. Bellaguet, vol. 1 pp. 680-681. For the details of his payments in Prussia see *Expeditions to Prussia and the Holy Land*, ed. Toulmin Smith, pp. 126, 128, 133, 138.

For John Clifton's jousts see Froissart, *Oeuvres*, vol. 14 pp. 134-135. For his payments in Prussia see *Expeditions to Prussia and the Holy Land*, ed. Toulmin Smith, p. 131.

²⁵⁸ *Chronique du Religieux de Saint-Denys* ed. Bellaguet, vol. 1 pp. 680-681; *Expeditions to Prussia and the Holy Land*, ed. Toulmin Smith, pp. 120, 131, 133, 138.

Rocheford,²⁶¹ and Thomas Totty.²⁶² The valet was Robert Litton (identified as 'Eleton' in Saint-Denis).²⁶³ In addition, the esquires William Hykelyng and Christopher Langton were paid for the initial period of the expedition, but not again.²⁶⁴

Although the presence of these men was noted at Saint Inglevert, they did not apparently accompanied Bolingbroke to Saint Inglevert; certainly Michel Pintouin did not believe they were in his retinue for these jousts. It is always possible that Pintouin made a mistake in identifying the members of Henry's retinue. Certainly the presence of long-term members of Henry's household at Saint Inglevert, such as Thomas Totty, would suggest that his retinue was larger than the ten individuals that Pintouin identified. Regardless of their relationship to Henry at Saint Inglevert however, these individuals did join him afterwards for his expedition to Prussia. This case study provides a tantalising glimpse of the ways that a formal combat could be used to encourage or recruit men-at-arms to go on martial campaign. Certainly Bolingbroke apparently performed well at Saint Inglevert, if Pintouin's narrative can be believed.²⁶⁵ In addition Henry himself, as well as these other men, may have been influenced by Bohemian knights present

²⁵⁹ *Chronique du Religieux de Saint-Denis* ed. Bellaguet, vol. 1 pp. 680-681; *Expeditions to Prussia and the Holy Land*, ed. Toulmin Smith, pp. 120, 131, 133, 138.

²⁶⁰ *Chronique du Religieux de Saint-Denis* ed. Bellaguet, vol. 1 pp. 680-681; *Expeditions to Prussia and the Holy Land*, ed. Toulmin Smith, pp. 122, 139. Haseldene was a life retainer of John of Gaunt, see *Expeditions to Prussia and the Holy Land*, ed. Toulmin Smith, p. 307.

²⁶¹ *Chronique du Religieux de Saint-Denis* ed. Bellaguet, vol. 1 pp. 680-681, *Expeditions to Prussia and the Holy Land*, ed. Toulmin Smith, pp. 123, 133, 138. He was ill during the campaign, see *Expeditions to Prussia and the Holy Land*, ed. Toulmin Smith, p. 51.

²⁶² *Chronique du Religieux de Saint-Denis* ed. Bellaguet, vol. 1 pp. 680-681, *Expeditions to Prussia and the Holy Land*, ed. Toulmin Smith, pp. 118, 124, 128, 134, 138. Totty had been in Henry's service since 1383, see Kirby, *Henry IV*, p. 31.

²⁶³ *Chronique du Religieux de Saint-Denis* ed. Bellaguet, vol. 1 pp. 680-681, *Expeditions to Prussia and the Holy Land*, ed. Toulmin Smith, pp. 121-122, 129, 135, 140.

²⁶⁴ For William Hykelyng at Saint Inglevert see *Chronique du Religieux de Saint-Denis* ed. Bellaguet, vol. 1 pp. 680-681. For the details of his payments in Prussia see *Expeditions to Prussia and the Holy Land*, ed. Toulmin Smith, p. 123.

For Christopher Langton see *Chronique du Religieux de Saint-Denis* ed. Bellaguet, vol. 1 pp. 680-681; *Expeditions to Prussia and the Holy Land*, ed. Toulmin Smith, pp. 121, 124.

²⁶⁵ *Chronique du Religieux de Saint-Denis* ed. Bellaguet, vol. 1 pp. 678-681.

at Saint Inglevert; at least one, ‘Herr Hans’, was present and participated in the jousts.²⁶⁶ Although not a hostile, explicitly-martial event in itself therefore, even a large-scale pageant such as Saint Inglevert could have martial import, in providing opportunities for men who campaigned together to plan additional martial endeavours.

Conclusion

After this examination of the motivations behind formal combats that were presented in contemporary challenges and narratives, it is possible to interpret formal combats as forums at which diverse motivations intersected. They were perceived as honour-based spaces, where an individual could win honour not only by winning, but by the very nature of his participating in a formal combat. Such honour may have had physical or practical benefits for an individual’s martial career – by enhancing his reputation for example – but the narrative sources also suggested that honour should be won for its own sake, as a crucial component within an idealised martial identity. Contemporary challenges and narratives however, also used representations of honour and renown to disguise further, latent motivations behind formal combats. Personal or martial hostility was disguised by more honourable challenges, suggesting that honour was regarded not only as a benefit worth accruing, but also as a form of social script that could be used to hide alternative, more martial-based motivations.

Formal combats were also opportunities for material gain. Awards could be made to all who participated in a formal combat – enhancing the concept of gain for participation rather than success – or they could be given to a chosen few. The individuals who made these awards used these events to enhance their own dominant positions in terms of wealth, social standing, and martial ability. Finally, formal combats were motivated by martial considerations. They offered opportunities to train in and practise martial skills; they were depicted as being motivated by martial and political tensions in the same way that war was; and they were undertaken by individuals who, out of frustration or fear of reprisal,

²⁶⁶ Froissart, *Oeuvres*, vol. 14 pp. 141-143.

could not engage in open warfare. Formal combats were thus arenas for both martial practice, and martial expression.

The spaces in which formal combats were undertaken were crucial to understanding the potential motivations behind them. The presence of formal combats on campaign, on chevauchées, during sieges and between hostile armies, indicates that these events held some wider martial, and potentially even political, purpose. Likewise, a formal combat motivated by the desire of its participants to gain honour and renown, was almost rendered pointless if their peers were not present to witness their deeds, to remember them, and to associate them with the individual who had performed them. Formal combats did not take place in vacuums; they were attended and witnessed by a variety of individuals. On campaign or in an active martial situation, this audience comprised martial men; women were mentioned in contemporary narratives only occasionally at such events. During formal combats at court on the other hand, or in a more elaborately formal setting, women constituted a large proportion of the audience. In the narratives of such events, the sources emphasised the acquisition and performance of honour not only in front of men, but also before women. The roles of women at formal combats – and indeed their place in debates surrounding later medieval chivalry - are contentious, and will be discussed in the following chapter.

Chapter Six

Audience, Interaction and Gender

In the chapters above, the emphasis has been on the participants in formal combats themselves. This chapter will turn away from those who actively participated in formal combats, in combative roles, and will instead examine the ways in which audiences and observers were presented at such events. Narrative sources presented a range of individuals as audience members, and the composition of an audience during a formal combat was often dependent on the type of formal combat taking place. The audiences for formal combats during warfare were martial, and narrators placed the emphasis on their martial qualities. At events that were distanced from warfare however, civilians were also present, including women. This suggests a relationship between the form of combat being narrated, the representation of the audience at that combat, and the motivations behind the narrator's representation of an individual encounter. This chapter will also explore this relationship, suggesting that representations of audiences were used in such narratives to reflect the wider motivations of the narrator.

In some narrative accounts of formal combats, audiences were depicted as silent audience members, simply present to watch the combatants in front of them. At other events however, the audience members were portrayed as playing a more active role in the ceremonies surrounding the combat itself. Sometimes they played a role in the pageantry associated with the event. At other times, they were presented as participating in the judging process through which a 'winner' was announced. Again, the nature of the formal combat affected the ways that audience members engaged with participants, and the ways that their roles were presented in contemporary narratives. In order to more clearly assess the ways that audiences were represented in different types of formal combat, this chapter will address these forms of combat separately. Firstly, it will examine events that took place during warfare. Then, it will turn to analyse the audiences at different forms of combat such as judicial duels and large-scale jousting festivals. The chapter will seek to assess both how audience might have affected the nature of the formal combat, and the dynamics between participants and observers; and

how the composition of combat audiences might have served the various narrative agendas of the chroniclers who described them.

Audiences During War

If a formal combat was held in the midst of a military campaign or on a military front, the audience presented in narratives of the encounter tended to be military in nature. Such was the case for example in Jean Froissart's narrative of the encounter in 1382 at Badajos between Miles Windsor and Tristan de Roye. When the peace of Badajos was declared in August 1382, the French knight Tristan de Roye decided that he would not leave Iberia without having performed some worthy combat.¹ Froissart described how he sent a herald to the English and Portuguese forces, asking if any man-at-arms would joust three courses with him at Badajos the following day.² An English esquire, Miles Windsor, replied that he would compete against him.³ Windsor was explicitly presented as being motivated to accept Roye's challenge, because he desired to become a knight.⁴ His wish was granted: he was knighted directly before participating in the combat.⁵

The following day the two participants met outside Badajos. Froissart narrated that an audience of more than one hundred spectators attended the event, and his narrative repeatedly emphasised the martial status of these individuals.⁶ Firstly Froissart established that there were more than one hundred knights present at the

¹ Froissart, *Oeuvres*, vol. 9 pp. 490-92. On the 1381-82 campaign see Saul, *Richard II*, pp. 96-99; P.E. Russell, *The English Intervention in Spain and Portugal in the time of Edward III and Richard II* (Oxford, 1955), pp. 302-344. Tristan de Roye (d. 1386), also known as Matthieu de Roye, was a brother of Renaud de Roye who competed at Saint Inglevert in 1390.

² Froissart, *Oeuvres*, vol. 9 p. 490.

³ Froissart, *Oeuvres*, vol. 9 p. 490. Miles Windsor (d. 1387) was the son of James Windsor and Elizabeth Streech. The encounter is briefly mentioned in Richard Barber, *The Knight and Chivalry* (London, 1970), p. 237, although Barber confuses the challenger and the recipient.

⁴ Froissart, *Oeuvres*, vol. 9 p. 490.

⁵ Froissart, *Oeuvres*, vol. 9 p. 491. For brief analysis of the link between knighting and formal combats see Richard W. Barber & Juliet R.V. Barker, *Tournaments: jousts, chivalry and pageants in the Middle Ages* (Woodbridge, 1989), p. 168; J.R.V. Barker, *The Tournament in England, 1100-1400* (Woodbridge, 1986), pp. 113-4. Also see Chapter 5, 'Motivations: Real and Constructed' below.

⁶ Froissart, *Oeuvres*, vol. 14 pp. 490-92, for very brief notes on this encounter see Barber, *The Knight and Chivalry*, p. 237.

encounter as observers: some had accompanied the two combatants Miles Windsor and Tristan de Roye, whilst others had simply gathered at the combat site in order to observe the proceedings.⁷ Following this observation, Froissart stressed the observing role of this martial audience. He stated that the combat was highly praised by the audience, and that knights from each side (both the English and French partisans) acknowledged that the combat had been good.⁸

The combat between Roye and Windsor was presented by Froissart in the explicit context of a martial campaign. According to Froissart, it was the cessation of hostilities between English and French forces in Iberia that motivated the combat itself, as Tristan de Roye believed that his chance to perform noteworthy deeds would soon be at an end.⁹ In such a context, when a combat was presented as between two armies on campaign, it is perhaps unsurprising that the emphasis of narratives was on the martial endeavours undertaken by the participants and the martial nature of the event audience; there seemed to be little room in such narratives for descriptions of a civilian or female audience.

Such encounters during martial campaigns and situations were often presented as not only martially-based, but also as occasions of heightened political and martial tensions. In such circumstances, the attention of the narrator was placed on the martial situation of the encounter, rather than on any diversity in the social composition or gender of the audience. Formal combats during the siege of Arras in 1414 for example, were presented as male-only preserves.¹⁰ One combat was held between Charles d'Artois Count of Eu (1394-1472) and Thomas Montagu Earl of Salisbury (1388-1428).¹¹ In the narrative for this combat, Jean le Fèvre

⁷ Froissart, *Oeuvres*, vol. 9 p. 491.

⁸ Froissart, *Oeuvres*, vol. 9 p. 492.

⁹ Froissart, *Oeuvres*, ed. Lettenhove, vol. 14 p. 490.

¹⁰ Jean le Fèvre, *Chronique de Jean le Fèvre*, ed. F. Morand (2 vols, Paris, 1876-81), vol. 1 pp. 177-78.

¹¹ Charles of Artois (1394-1472) was created count of Eu in 1397. A lieutenant of the king in Normandy and Guyenne, later he was governor of Paris. He was taken prisoner at the Battle of Agincourt (1415) and not released until 1438. On Thomas Montagu Earl of Salisbury see Anne Curry, 'Montagu, Thomas [Thomas de Montacute], fourth earl of Salisbury (1388-1428)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, January 2008, 'http://www.oxforddnb.com.ezproxy.york.ac.uk/view/article/18999?docPos=1' (19 August

described how the two knights fought against one another in the mines under Arras. He did not indicate that any audience was present for the combat at all; both female and male observers were excluded from the narrative. The only reference to women was the prize of a diamond that was presented to Eu following his victory; this diamond was to be given to his lady.¹² Narratives pertaining to a second combat during a siege, that at Melun in 1420, again made no reference to an audience.¹³ This combat was between the Arnaud Guillemes Lord de Barbazan, who was the captain of Melun, and King Henry V, alongside various other knights and esquires from both sides. Waurin – whose narrative of this encounter can not have been dependent upon that of le Févre since the latter's narrative of the siege made no mention of combats in the siege tunnels – described the combats as fine passages of arms at which several men-at-arms gained knighthood through performing these feats so admirably.¹⁴ In this case, the gains made by the knights – the achievement of knighthood, the honour and renown won through performing such deeds of arms – were not dependent upon the presence of an audience comprising either male or female observers at the event itself. Instead, the presence of the king as royal authority to knight individuals was perceived as sufficient to stress the benefits of participating in such a formal combat. Additionally, the presence of an audience for the text itself provided the acclaim necessary for a more public acclamation of the participants' prowess and martial renown.

2013); Mark Warner, 'Chivalry in Action: Thomas Montagu and the War in France, 1417-28', *Nottingham Medieval Studies*, 42 (1998), 162-166.

¹² Le Févre, *Chronique*, vol. 1 pp. 177-78.

¹³ Georges Chastellain, *Oeuvres de Georges Chastellain*, ed. Kervyn de Lettenhove (8 vols, Brussels, 1863-1866), vol. 1 p. 157; Jehan de Waurin, *Recueil des chroniques et anciennes istories de la Grant Bretagne, a present nomme Engleterre*, eds. William Hardy & Edward L. C. P. Hardy (5 vols, New York, 1965), vol. 2 pp. 310-12; *The First English Life of King Henry V*, ed. C.L. Kingsford (Oxford, 1911), p. 170. For brief discussion see Barber, *The Knight and Chivalry*, p. 245; Maurice Keen, *The Laws of War in the Middle Ages* (London, 1965), pp. 48-9. For Barbazan see Elizabeth Gonzalez, *Un prince en son hotel: les serviteurs des ducs d'Orléans au XVe siècle* (Paris, 2004), p. 312. Jean Juvénal des Ursins, 'Histoire de Charles VI, Roy de France', *Novelle Collection des Mémoires pour servir à l'Histoire de France depuis le XIIIe siècle jusqu'à la fin du XVIIIe siècle*, eds. J.F. Michaud & J.J.F. Poujoulat (32 vols, Paris, 1836-39), vol. 2 p. 558 also mentions the siege, but makes no mention of combats in the mines. For brief discussion see Keen, *The Laws of War*, pp. 48-9.

¹⁴ Waurin, *Recueil des chroniques et anciennes istories de la Grant Bretagne*, vol. 2 pp. 310-12.

Given that these formal combats took place during situations of warfare, the emphasis on martial individuals in the narratives also indicated the heightened martial tensions in these circumstances. Just as an audience of women might seem out of place on a battlefield, so a non-martial audience would seem incongruous at a formal combat in such explicitly martial surroundings. Indeed the presented martial tensions at such events were even more explicit elsewhere, when formal combats on the boundaries between territories and between rival groups of partisans were presented as not only observed, but also controlled by large groups of armed men. At the 1402 combat near Montendre for example, the monk of Saint-Denis Michel Pintouin described how the fourteen combatants were conducted to the combat area with escorts of large numbers of armed men. In two places in his narrative, the monk emphasised the large number of men-at-arms and martial individuals present: the combatants initially arrived ‘cum ingenti copia bellatorum’.¹⁵ Later, he again emphasised the large numbers of men-at-arms watching the combat.¹⁶ Both of the major narratives for this encounter explicitly cited open hostility between the French and English combatants.¹⁷ The encounter itself was motivated, according to the narrative attributed to Jean Juvénal des Ursins, by ‘la vraye et raisonnable querelle que le Roy avoit contre ses ennemis anciens d’Angleterre’.¹⁸ The specific motivation behind the encounter was, according to the narrative Michel Pintouin, the usurpation of Henry IV and mistreatment of Isabella, wife of the late Richard II.¹⁹ Given the ways in which this event was presented in the narratives, as a hostile encounter between two opposing teams, the emphasis on military presence in the narratives was perhaps not surprising; the presentation of large groups of armed men at the combat reflected the heightened martial tensions that the narratives portrayed.

¹⁵ ‘with large numbers of armed men’, *Chronique du Religieux de Saint-Denys contenant le règne de Charles VI, de 1380 à 1422*, ed. & trans. L.F. Bellaguet (6 vols, Paris, 1839-1852), vol. 3 p. 32.

¹⁶ *Chronique du Religieux de Saint-Denys*, ed. Bellaguet, vol. 3 p. 33.

¹⁷ *Chronique du Religieux de Saint-Denys*, ed. Bellaguet, vol. 3 pp. 30-31; Jean Juvénal des Ursins, ‘Histoire de Charles VI’, vol. 2 p. 422.

¹⁸ ‘the true and reasonable quarrel which the king had against this ancient enemy of England’, Jean Juvénal des Ursins, ‘Histoire de Charles VI’, vol. 2 p. 422.

¹⁹ *Chronique du Religieux de Saint-Denys*, ed. Bellaguet, vol. 3 pp. 30-31.

In the narratives of martial events described above, the idealised martial life was depicted as heavily centred on formal combats as martial deeds. The emphasis was placed on martial audiences, in order to highlight the opportunities for martial recognition that such formal combats enabled.

Contemporary commentators highlighted the aim of their texts to encourage others to perform great deeds of arms. Froissart stated in his prologue that the *Chroniques* were intended both to narrate brave and courageous deeds, and to encourage others to emulate these examples.²⁰ A similar sentiment of didacticism was expressed by Enguerrand de Monstrelet, who wrote in his prologue that one of his motivations in writing was ‘à l’advertissement et introduction de ceulx qui, à juste cause, se vouldroient en armes honnorablement exercer’.²¹ By presenting formal combats during warfare, or as martial events, with clear depictions of martial audiences, these narratives emphasised for their audiences the benefits in participating in formal combats to make one’s martial name, among one’s martial peers. As such, participation in formal combats enabled individuals to gain martial renown and honour by being witnessed in such circumstances by their peers.

