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ROSALIND BROWN-GRANT, MARIO DAMEN AND CATHERINE BLUNK



## INTRODUCTION: *PAS D'ARMES* AND LATE MEDIEVAL CHIVALRY

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In the early fifteenth century, a new type of tournament appeared in Western Europe: the *pas d'armes* (English: 'passage of arms').<sup>1</sup> This highly ritualised form of chivalric competition and elite entertainment probably originated in the Iberian Peninsula and soon became popular, spreading to Anjou, the Burgundian lands and France, and even reaching Savoy and Scotland. It involved a knight (or group of knights) issuing a challenge to all comers, provided they were of noble birth, who wished to fight him (or them) using lances, swords or pollaxes. These combats, which were usually fought between individuals, on foot or on horseback, but sometimes between groups of knights, took place within a theatrical framework incorporating literary and historical motifs drawn from chivalric and courtly literature. In turn, these actual *pas d'armes* could also inspire fictional narratives that often included such events in their accounts of a hero's ascent from promising young squire to experienced knight who performed marvellous feats of arms, both in the tilting yard and on the field of battle.

Although *pas d'armes* are familiar to historians of chivalry, there is no specialist publication in English that discusses this type of chivalric event in depth, apart from a chapter in a general book on jousts and tournaments by Richard Barber and Juliet Barker.<sup>2</sup> Moreover, even when the primary sources (whether narrative accounts or administrative documents) that recount these tournaments have been published, they are generally only available in their original language and in nineteenth-century editions that lack a modern scholarly apparatus. This Casebook on the *pas d'armes* thus has two main aims: on the one hand, it seeks to provide greater access to many of the narrative, financial and pictorial sources concerning such events; on the other, it attempts to demonstrate how these sources can be used to develop scholarly debates on the *pas d'armes* in new directions. Before outlining the structure of this volume and the various research tools offered by the scholarly project of which it is a part, it is first necessary to give a definition of the *pas d'armes*, to identify its origins, to establish the narrative and administrative sources available for these chivalric events and to explain how scholars from different disciplines have previously approached this kind of tournament.

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<sup>1</sup> In many of the narrative accounts of these events, this term is often shortened to *pas*, particularly in their titles, such as the *Pas du Perron Fée* (Bruges, 1463); however, the longer formulation *pas des armes* is also found in some late fifteenth- and early sixteenth-century French examples, such as the *Pas des armes de Sandricourt* (1493).

<sup>2</sup> Richard Barber and Juliet Barker, *Tournaments: Jousts, Chivalry and Pageants in the Middle Ages* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1989), pp. 107–38.

DEFINING THE *PAS D'ARMES*

In order to situate the *pas d'armes* as a particular type of knightly combat within the broader context of late medieval chivalric culture, some definitions of more general terms relating to this field are indispensable. Thus, 'tournament' is used here to mean the overarching class of martial and chivalric events organised and performed by the noble elites of Europe in the late Middle Ages, just as the expression *fait d'armes* (feat of arms) was employed by contemporaries as an umbrella term that could refer to several different types of combat. More specifically, the original 'mêlée-tournament', from the late eleventh century onwards, was, in the words of David Crouch, 'a mock battle involving hundreds and sometimes thousands of knights fighting over a very large area', whereas jousts were 'individual fights on horseback in a confined space'.<sup>3</sup>

A *pas d'armes* was understood by contemporary audiences and participants to be a specific form of *emprise*: that is, a chivalric exploit undertaken by a knight or squire who was therefore deemed to be its *entrepreneur*. An *emprise* involved committing oneself to performing different types of combat, either mounted, such as jousting with lances on horseback, or on foot using weapons such as swords or pollaxes, against one or more opponents. At the same time, the term *emprise* could also be used to refer to a physical object such as a bracelet, cuff or shackle — often presented as a token of the *entrepreneur's* devotion to his lady — which he wore and which challengers had to touch as a sign of their wish to do combat with him; the final removal of this object literally and figuratively released the *entrepreneur* from his *emprise*.<sup>4</sup> Before the *pas* was held, the *entrepreneur* would issue a set of rules governing the way in which his *emprise* was to be fought, which were often referred to as *articles* or *chapitres* (chapters of arms). These rules specified the type of harness and saddle to be used, the kinds of weapon permitted (sharpened or rebated), the number of courses with the lance to be run or blows with swords or pollaxes to be exchanged, etc. The rules were then publicised by heralds within one or several territories, whilst the *entrepreneur* would travel from court to court in search of knights and squires who would take up his challenge.