²⁰ Jean Froissart, *Oeuvres*, ed. Kervyn de Lettenhove (25 vols, Brussels, 1867-77), vol. 2 p.1; he also expressed a similar sentiment in his second redaction to the prologue, Froissart, *Oeuvres*, vol. 1 p. 5. On Froissart’s text as a didactic work see for example Peter F. Ainsworth, *Jean Froissart and the Fabric of History: truth, myth and fiction in the Chroniques* (Oxford, 1990), p.78; P. Tucoo-Chala, ‘Froissart dans le Midi Pyrénée’, in J.J.N. Palmer (ed.), *Froissart: Historian* (Woodbridge, 1981), p.118; P.E. Russell, ‘The War in Spain and Portugal’, in J.J.N. Palmer (ed.), *Froissart: Historian* (Woodbridge, 1981), p.99. On the didactic nature of medieval chronicles more generally see for example Chris Given-Wilson, *Chronicles. The writing of history in medieval England* (London, 2004), pp.2-6; Douglas Kelly, ‘Imitation, Metamorphosis, and Froissart’s use of the exemplary modus tractandi’, in Donald Maddox & Sara Sturm-Maddox (eds.), *Froissart Across the Genres* (Gainesville, 1998), p. 101; Stephen G. Nichols Jr., ‘Discourse in Froissart’s ‘Chroniques’’, *Speculum*, 39 no. 2 (April 1964), p. 279; J. Taylor, *English Historical Literature in the Fourteenth Century* (Oxford, 1987), p.155.

²¹ ‘for the advice and introduction of those who, for just cause, would like to honourably exercise arms’, Enguerrand de Monstrelet, *Chronique d’Enguerrand de Monstrelet*, ed. L. Douët-d’Arcq (6 vols, Paris, 1857-62), vol. 1 p. 2. On Monstrelet’s treatment of knights as exemplars more generally see Georges le Brusque, ‘Chronicling the Hundred Years War in Burgundy and France in the Fifteenth Century’, in Corinne Saunders, Françoise le Saux and Neil Thomas (eds.), *Writing War: medieval literary responses to warfare* (Cambridge, 2004), pp. 78-81; Georges le Brusque, ‘From Agincourt (1415) to Fornovo (1495): aspects of the writing of warfare in French and Burgundian fifteenth century historiographical literature’ (unpublished PhD thesis, University of London, 2001), pp. 35-40.

Audiences at Larger Events

Perhaps the most noticeable, and important, distinction in narratives' depictions of audiences between formal combats in warfare and those of larger jousting and formal combat festivals, was the presence of women, and a wider civilian audience. The inclusion at such events of civilians added an additional dynamic not only to the event itself, but also to the ways in which that event was presented in narrative material.

A detailed examination of a single case study will make it easier to assess how these wider audiences were presented as ceremonial participants and audience members in contemporary narratives. The jousts in October 1390 hosted by Richard II at Smithfield in London have already been commented on and analysed in this thesis.²² In examining the role of non-martial participants however, a brief reminder of these roles is first necessary. A *crie*, or formal announcement, survives that does seem to pertain to this formal combat.²³ The *crie* describes how twenty knights would be led through London by twenty ladies, each knight carrying a shield with Richard's white hart badge on it, and each lady wearing a green dress to match the colours worn by the knights.²⁴ After three days of jousting at Smithfield, the *crie* promised that the ladies who had observed the

²² A narrative for this event is provided in Chapter 2, 'Formal Combats: Case Studies' above. For the announcement of this challenge see *The Westminster Chronicle*, eds. Hector & Harvey, pp. 436-7. The document announcing the jousts is copied in The British Library, London, MS Lansdowne 285, ff.46v-47r; other copies exist in The Royal Armouries, Leeds, MS I-35, ff.8r-8v; The College of Arms, London, MS L19, ff.46v-47r. The contemporary narratives for this event are *The Brut*, or *the Chronicles of England*, ed. F.W.D. Brie (2 vols, EETS, London, 1906-1908), vol. 2 p. 343; *The Westminster Chronicle*, eds. Hector & Harvey, pp. 450-1; *Historia Vitae et Regni Ricardi Secundi*, ed. Stow, p. 132; Froissart, *Oeuvres*, vol. 14 pp. 253-64; *Chronique des Quatres Premiers Valois (1327-1393)*, ed. S. Luce (Paris, 1965), pp. 315-16. For the provisioning that preceded the jousts see *CPR, Richard II (1389-92)*, '<http://sdrclib.uiowa.edu/patentrolls/r2v4/body/Richard2vol4page0302.pdf>' (4 July 2013). For extensive discussion see Sheila Lindenbaum, 'The Smithfield Tournament of 1390', *Journal of Medieval and Renaissance Studies*, 20 (1990), 1-20.

²³ BL Lansdowne 285, ff.46v-47r. For a transcription of the copy in the Royal Armouries, TRA MS I-35, ff.8r-8v and secondary notes see Ralph Moffat, 'The Medieval Tournament: chivalry, heraldry and reality. An edition and analysis of three fifteenth century tournament manuscripts' (2 vols, unpublished PhD thesis, University of Leeds, 2010), vol. 1 pp. 117-119, vol. 2 pp. 64-72. On the identification of this document as pertaining to the jousts in October 1390 see Sydney Anglo, 'Financial and Heraldic Record of the English Tournament', *Journal of the Society of Archivists*, 2 (1962), pp. 183, 191; Sheila Lindenbaum, 'The Smithfield Tournament of 1390', *Journal of Medieval and Renaissance Studies*, 20 (1990), p. 5; G.A. Lester, *Sir John Paston's 'Grete Boke': a descriptive catalogue, with an introduction, of British Library MS Lansdowne 285* (Cambridge, 1984), pp. 142-44.

²⁴ BL MS Lansdowne 285, f.46v.

jousting would award prizes to the combatants including a greyhound, a golden horn, and a white girdle. In return, Richard II would award a brooch and golden ring with a diamond for the ladies ‘qui mieulx dansera ou qui menera plus joieux vie’.²⁵

The chronicle accounts of the event itself reflected this challenge, describing how the jousting was preceded by a procession of ladies leading knights on horseback with golden chains through London’s streets from the Tower to Smithfield.²⁶ These ladies then observed the jousts from stands around the combat area. These scaffolds had been supplied and erected under the supervision of Geoffrey Chaucer, as Clerk of the King’s Works, and the documents pertaining to their assembly explicitly stated that they were for a royal party composed of the king, the queen, and her ladies.²⁷ Three days of jousting and feasting followed, and the *Brut* described how the events were observed from the scaffolds by ‘alle maner of strayngers’, as well as Richard himself and large numbers of the English nobility.²⁸

Each of the narrative accounts for this event described the giving or awarding of prizes following the jousting. The *Brut* stated that these were given out by the king.²⁹ The narrative provided by Jean Froissart, the most detailed of the narratives for the encounter, stated that on the first day the prizes went to William Count of St Pol and the earl of Huntingdon, and on the second day to William Count of Ostrevant and Hugh Despenser.³⁰ Froissart was also the only narrator of

²⁵ BL MS Lansdowne 285, f.46v.

²⁶ For the route of this procession from the Tower via Knightrider’s Street and Creed Lane and out at Ludgate towards Smithfield see John Stow, *A Survey of London*, ed. C.L. Kingsford (Oxford, 1908), vol. 1 p. 245.

²⁷ The National Archives, Kew, E364/25C. For the debate regarding Chaucer’s revision of his *Knight’s Tale* after the event he assisted in organising in October 1390 see Johnstone Parr, ‘The Date and Revision of Chaucer’s *Knight’s Tale*’, *Publications of the Modern Language Association*, 60 (1945), 307-24, which built on arguments outlined in S. Robertson, ‘Elements of Realism in the *Knights Tale*’, *Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, 14 (1915), 226-55. For the converse argument see Robert A. Pratt, ‘Was Chaucer’s *Knight’s Tale* extensively revised after the middle of 1390?’, *PMLA* 63 vol. 2 (June 1948), 726-739.

²⁸ *The Brut*, ed. Brie, vol. 2 p. 343.

²⁹ *The Brut*, ed. Brie, vol. 2 p. 343.

³⁰ Froissart, *Oeuvres*, vol. 14 pp. 261-2. William III of Luxembourg (1358-1415) Count of St Pol and Ligny, held offices under Philip of Burgundy and John the Fearless’s regency. John Holland Earl of

this event to provide details regarding how the prizes for jousting were decided. He described how the prizes were judged by the ladies, lords and heralds who had been eagerly watching the jousting on each day.³¹ Finally, dancing and festivities marked each evening and culminated in dinners that Froissart stated were provided by both Richard II and John of Gaunt after the three days of combat were completed.³²

The above case study highlights the different roles that non-participants played at large-scale jousting events. The audience members, both male and female, were presented as observing the combat itself. In addition, women specifically were presented as enjoying a ceremonial role in the procession before the jousts began. They were also described as rewarding those who jousted most successfully, although the extent of their agency in actively deciding whom to award these prizes to is far less certain. Some of the roles at this festival were therefore enjoyed by both men and women; others were specific to female attendees only. This section will examine these two in turn, in order to assess the extent to which these roles influenced the combat, and how these different audiences might have influenced the narrative accounts of the event itself.

Even when we might expect women to be present at a formal combat, when one was held at court or in a major urban centre such as Paris or London for example, the emphasis on the composition of the audience could also be male-orientated. In 1383 Peter Courtenay (1349-1409), an Englishman knighted by the Black Prince before the Battle of Najera in 1367, travelled to Paris and challenged the Frenchman Guy de la Trémoille (1346-1397), a chamberlain of Philip the Bold

Huntingdon (circa 1352-1400), half brother of Richard II, was created knight of the Garter in 1381 and Lord Great Chamberlain for life in 1389. See M.M.N. Stansfield, 'Holland, John, first earl of Huntingdon and duke of Exeter (c.1352-1400)', *ODNB*, January 2008, '<http://www.oxforddnb.com.ezproxy.york.ac.uk/view/article/13529?docPos=1>' (29 May 2013). Hugh Despenser, son of Edward le Despenser and brother to Thomas Despenser first Earl of Gloucester. Hugh Despenser was not a knight of the Garter; however his brother Thomas was, so it could be that Froissart is mistaken in his identification of the Despenser brother who won the prize here.

³¹ Froissart, *Oeuvres*, vol. 14 p. 261.

³² Froissart, *Oeuvres*, vol. 14 pp. 261-3. Feasting during this event is also mentioned in the narrative provided in *The Brut*, ed. Brie, vol. 2 p. 343, although here the role of women at these festivities is not detailed.

Duke of Burgundy, to a joust.³³ Courtenay apparently asked permission from the king's council, and was refused. Ignoring this, Guy de la Trémoille answered that he would fight, and the two combatants prepared to fight in the field of St Martin, in the centre of Paris. When they were ready to fight, King Charles VI stepped in and forbade the contest to go any further. In the narrative attributed to Jean Juvénal des Ursins, women were not presented as attending this event at all. In fact, the narrative instead stated explicitly that the combat was fought 'en la presence du roy et des seigneurs'.³⁴ The *Chronographia Regum Francorum* also stated that the combat was fought in the presence of the king of France; again women were conspicuously absent from this narrative.³⁵ In the narratives for this event however, the role of women may have seemed of little importance given the presentation of royal authority that these narrators were perhaps trying to portray. If the motivation behind the presentation of the combats between Courtenay, Trémoille and Clary was not to show an ideal formal combat, but instead to draw attention to the need for royal authority and control over them, then the lack of women in the narratives is perhaps to be expected. The presence of the king was emphasised for the first combat because this stood in stark contrast to the lack of royal presence or approval in the second that Peter Courtenay fought in France in 1383, against the lord of Clary. As in the narratives for the combat in the mines during the siege of Melun in 1420 discussed above, it was the presence of the king and thus royal authority, or lack of it, that was the emphasis for this narrative. The motivations of the narrators here, to present case studies highlighting the role of royal authority at formal combats, did not necessitate the role of women; as such, their presence in the audience was not remarked upon.

Audiences at larger event, those held during peace time in centres such as London and Paris, were generally of a more diverse composition. Such audiences included (at different times) martial individuals, members of civic society, and political

³³ See *Foedera, conventiones, litterae, et cujuscunque generis acta publica*, ed. T. Rymer (20 vols, London, 1704-35), vol. 7 p. 580; Froissart, *Oeuvres*, vol. 14 pp. 43-55; Jean Juvénal des Ursins, 'Histoire de Charles VI', vol. 2 p. 368; Knighton, *Henry Knighton's Chronicle*, vol. 2 p. 260; *Chronographia Regum Francorum*, ed. H. Moranville (3 vols, Paris, 1891-1897), vol. 3 p. 54.

³⁴ 'in the presence of the king and lords', Jean Juvénal des Ursins, 'Histoire de Charles VI', vol. 2 p. 368.

³⁵ *Chronographia Regum Francorum*, ed. Moranville, vol. 3 p. 54.

attendees who were often invited by the organiser of the combat. The diversity of audiences expected to be present at formal combats was reflected in the specimen announcements for formal combats that were copied into heraldic document collections during the fifteenth century. In many of these, the announcement was made specifically to a range of individuals, not only men, but also women. In a late fifteenth century collection compiled by Gilles, the king of arms of the Emperor Maximilian, an announcement for a formal combat was entitled ‘la maniere de faire tournois et behours’.³⁶ The broad title perhaps suggested the inclusion of this document as a specimen or example text, indicating how such announcements should normally be composed. The cry for the tournament in this document was addressed to ‘treshaulz et trespuissans princes et princesses nobles seigneurs chevaliers escuiers dames et damoiselles’.³⁷

In addition to this projected attendance by both men and women in specimen announcements, narratives often also portrayed audiences as numerous and diverse. In a wider sense however, these events increased the opportunity for non-knightly groups, such as women, merchants, and the wider commons, to interact with formalised martial activities. The *Westminster Chronicle* recorded such an event at Smithfield in May 1390 as attended by ‘rex et regina, duces et ducisse, comites et comitisse, cum aliis Anglie nobilibus utriusque sexus ac popularibus infinitis’.³⁸ There are various potential reasons behind this depiction of audiences as diverse, which will be examined here. What unites them is the sense that an audience was presented as a collective witness. That is, they were narrated as numerous, diverse, and eagerly interested in the formal combat being undertaken in front of them because they played the role of initial level of witness to the event and any wider messages that event was intended to display. They were thus established as witnesses to specific messages, some of which were implicit, some of which were explicitly stated. In addition, the presentation of an audience at formal combats

³⁶ Bibliothèque Nationale de France, MS Fonds Français 1280, ff.123v-130v. For commentary and the identification of this manuscript see S. Anglo, ‘Anglo-Burgundian Feats of Arms: Smithfield, June 1467’, *The Guildhall Miscellany*, 2 no. 7 (1965), pp. 272-3.

³⁷ BNF MS Fr. 1280, ff.125r.

³⁸ ‘the king and queen, dukes and duchesses, earls and countesses, with the English nobility of both sexes, and the innumerable populace’, *The Westminster Chronicle*, ed. Hector & Harvey, pp. 432-33.

drew attention to the role of the audience of particular texts themselves. By presenting a formal combat as a popular and well-attended event, contemporary narrators were able to lay emphasis on the messages and details that this audience absorbed, thus drawing attention to the messages that a secondary audience, that of reader, were also meant to take away from the narrative.

The use of formal combats as events to display a certain specific message – either on the part of the organisers and participants or on the part of the narrators – is a theme that has been discussed previously in this thesis. In these events, the audience as spectators were intended to absorb often very visible messages. The jousting and festivities organised by Richard II at Smithfield in October 1390 were detailed as a case study earlier in this chapter.³⁹ This single event can be seen as evidence of increasing understanding of the relationships between social display, the crown, and wider society.⁴⁰ At this event, the royal court was presented as collective, cohesive, and powerful. Members of the court, those knights who participated in the combats and those women who led them through the streets of London, wore Richard's chivalric badge of the white hart, probably displaying it in public for the first time. The *Brut* narrated that the white hart badge decorated the knights' surcoats, armour, shields and horse trappers, and it noted that the ladies in the procession as well as the knights wore the white hart livery.⁴¹ The same white hart livery was later worn by knights on horseback, and

³⁹ The contemporary narratives for this event are *The Brut*, vol. 2 p. 343; *The Westminster Chronicle*, eds. Hector & Harvey, pp. 450-1; *Historia Vitae et Regni Ricardi Secundi*, ed. Stow, p. 132; Froissart, *Oeuvres*, vol. 14 pp. 253-64; *Chronique des Quatre Premiers Valois (1327-1393)*, ed. Luce, pp. 315-16. For the provisioning that preceded the jousts see *CPR, Richard II (1389-92)*, '<http://sdr.lib.uiowa.edu/patentrolls/r2v4/body/Richard2vol4page0302.pdf>' (5 July 2013). For extensive discussion see Lindenbaum, 'The Smithfield Tournament of 1390', 1-20.

⁴⁰ See for example C.M. Barron, 'Chivalry, Pageantry and Merchant Culture in Medieval London', in P. Coss & M. Keen (eds.), *Heraldry, Pageantry and Social Display in Medieval England* (Woodbridge, 2002), 219-242; James L. Gillespie, 'Richard II: chivalry and kingship', in James L. Gillespie (ed.), *The Age of Richard II* (Stroud, 1997), pp. 115, 129; R.H. Jones, *The Royal Policy of Richard II* (Oxford, 1968), p. 7.

⁴¹ *The Brut*, ed. Brie, vol. 2 p. 343. On the use of badges in general see Robert W. Jones, *Bloodied Banners. Martial Display on the Medieval Battlefield* (Woodbridge, 2010), p. 59.

the ladies leading them, at the procession preceding the jousts for Queen Isabella's coronation in January 1397.⁴²

This entire jousting festival was motivated, according to Froissart, by the ceremonial entry of French queen Isabeau of Bavaria into Paris in August 1389.⁴³ Richard thus decided to demonstrate that he could hold an event to rival even this in its pageantry and display. Richard employed various elements of the jousting and festivities at Paris in his Smithfield event. The use of his white hart badge, probably for the first time, at these jousts echoed the livery and the badge of the sun that Charles VI and his court had worn in Paris. Similarly, the knights that competed in these encounters were escorted into the jousting area by women leading them wearing matching gowns, again in a reflection of the events in Paris.⁴⁴ Froissart could well have presented these two courts as symbolic rivals at this time, due to Richard II's additional motivation behind the encounter: to attract the political allegiance of William Count of Ostrevant, who was later elected to the Order of the Garter at Windsor directly following the jousts at Smithfield.⁴⁵ In his narrative, Froissart presented a long debate between William, his father, and Charles VI of France over whether William should be permitted to

⁴² TNA E101/403/5. On Richard II's use of the white hart badge in general see Dillion Gordon, *Making and Meaning. The Wilton Dyptych* (London, 1993), pp. 49-50; Shelagh Mitchell, 'Richard II and the Broomcodd Collar: New Evidence from the Issue Rolls', in Chris Given-Wilson (ed.), *Fourteenth-Century England II* (Woodbridge, 2002), pp. 173-4. The white hart had various uses in Arthurian imagery, see Lucienne Carasso-Bulow, *The Merveilleux in Chrétien de Troyes' Romances* (Geneva, 1976), pp. 38-39. It had also been employed by Charles VI in his expedition to Flanders in 1382, see Froissart, *Oeuvres*, vol. 10 pp. 70-1; Robert W. Jones, *Bloodied Banners. Martial Display on the Medieval Battlefield* (Woodbridge, 2010), p. 59.

⁴³ Froissart, *Oeuvres*, vol. 14 p. 253. For narratives of the jousts in Paris see *Chronique du Religieux de Saint-Denis*, ed. Bellaguet, vol. 1 pp. 614-615; Froissart, *Oeuvres*, vol. 14 pp. 20-25; Jean Juvénal des Ursins, 'Histoire de Charles VI', pp. 367-368. On Isabeau's entry see Françoise Autrand, *Charles VI* (Paris, 1986), pp. 214-227; Évelyne van der Neste, *Tournois, joutes, pas d'armes dans les villes de Flandre a la fin du Moyen Age, 1300-1486* (Paris, 1996), p. 259.

⁴⁴ Froissart, *Oeuvres*, vol. 14 pp. 10-16.

⁴⁵ William II Count of Ostrevant (1365-1417) Count of Hainault and Holland and Duke of Bavaria 1404-1417, married in 1385 Margaret of Burgundy, daughter of Duke Philip of Burgundy. For the Garter ceremonies at Windsor following the Smithfield formal combat, and the election of William to the Order, see *Historia Vitae et Regni Ricardi Secundi*, ed. Stow, p. 131; Froissart, *Oeuvres*, vol. 14 p. 264. For the election of William to the Order of the Garter as the primary motivation behind these jousts see Hugh E.L. Collins, *The Order of the Garter 1348-1461: chivalry and politics in later Medieval England* (Oxford, 2000), pp. 166-67, 240.

join an order of chivalry belonging to another political authority.⁴⁶ His father strongly advised against it; Charles VI was presented as being deeply angered by it. Froissart's depiction of the Smithfield jousts as an echo of those events held a year earlier in Paris perhaps reflected the rivalry between the two authorities over the issue of William of Ostrevant's membership of chivalric orders. In presenting the two courts as competing via these events, Froissart was then able to more extensively depict Charles VI's anger at William's dissent: the chivalric rivalry over William's allegiance was echoed in the rivalry over the ceremony at these two events.⁴⁷

Historians have sought to examine whether ritual and pageantry reinforced community, or hierarchy, or both simultaneously.⁴⁸ In the case of events such as that at Smithfield in October 1390, formal combats and their associated pageants served to unite the attendant audiences behind their ruler. This reflected the findings of for example Peter Arnade, who has demonstrated that honour at the court of Burgundy in the later medieval period was affirmed not only by official appointments, but also by proximity to the duke, and the public recognition of that proximity at court.⁴⁹ The use of matching badges and royal insignia helped to create this sense of cohesiveness, but only if observed. This observation came from both those presented as being witness to the event directly, and those who heard or read of the event in the narrative accounts provided by contemporaries.

The use of badges to symbolise collective identity was not unique to this instance at Smithfield in 1390. At Isabeau's entry into Paris in 1389, the thirty participating knights entitled the 'chevalliers du Ray de Soleil d'or' arrived at the square at three o'clock in the afternoon, where the women and ladies had already

⁴⁶ Froissart, *Oeuvres*, vol. 14 pp. 253-64.

⁴⁷ For Charles' reaction to the news that William had joined the Garter, communicated by French knights who were at the Smithfield 1390 jousts, see Froissart, *Oeuvres*, vol. 14 p. 264.

⁴⁸ David Cannadine, 'Introduction: Divine Rites of Kings', in David Cannadine & Simon Price (eds.), *Rituals of Royalty. Power and Ceremonial in Traditional Societies* (Cambridge, 1987), p. 4.

⁴⁹ Peter Arnade, *Realms of Ritual. Burgundian Ceremony and Civic Life in Late Medieval Ghent* (Ithaca and London, 1996), p. 15.

been seated in stands surrounding the edges of the combat space.⁵⁰ Again, the sun was a badge that was also used by Richard II.⁵¹ The use of badges thus highlighted the collective identity of the court and those who enjoyed royal favour; it also played a divisive role in that for all those who wore the badge as a sign of royal collective identity, there were those who did not wear a badge to symbolise this community.⁵²

Heraldic devices and badges to demonstrate a collective identity were also used by those intending to participate in a formal combat, as a sign of their dedication. In order to publically identify that they were members of a dedicated combat team for example, the seven French challengers at Montendre declared in their challenge in 1398-1399 that they would wear a diamond until their English opponents came forward, as a public sign of their pledge to fight.⁵³ This public identity not only reflected the vow of martial individuals to undertake such deeds, it also acted as a public affirmation of their collective identity, cementing the bonds of community between these individuals.

It was the assertion of separation, of royal authority over a different community, that also added an additional layer to the messages conveyed to the audience at the Smithfield 1390 combats, by emphasising both the power and unity of the English court and also their authority over the people of London. The city had suffered public disputes between the drapers and the grocers for several years that had included street fights, running battles, and the burning of administrative texts.⁵⁴ By holding formal combats in view of many of the citizens of London,

⁵⁰ Froissart, *Oeuvres*, vol. 14 p. 20. On the sun badge as belonging to Charles VI see E. Taburet-Delahaye, *Paris 1400: les arts sous Charles VI* (Paris, 2004), pp. 378-79.

⁵¹ Mitchell, 'Richard II and the Broomcod Collar', pp. 173-4; Shelagh Mitchell, 'Richard II: Kingship and the Cult of Saints', in Dillian Gordon (ed.), *The Regal Image of Richard II and the Wilson Diptych* (London, 1997), pp. 118, 312 n. 39.

⁵² On the assertion of ritual as expression of status and social order see Gerd Althoff, 'The Variability of Rituals in the Middle Ages', in Gerd Althoff, Johannes Fried & Patrick J. Geary (eds.), *Medieval Concepts of the Past. Ritual, Memory, Historiography* (Cambridge, 2002), pp. 73-4.

⁵³ BL Add. MS 21357, ff. 1r-2r.

⁵⁴ The drapers were led by John of Northampton, and the grocers were led by Nicholas Brembre, and it was this public discord and hostility that led to King Richard's strong intervention in the affairs of the city in 1392. For details of this dispute, see Caroline M. Barron, 'London 1300-1540',

Richard could have hoped to assert strong royal authority in response to London's lack of order, a potentially dangerous lack of discipline in the country's capital for the king as well as for his image of regality.⁵⁵ The location of the event, at Smithfield to the north of London preceeded by a ceremonial procession through London's streets, also helped to establish Richard's authority over the city. Indeed, the desire to display strong court authority may have influenced Richard's decision to hold the event at Smithfield, so near London, when Windsor might have been more fitting given his later political election to the Order of the Garter. If the sole purpose of the occasion was to woo William Count of Ostrevant and Waleran de Luxembourg, Richard could have hosted this event at either Westminster or Windsor, locations without the interference and disruption of London and, in the case of Windsor, with direct links to the Order of the Garter to emphasise the chivalric elements of the enterprise.⁵⁶ Indeed it would have been possible for a large proportion of the politically-active London citizenry to be present at an event such as this. The population of London in 1370 has been estimated at 35,000, and Caroline Barron has shown that although in 1450 London had a population of approximately 40,000, only around 3,000 men of this population were citizens of the political community who could vote in civic elections or hold office in the city.⁵⁷ An event that played host to only a fraction of the population of London therefore had the potential to be highly politically beneficial, if the precise attendees were invited who held the most prestigious and influential positions within the city's elite.

As well as displaying public support for individuals and cohesive collective identities, the composition of audiences at these events was also an indication of public and civic defiance and lack of support. As such, the lack of an audience could say as much about the wider perceptions of a king's policies as the presence

in D.M. Palliser (ed.), *The Cambridge Urban History of Britain: 600-1540* (Cambridge, 2000), pp. 405-6.

⁵⁵ Caroline Barron, 'Richard II and London', in J.L. Gillespie (ed.), *Richard II the art of kingship* (Oxford, 1999), pp. 133, 144-5; Lindenbaum, 'The Smithfield Tournament of 1390', 1-21.

⁵⁶ Caroline Barron has in fact shown that Richard spent little time in London throughout his reign, and usually favoured Westminster: Barron, 'Richard II and London', pp. 130-31.

⁵⁷ J.C. Russell, *British Medieval Population* (Albuquerque, 1948), p. 285.

of an audience was able to. Froissart for example, reported that in 1399 Richard II, before June when his Irish campaign began, proclaimed jousts throughout England and Scotland to be held at Windsor, involving forty knights and forty squires, and with the queen in attendance.⁵⁸ However, very few barons and nobles apparently attended, and the more general populace were disinterested in the event. Froissart appeared shocked at this lack of interest, and accounted for the lack of public support by citing their disgust at the king for his banishment of Henry Bolingbroke, their dislike of Richard's treatment of Henry's children, and the suspicion that Richard had been complicit in the murder of Thomas of Woodstock Duke of Gloucester, Richard's own uncle, at Calais. Froissart did not explicitly accuse Richard of these crimes here. He did however clearly present Richard's declining popularity, and portrayed a general unease and distrust in the English monarch. It has been noted by George Stow that Froissart's support for Richard II dwindled at the end of the fourteenth century.⁵⁹ If this were the case, Froissart's depiction of this formal combat in 1399 as so poorly supported and attended would be further evidence that Froissart wished to portray a less-than-positive image of Richard.

Not all large-scale events were organised by princes however. In privately-organised events, there was also a strong emphasis on the visual symbols and messages that the audience was intended to absorb. Some formal combats were fought in disguise, with participants apparently keeping their identities hidden and assuming different guises in which to fight. This may seem problematic for representations of formal combats to spectators. If an individual was fighting in disguise, and no one knew who he really was, how could he hope to gain honour and renown through participation in front of an audience who could not know his identity? This issue in fact leads to dialogue regarding how these disguises were presented in narrative sources, and how the concept of being in disguise was regarded in the later medieval period.

⁵⁸ Froissart, *Oeuvres*, vol. 16 p. 151.

⁵⁹ George B. Stow, 'Richard II in Jean Froissart's *Chroniques*', *Journal of Medieval History*, 11 (1985), 333-45. This is also the view expressed in Nigel Saul, *Richard II* (New Haven & London, 1999), p. 447.

The largest-scale formal combat fought incognito during the period circa 1380-1440 was that undertaken by Richard Beauchamp Earl of Warwick (1382-1439) at Guînes near Calais in 1413.⁶⁰ From 6-8 January 1413, Beauchamp jousted on horseback against three French knights, each time disguising his identity. The identities of the other three knights were also apparently disguised, at least superficially, as they adopted pseudonyms and covered their faces. The first opponent was Gerald Herbaumes, who fought as the ‘chevalier rouge’.⁶¹ The second opponent was Hugh de Lannoy, the ‘chevalier blanche’.⁶² The third and final opponent was Colart de Fiennes, the ‘chevalier noir’.⁶³ Each day, Beauchamp covered his face to fight and fought under assumed arms.⁶⁴ On the first day, his horse was covered in the heraldic arms of Tosny of Flamstead; Alice Tosny and her husband Guy Beauchamp were Beauchamp’s ancestors.⁶⁵ On the second day, Beauchamp fought with the arms of Mauduit of Hanslope; again William Hanslope had been a distant relative of Beauchamp and a previous earl of Warwick.⁶⁶ On the final day, Beauchamp wore his own arms quartered with those of the previous encounters. In case any one was left in any doubt regarding the identity of the mysterious English knight, he also uncovered his face to reveal himself to the spectators and his opponents. It was only at a feast following the final day’s jousting, that Beauchamp revealed to the attendees that it had been he

⁶⁰ The narratives for this encounter are the *Beauchamp Pageant*, BL MS Cotton Julius E iv, ff. 13v-16r; the challenge is in BL Lansdowne MS 285, ff. 16r-16v. There is a later sixteenth-century copy of the text from Lansdowne in CA MS L5, f. 85v. The most recent edited edition of the text from the ‘Grete Boke’ is Yin Liu, ‘The Challenge of an Ancestor of the Earl of Warwick’: The Guînes *pas d’armes* of 1413’, *Opuscula*, 1 no. 4 (2011), 1-10. On Beauchamp see Christine Carpenter, ‘Beauchamp, Richard, thirteenth earl of Warwick (1382-1439)’, *ODNB*, September 2013, <http://www.oxforddnb.com.ezproxy.york.ac.uk/view/article/1838?docPos=1> (20 September 2013).

⁶¹ Gerald Herbaumes, governor of Coucy, died at Agincourt in 1415. See Monstrelet, *Chronique*, vol. 2 p. 304; vol. 3 p. 117.

⁶² Hugh de Lannoy, governor of Compiègne. He was captured at Agincourt but escaped during the night. See Comte Baudouin de Lannoy, *Hughes de Lannoy, le bon seigneur de Santes* (Brussels, 1957) *passim*; de Smedt, Raphaël, *Les Chevaliers de l’Ordre de la Toison d’or au XVe siècle* (Frankfurt am Main, 2000), p. 7.

⁶³ Colart de Fiennes, governor of the castle of Pierrefons, died at Agincourt 1415. Monstrelet, *Chronique*, vol. 2 p. 304; vol. 3 p. 117.

⁶⁴ On the theme of disguising oneself with assumed arms – usually of a fictional or imagined variety – see Crane, *The Performance of Self*, p. 129.

⁶⁵ Liu, ‘The Challenge of an Ancestor of the Earl of Warwick’, p. 4.

⁶⁶ Liu, ‘The Challenge of an Ancestor of the Earl of Warwick’, p. 5.

who had fought in all three of the jousting encounters. Fighting in disguise, with his identity apparently masked, was a concept that Beauchamp would employ again using similar disguises, at the Council of Constance in 1415.⁶⁷

It might be natural to assume that Beauchamp's disguises were meant to mask his identity, although in fact something more interested appeared to have been happening here. Both of the first two disguises, while not overtly identifying Beauchamp, were associated with him and his family. The third disguise featured his own arms. It is impossible to say with any certainty to what extent Beauchamp was successful in completely masking his identity, but it seems likely that some in the crowd would have recognised the significance of the arms that Beauchamp displayed, and guessed the identity of the man behind the armour. If this was the case, then perhaps combat in disguise did not preclude the acquisition of honour, or the expression of particular messages through display to an audience. If an audience was aware of an individual's identity despite a disguise – or even, in the case of Beauchamp, because a 'disguise' was so blatant as to in fact suggest the identity of the participant – then honour could still be assumed. What is more, rather than emphasising one's honour on an individual basis, by fighting in the arms of his family members Beauchamp was drawing attention to the honour accrued by his ancestors, as well as by himself.

In Beauchamp's choice of disguises, it is therefore possible to determine that in fact many observers of the formal combats at Guînes were probably well aware of who fought disguised on the first and second days of the encounter. The disguises chosen in fact reflect more on the ways in which this combat was remembered, particularly in the *Beauchamp Pageant* composed in the later fifteenth century for Beauchamp's ancestors.⁶⁸ Susan Crane has suggested that rather than masking identity, disguise draws attention to the individual and places emphasis on those aspects of that individual that the disguise highlights.⁶⁹ In romances from the twelfth century and in tournaments from the thirteenth century, disguise was a

⁶⁷ William Worcester, *Itineraries*, ed. & trans. John H. Harvey (Oxford, 1969), pp. 220-221.

⁶⁸ Liu, 'The Challenge of an Ancestor of the Earl of Warwick', p. 2.

⁶⁹ Crane, *The Performance of Self*, p. 132.

frequent strategy for presenting knights in ‘chivalric’ settings, in which attention was drawn as much to the wearer of a disguise, as it was to the cover itself.⁷⁰ Such disguise could be used to attract attention towards one’s identity, or aspects of that identity than an individual wished to emphasise.⁷¹ In Beauchamp’s disguise for this encounter in 1413, it is possible to see his disguise not necessarily as masking his identity to this audience, but on pulling their attention towards the Beauchamp ancestry and lineage, rather than allowing it to dwell on Richard Beauchamp himself as an individual. In the retellings of this narrative in the *Beauchamp Pageant*, again Beauchamp’s disguised combat served to highlight his family and ancestry, laying additional emphasis on these same issues for those for whom the text was composed.⁷² The *Pageant* was most likely to have been written in the 1480s, probably at the request of Richard Beauchamp’s daughter Anne. The *Pageant*’s emphasis on chivalric encounters, and the importance given to chivalric feats such as this in 1413, can therefore be seen as indicative of the concerns of future generations to present the deeds of their famous ancestors.

Of course, in drawing attention to his personal identity through the very disguise of that identity, Richard Beauchamp was also drawing the attention of the audience at Guînes towards the honour that he would accrue in performing these combats. The presentation of the acknowledgement of honour by the audience was often explicit. In 1387 a joust was held between William de Montferrant and Guy de la Rochefoucault.⁷³ Froissart described how the spectators around the

⁷⁰ On the presence of combat in disguise and incognito in romance literature, see for example the emphasis on combat in disguise in *Ipomadon*, discussed and analysed in J.A. Burrow, ‘The Uses of Incognito: *Ipomadon A*’, in Carol M. Meale (ed.), *Readings in Medieval English Romance* (Cambridge, 1994), 25-34; Susan Crane, *The Performance of Self. Ritual, Clothing, and Identity during the Hundred Years War* (Philadelphia, 2002), pp. 129-30.

⁷¹ Crane, *The Performance of Self*, p. 125. On disguise and identity more generally see Michel Stanesco, *Jeux d’Errance du Chevalier Medieval. Aspects ludiques de la fonction guerrière dans la littérature du moyen âge flamboyant* (Leiden, 1988), pp. 88-102.

⁷² The British Library, London, Cotton MS, Julius MS E iv art(6). The folios for this event are f. 28 (the delivery of the challenge from Richard Beauchamp to Charles VI of France), and ff. 29-31 (depictions and descriptions of the three days of jousting at Guînes). A copy of the challenge exists in The College of Arms, London, MS L5bis, ff.85v-87r. On the text see Fionn Pilbrow, ‘The Knights of the Bath: dubbing to knighthood in Lancastrian and Yorkist England’, in Peter Coss & Maurice Keen (eds.), *Heraldry, Pageantry and social display in medieval England* (Woodbridge, 2002), pp. 214-215.

⁷³ Froissart, *Oeuvres*, vol. 12 pp. 51-3. There are very brief comments on this encounter in Barber & Barker, *Tournaments*, p. 42; Barker, *Tournament in England*, p. 37. Guy VIII de la Rochefoucault,

combat – explicitly both ladies and knights - commented on the gallant performance of the participants.⁷⁴ Here Froissart went one step further than narrating that the spectators believed that the combatants had gained honour. He actually reported the words of the spectators, presented as direct quotations.⁷⁵ Whilst this presentation of direct dialogue raises issues concerning Froissart's depiction of truth and presented reality, it does highlight the desire of Froissart to depict audiences as acknowledging the honour and renown that can be gained through participation in formal combats.

In addition to this role as 'awarders' of honour, identifying it in formal combats, an audience must also then report that honour away from the honour-winning event.⁷⁶ This moves beyond the winning of honour for a specific deed, as discussed in the last chapter, and instead builds up the reputation and renown of an individual. As witnesses to the performance of an act meant to gain honour, the audience plays two fundamental roles. The first of these is to witness the honour-gaining event itself.⁷⁷ One's peers and community must view one's actions as honourable; otherwise they cannot grant the honour for performing the deed in question. Formal combats thus provided a forum in which this honour could be

Baron de la Rochefoucault, was the governor of l'Angoumois and a councillor and chamberlain to Charles V and Charles VI. William de Montferrand, the lord of Montferrand, was a partisan of the English.

⁷⁴ Froissart, *Oeuvres*, vol. 12 pp. 51-3.

⁷⁵ On Froissart's presentation on verbatim speech in his *Chroniques* see Stephen J. Nichols Jr., 'Discourse in Froissart's *Chroniques*', *Speculum*, 39 no. 2 (April 1964), 279-87. For Froissart's portrayal of fact and fiction more generally see Peter F. Ainsworth, *Jean Froissart and the Fabric of History: truth, myth, and fiction in the Chroniques* (Oxford, 1990).

⁷⁶ On the concept of wider reputation as built on honour see Michael Herzfeld, 'Honour and Shame: problems in the comparative analysis of moral systems', *Man*, 15 no. 2 (June 1980), p. 341.