If a *pas d'armes* is an *emprise* in the general sense given above, an *emprise* is not always a *pas d'armes*. One particular feature of the *pas* is that the *entrepreneur* sets himself up as the defender of a specific place and so his challengers travel to fight him. The term *pas* thus specifically refers to a 'passage', such as a crossroads or a river crossing, or a symbolic object such as a *perron* (often in the form of a large stone or a column), which was to be defended against all comers. Such 'passages' could be located in the countryside, outside a castle or in an urban market square.

Another important feature of a *pas d'armes* that characterises it as such is its fictional underpinning. This was often described in detail in a letter of challenge or declaration in which the *entrepreneur*, who could be referred to by his real name or by an incognito (for example, the 'Wild Knight' or the 'Knight of the Golden Tree'), explained his reasons for organising the *pas*, which could be his devotion to a particular lady or his commitment to some specific cause, such as defending the Church. The literary associations of the *pas* could also be accentuated by its physical setting, which, in addition to a set of lists for the combats and stands for the judges and high-ranking spectators, could also include an

<sup>3</sup> David Crouch, *Tournament* (London: Hambledon, 2006), p. 1. See also below, p. 4, and the Glossary.

<sup>4</sup> For a contemporary example of the expression 'touching the *emprise*', see MT, pp. 32–3.

elaborate ephemeral architecture and *mise en scène*. Thus, objects such as an arch, a *perron* or a tree might have coloured shields hanging from them so as to indicate the different types of combat to be fought and which competitors, or heralds acting on their behalf, had to touch to show their acceptance of the challenge. These objects, and/or a pavilion or a fountain often adorned with statues, might be guarded by an officer of arms, a dwarf, a giant or a ‘Wild Man’, by artificial beasts, such as griffins, or even by real animals, such as lions.

Whilst some *pas d’armes* were staged as part of a much larger programme of festivities in celebration of a particular occasion, such as a wedding, a baptism or a Joyous Entry, even those held as standalone events often featured elaborate dinners and were accompanied by dramatised entertainments known as *entremets*, both between and after the combats. Finally, although some *entrepreneurs of pas d’armes* faced their challengers alone, others were aided in combat by another knight or squire or were effectively the captains of whole teams of defenders.

When and where did this ritualised form of tournament originate and why did it prove to be so appealing, with nearly forty such events having been attested in late medieval Europe?

#### ORIGINS OF THE *PAS D’ARMES*

The antecedents of the *pas* were both literary and historical. The term *pas* may have come from a legend attached to the Third Crusade (1189–92) about how the French king, Philippe Auguste, with a group of twelve knights that included the English king, Richard I, succeeded in defending a narrow passage or *pas* near Jerusalem against the great Muslim leader, Saladin. This legend was written up in a thirteenth-century text called the *Pas Saladin*.<sup>5</sup> That this text was familiar to audiences in later medieval France can be seen from Jean Froissart’s account of the Joyous Entry of Queen Isabeau of Bavaria into Paris in 1389, in which the chronicler describes the battle of the *Pas* being recreated as an ‘esbatement’ (entertainment) along the procession route that the queen would follow.<sup>6</sup>