⁷⁷ On the need for public recognition of honour see W.I. Miller 'Emotions, Honor, and the Affective Life of the Heroic', *Humiliation: And other essays on Honor, Social Discomfort, and Violence* (Ithaca, 1993), p. 116; Bernhard Sterchi, 'The Importance of Reputation in the theory and practice of Burgundian chivalry: Jean de Lannoy, the Croÿs, and the Order of the Golden Fleece', in J.D.B. D'Arcy & Jan R. Veenstra (eds.), *The Ideology of Burgundy: the promotion of national consciousness, 1364-1565* (Leiden, 2006), p. 99; Loretta Wasserman, 'Honour and Shame in 'Sir Gawain and the Green Knight'', in Larry D. Benson & John Leyerle (eds.), *Chivalric Literature: essays on relations between literature and life in the later Middle Ages* (Kalamazoo, 1980), p. 78; Unni Wikan, 'Shame and honour: a contestable pair', *Man*, 19 no.4 (Dec 1984), p. 638. On the related topic of public shame and the need to publicise shameful acts among the knightly community see Maurice Keen, *The Laws of War in the late Middle Ages* (London, 1965), p. 174; Paul Robinson, *Military Honour and the Conduct of War from Ancient Greece to Iraq* (Abingdon, 2006), p. 76.

attained, and then displayed in front of an individual's peers. Rather than relying on the personal estimation of worth, they allow an opportunity for honour to be claimed or asserted, and then crucially approved, or at least accepted by others. Of course, the duality of the audience in narratives that described formal combats also widened the audience that witnessed events that accrued honour, from simply those present at the event itself, to those who then read the narrative of that combat at a later date.

David Crouch has described the role of audiences, explicitly women, at formal combats as a kind of 'memory', their role being to observe and then communicate the events to a wider community.⁷⁸ This role of remembering formal combats, and the honour gained at them, and then transmitting that memory to a wider community is perhaps nowhere better exemplified than in the composition of narratives for formal combats themselves. In writing these narratives, medieval commentators hoped to communicate the honour and renown gained through participation at such events not only to reflect on individuals who had done so in the past, but also to encourage others to perform similar deeds in the future. Jean Froissart stated explicitly that he wrote his *Chroniques* in order to encourage others to follow the examples that he provided.⁷⁹ A similar sentiment was expressed in the chronicle of Enguerrand de Monstrelet.⁸⁰ By explicitly wishing to report these events, to remember them and to transmit them to a wider community, these

⁷⁸ David Crouch, *Tournament* (London, 2005), p. 157. On the role of women as collectors and transmitters of social memory more generally see E.M.C. van Houts, 'Introduction', in E.M.C. van Houts (ed.), *Medieval Memories: Men, Women and the Past, 700-1300* (London, 2001), 1-16.

⁷⁹ See Froissart's stated motivations in the prologue to his *Chroniques*: Froissart, *Oeuvres*, vol. 2 pp. 1-5. On Froissart's desire to transmit these deeds to posterity see Rosalind Brown-Grant, 'Narrative Style in Burgundian Chronicles of the later Middle Ages', *Viator*, 42 n. 2 (2011), p. 249; Peter Ainsworth, 'Configuring Transcience: patterns of transmission and transmissibility in the *Chroniques* (1395-1995)', in Donald Maddox & Sara Sturm-Maddox (eds.), *Froissart Across the Genres* (Gainesville, 1998), pp. 17-21; Peter F. Ainsworth, *Jean Froissart and the Fabric of History: truth, myth and fiction in the Chroniques* (Oxford, 1998), p. 73.

⁸⁰ See Monstrelet, *Chronique*, vol. 1 pp. 3-4; Brown-Grant, 'Narrative Style in Burgundian Chronicles of the later Middle Ages', p. 249. On Monstrelet's treatment of knights as exemplars more generally see Georges le Brusque, 'Chronicling the Hundred Years War in Burgundy and France in the Fifteenth Century', in Corinne Saunders, Françoise le Saux and Neil Thomas (eds.), *Writing War: medieval literary responses to warfare* (Cambridge, 2004), pp. 78-81; Georges le Brusque, 'From Agincourt (1415) to Fornovo (1495): aspects of the writing of warfare in French and Burgundian fifteenth century historiographical literature' (unpublished PhD thesis, University of London, 2001), pp. 35-40.

medieval narrators presented and facilitated a wider public recognition of the honour and renown gained through participation in formal combats.

In order to accrue honour from performing in a formal combat therefore, an audience had to be present in order to firstly recognise that honour, and secondly to broadcast and convey the honour gained by a specific individual throughout a wider societal group. As such, the audience of a formal combat moved from passively watching a combat, to instead a more active role as both granters of honour, and as the 'memory' of honour accrued at a particular event.

Mixed audiences therefore aided in the public display of honour and in the maintenance of reputation. There were ways however, in which specifically women present at a formal combat were used to enhance the reputation of an individual. This was through competition in order to gain honour and renown in the name of ladies, and the relationship between this desire to gain renown in the name of women and formal combats will now be explored. The reasons for the presentation of formal combats as motivated by women in this way most likely had their roots in romance literature and the models of courtly love and honour presented there.⁸¹ In the twelfth-century romance *Erec et Enide* composed by Chrétien de Troyes for example, the knight Maboagrain stated that 'N'est pas amis qui antresait tot le boen s'amie ne fait, sanz rien leissier et sanz faintise, s'il onques puet an nule guise'.⁸² In this way, women became providers of inspiration through their portrayal as encouraging a combination of erotic love and martial ambition in their associated men.⁸³

⁸¹ On the literary and romantic roots of this practice at formal combats see Barker, *The Tournament in England*, p. 103; Jean-Pierre Jourdan, 'Le langage amoureux dans le combat de chevalerie à la fin du Moyen Age (France, Bourgogne, Anjou)', *Le Moyen Age*, 99 (1983), 83-106; Maurice Keen, *Nobles, Knights, and Men-at-Arms in the Middle Ages* (London & Rio Grande, 1996), pp. 30-31.

⁸² 'He is no lover who does not unhesitatingly do whatever pleases his lady, neglecting nothing and unstintingly, if ever he can in any way', Chrétien de Troyes, *Erec and Enide*, ed. & tr. Carleton W. Carroll (New York & London, 1987), pp. 264-65 ll. 6013-16.

⁸³ For such a concept in *Erec and Enide* specifically see Michel-André Bossy, 'The Elaboration of Female Narrative Functions in *Erec et Enide*', in Keith Busby & Erik Kooper (eds.), *Courtly Literature: Culture and Context* (Dalfsen, 1990), 23-38.

The inspirational role of women in this way was reflected in the challenges composed for formal combats. These challenges were composed before the combats they related to took place. As discussed in the previous chapter, they reflected idealised conceptions of how such formal combats should be organised, reflecting romanticised, literary ideals of the interactions between martial male individuals and women. These documents often cited love as the motivation behind them, and ended with a courteous prayer that the God of Love would grant the correspondent the grace of his lady.⁸⁴

Such an idealised role of women as the motivators behind formal combats was also evident however in narrative accounts of actual formal combats themselves. Indeed, even in those formal combats held *à outrance*, love of women was ascribed as a motivation for the encounter. This was the case during a formal combat between several Portuguese men-at-arms and several Frenchmen in Paris in 1415. The work attributed to Jean Juvénal des Ursins ascribed a double motivation to this encounter: the love of women and animosity between the two groups due to the war with England.⁸⁵ Apparently for Jean Juvénal, these motivations were not mutually exclusive, but could coexist as projected motivations for a single encounter. Froissart occasionally went even further in his presentation of the love of women as motivating formal combats in the midst of martial situations. In the midst of the Spanish campaigns in the 1380s, he recorded how a joust between

⁸⁴ See for example BL MS Additional 21357, ff.1r-5r; BL MS Additional 21370, ff.1r-14r; CA MS L6, ff.141v-142r. On the symbolic language used in such documents see Jourdan, 'Le langage amoureux', p. 83.

⁸⁵ Jean Juvénal des Ursins, 'Histoire de Charles VI', vol. 2 pp. 503-4. The French participants were François de Grignols, chamberlain of Charles VI, captain and governor of La Rochelle until 25 October 1414, died at battle of Verneuil; Maurigon de Songnacq, Gascon esquire, died in the massacres in 1418; and either Archambaud de la Roque, Gascon esquire; or François de Rocque, Poitevin knight. See *Journal d'un Bourgeois de Paris*, ed. Tuetey, pp. 59-60 n. 4. The Portuguese participants were Alvaro Gonçalves Continge, Pedro Gonçalves de Malafaia, and Rui Mendes Cerveira an esquire, for details C.G. Riley & A.M. Rodrigues, 'Les joutes d'Alvaro Gonçalves Coutinho à Paris: une épisode portugais du conflit entre les maisons de Valois et de Bourgogne', *Théâtre et spectacle hier et aujourd'hui. Moyen Âge et Renaissance: Actes du 115e Congrès national des sociétés savants (Avignon 1990), section d'histoire médiévale et de philology* (Paris, 1991), 305-319.

John Holland and Reginald de Roie was motivated by the love of women and the desire to do them honour.⁸⁶

The above examples offer an idealised conception of the relationship between men and women, as presented in these representations of formal combats. The woman inspired men to perform great deeds to win her attention, and men willingly did so in order to win her love. The fact that this idealised relationship was presented in narratives of the formal combats themselves, and not only in challenges written to idealise the role of women before an encounter took place, indicated that there was an acknowledgement on the part of the narrative writers of the ideal inspirational role of women.⁸⁷ In these examples however, the women were presented as ultimately passive. Men desired to win their attentions, but they were essentially inactive. In fact, in the narratives for the formal combats in Spain in the 1380s and at Paris in 1415, women did not feature in the narratives of these combats at all. In such narratives, the romantic ideal of men performing for the attentions of women seem to have clouded any other motivations for the encounter. Such narratives appeared to give women authority, but it was seemingly in these cases an empty authority. The actions of the knights as participants in these formal combats may have had more to do with showing off to one another, and attempting to make themselves appear desirous to women, than actually performing in front of women themselves.⁸⁸

There was however an indication that female observers could occasionally have played a more active role. There was an expectation that the women in question bestowed their love on individuals that they had chosen, and that the women themselves had judged worthy. Some narratives took this one step further: they

⁸⁶ Froissart, *Oeuvres*, vol. 6 p. 60. For Renaud de Roie's safe conduct to participate in this encounter see *John of Gaunt's Register, 1379-83*, ed. E.C. Lodge & R. Somerville (2 vols, London, 1937), n. 1233; P.E. Russell, *The English Intervention in Spain and Portugal in the time of Edward III and Richard II* (Oxford, 1955), p. 483.

⁸⁷ Barker, *The Tournament in England*, p. 104.

⁸⁸ Ruth Mazo Karras, *From Boys to Men. Formations of Masculinity in Late Medieval Europe* (Philadelphia, 2003), p. 25; for a discussion of this posturing to women in literature see Sheila Fisher, 'Taken Men and Token Women in *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*', in Sheila Fisher & Janet E. Halley (eds.), *Seeking the Woman in Late Medieval and Renaissance Writings* (Knoxville, 1989), 81-105.

suggested that some women actively instructed their men to go and fight, to perform dangerous martial deeds. Sir Thomas Gray narrated for example that in 1319, a lady gave Sir William Marmion a helmet with a gilt crest, telling him to make it famous in the most dangerous part of Britain.⁸⁹ Marmion went up to Norham castle on the border with Scotland, and when a group of enemy knights appeared he charged – wearing the helmet – into battle, and was almost killed. Although the narrative of this story might have become embellished with time, it was Gray's own father who was the constable of Norham at the time.⁹⁰ A similar idea was presented in Charny's *Livre de la Chevalerie*, in which he described how some men-at-arms were fortunate enough that their ladies 'commandent que eulx aillent travailler et acquerir les biens et grans honnours la ou les bons les quierent; si les y font aler oultre ce que par avant n'en avoient et nulle volenté'.⁹¹ In these conceptions, women played a more active role than sitting by and observing men posturing to them. In these examples, women were portrayed as actively encouraging men to go and perform feats of arms. This goes one step further than the idea of romantic love of a woman encouraging men to perform such deeds; here women are described as actively encouraging men to do so.

Whether women played a passive role as silent motivators behind formal combats performed in their name, or instead played a more active role in encouraging their men to perform great deeds of arms, there is a sense of some reciprocity involved in the relationship between the love of women, and the martial performance of men. If women motivated (either silently or explicitly) men to perform great deeds on their behalf, the men did so in order to attract more love, and more honour, from their female counterparts. The role of women in relation to formal combats thus reflects observations made regarding the roles of men and women in relation to violence more generally: that there is a cyclical relationship involving prowess

⁸⁹ Thomas Gray, *Scalacronica*, ed. & tr. Herbert Maxwell (Edinburgh, 1907), pp. 61-2. On this see Andy King, 'A Helm with a Crest of Gold: the Order of Chivalry in Thomas Gray's *Scalacronica*', in Nigel Saul (ed.), *Fourteenth Century England I* (Woodbridge, 2000), 21-35.

⁹⁰ King, 'A Helm with a Crest of Gold: the Order of Chivalry in Thomas Gray's *Scalacronica*', p.21.

⁹¹ 'command them to set out and put all their efforts into winning renown and great honour where it is to be sought by valiant men; these ladies urge them on to reach beyond any of their earlier aspirations.', *The Book of Chivalry of Geoffroi de Charny*, eds. Kaeuper, & Kennedy, pp. 94-95; Keen, *Nobles, Knights, and Men-at-Arms*, pp. 36-7.

inspiring love, and love inspiring prowess.⁹² There are of course examples that seem to distort this cycle. In *Erec and Enide* for example, Chrétien de Troyes presented Erec as having been so absorbed in his new wife that he abandoned tournaments: ‘Mes tant l’ama Erec d’amors que d’armes mes ne li chaloit, ne a tornoiemant n’aloit. N’avoit mes soing de tornoier: a sa fame volt dosnoier, si an fist s’amie et sa drue’.⁹³ Although Enide did notice Erec’s lack of martial activity, and this concerned her, it was Erec who actively chose the romantic ideal over the martial.⁹⁴ It is this apparent conflict between love and honour that has led some to conclude that these two aspects worked against one another.⁹⁵ In this analysis, the love of women is presented as not always harmonious with those military duties that an armigerous individual was supposed to perform.

Women in a role that dissuaded men from undertaking martial endeavours were not presented frequently in the narratives of formal combats found in contemporary sources. When narratives did include an element of this, any negative connotations between women and formal combats tended to be drawn in narratives that associated formal combats with feasts and festivities at which the amorous atmosphere got out of hand. In his narrative of the jousts organised by Charles VI and his court in May 1389 at Saint-Denis near Paris, Michel Pintouin criticised the conduct of women at the associated feasts and festivities.⁹⁶ The monk praised the women who selected the winning knights, and was apparently more than happy to highlight their role in judging which men performed most successfully in the jousting.⁹⁷ He did not approve however, of the adulterous

⁹² Richard W. Kaeuper, *Chivalry and Violence in Medieval Europe* (Oxford, 1999), pp. 220-225.

⁹³ ‘But Erec was so in love with her that he cared no more for arms, nor did he go to tournaments. He no longer cared for tourneying; he wanted to enjoy his wife’s company, and he made her his lady and his mistress.’, Troyes, *Erec and Enide*, pp. 106-07 ll. 2396-2401.

⁹⁴ For Enide’s concerned response to Erec’s lack of martial activity see Troyes, *Erec and Enide*, pp. 108-15 ll. 2431-2545.

⁹⁵ Constance Brittain Bouchard, *Strong of Body, Brave and Noble: chivalry and society in medieval France* (Ithaca, 1998), pp. 114-5.

⁹⁶ *Chronique du Religieux de Saint-Denys*, ed. Bellaguet, vol. 1 pp. 594-99 for the narrative of the formal combats.

⁹⁷ *Chronique du Religieux de Saint-Denys*, ed. Bellaguet, vol. 1 pp. 596-7.

behaviour and general excess that was exhibited at the feast following the final day of jousts.⁹⁸

In the above analysis, women were presented as playing a mainly passive role as motivators behind formal combats, as men either fought to defend their honour (discussed in the last chapter), or fought to win their love. In some narratives of formal combats however, the presented role of women was more blatant, and more active. Narratives included descriptions of their active participation in ceremonies associated with formal combats, most notably in the awarding of prizes and occasionally in the judging of the formal combat itself. In a similar way to the evidence for the role of women as passive or active motivators behind men's martial deeds that was discussed above, although much evidence points to women as conforming to expected ceremonial roles as the silent presenters of gifts, occasionally narratives conferred a greater role on them, as actively deciding who they wished to award acclaim to.

The extent of the role of women in awarding prizes in formal combats was unclear. In their study of formal combats, Richard Barber and Juliet Barker stated that, in the complicated scoring for jousts or the confusion of a tournament, the ladies' role in judging the results must have been a ceremonial one, the real work being done by the officers responsible for organising the tournament or by the judges themselves.⁹⁹ Elsewhere, the role of women as prize givers has been downplayed, the emphasis instead being placed on the ritualised role that women played in relation to men in such events.¹⁰⁰ The depictions of women as either presenting gifts, or deciding who won them, were both likely to have their roots in the concept of gaining honour by performing great feats of arms for women. If gaining honour in the name of women mattered, which the analysis above suggests that it did, then being publically recognised by women would be even

⁹⁸ *Chronique du Religieux de Saint-Denys*, ed. Bellaguet, vol. 1 pp. 598-99. See also W.M. Ormrod, 'Knights of Venus', *Medium Aevum* 73 no.2 (2004), 290-305.

⁹⁹ Barber and Barker, *Tournaments*, pp. 206-7.

¹⁰⁰ Karras, *From Boys to Men*, pp. 48-9, Helmut Nickel, 'The Tournament: An Historical Sketch', in Howell Chickering & Thomas H. Seiler (eds.), *The Study of Chivalry: Resources and Approaches* (Kalamazoo, 1988), p. 238.

better. Women were presented as observers of the combat, and this observation led to the accumulation of honour by the participants, and meant that women were presented as bestowing prizes and gifts on those who participated. In this construct, the role of the women was centred on the role of the men; even when they were presented as adjudicating a formal combat, their role was rather to enhance the reputations of the men they awarded.¹⁰¹ The attention and the gaze of the women who observe, judge, and award prizes at formal combats has thus been interpreted as passive on their part.

Certainly, women did perform passive roles at formal combats even when their attendance was explicitly identified and remarked upon. The presentation of the mere presence of women at formal combats drew attention to their role as observed individuals, as subject to the gaze of others. Even when absolutely no active role was ascribed to them, their presence at formal combats was noted. In the new year of 1389, a series of mounted combats took place between five English knights and five Frenchmen in Bordeaux.¹⁰² Despite actually being present at these combats, Froissart's narrative of the event was brief, only stating that the ten combatants faced each other individually over a period of three days with lances, swords, axes and daggers. He did however state that the combats were fought in the presence of John of Gaunt, his wife Constance, and many ladies from France.¹⁰³ The role of these ladies was not explained, other than their simple presence at the combats. Similar large numbers of women were noted explicitly in narrative accounts for various other formal combats, including often those to celebrate weddings. In narratives of both the wedding of Richard II at Westminster in 1382, and of Charles Duke of Orléans to Marie of Cleves at St Omer in 1440, large numbers of ladies are explicitly stated as attending the

¹⁰¹ Karras has described how the very act of watching a knight at a formal combat dramatizes that individual and his masculinity, rather than expresses any agency on the part of the women, Karras, *From Boys to Men*, pp. 48-9; see also Louis Olga Fradenburg, *City, Marriage, Tournament: Arts of Rule in Late Medieval Scotland* (Madison, 1991), p. 212.

¹⁰² Froissart, *Oeuvres*, vol. 13 pp. 301-302; BL Add. MS 21370, ff. 2 et seq. There is a brief secondary reference to this combat in *The Westminster Chronicle*, eds. Hector & Harvey, p. 375 n. 5.

¹⁰³ Froissart, *Oeuvres*, vol. 13 pp. 301-302.

events.¹⁰⁴ Some narratives recorded how women were granted prizes for dancing or performing well. In the case study outlined earlier in this chapter, Richard II gave out prizes to those women who danced the best following the Smithfield jousts in October 1390. In such examples, women were not portrayed as individuals employing any active role, but as passive individuals who were observed and judged by outside agencies.¹⁰⁵

In these narratives, such women were obviously observed by the men participating in the events; they were also however observed by those reading the narratives of the events, and those relating the details to others. As such, these women were not portrayed as active in the event in any way, but rather as passive individuals. However, in assessing male-male interaction at formal combats Richard Zeikowitz has examined how the traditional dichotomy between active male observers and passive female observed becomes problematic when assessing male-male relations, and how the gaze of a male observer at a male participant during a martial event might in itself construe an act.¹⁰⁶ In this sense, the role of the women as observers may have contained more than simple posturing, but elements of some agency of their own.

In judicial combats, the role of women as judges was conspicuously absent. In those pertaining to judicial combats and duels, it perhaps unsurprising that the role of women as judges lacked any form of expression. Didactic and legal works on the issue made little mention of women in any sort of role at judicial combats. The *Livre du Seigneur de l'Isle-Adam pour gage de bataille* was composed by Jean de

¹⁰⁴ For Westminster 1382 see Walsingham, *The St Albans Chronicle*, vol. 1 pp. 576-77; *Chronicon Angliae*, ed. Thompson, pp. 332-333. For St Omer 1440 see Waurin, *Recueil des chroniques et anciennes istories de la Grant Bretagne*, vol. 4 pp. 301-2.

¹⁰⁵ Such a role would fit into traditional constructs of the passive female observed by the active male observer, as women are looked at and judged by a determining male gaze, for example Laura Mulvey, 'Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema', in Leo Braudy & Marshall Cohen (eds.), *Film Theory and Criticism: Introductory Readings* (New York, 1999), 833-44. For criticism of this view as too simplistic see Richard E. Zeikowitz, *Homoeroticism and Chivalry. Discourses of Male Same-Sex desire in the Fourteenth Century* (New York, 2003), p. 86.

¹⁰⁶ Zeikowitz, *Homoeroticism and Chivalry*, pp. 85-99. Similar problems in the active/male and passive/female construct are also discussed in Sarah Stanbury, 'Regimes of the Visual in Premodern England: Gaze, Body, and Chaucer's *Clerk's Tale*', *New Literary History*, 28 (1997), p. 266.

Villiers, seigneur de l'Isle-Adam, a counsellor and chamberlain of Duke Philip the Good of Burgundy (31 July 1396-15 June 1467) and a knight member of the Order of the Golden Fleece.¹⁰⁷ Jean de Villiers was intimately involved in the events that he described. He was a martially active knight, and was made marshal of France for the first time in June 1418, he was a founding member of the Order of the Golden Fleece, formed in January 1430, and in May 1432 John Duke of Bedford made him marshal of France once again.¹⁰⁸ Thus Villiers would have fulfilled an important role in the judicial combats that he described.¹⁰⁹ In his text, Villiers made no mention of the role of women, stating that authority lay solely with the constable and the marshal.¹¹⁰ The absence of women as judges in judicial duels was perhaps not surprising. The only such women who might be expected to have the authority to adjudicate such events would be those with royal authority, such as queens. The legal authority of queens to judge judicial duels was acknowledged by Honorat Bovet in his *Arbe de Bataille*. He opened his discussion on the rights of women – explicitly queens – to adjudicate formal combats by stating that women were excluded by custom law from the deeds of men, and that they were inferior to men and thus could not judge them.¹¹¹ Bovet went on to elaborate however, that ‘ce le roy ou le prince tel jugement li avoit commis, elle sanz doubte en pourroit bien juger’.¹¹² As such, Bovet’s concern was not necessarily with a woman judging at all, but rather that she had to acquire her authority to do so only from legitimate male authority, namely a king or prince.

¹⁰⁷ This work is printed in *Traité du Duel Judiciaire Relations de Pas d’Armes et Tournois*, ed. Bernard Prost (Paris, 1872), pp. 28-41. For the historical background of the text, see Georges Doutrepont, *La Littérature Française à la cour des Ducs de Bourgogne* (Geneva, 1970), p. 312; Sylvie Lefèvre, *Antoine de la Sale: la fabrique de l’oeuvre et de l’écrivain* (Geneva, 2006), p. 137. For biographical details for Jean de Villiers see Bertrand Schnerb, ‘Jean de Villiers, seigneur de L’Isle-Adam’, in Raphaël de Smedt (ed.), *Les Chevaliers de l’Ordre de la Toison d’or au XVe siècle* (Frankfurt am Main, 2000), 32-33.

¹⁰⁸ On Jean de Villiers career as marshal of France see Schnerb, ‘Jean de Villiers’, pp. 32-33.

¹⁰⁹ For the role of marshals in France see Maurice Keen, ‘The Jurisdiction and Origins of the Constable’s Court’, *Nobles, Knights and Men-at-Arms in the Middle Ages* (London, 1996), p. 147.

¹¹⁰ Villiers, ‘Livre du seigneur de l’Isle-Adam pour gaigne de bataille’, pp. 31-2.

¹¹¹ HBovet, *L’Arbe des Batailles d’Honorat Bovet*, vol. 2 p. 842.

¹¹² ‘if the king or the prince has delegated judgement to her she can without doubt judge’, Bovet, *L’Arbe des Batailles d’Honorat Bovet*, vol. 2 p. 842.

There was certainly evidence in narratives of non-judicial formal combats however, that women were at least presented in the roles of both judges and presenters of prizes. Their documented role presenting prizes at formal combats dates back to the thirteenth century at least.¹¹³ The practice continued into the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Froissart gave a long narrative of the entry of the French queen Isabeau into Paris in August 1389, including the form and activities surrounding not only the ceremonial entry, but also the associated jousts held the three days after the feast held in honour of Isabeau by Charles VI. The jousts themselves were to be held in the 'place de Sainte-Katherine', in the centre of the city. On the first day, thirty knights entitled the 'chevalliers du Ray de Soleil d'or' arrived at the square at three o'clock in the afternoon, where the women and ladies had already been seated in stands surrounding the edges of the combat space.¹¹⁴ Charles VI, equipped to joust, arrived and participated in the event.¹¹⁵ Before and after each day of jousting, large feasts were held for the ladies present. Froissart's emphasis was centred on the women attendees in his narratives for these festivities; he explicitly cited the presence of the king, Isabeau, and then ladies.¹¹⁶ On each day, women were presented as awarding prizes to the men who had jousting most successfully. In addition, Froissart stressed the role of women alongside heralds in deciding who should be awarded these prizes. On the first day, 'et eut le pris des joustes pour le mieulx joustant de tous et qui le plus avoit continué de ceulx de dehors, par l'assentement et jugement des dames et des hérauts, le roy de France'.¹¹⁷ Again on the second day of jousting, Froissart used the same phrase 'pas l'assentement et jugement des dames et des hérauts'.¹¹⁸

¹¹³ On women as presenting awards at formal combats generally see Barber & Barker, *Tournaments*, pp. 206-7; Barker, *The Tournament in England*, pp. 108-9; Crouch, *Tournament*, pp. 156-7.

¹¹⁴ Froissart, *Oeuvres*, vol. 14 p. 20.

¹¹⁵ Froissart, *Oeuvres*, vol. 14 p. 22. The participation of Charles VI as a king of France is unusual; French monarchs usually stopped participating in formal combats upon their coronation, but the insistence of Charles VI that he continued to participate in such events has been remarked upon in R.C. Famiglietti, *Royal Intrigue: crisis at the court of Charles VI, 1392-1420* (New York, 1986), p. 14.

¹¹⁶ See for example Froissart, *Oeuvres*, vol. 14 pp. 15, 22, 23.

¹¹⁷ 'and the prize for the best jouster amongst the defenders, by the assent and judgment of ladies and heralds, went to the king of France', Froissart, *Oeuvres*, vol. 14 pp. 22-23.

¹¹⁸ Froissart, *Oeuvres*, vol. 14 p. 23.

Here Froissart could certainly have been influenced by the depiction of women as awarders of prizes in literature. Catherine Blunk has demonstrated that in *Méliador*, a romance composed by Froissart, women played an active role in awarding prizes to jousters and tourneyers, when a falcon was presented as a prize.¹¹⁹ In some texts pertaining to formal combats, this role of women was presented as the ideal, the perfect way to complete a formal combat. In a fifteenth century collection of heraldic material, a copy of a proclamation for jousts to be held at Dijon stated that the ladies present would judge the best joustier at the event, and present him with a diamond that he in turn might present to his lady.¹²⁰ The presence of this document in a heraldic collection, the rest of which is mainly depictions of arms and heraldry from around Europe, perhaps indicated that it was included as a specimen document, intended to provide an exemplar for how heralds should look to compose such documents in future. Such is the conclusion drawn for the copy of the Smithfield 1390 announcement found in the *Paston Grete Boke*, and it would also seem to be possible here.¹²¹ Other announcements for formal combats included in heraldic collections and manuscripts ascribed a similar role to women, and were likewise potentially included in such collections in order to act as didactic or exemplary texts. One such document is the announcement for a combat held at Bruges between French and Flemish combatants.¹²² The announcement for this encounter specified that ladies would present a sword to

¹¹⁹ Jean Froissart, *Méliador*, ed. Auguste Longnon (3 vols, Paris, 1895-1899), vol. 2 pp. 114, 308. Blunk also comments on Froissart's pairing of women alongside heralds to make these decisions, Catherine R. Blunk, 'La Vois Des Hiraus: The Poetics of the Tournament in Late Medieval Chronicle and Romance' (unpublished PhD thesis, University of Wisconsin-Madison, 2008), p. 41. On the influence of romantic literature on Froissart's *Chroniques* in the context of *Méliador* specifically see Elspeth Kennedy, 'Theory and Practice: the portrayal of chivalry in the prose 'Lancelot', Geoffrey de Charny, and Froissart', in Donald Maddox & Sara Sturm-Maddox (eds.), *Froissart Across the Genres* (Gainesville, 1998), p. 180; Michel Zink, 'Froissart et la nuit du chasseur', *Poétique*, 2 (1980), 60-77. A falcon was also a prize in the jousts at Smithfield in 1390, described by Froissart, *Oeuvres*, vol. 14 p. 254.

¹²⁰ BNF MS Fr. 5228, ff.100v-101r. On the literary use of the diamond as a prize at formal combats see Richard Barber, 'Malory's *Le Morte Darthur* and Court Culture', in James P. Carley & Felicity Riddy (eds.), *Arthurian Literature XII* (Cambridge, 1993), pp. 150-51.

¹²¹ For this argument in relation to the *Paston Grete Boke* see G.A. Lester, *Sir John Paston's 'Grete Boke': a descriptive catalogue with an introduction, of British Library MS Lansdowne 285* (Cambridge, 1984), pp. 142-4; S. Anglo, 'Financial and Heraldic Records of the English Tournament', *Journal of the Society of Archivists* 5 no. 2 (April 1962), p. 191.

¹²² The announcement is in TRA MS I-35, ff.11r-12v; also BL MS Lansdowne 285, ff.44r-46r. There is a transcription of the Royal Armouries MS with some secondary notes in Moffat, 'The Medieval Tournament', pp. 114-117, 62-64.

the winner of the combat, but only after they had been advised of that winner by the heralds and judges present.¹²³ A similar muted role for women was presented in the treatise on tournaments composed by Antoine de la Sale. He described how women could decide who had won the prizes only at events featuring the lance, in other words at jousts; their role at other events featuring different weapons or forms of combat was explicitly limited to presenting the prizes only.¹²⁴

Although the role of women as presented in some contemporary narratives reflected those roles that women played in literature and romance, and were thus attempts to mirror literary models rather than to emphasise the roles of women explicitly, there were indications that the public roles of women in spectacles were increasing at the end of the fourteenth century. The increased participation of women in public spectacle was something that fitted into Richard II's wider policies regarding noble patronage, for example. He granted robes of the Garter to approximately thirty-six women during his reign – almost half the total number of women to have been granted the robes throughout the order's history.¹²⁵ His policies regarding women at chivalric events and in chivalric roles therefore seemed to be based on more than simple gesturing towards a chivalric idea of being generous to women in exchange for their devotion. Richard's policy of having women play more active roles in court spectacle was both a way of encouraging their husbands' future loyalty, and of further rewarding those who had been faithful to his cause.

Conclusion

The roles of the audiences at formal combats were therefore presented as diverse in contemporary literature, and highly dependent on the nature of the event being portrayed. The presence of an audience was often necessary for the motivations behind a formal combat to be fully realised. Whilst in the previous chapter,

¹²³ TRA MS I-35, f.12r.

¹²⁴ Lefevre, *Antoine de la Sale*, p. 317.

¹²⁵ J.L. Gillespie, 'Ladies of the Fraternity of Saint George and of the Society of the Garter', *Albion*, 17 (1985), 259-78.

honour and renown were explored as popular stated motivations for participation in formal combats, such honour could not be obtained in a vacuum if it was to have any bearing on renown. An audience was necessary for both the recognition and the dissemination of that renown to others in the community. This required the performance of formal combats in front of both women and men. The role of women in recognising honour, whilst heavily based in romantic literature, was nevertheless presented as crucially important in the conception of honour at formal combats. Alongside men, the presence of women was remarked upon as lending honour to an individual participant, and in addition both women and men were depicted as actively praising and awarding honour to participants.

As well as recognising honour, the audiences of formal combats were also expected to convey other messages that formal combats were designed to express. The display of unity through participation in formal combats, and the public display of chivalric badges for example, demonstrated the desire of both those who held formal combats, and those who narrated them, to express specific messages in their representations of these events.

The duality of audiences in narrative texts – at both formal combats themselves and as readers of the text – placed additional emphasis on the motivations of the narrator in portraying specific formal combats. Martial audiences constituted both the subjects and readers of narratives such as that of Jean Froissart. In presenting his narratives of formal combats therefore, Froissart was also seeking to appeal to the readers of his narrative. That readership was also intended to absorb messages regarding the conduct of the narrative's protagonists, as idealised actors whose actions should be emulated.

The evidence regarding how these later medieval formal combats were conducted tends therefore to suggest that they were not solely closed-off, segregated arenas for a small noble elite to entertain themselves away from the eyes of the wider population. Whilst direct participation at these events was restricted to those who could claim a certain social rank and martial ability, the audiences at such events were under no such restrictions, and these audiences played definable, invaluable

roles. Formal combat narratives stressed the presence of an audience as a collective witness to the events they described. The roles of these audiences, to report on the prestige of the event, to witness the grand spectacle and act accordingly, to understand the messages of chivalric as well as political and martial power, were as important to the individuals hosting these events as to the narrators recording them. Such events can only be fully understood therefore, by examining not only the participants, but also the audiences that witnessed them, and the messages that those audiences were intended to receive.

Conclusion

There can be little doubt that formal combats were important occasions in the lives of many martial individuals in the period studied in this thesis, circa 1380-1440. These individuals interacted with formal combats in three distinct ways: they organised these events themselves, both as specific occasions and through the compilation of more general regulations; they participated in formal combats directly; and they observed formal combats as an audience, both as attendees at the events and as audiences of narratives that were composed on specific combats. This thesis has examined how formal combats, far from being employed in a limited number of circumstances, occupied a broad range of spaces. They were not only held in many different situations, but those narrators who recorded accounts of these events also recognised that formal combats reflected a broad range of martial, political and social circumstances and influences.

Formal combats were certainly held in military contexts: they took place on military campaigns, in intervals between battles and after open hostilities had ceased. They also often held special political significance, providing forums for which contemporary narrators espoused a range of political motivations. These political motivations could be presented as antagonistic, as when French and English combatants fought one another in expressly hostile ways. They could also however be meant to unite individuals and political authorities by providing opportunities for public celebration, as when jousts were held for ambassadorial meetings and the visits of foreign dignitaries. Domestically, princes utilised formal combats to unite their nobilities into cohesive martial groups with strong social bonds. In their most elaborate forms, formal combats could also be held to celebrate social occasions, including marriages, by presenting events that encouraged noble unity and public expressions of collective identity.

As well as being held in a diverse range of circumstances, formal combats were presented as taking place in multiple contexts by those who narrated and recorded them. These narrators used broad terms, including ‘deeds of arms’, to suggest similarities in the ways that formal combats were understood in a number of

different situations. Under these broad terms, contemporary narratives described combats fought in the midst of open warfare, along military frontiers and borders, at court, and in urban centres. This frequent lack of distinct terminology forces the modern historian to rethink the careful delineation of formal combats into individual spaces. Instead, contemporary accounts of these events suggested that medieval narrators understood less of a clear conceptual difference between forms of formal combat than might be supposed today. Rather, they viewed each of these events as one shade on a much broader spectrum of interpersonal violence.

Of course, the existence of this spectrum presents historians with the need to ascertain how to delineate one form of violence from another. If battles, skirmishes, jousts, *mêlée* tournaments, and even *pas d'armes* each have a place on this spectrum of 'deeds of arms', how then can we differentiate between them in any meaningful way? This thesis has sought to distinguish between formal combats and other violent activities by examining the range of events that sought to regulate violence through pre-determined parameters. This formalisation of violence – through mutually agreed regulations, constraints, and accepted behaviours – imposed to a certain extent the distinction between formal combats and other forms of less regulated, more random violence.

The features of formal combats have been analysed here primarily through the use of several illustrative examples. The examples that are used in this thesis to illustrate arguments demonstrate the range of different forms of event that constituted formal combats. Other studies on jousting, deeds of arms and tournaments have used the general term 'tournament' in much the same way.¹ The term 'formal combats', employed solely in this thesis, is intended to generalise in a similar way, but also to highlight the similarities that medieval contemporaries perceived in these events as *faits d'armes*, as elucidated for example in the prologue

¹ For example Richard Barber, *The Knight and Chivalry* (London, 1970), p. 170; Richard W. Barber & Juliet R.V. Barker, *Tournaments: jousts, chivalry and pageants in the Middle Ages* (Woodbridge, 1989), p. 2; Sheila Lindenbaum, 'The Smithfield Tournament of 1390', *Journal of Medieval and Renaissance Studies*, 20 (1990), 1-21; M.G.A. Vale, *War and Chivalry: warfare and aristocratic culture in England, France and Burgundy at the end of the Middle Ages* (London, 1981), pp. 67-8.

to Jean Froissart's *Chroniques*.² This term itself was not used during the medieval period to identify these events, but was rather constructed for this thesis in order to refer to all kinds of tournaments, jousts, *pas d'armes* and other combats within a formalised setting, in order to avoid any potential confusion in generalisation.

The period studied in this thesis saw a number of important changes in the formats of different formal combats. The end of the fourteenth century and the beginning of the fifteenth century saw the emergence and development of the *pas d'armes*, with their strong theatrical elements.³ Although these were a continental phenomenon, largely contained to the Burgundian Low Countries, elements of their literary and theatrical elements were evident in formal combats elsewhere at this time. The elaborate challenges composed for the jousts in honour of Henry IV's daughter Blanche in 1401 for example, contained extravagant overtures from a range of fictitious and legendary figures.⁴ This period also saw the decline of the *mêlée* tournament and the rise of the individual joust - and the foot combat - as the preferred modes of formal combat for the nobility.⁵ In England, the last recorded *mêlée* combat was in February 1342 at Dunstable.⁶ In their place, individual jousts were popular and several were organised by the English kings. In France, the *mêlée* tournament had also declined into disuse by the end of the

² Jean Froissart, *Oeuvres*, ed. Kervyn de Lettenhove (25 vols, Brussels, 1867-1877), vol. 2 p. 1. In the second redaction to his prologue, this statement is extended to include 'honnourables emprises et nobles aventures et faits d'armes', Froissart, *Oeuvres*, vol. 2 p. 4.

³ For *pas d'armes* emerging in the fifteenth century see Barber, *The Knight and Chivalry*, pp. 193-201; Barber and Barker, *Tournaments*, p. 107; Maurice Keen, *Chivalry* (Nota Bene edn., New Haven & London, 1984), p. 201.

⁴ BL MS Cotton Nero D ii, ff. 260v-262r.

⁵ On the decline in frequency of *mêlée* tournaments at the end of the Middle Ages see Barber & Barker, *Tournaments*, p. 2; J.R.V. Barker, *The Tournament in England, 1100-1400* (Woodbridge, 1986), pp. 4, 13-16, 139-40; Torsten Hiltmann, 'Information et tradition textuelle. Les tournois et leur traitement dans les manuels des hérauts d'armes au XVe siècle', *Information et société en occident à la fin du moyen âge: actes du colloque international tenu à l'Université du Québec à Montréal et à l'Université d'Ottawa*, 9-11 mai 2002 (Paris, 2004), pp. 219, 221; Vale, *War and Chivalry*, p. 76; Juliet Vale, 'Violence and the Tournament', in Richard W. Kaeuper (ed.), *Violence in Medieval Society* (Woodbridge, 2000), p. 151.

⁶ Adam Murimuth, *Continuatio Chronicarum*, ed. E.M. Thompson (London, 1889), pp. 123-124; Crouch, *Tournament*, p. 130.

fourteenth century.⁷ The later fifteenth century saw attempts to reinvigorate the practice, with little apparent success. In his *Traictié de la forme et devis d'ung tournoy* written in 1460, René d'Anjou stated that he used three models for tournaments: German practices, those events current in Flanders and Brabant, and former events held in France.⁸ The form of combat that he then described was clearly a *mêlée*. He envisaged a tournament as being held on horseback, by a group of knights fighting simultaneously with a variety of weapons; he stated the form of the rebated sword, including the size, length and width of the blades, and the mace, that should be used in the tournament specifically in his text.⁹ In his work *Le traité des anciens et des nouveaux tournois* from 1459, Antoine de la Sale expressed a similar sentiment that models for *mêlée* combats were old by the mid-fifteenth century. La Sale stated that he had to rely on his memories of attending *tournois* as a young man in order to ascertain what was entailed in such an encounter.¹⁰

The period circa 1380–1440 was therefore an interesting period of transition in the forms of formal combats that the aristocracies of England and France engaged in. Whilst a statistical analysis of formal combats is limited due to the nature of the sources, several important conclusions are possible through qualitative analysis. The events that constituted formal combats were diverse. Some were planned over months, and involved elaborate and extensive displays of pageantry and celebration. Such large-scale events were often held in or near urban centres.

⁷ On this decline see William H. Jackson, 'Tournaments and the German Renovatio: Tournament Discipline and the Myth of Origins', in Sydney Anglo (ed.), *Chivalry in the Renaissance* (Woodbridge, 1990), pp. 90–91.

⁸ René d'Anjou, 'Traictié de la forme et devis d'ung tournoy', ed. Elizabeth Bennett, 1997, '<http://www.princeton.edu/~ezb/rene/renefran.html>' (3 February 2013). On the continuation of *mêlées* in the Low Countries into the mid-fifteenth century see Mario Damen, 'Tournament Culture in the Low Countries and England', in Hannah Skoda, Patrick Lantschner & R.L.J. Shaw (eds.), *Contact and Exchange in Later Medieval Europe: Essays in Honour of Malcolm Vale* (Woodbridge, 2012), 247–265.

⁹ 'Et en lui baillant une espée rabatue de quoy on tournoye...', 'and he [the prince] ought to give him a rebated sword such as is used in the tourney', René d'Anjou, 'Traictié de la forme et devis d'ung tournoy', ed. Elizabeth Bennett, 1997, '<http://www.princeton.edu/~ezb/rene/renefran.html>' (3 February 2013).

¹⁰ Sylvie Lefevre, *Antoine de la Sale. La fabrique de l'oeuvre et de l'écrivain* (Geneva, 2006), pp. 311–312. One of these *mêlées* was held in Bruges in 1409 for the marriage of Anthony of Burgundy (1384–1415), see Enguerrand de Monstrelet, *Chroniques d'Enguerrand de Monstrelet*, ed. L. Douët-d'Arcq (6 vols, Paris, 1857–62), vol. 2 pp. 32–33.

Such areas lent themselves to those events over which the prince or political authorities wished to maintain control. As such, many formal combats that were sponsored by princes were held in cities, including judicial combats and large-scale jousting festivals that often had political undertones. These urban formal combats were located at traditional and established sites, such as Smithfield just to the north of London. Such sites provided space for elaborate festivals, and also enabled large numbers of spectators to attend the event.

Other events were far smaller in scale, and involved substantially less preparation. Those held in the context of martial campaigns were often held in geographical boundary areas and near frontiers. The complex organisational system that was often involved in arranging the location for a formal combat suggests that a great deal of thought went in to where these combats were to be fought. Participants were willing to risk imprisonment, monetary extortion, and even death, by attending and participating in formal combats in territory held by foreign powers. These risks led to attempts by participants and attendees to protect themselves as much as possible, through the system of safe conducts and permissions to attend and participate in these events.

Previous historiography of formal combats has been dominated by traditionally chronological studies that have sought to establish narrative histories for formal combats over long time periods.¹¹ This thesis has approached the study of formal combats thematically, rather than chronologically, by identifying three central areas of investigation that this project has sought to address. The first of these aims was an examination of the relationship between formal combats and gender, through analysing the roles of both men and women at these events. The second area of investigation outlined in the introduction was violence: attitudes towards violence in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, and the ways in which different

¹¹ David Crouch, *Tournament* (London, 2005). On the subsequent history of the 'tournament' (or formal combat) in later centuries see for example Barber & Barker, *Tournaments*; Barker, *The Tournament in England*; Steve Muhlberger, *Deeds of Arms: formal combats in the late fourteenth century* (Highland Village, 2005); Sébastien Nadot, *Le Spectacle des joutes : sport et courtoisie à la fin du Moyen Âge* (Rennes, 2012); Sébastien Nadot, *Romppez les lances! Chevaliers et tournois au Moyen Âge* (Paris, 2010); E. Van der Neste, *Tournois, Joutes, Pas d'armes dans les villes de Flandre à la fin du Moyen Âge (1300-1486)* (Paris, 1996); the collection of essays in Josef Fleckenstein (ed.), *Das ritterliche turnier im mittelalter. Beiträge zu einer vergleichenden Formen und Verhaltensgeschichte des Ritterturns* (Göttingen, 1985).

authorities attempted to control and regulate expressions of violence in society. The third strand that runs throughout this thesis is the presentation of formal combats within contemporary narratives, and the place that such events held in the memories of those who participated, witnessed, described and heard about them.

The first strand of investigation undertaken in this thesis has been the role that formal combats played in the lives and identities of medieval men and women. Men organised, participated in, and observed formal combats; additionally men were the narrators who recorded these events. Women also acted as witnesses to formal combats: they attended and observed the events, and were sometimes presented as declaring the ‘winners’ of a combat and awarding prizes to those who had been particularly successful.

Formal combats have often been presented as training grounds for young esquires and knights to learn and to practise the skills of knighthood, and to assert their manliness from a young age.¹² It was certainly true that some men learned to joust and participated in formal combats in their youth. John Hastings Earl of Pembroke (1372-1390) for example, was practicing his skill in arms against John St John on 30 December 1389, when he was killed by a mis-judged thrust from his opponent.¹³ Pembroke’s youth and desire to practise jousting were explicitly emphasised in the narratives: the *Westminster Chronicle* described him as ‘juvenis’.¹⁴ These combats provided opportunities to learn and practise martial skills, through the use of weapons of war such as the sword and axe, in addition to the lance.

¹² Georges Duby, *The Chivalrous Society* ed. & tr. C. Postan (London, 1977), ch. 7; Ruth Mazo Karras, *From Boys to Men. Formations of Masculinity in Late Medieval Europe* (Philadelphia, 2003), pp. 23, 29; Nicholas Orme, *From Childhood to Chivalry. The Education of the English Kings and Aristocracy 1066-1530* (London & New York, 1984), pp. 189-90. On the ability of formal combats to strengthen military ability specifically see Christopher Fletcher, *Richard II. Manhood, Youth, and Politics 1377-99* (Oxford, 2008), pp. 28-33.

¹³ John Hastings was the fourteenth earl of Pembroke although only the third from the Hastings family to bear the title. Some biographical details for John Hastings can be found in *The Chronicle Maiora of Thomas Walsingham 1376-1422*, trans. David Preest (Woodbridge, 2005), p. 277. For the royal pardon issued to John St John by Richard II in 1391 for Pembroke’s death see *Calendar of Patent Rolls, Richard II (1389-1392)*, ‘<http://sdrc.lib.uiowa.edu/patentrolls/r2v4/body/Richard2vol4page0469.pdf>’ (28 May 2013).

¹⁴ *The Westminster Chronicle*, eds. Hector & Harvey, pp. 408-411.

By contrasting the actions of these young men with older participants in formal combats however, this study has demonstrated that participation was more nuanced. The career of John Holland (circa 1352-1400) emphasised that martial individuals of any age or experience could participate in formal combats. Holland was in his late thirties when he participated in the jousts at Saint Inglevert in 1390, as described by the chronicler Jean Froissart.¹⁵ Holland was thus not an inexperienced young knight or esquire seeking to make a martial name for himself by performing in these formal combats, as Froissart might have led his readers to believe.

The participants in these events were often experienced warriors who had previously fought in battles and on campaigns. Thus the manliness of these men and their place within their martial community did not need to be established through participation in formal combats. Instead, these events provided the opportunity to reassert martial prowess throughout an individual's martial career and as an additional way of testing ability and honour. As such, martial individuals such as Jean le Meingre participated in multiple formal combats after they had established their martial careers and achieved military fame. In addition, the constant reaffirmation of the martial skills and great deeds exhibited by such individuals in chivalric chronicles and biographies not only established their martial credentials, but also helped to constantly reaffirm the military prowess of these men.

Formal combats provided opportunities for martial individuals to both acquire and defend honour and reputation. Judicial duels in particular were often motivated by the necessity to defend honour, and the public defence of that honour gave opportunity to enhance one's reputation. The acquisition of honour at formal combats was not necessarily, however, a violent construct. Richard W.

¹⁵ Froissart, *Oeuvres*, vol. 14 pp. 108-9. For other narratives of Holland's participation at Saint Inglevert also see *Chronique du Religieux de Saint-Denis*, ed. & trans. Bellaguet, vol. 1 pp. 676-77; *Le livre des Fais du Bon Messire Jehan le Maingre, dit Boucicaut*, ed. Lalande, p. 667. John Holland was duke of Exeter and earl of Huntingdon, and half-brother to Richard II. He was a Knight of the Garter and made Lord Great Chamberlain for life in 1389. See M. M. N. Stansfield, 'Holland, John, first earl of Huntingdon and duke of Exeter (c.1352-1400)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Jan 2008, 'http://www.oxforddnb.com.ezproxy.york.ac.uk/view/article/13529' (16 March 2013).

Kaeuper has worked on the presentation of violence and attitudes towards violent conduct in the later medieval period, and has interpreted honour as a competitive construct, in that the desire to acquire honour created a medieval society that was violently competitive.¹⁶ Defeat is interpreted as shameful.¹⁷ Examples from the period examined in this thesis however, suggest that honour could also be gained through mere participation in formal combats, and that shame was not necessarily attributed to either party. Performing such deeds was in itself often enough to gain honour, through the witnessing of established honourable behaviour by a public group.

The recognition of honour and its effect on reputation demonstrated an important role for women at formal combats. Women often constituted a large portion of the audience at formal combats, both as observers of combat and as audiences of narrative accounts of certain events. Women were especially commonly present at those formal combats that took place at court, or in more elaborately formal settings. In the narratives of such events, the sources emphasised the acquisition and performance of honour not only in front of men, but also before women. The role of women in recognising honour, whilst heavily based in romantic literature, was nevertheless presented as crucially important in the conception of honour at formal combats. Alongside men, the presence of women was remarked upon as lending honour to an individual participant, and in addition both women and men were depicted as actively praising and awarding honour to participants.

Women therefore served as crucial witnesses to the transfers of honour that took place between men at formal combats, and as such their active roles in such events were implicitly linked to their roles as judges and prize givers. While there are some indications that women were permitted a level of autonomy when deciding the 'winners' of a formal combat, their role was still heavily influenced and

¹⁶ Richard W. Kaeuper, *Chivalry and Violence in Medieval Europe* (Oxford, 1999), pp. 149-155. This interpretation is echoed in for example J. Pitt-Rivers, 'Honour and Social Status', in J.G. Peristiany (ed.), *Honour and Shame: The Values of Mediterranean Society* (London, 1965), 22-73, especially pp. 21-9; Saul, *For Honour and Fame*, p. 187.

¹⁷ Ian William Miller, 'Emotions, Honor and the Affective Life of the Heroic', in Ian William Miller, *Humiliation and other essays on honor, social discomfort and violence* (Ithaca, 1993), p. 118.

prescribed by men. This continues the observations made by other historians elsewhere, who have suggested that the roles of women at such displays of violence were almost always passive.¹⁸ Although women were recorded in contemporary narratives as having judged male combatants, their autonomy in this regard was limited on two fronts. Firstly, they almost invariably had male judges alongside them, usually heralds or other appointed authorities such as experienced knights, who limited their authority. Secondly, women's evaluation of male performance was on terms established and upheld by men. The men were acting in competition with other men; the role of the women to establish any form of hierarchy between these individuals was purely based on the criteria established through male competition. In fact, the role of the women in such circumstances was not to identify those who had performed most admirably, but rather to add additional public honour to those on whom public recognition had already been conferred.

Contemporary narratives also presented women as motivators behind specific formal combats. These events could act as arenas in which men had the opportunity to defend the honour of women, either out of a conception of a chivalric ideal, or through the self-interest of men whose own honour was influenced by the honour of those women around them. Occasionally this defence of female honour was made very specific in narratives of formal combats, particularly those pertaining to judicial duels. Despite indications that more self-interested motivations may have influenced these encounters, contemporary narratives stressed that such events were intended to provide recourse for the defence of women's reputations. Elsewhere, narratives claimed that formal combats were undertaken through the desire of the male participants to earn praise and acclamation from women. This motivation was not solely confined to secondary narratives of these events, but was also frequently cited in challenges and invitations to combat. These documents, composed before the combats in question took place, indicated that adoration by women was an accepted and expected motivating factor in the performance of formal combats.

¹⁸ See for example Karras, *From Boys to Men*, pp. 48-49; Louis Olga Fradenburg, *City, Marriage, Tournament: Arts of Rule in Late Medieval Scotland* (Madison, 1991), p. 212.

This thesis has drawn comparisons between the regulation of formal combats and the approach of princes and other authorities to more general private violence. Formal combats reflected several important features of private violence. Knights and martial individuals, those who actively participated in formal combats, sought to reaffirm their ability to participate in such events. They achieved this through the composition of treatises that examined the form and organisation of formal combats, stressing not only their own role but also the role of the prince. In England, these large-scale events had become exclusively dependent on royal patronage by the end of the fourteenth century.¹⁹ In France however, private individuals continued to organise these events, such as the jousting at Saint Inglevert in 1390 organised by three French knights, Jean le Meingre, Renaud de Roie, and Jean de Sempy. Although the jousts at Saint Inglevert did have royal support, if not direct organisation, other events in France did not. Peter Courtenay and the lord of Clary took part in a formal combat near Calais in 1383, without Charles VI's permission; Clary found himself forced to go into hiding while his name was cleared. The approach of these martial individuals was often opposed to those opinions espoused by jurists and legal theorists, who instead stressed the role that royal authority played in the organisation of formal combats. Some of these legal authorities stated that formal combats were illegal, against the laws of the church as well as those of the state. Other theorists stated that formal combats were permissible, but only under direct royal authority and usually as a component in rigid judicial practice. As such, they attempted to assert their own legal authority over formal combats.

Unauthorised, private warfare undermined the authority of the prince, by accepting that an external party could wage war. In a similar way, formal combats that were not endorsed by a prince demonstrated that private authority could undermine princely power. Unsanctioned events could provide opportunities for the expression and extension of dissent within the nobility. Such events also made princely control of the political system appear weaker. The approach adopted towards formal combats by princes and royal authorities in light of these dangers,

¹⁹ Barber & Barker, *Tournaments*, p. 37; Damen, 'Tournament Culture', p. 253; C. Barron, 'Chivalry, Pageantry and Merchant Culture in Medieval London', in P. Coss & M.H. Keen (eds.), *Heraldry, Pageantry, and Social Display in Medieval England* (Woodbridge, 2002), p. 221.

in both England and France, was more nuanced than the two-tier approach described by some historians.²⁰ Rather than a two-pronged attempt to prohibit private formal combats and assert their own events, medieval monarchs also used a system of protections and permissions to ensure that they maintained authority even over those private events that were permitted. By employing this strategy, later medieval kings wished to not only assert their own chivalric, martial and political authority, but they also sought to outdo one another in their attempts to control formal combats. As such, princes were able to utilise formal combats to their own ends, whilst attempting to mitigate the harms that such events could cause. Many large-scale jousting events organised by princes were political to a certain extent, either through the desire to enhance great diplomatic occasions, or because they actually included specific comment on an international situation.

The third central strand examined in this thesis has been contemporary representation and memory. This area of investigation has been concerned with both the distance between the real and the imagined in contemporary narrative literature, and the ways in which genre affected how information was presented in these narratives.

The terminology used in modern studies of formal combats can mask the nuances of these events that were recorded in contemporary narratives. It is only through analysing this original terminology that modern historians can better understand the different forms of combat, how these interacted with one another, and how each was perceived by medieval contemporaries. The terminology employed by medieval narrators suggested that they understood a strong link between formal combats and broader forms of violence and warfare. Multiple forms of event on this spectrum of violence were identified as deeds of arms, suggesting that formal combats were not as segregated from warfare as may be presumed today. Narratives of military campaigns were interspersed with accounts of formal combats alongside and during periods of openly hostile action. In addition, formal

²⁰ See for example Barber & Barker, *Tournaments*, pp. 29-44; Barker, *The Tournament in England*, pp. 53-69; Maurice Keen, *Nobles, Knights and Men-at-Arms in the Middle Ages* (London & Rio Grande, 1996), pp. 84-88, 90, 94-5, 99. For this argument regarding formal combats in the central medieval period see Crouch, *Tournament*, p. 9.

combats were treated as legitimate tools of military and political policy in the same way that open warfare was.

This is not to deny the place of formal combats as sports, as pageants, and as expressions of celebration. By breaking down the barrier between those formal combats fought on a military campaign, and those more elaborate festivals, it is easier to understand these events as shades on a spectrum of martial activity that was understood by contemporaries to include a range of martial endeavours. As commentators such as Geoffroi de Charny suggested, jousts and other forms of formal combat were different from warfare, but only by degree.²¹ They were all expressions of martial activity, and all had an important place in the career of a martial individual. The roles of formal combats as both military tools and opportunities for display were not mutually exclusive, and it is only through acknowledging the role of formal combats as both that their place in medieval society might be more fully understood.

Medieval narratives recorded many formal combats that were held. They also neglected to record an unknown number. This provides an opportunity to explore not only why narrators chose to record formal combats at all, but also why they selected certain events over others to place in their narratives. They certainly wished to commemorate the deeds of important people and groups. This was not only evident in dedicated biographies of leading martial individuals, such as that of Jean le Meingre, but was also a crucial factor in the selection of formal combats by chivalric chroniclers such as Jean Froissart and Enguerrand de Monstrelet. The events that were selected for inclusion in contemporary narratives often held some additional importance, as political or social occasions due to the men who participated in them and attended them. As well as recognising honour, the audiences of formal combats were also expected to convey other messages that formal combats were designed to express. The display of unity through participation in formal combats, and the public display of chivalric badges for example, demonstrated the desires of both those who held formal combats, and

²¹ *The Book of Chivalry of Geoffroi de Charny: text, context and translation*, eds. Richard W. Kaeuper & Elspeth Kennedy (Philadelphia, 1996), pp. 86-7.

those who narrated them, to express specific messages in their representations of these events. Medieval narrators also chose certain events in order to encourage the emulation of such chivalric deeds in the future. Their narratives provided exemplars of how such events should be organised and undertaken in the future. Formal combats were often presented as both exemplary and didactic events that were used by medieval narrators to describe the actions of an idealised knighthood, and also to encourage others to behave in similar ways.

The place of formal combats as central events in the lives of the medieval nobility is an idea that has been carried down to the present. This is especially the case regarding the elaborate display that was involved in many formal combats, especially in the fifteenth century. These events, among the largest social gatherings of their day, have been remembered as primarily, perhaps even purely opportunities for excessive display. This perception of medieval formal combats has filtered down to the present day: re-enactments reflect the pageantry of some medieval occasions without – for obvious reasons – many of the inherent harms of the medieval practice. While this emphasis on spectacle and pageantry has affected how formal combats are perceived by the wider public today, it was perhaps in the Victorian era that the concept of an elaborate *mêlée* became synonymous with the popular image of all forms of formalised medieval combat.

The summer of 1839 saw one of the most lavish and ostentatious formal combats ever to be held on the British Isles. A huge festival of jousting was organised and hosted by Archibald William Montgomery Lord Eglinton, in the summer of 1839, and the event itself reflected many of the elements associated with the most ostentatious of the medieval jousting festivals and large-scale events.²² On a warm sunny day in mid-July, nineteen knights, in gleaming armour and riding horses clad in their riders' colours, broke lances against one another in lists four acres in size. Tiered benches along the sides of the jousting area were filled with four

²² Mary S. Millar, 'Montgomerie, Archibald William, thirteenth earl of Eglinton and first earl of Winton (1812–1861)', *ODNB*, 2004, <http://www.oxforddnb.com.ezproxy.york.ac.uk/view/article/19057?docPos=2> (August 11 2013). On the event itself see Ian Anstruther, *The Knight and the Umbrella. An account of the Eglinton Tournament 1839* (London, 1963), *passim*.

hundred spectators in medieval costumes that had been copied and painstakingly recreated directly from medieval paintings and illuminations. In addition to these seated audience members, an additional 2600 other observers crowded the sides of the lists. Preparations for this event had taken months, and had cost a small fortune. This spectacular pageant was only a rehearsal for the main event, a *mêlée* on an even larger scale five weeks later. This later event was in fact a complete washout, the knights barely able to charge their horses in the mud caused by near-continuous rain. This rehearsal itself however caused a public sensation; newspapers eagerly reported the breaking of each lance by the nineteen participating 'knights'.²³

The jousts at Eglinton described above were perhaps the most ostentatious and excessive manifestations of the medieval Gothic revival of the nineteenth century, visible in so many different forums from architecture to literature, that sought to reflect the medieval period as Victorian society perceived a past 'golden age' when society had been rigidly structured, men were faithful to their lords and their church, and England had basked in the glories of success and dominance abroad.²⁴ From the palace of Westminster and Horace Walpole's villa Strawberry Hill, to the publication of Walpole's opera *The Tournament* in the summer of 1837, Victorian society reveled in their perception of a spectacular, magnificent and basically mythical medieval world.²⁵ Within this model, there can be no doubt that

²³ Anstruther, *The Knight and the Umbrella*, pp. 161-3.

²⁴ Alice Chandler, *A Dream of Order: The Medieval Ideal in Nineteenth-Century English Literature* (Lincoln, 1970), pp. 1-11; Alice Chandler, 'Order and Disorder in the Medieval Revival', *Browning Institute Studies*, 8 (1980), 1-9; Walter Houghton, *The Victorian Frame of Mind, 1830-1870* (New Haven, 1957), pp. 325-31; Brian Stock, 'The Middle Ages as Subject and Object: Romantic Attitudes and Academic Medievalism', *New Literary History*, 5 no. 3 (Spring 1974), 527-547. An interpretation of Whig and Socialist use of the medieval period during the nineteenth century is posited in Rosemary Jann, 'Democratic Myths in Victorian Medievalism', *Browning Institute Studies*, 8 (1980), 129-149. For a contrasting piece regarding nineteenth- and early twentieth-century medievalism in Britain and the United States of America see Michael D. Clark, 'Ralph Adams Cram and the Americanization of the Middle Ages', *Journal of American Studies*, 23 no. 2 (August 1989), 195-213.

²⁵ Anstruther, *The Knight and the Umbrella*, p. 69-70; Paul Langford, 'Walpole, Horatio, fourth earl of Orford (1717-1797)', *ODNB*, May 2011, 'http://www.oxforddnb.com.ezproxy.york.ac.uk/view/article/28596?docPos=2' (12 August 2013); Clare A. Simmons, *Reversing the Conquest. History and Myth in Nineteenth-Century British Literature* (New Brunswick, 1990), pp. 43-4. For the influence of Lord Burghersh on the medieval revival during the nineteenth century see Anstruther, *The Knight and the Umbrella*, pp. 66, 117-9. Tournaments captured the Victorian imagination; in July 1837 rumours began circulating that

Victorian society saw such large scale jousting events as central in medieval spectacle and ceremony.²⁶ The long preparations and elaborate dress rehearsal for the event at Eglinton in 1839 reflected how the Victorians perceived such formal combats as a general group: elaborate, display-orientated pageants that had little to do with martial ability.²⁷ There is little doubt that some later medieval events were this grand. An onlooker at the jousting festival in Smithfield in 1390 for example, would undoubtedly have felt the same thrill at the splendor and excess exhibited by the English court, that the Victorian audience experienced in Scotland in 1839. Remembering formal combats as such elaborate events however, does them a disservice. Consistently associating jousting with such pageantry and social display, risks neglecting any other role of jousts and additional forms of formal combat as spaces for political or martial importance. They have been remembered as ostentatious displays and social festivals, but not as politically motivated or martially beneficial events. They continue to capture the public imagination as grand pageants, but as this thesis has explored, must also be examined as sites for interpersonal violence, as manifestations of political maneuvering, and as central events in the lives of martial individuals.

Queen Victoria wished to hold a tournament at Windsor that autumn, and that she would make the victor at such a tournament her prince: see Anstruther, *The Knight and the Umbrella*, p. 115.

²⁶ See for example the work of Lord Burghersh, the eldest son of the tenth earl of Westmorland, whose works demonstrated a keen interest in the general medieval age, but also the tournament itself. *Ivanhoe*, written in 1819, featured a description of a tournament at Ashby de la Zouche, and he also produced an opera entitled *The Tournament* in the summer of 1837, performed at St James' Theatre: see Anstruther, *The Knight and the Umbrella*, pp. 66, 117-9.

²⁷ 'Tournaments and jousts...[were] the appropriate sports and pastimes of a warlike era and caste...weapons were usually although not invariably rendered innocuous', *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (Ninth edition; Edinburgh, 1888), vol. 23 p. 489.

Appendix

Table of Events

This list includes those events fought between French and English individuals that are discussed in this thesis, in addition to other events in both England and France that are discussed elsewhere in this project.

* indicates challenges that were made between French and English individuals or groups, but that were not fulfilled in active combat.

Abbreviations Used in the Table Below

Chartier, <i>Histoire</i>	Jean Chartier, <i>Histoire de Charles VII</i> , ed. Vallet de Viriville (3 vols, Paris, 1858).
Chastellain, <i>Oeuvres</i>	Georges Chastellain, <i>Oeuvres de Georges Chastellain</i> , ed. Kervyn de Lettenhove (8 vols, Brussels, 1863-1866).
<i>Traïson et Mort</i>	<i>Chronique de la Traïson et Mort de Richart Deux Roy Dengleterre</i> , ed. B. William (London, 1846).
<i>Chronique des Valois</i>	<i>Chronique des quatre premiers Valois</i> , ed. S. Luce (Paris, 1862).
<i>Chronique du Religieux</i>	<i>Chronique du Religieux de Saint-Denys contenant le règne de Charles VI, de 1380 à 1422</i> , ed. & trans. L.F. Bellaguet (6 vols, Paris, 1839-1852).
<i>Chronographia Regum Francorum</i>	<i>Chronographia Regum Francorum</i> , ed. H. Moranville (3 vols, Paris, 1891-1897).

- Crónica* *Crónica de D. João I: 2a parte*, ed. M. Lopes de Almeda & A. de Magalhães Basto (Porto, 1949).
- Fénin, *Mémoires* Pierre de Fénin, *Mémoires de Pierre de Fenin*, ed. E. Dupont (Paris, 1837).
- Le Févre, *Chronique* Jean le Févre, *Chronique de Jean le Févre, seigneur de Saint-Remy*, ed. F. Morand (2 vols, Paris, 1876-1881).
- Foedera* *Foedera, conventiones, literae, et cujuscunque generis acta publica*, ed. T. Rymer (20 vols, London, 1704-35).
- Froissart, *Oeuvres* Jean Froissart, *Oeuvres*, ed. Kervyn de Lettenhove (25 vols, Brussels, 1867-1877).
- Gesta Henrici Quinti* *Gesta Henrici Quinti*, eds. F. Taylor & J. S. Roskell (Oxford, 1975).
- Vitae et Regni* *Historia Vitae et Regni Ricardi Secundi*, ed. G.B. Stow (Philadelphia, 1977).
- Gaunt's Register* *John of Gaunt's Register 1379-83*, eds. E.C. Lodge & R. Somerville (2 vols, London, 1937).
- Journal d'un Bourgeois* *Journal d'un Bourgeois de Paris sous Charles VI et Charles VII*, ed. André Mary (Paris, 1929).

- Saint-Inglebert poème 'Jouistes de Saint-Inglebert, 1389-1390: poème contemporaine', *Partie in édite des chroniques de Saine-Denis*, ed. J. Pichon (Paris, 1864), 59-78.
- Juvénal, 'Histoire' Jean Juvénal des Ursins, 'Histoire de Charles VI, Roy de France', *Novelle Collection des Mémoires pour server à l'Histoire de France depuis le XIIIe siècle jusqu'à la fin du XVIII siècle*, ed. J.F. Michaud & J.J.F. Poujoulat (32 vols, Paris, 1836-39).
- Knighton, *Chronicle* Henry Knighton, *Knighton's Chronicle, 1337-1396*, ed. G.H. Martin (Oxford, 1995).
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nomme Engleterre*, eds. William Hardy &
Edward L. C. P. Hardy (5 vols, New York,
1965).

Date	Location	Stated Occasion	Type of Combat / Weapons Used	References
1380	Westminster	Judicial duel	John Annesley against Thomas Catterton.	<i>Chronicon Angliae</i> , pp. 261-265; <i>CPR 1377-81</i> , p. 485; <i>Vitae et Regni</i> , pp. 58-59; Walsingham, <i>Chronica Maiora</i> , pp. 104-6; Walsingham, <i>St Albans Chronicle</i> , vol. 1 pp. 356-365.
1380	Toury and Marchenoir	For love of women	Combats with jousts, axes and daggers between Gauvain Micaile and Joachim Cator.	Froissart, <i>Oeuvres</i> , vol. 9 pp. 275-78.
1380/ 81	Vannes		A series of jousts between Lord de Vertain and Reginald Thouars; John d'Ambreticourt and Tristan de la Jaille; Edward Beauchamp and Clarius de Savoye; Clarius de Savoye and Jannequin Finchley; John de Chateumorand and Jannequin Clinton; John de Chateumorand and William Farrington.	Froissart, <i>Oeuvres</i> , vol. 9 pp. 323-30.
1380 (Nov)	Paris	Coronation of Charles VI	Jousts at the French court.	<i>Chronique du Religieux</i> , vol. 1 p. 35; <i>Chronographia Regum Francorum</i> , vol. 3 p. 1; Juvénal, 'Histoire', vol.

				2 p. 326.
1381	Vannes		Jousts between Jean Boucinel and Nicholas Clifford.	Froissart, <i>Oeuvres</i> , vol. 9 pp. 334-341.
1382	Scotland	Judicial duel	William de Carnaby against Robert Lowther.	<i>CPR 1381-1385</i> , p. 185.
1382	Westminster	Marriage of Richard II and Anne of Bohemia.	Jousts between English and Bavarian knights.	<i>Chronicon Angliae</i> pp. 332-333; Walsingham, <i>Chronica Maiora</i> , pp. 171-2; Walsingham, <i>St Albans Chronicle</i> , vol. 1 pp. 576-577.
1382	Badajos	Roye wished to display courage and gain renown.	Jousts between Miles Windsor and Tristan de Roye.	Froissart, <i>Oeuvres</i> , vol. 9 pp. 490-492.
1382 (Dec)	Westminster	Christmas celebrations	Jousts at the English court.	<i>Westminster Chronicle</i> , pp. 32-33.
1383	Paris	To demonstrate English knights' supremacy over the French.	Attempted jousts between Peter Courtenay and Guy de la Trémoille.	<i>Chronique du Religieux</i> , vol. 1 pp. 392-397 [dated it 1385]; <i>Chronographia Regum Francorum</i> , vol. 3 p. 54; <i>Foedera</i> , vol. 7 p. 580; Froissart, <i>Oeuvres</i> , vol. 14 pp. 43-50; Juvénal, 'Histoire', vol. 2 p. 354 [dated it 1386].
1383	Near Calais	Clary responded to Courtenay's	Jousts between Peter Courtenay and the Lord	<i>Chronique du Religieux</i> , vol. 1 pp. 396-398 [dated it 1385]; <i>Chronographia</i>

		insults of French knighthood.	of Clary.	<i>Regum Francorum</i> , vol. 3 pp. 55-56; Froissart, <i>Oeuvres</i> , vol. 14 pp. 50-55; Juvénal, 'Histoire', p. 354 [dated it 1386].
1383 (Dec)	Eltham	Christmas celebrations	Jousts at the English court.	<i>Westminster Chronicle</i> , pp. 56-57.
1384 (Nov)	Westminster	Judicial duel	John Walsh against Martlet de Villeneuve.	<i>Chronicon Angliae</i> , p. 361; Knighton, <i>Chronicle</i> , pp. 334-335; <i>Vitae et Regni</i> , p. 85; Walsingham, <i>Chronicon Maiora</i> , p. 219; Walsingham, <i>St Albans Chronicle</i> , vol. 1 pp. 732-733; <i>Westminster Chronicle</i> , pp. 104-107.
1385 (Feb)	Westminster Hall		Jousts at the English court.	Walsingham, <i>St Albans Chronicle</i> , vol. 1 p. 750; <i>Westminster Chronicle</i> , pp. 110-114.
1385 (Apr)	Cambrai	Marriage of William Count of Hainault and Margaret of Burgundy; and Jean of Burgundy and Margaret of Hainault.	Jousts between two teams of forty knights, one led by Charles VI.	BNF Coll. Bourg., vol. 26 f. 215r; Juvénal, 'Histoire', vol. 2 p. 350; <i>Chronique des Valois</i> , pp. 312-313.

1386	Picardy		Jousts between Jean le Meingre and Peter Courtenay.	<i>Livre des Fais</i> , pp. 52-60.
1386	Calais		Jousts between Jean le Meingre and Thomas Clifford.	<i>Livre des Fais</i> , pp. 52-60.
1386 (Mar)	Smithfield		Jousts by the English court.	<i>Westminster Chronicle</i> , pp.164-165.
1386 (Dec)	Paris	Judicial duel	Jacques le Gris against Jean de Carrouges.	<i>Chronique du Religieux</i> , vol. 1 pp. 462-467; <i>Chronographia Regum Francorum</i> , vol. 3 pp. 84-85; Froissart, <i>Oeuvres</i> , vol. 12 pp. 29-39.
* 1387	Orthez		Jean le Meingre planned a combat of 20 French knights against 20 English, but the plans were never enacted.	<i>Livre des Fais</i> , pp. 57-58.
1387	Bordeaux		Jousts between Guy de la Rochefoucault and William de Montferrant.	Froissart, <i>Oeuvres</i> , vol. 12 pp. 51-53.
1387	Oporto	Marriage of Philippa of Lancaster and João of Portugal.	Jousts between knights accompanying the English and Portuguese parties including John Holland and John d'Ambreticourt.	Froissart, <i>Oeuvres</i> , vol. 12 pp. 93-94.
1387	Entença		Jousts followed by combat with swords, axes	Froissart, <i>Oeuvres</i> , vol. 12 pp. 115-124; <i>Gaunt's</i>

			and daggers, between Renaud de Roye and John Holland.	<i>Register</i> no. 1233; <i>Crónica</i> , pp. 233-234.
1387	Benavente		Jousts between John of Gaunt's knights and Frenchmen under Pérez de Osorio, including John Mauburney against Robert de Braquemont.	Froissart, <i>Oeuvres</i> , vol. 6 pp. 22, 23-4; Walsingham <i>Historia Anglicana</i> , vol. 2 p. 193.
1387 (Aug)	Castille	Le Meingre had vowed to perform a combat.	Jousts between Jean le Meingre and the Seigneur de Châteauneuf.	<i>Livre des faits</i> , pp. 57-8.
1388	Montereau-sur-Yonne		Combats involving jousts, swords, axes and daggers between Thomas Harpurgen and John des Barres.	Froissart, <i>Oeuvres</i> , vol. 12 p. 59.
1388	Calais		Jousts between Four Frenchmen and four Englishmen including Peter Courtenay and John Beaumont.	<i>Foedera</i> , vol. 7 p. 580; Knighton, <i>Chronicle</i> , pp. 432-433.
1388 (May/ Jun)	Paris		Jousts at the French court.	BNF Coll. Bourg., vol. 21, ff.17v-18r & vol. 26 f.85r.
1388 (Dec)	Eltham	Christmas celebrations	Jousts at the English court.	<i>Westminster Chronicle</i> , pp. 374-377.
1389	Paris	Isabeau's entry into	Jousts between two teams, the 'knights of the	BNF MS Fr. 21809, f.1r; <i>Chronique du Religieux</i> , vol.

(Aug)		Paris.	Golden Sun', including Charles VI.	1 pp. 614-615; Froissart, <i>Oeuvres</i> , vol. 14 pp. 20-25; Juvénal, 'Histoire', pp. 367-8.
1389	Paris	Knighting of Louis and Charles d'Anjou.	Jousts at which twenty-two knights (including Renaud de Roye) held the field against all comers.	<i>Chronique du Religieux</i> , vol. 1 pp. 584-89, 594-599; Froissart, <i>Oeuvres</i> , vol. 14 pp. 10-16.
1389	Bordeaux		Combats involving jousts, swords, axes and daggers between five Frenchmen against five Englishmen from the household of John of Gaunt.	BL Add. MS 21370, ff.2r et seq.; Froissart, <i>Oeuvres</i> , vol. 13 pp. 301-302.
1389 (Dec)	Woodstock	Learning martial skills.	Jousts between John Hastings and John St John, at which Hastings is killed.	<i>CPR 1389-1392</i> , p. 469; <i>Vitae et Regni</i> p. 130; Walsingham, <i>Chronica Maiora</i> , p. 277; Walsingham, <i>St Albans Chronicle</i> , vol. 1 pp. 896-897; <i>Westminster Chronicle</i> , pp. 408-411.
1390 (Apr/ May)	Saint Inglevert	To gain honour.	Jousts between three French defenders, Jean le Meingre, Renaud de Roye, Jean de Saint-Py and all comers, most of whom were English.	BN MS Fr. 21809, ff.11r-15r; <i>Chronique du Religieux</i> , vol. 1 pp. 672-83; <i>Chroniques des Valois</i> , p. 315; <i>Chronographia Regum Francorum</i> , vol. 3 pp. 97-100 [dates 1389]; Froissart, <i>Oeuvres</i> , vol. 14 pp. 55-57, 106-47; Juvénal, 'Histoire', p.

				385; <i>Livre des Fais</i> , pp. 66-74; <i>Saint-Inglebert poème</i> ; <i>Westminster Chronicle</i> , pp. 430-431.
1390 (May)	Smithfield		Jousts at the English court.	<i>Westminster Chronicle</i> , pp. 432-433.
1390 (May)	Paris	Marriage of Jean de Montagu.	Jousts	<i>Chroniques des Valois</i> , p. 315; BNF MS Fr. 21809, ff. 95, 95.
1390 (Oct)	Smithfield		Jousts between English knights, possibly including Richard II and the knights of the Garter, and foreign knights including William Count of Ostrevant.	BL Lansdowne MS 285, ff. 46v-47r; <i>Brut</i> , vol. 2 pp. 343-44, 348; CA, MS L19, ff. 46v-47r; <i>Chroniques des Valois</i> , pp. 315-316; <i>CPR 1390</i> , p. 302; Froissart, <i>Oeuvres</i> , vol. 14 pp.253-64; TNA E159/167 m.19d; TRA, MS I-35, ff.8r-8v; <i>Vitae et Regni</i> , pp. 131-132; <i>Westminster Chronicle</i> , pp. 436-437, 450-451.
1394	Westminster		Jousts between twelve English nobles (dressed as monks) and all comers.	Walsingham, <i>St Albans Chronicle</i> , vol. 1 pp. 954-955.
1397 (Oct)	London		Jousts	<i>Chronographia Regum Francorum</i> , vol. 3 p. 145.
1398	Coventry	Judicial duel	Thomas Mowbray against Henry Bolingbroke, which was stopped by Richard II before the combat could	<i>Chronographia Regum Francorum</i> , vol. 3 pp. 147, 163-165; Usk, <i>Chronicle</i> , pp. 48-51; <i>Vitae et Regni</i> , pp. 148-150;

			begin.	Walsingham, <i>St Albans Chronicle</i> , vol. 2 pp. 108-109.
1399	Windsor		Jousts between forty English knights and esquires, and all comers.	Froissart, <i>Oeuvres</i> , vol. 16 p. 151.
1399	Calais		Jousts between Richard Beauchamp and Colard Fynes.	<i>Beauchamp Pageant</i> , p.16.
* 14??		Love of his lady.	John Hartwell (English esquire) challenged any French knight or esquire to perform arms.	BL Add. MS 21357, f. 5r.
* 140? (May)	Namur		Challenge to joust from John Edmont to Guillaume Bataille.	CA MS L 6, ff. 142v-145v.
c. 1400			John Cornwall challenged French knights to do arms.	BL Add. MS 21357, ff. 3r, 4r.
1400 (Jan)	Windsor	Assassination plot against Henry IV.	Jousts at the English court.	<i>Annales Ricardi Secundi</i> , p. 323; <i>Chronique de la Traïson et Mort</i> , p. 229; <i>Chronique du Religieux</i> , vol. 2 pp. 734-739; <i>Chronographia Regum Francorum</i> , vol. 3 pp. 178-179; Usk, <i>Chronicle</i> , pp. 86-89; <i>Vitae et Regni</i> , p. 169.

1400 (Feb)	Paris		Jousts at the French court.	<i>Chronique du Religieux</i> , vol. 2 p. 779.
1400 (Jul)	York		Jousts between John Cornwall, Janico Dartasso, and French and Italian knights.	<i>CPR 1399-1401</i> , pp. 352, 353, 355, 356; <i>Foedera</i> , vol. 8 p. 151; Walsingham, <i>St Albans Chronicle</i> , vol. 2 pp. 302-305.
* 1400 (Jul)		To gain renown.	Michel d'Oris challenges English knights and esquires to combat with axes, swords, daggers, and jousts.	Monstrelet, <i>Chroniques</i> , vol. 1 pp. 11-30.
1400 (Dec) – 1401 (Jan)	Eltham		Henry IV welcomes the Byzantine Emperod Manuel II Palaiologos.	<i>Vitae et Regni</i> , p. 169.
1401	Eltham	To honour Henry IV's daughter Blanche.	Jousts with allegorical challenges.	BL Arundel MS 33; BL Add. MS 34801, f. 36r; BL Cotton Nero D ii ff.260v-262r; Bodleian MS Douce 271, ff. 40v-47v.
1402 (Feb)	London	Coronation of Queen Joan.	Jousts by Richard Beauchamp against all comers.	<i>Beauchamp Pageant</i> , pp. 9-10.
1402 (May)	Montendre	Original challenge in 1398/1399 cited honour, but narratives cited	Combats on foot with spears and axes between seven Frenchmen - Arnaud Guilhelm Lord of Barbazan; Guillaume du Chastel; Pierre de Brébant; Guillaume	BL Add. MS 21357, ff.1r-2r; BNF MS Clairambault 901; <i>Chronique du Religieux</i> , vol. 3 pp. 30-35; Juvénal, 'Histoire', vol. 2 pp. 421-

		revenge for Bolingbroke's usurpation and treatment of Isabella of France.	Bataille; Archambaut de Villiers; Guillaume de la Champagne; Yvon de Karouys; and seven Englishmen - Robert Lord Scales; Jean Hilton; Richard Boswell (a Scot); Richard Scales an esquire; Aymond de Louy; Jean Fleury; Thomas Trays.	22.
* 1402 (Aug)	Near Angoulême or Bordeaux	To gain renown.	Louis Duke of Orléans and 100 French knights and esquires challenged Henry IV to combat with lances, axes, swords and daggers.	<i>Chronique du Religieux</i> , vol. 3 p. 61; <i>Chronographia Regum Francorum</i> , vol. 3 p. 229; Waurin, <i>Recueil</i> , vol. 2 p. 64.
* 1402 (Aug)		To gain renown.	Simultaneously to the challenge directed at Henry IV, Guillaume du Chastel challenged Henry Percy to join in the combat outlined in Orléans' challenge.	Monstrelet, <i>Chroniques</i> , vol. 1 pp. 43-67.
1402 (Sep)	Bordeaux		Jousts and sword combat between Jean de Werchin and John Zouche.	Monstrelet, <i>Chroniques</i> , vol. 1 pp. 76-80.
1402 (Oct)	Bordeaux		Jousts, sword and axe combats between Jean Werchin and Peterkin Lambert.	Monstrelet, <i>Chroniques</i> , vol. 1 pp. 79-80.

1402	Totehill	Judicial duel	John Bernard against William Balsshalf.	<i>CPR 1402</i> , pp. 99-100; <i>Foedera</i> , vol. 8 p. 262.
* 1405		Judicial duel	Constance of York against her brother Edward Duke of York.	Walsingham, <i>St Albans Chronicle</i> , vol. 2 pp. 430-433.
*1405	Paris	Royal prohibition issued against French nobles planning an event, including Jean de Garencières.	Jousts and deeds of arms.	<i>Ordonnances</i> , vol. 9 pp. 105-106.
1406 (Jun)	Compiègne	Marriage of Jean de Touraine Dauphin of France; and marriage of Charles Count of Angoulême.	Jousts	Monstrelet, <i>Chroniques</i> , vol. 1 pp.129-130.
*1406 (Jul)		The love of women, and to gain honour and renown.	Jean de Bourbon and Jean de Foix challenged Thomas of Lancaster to jousts.	BL Add. MS 18840, f. 1r-1v; BNF Fr. 1167, ff. 65r-66r; CA MS L 6, ff. 141v-142r.
1408 (Jun)	Nottingham	Judicial duel	John Bolemere against Bertrand Usana.	<i>Foedera</i> , vol. 8 p. 538.

1409	Paris		Combat involving thrown lances and swords between Guillaume de Bataille and Jean Carmien.	Monstrelet, <i>Chroniques</i> , vol. 2 pp. 5-7.
1409 (Jun)	Paris	To demonstrate prowess. Originally planned for Lille, Charles VI prohibits all similar combats in France.	Jousts and combats with axes and swords between Jean de Werchin and John Cornwall – originally intended to be fought in Lille in June 1409 but Charles VI called it to be performed in front of him in Paris. It was again cancelled and rearranged for Smithfield 1409.	BL Add. MS 21370; Monstrelet, <i>Chronique</i> , vol. 2 pp. 5-6; <i>Brut</i> , vol. 2 pp. 369-370; Waurin, <i>Recueil</i> , vol. 4 p. 132.
1409	Smithfield	Final answer to challenges originally sent out by Jean de Werchin in 1408, and prohibited combats in June 1409.	Jousts between teams of knights and esquires from Hainault, led by Jean de Werchin, and England, led by John Beaufort.	BL Add. MS 21370; <i>Brut</i> , vol. 2 pp. 369-370; E364/43m.1a; E101/473/16; E403/602.
1411 (Jun)	Paris St-Pol	Pentecost	Jousts involving thirty members of Charles VI's household.	BNF MS Fr. 21809, ff. 8, 21, 22, 23, 24, 28, 29, 31, 33, 35, 37, 39, 41, 43, 45, 47, 50, 51, 52.

1413 (Jan)	Guînes (near Calais)		Jousts and sword combats between Richard Beauchamp and Gerard Herbaumes, Hugh Lawney and Colard Fiennes.	<i>Beauchamp Pageant</i> , pp. 53-62; BL MS Cotton Julius E iv, ff. 13v-16r; BL Lansdowne MS 285, ff.16r-17v; CA L5 bis, ff.85v-87r.
1413 (Oct)	Paris St-Pol	Marriage of Louis of Bavaria.	Jousts at the French court.	<i>Chronique du Religieux</i> , vol. 4 p. 205; Monstrelet, <i>Chroniques</i> , vol. 2 pp. 407-408.
1414	Arras	During the siege of Arras.	Combat involving axes, swords and daggers between Charles of Artois and Thomas Montagu.	Le Fèvre, <i>Chronique</i> , vol. 1 pp. 177-178.
1415	Bar le Duc		Combats involving thrown lances, swords, axes and daggers between Alvaro Gonçalves Coutinho and Clugnet de Brabant.	Le Fèvre, <i>Chronique</i> , vol. 1 pp. 205-6.
1415	Paris		Combats involving axes, swords and daggers between Rumaindres (a Portuguese esquire) and Guillaume de Bars.	Le Fèvre, <i>Chronique</i> , vol 1 pp. 206-7.
1415	Eu		Jousts between Lancelot Pierres and an English esquire.	Le Fèvre, <i>Chronique</i> , vol. 1 pp. 231-232; Monstrelet, <i>Chroniques</i> , vol. 3 pp. 95-96; Waurin, <i>Recueil</i> , vol. 2 pp. 188-89.

1415 (Feb)	Paris	To honour the English ambassadors .	Jousts in which Charles VI, Anthony Duke of Brabant, Charles Duke of Orléans and Louis Dauphin of France and Duke of Guyenne participated.	<i>Chronique du Religieux</i> , vol. 5 pp. 408-409; Monstrelet, <i>Chroniques</i> , vol. 3 p. 60; Waurin, <i>Recieul</i> , vol. 2 pp. 170-71.
1415	St Ouen		Rui Mendes Cerveira, an esquire, fought with an axe against Guillaume du Bars.	Le Fèvre, <i>Chronique</i> , vol. 1 pp. 206-208.
1415 (Feb)	St Ouen		Combats involving axes, swords and daggers between three Portuguese – Pedro Gonçalves Malafaia, Alvaro Gonçalves Continge and Rui Mendes Cerveira an esquire, and three French – François de Grignols, Maurignon de Songnacq, and Archambaud/François de la Rocque.	<i>Chronique du Religieux</i> , vol. 5 pp. 410-415; Le Fèvre, <i>Chronique</i> , vol. 1 pp. 209-210; <i>Journal d'un Bourgeois</i> , pp. 59-60; Juvénal, 'Histoire', vol. 2 pp. 503-504; Monstrelet, <i>Chroniques</i> , vol. 3 pp. 61-62.
1415 (Feb)	Paris		Combats involving thrown lances, swords, axes and daggers between Diogo de Oliveira and Guillaume de la Haye.	Juvénal, 'Histoire'; <i>Chronique du Religieux</i> , vol. 5 pp. 410-413; Le Fèvre, <i>Chronique</i> , vol. 1 pp. 210-211.
*1415 (Sep)		To settle the war in	Henry V challenged Louis Dauphin of France and Duke of Guyenne.	<i>Gesta Henrici Quinti</i> , pp. 56-59.

		France.		
1416 (Jun)	Paris	The visit of an ambassador of the king of Hungary.	Jousts at the French court.	<i>Chronique du Religieux</i> , vol. 6 pp. 16-18.
1420	Melun	Siege tunnels.	Jousts between Arnaud Guilhelm de Barbazan and Henry V.	Juvénal, 'Histoire', vol. 2 pp. 558-559; Monstrelet, <i>Chroniques</i> , vol. 3 pp. 409-413; <i>Vita et Gesta</i> , pp. 279, 285, 286; Waurin, <i>Recueil</i> , vol. 2 p. 310-312.
1420 (Feb)	Troyes	Marriage of Henry V and Katherine of France.	Jousts	<i>Journal d'un Bourgeois</i> , p. 130.
1424	Paris	Marriage of Jean de la Trémoille and Jacqueline d'Amboise.	The first jousts of John Duke of Bedford.	Fénin, <i>Mémoires</i> , pp. 224-225; <i>Journal d'un Bourgeois</i> , p. 201; Waurin, <i>Recueil</i> , vol. 3 pp. 130-131.
*1425		To settle political disputes over Hainault.	Jousts and sword combats proposed by Philip the Good Duke of Burgundy between himself and Humphrey Duke of Gloucester.	Le Févre, <i>Chronique</i> , vol. 2 pp. 95-110; Waurin, <i>Recueil</i> , vol. 3 pp. 140-196.
1430	Arras		Jousts between five Frenchmen - Theolde de Valperghue, Poton de	Le Févre, <i>Chronique</i> , vol. 2

			Xaintrailles, Philip d'Abrecy, William des Bes, l'Estendart de Nully; and five Burgundians - Simon de Lalaing, Pierre de Bauffremont, John de Vulde, Nicolle de Menton, Philibert de Menton.	pp. 175-176.
1431	Paris St-Pol	Coronation of Henry VI.	Jousts	<i>Journal d'un Bourgeois</i> , p. 253; Monstrelet, <i>Chroniques</i> , vol. 2; Waurin, <i>Recueil</i> , vol. 4 p. 11.
1432	Sablé		Jousts between English and French knights.	Chartier, <i>Histoire</i> , vol. 1 pp. 149-150.
1435 (Aug)	Arras	Congress of Arras, ostensibly fought to gain honour.	Combats involving jousts, spears, and axes between Jean de Merlo and Pierre de Bauffremont.	Le Fèvre, <i>Chronique</i> , vol. 2 pp. 313-321; Monstrelet, <i>Chroniques</i> , vol. 5 pp. 138-43; Taverne, <i>Journal</i> , pp. 51-52; Waurin, <i>Recueil</i> , vol. 4 p. 79.
*1436			Humphrey Duke of Gloucester challenged Philip the Good Duke of Burgundy to a combat.	Waurin, <i>Recueil</i> , vol. 4 pp. 173-4.
1438 (Aug)	Paris	By mutual request.	Jousts between Piers de Masse and John Astley.	BL Lansdowne MS 285, f.15v; CA L9, ff.15v-16r.
1439	St Omer	Marriage of Charles Count of Charlois and	Jousts between Jean bastard of St Pol and	BL Add. MS 21370, ff.26r-27r; BNF MS Fr. 1167, ff.16, 19; Monstrelet, <i>Chroniques</i> ,

		Catherine of France.	Gontier de Guijada.	vol. 5 pp. 400-402; Waurin, <i>Recueil</i> , vol. 4 pp. 260-262.
1440 (Nov)	St Omer	Marriage of Charles of Orléans and Marie of Cleves.	Jousts	Monstrelet, <i>Chroniques</i> , vol. 5 p. 441; Waurin, <i>Chroniques</i> , vol. 4 pp. 301-302.
1442 (Jan)	Smithfield	Boyle swore to combat to serve his lord.	Combats involving jousts, swords and daggers between John Astley and Philip Boyle.	BL Lansdowne MS 285, ff.15r-15v; E101/571/40; E364/76 m.50 a & b.
1443 (Jul-Aug)	Dijon	<i>Pas de l'Arbre de Charlemagne</i>	Pierre de Bauffremont and twelve knights and squires against all comers, foot combat with axe or sword, or eleven courses of jousts.	Marche, <i>Mémoires</i> , vol. 1 pp. 282-334; Monstrelet, <i>Chronique</i> , vol. 6 pp. 68-73.

Abbreviations

BL	British Library, London
BNF	Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris
CA	College of Arms, London
<i>CCR</i>	<i>Calendar of Close Rolls</i>
<i>CPR</i>	<i>Calendar of Patent Rolls</i>
EETS	Early English Text Society
EHR	<i>The English Historical Review</i>
Fr.	Fonds Français
ODNB	<i>Oxford Dictionary of National Biography</i>
TNA	The National Archives, Kew, London
TRA	The Royal Armouries, Leeds

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| MS Fr. 1278 | Private testimonies of various chivalric spectacles. |
| MS Fr. 1280 | <i>La maniere de faire Tournois et Behours</i> [copy of Philip IV's 1306 regulations]. |
| MS Fr. 1968 | Proclamations for fifteenth-century jousts. |
| MS Fr. 3886 | Seventeenth-century compilation of private testimonies of chivalric spectacles, specifically for the <i>Pas de l'arbre de Charlemagne</i> , Dijon, July 1443. |
| MS Fr. 5228 | <i>Proclamations des tournois</i> . |
| MS Fr. 5867 | Description of marriage celebrations of Margaret of Anjou, 1445, including jousts at Nancy. |
| MS Fr. 16988 | Household accounts relating to the <i>Pas de l'arbre de Charlemagne</i> , Dijon, July 1443. |

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MS Douce 271 Jousting challenges in honour of Lady Blanche, 1401.

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Additional MS 24062	Correspondence between Guillaume de Chastel and Henry Percy on a formal combat (f. 140v).
Additional MS 28549	French language copy of Gloucester's Rules.
Additional MS 30663	Correspondence between Henry IV of England and Louis Duke of Orléans on a formal combat (ff. 281r-286r).
Additional MS 33735	Copy of Gloucester's Rules for single combat.
Additional MS 34801	Selection of documents relating to jousts and other formal combats.
Additional MS 34801	Challenges for the wedding of Blanche in 1401.
Arundel MS 33	Thirteen letters under fanciful names for the wedding of Blanche in 1401.
Ashmole MS 764	<i>La facon des criz de tournois et des joustes</i> [copy of Philip IV's 1306 regulations].

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L 6 f. 138r	Series of fifteenth-century challenges to formal combats.
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L19 ff. 46r-47r	Announcement of the jousts at Smithfield in 1390.
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