Arthurian romances, such as those composed by the late twelfth-century writer Chrétien de Troyes and his thirteenth-century continuators, which featured knights such as Lancelot fighting at a bridge, also inspired historical *pas d’armes*, as did non-Arthurian romances whose heroes were pseudo-historical figures such as the late fourteenth- or early fifteenth-century Galician knight Ponthus, who defends a fountain.<sup>7</sup> Other popular literary motifs on which historical *pas d’armes* drew for inspiration include the shepherds and shepherdesses of the pastoral genre and the gods and goddesses of the allegorical genre, with the latter being particularly influential in the early sixteenth century.<sup>8</sup> In

<sup>5</sup> See Anna Maria Finoli, ‘Le Pas Saladin: de Jaffa aux côtes de l’Angleterre’, in *Quant l’ung amy pour l’autre veille: Mélanges de moyen français offerts à Claude Thiry*, ed. by Tania Van Hemelryck and Maria Colombo Timelli (Turnhout: Brepols, 2008), pp. 113–21; and Sébastien Nadot, *Le Spectacle des joutes: Sport et courtoisie à la fin du Moyen Âge* (Rennes: Presses Universitaires de Rennes, 2012), pp. 12–14.

<sup>6</sup> See the Online Froissart <<https://www.dhi.ac.uk/onlinefroissart>> [accessed 6 June 2024] (following London, BL, Harley 4379–4380, fol. 6r).

<sup>7</sup> See PS; and for a translation of this text, see Source 1.

<sup>8</sup> Whilst the Angevin *Pas de la Bergère* (Tarascon, 1449) exemplifies the former genre (see Source 6), the Savoyard *Pas* of Carignano (1504) exemplifies the latter (see Source 15).

turn, texts such as Antoine de La Sale's *Jean de Saintré* (1456), which present their heroes organising a *pas*, modelled themselves closely on the way actual *pas d'armes* wrote up the different phases before, during and after the combats, and so added further to this stock of literary examples.<sup>9</sup>

In terms of historical antecedents, if the heyday of the *pas d'armes* was undoubtedly the mid- to late fifteenth century, it nonetheless evolved out of pre-existing forms of medieval tournament. The first tournaments held in the twelfth century consisted of a *mêlée* or pitched battle fought between teams, which might be preceded by an hour or two of preliminary jousts. *Mêlées* were conducted over a large area, such as a field without any enclosures, using a range of weapons that included sharpened swords, lances, maces and knives, with knights fighting on horseback or on foot as they would in times of war.<sup>10</sup>

It was not until the second decade of the thirteenth century that jousting became more popular than the *mêlée*,<sup>11</sup> which led to a new form of tournament known as a Round Table. First appearing in Cyprus but spreading to Austria, England and France by 1240,<sup>12</sup> Round Tables consisted solely of jousting, usually with rebated weapons. Being somewhat safer than *mêlées*, they were not generally subject to religious or royal prohibitions against tournaments. An individual knight in a joust or a one-to-one combat was much simpler to identify than one who was involved in a distant *mêlée*, thus making it easier to recognise individual prowess, especially as heraldic markers such as personalised coats of arms and crests were becoming more commonplace in this period.<sup>13</sup> Entertainments outside the lists, such as singing and dancing, also featured at these events.

As their name suggests, a particular hallmark of Round Tables was that their participants often adopted the identity and coats of arms of Arthurian knights, as was the case at the tournaments held in Le Hem (1278) and Chauvency (1285) in northern France.<sup>14</sup> Whilst *pas d'armes* would likewise be inspired by Arthurian literary motifs and would adopt the Round Table's model of a tree or a *perron* to which the shields of the combatants were attached, they differ from the Round Table, whose competitors could select both the role they wished to play — that of defender or challenger — and the number of courses they wanted to run during the jousts. Moreover, unlike the *pas d'armes*, the emphasis during the Round Table was on the combatants' performance as teams rather than as individuals.<sup>15</sup> Whilst the role-playing and pageantry typical of Round Tables became a prominent characteristic of English tournaments by the middle of the fourteenth century,<sup>16</sup> the

<sup>9</sup> See Michelle Szkilnik, *Jean de Saintré: une carrière chevaleresque au XV<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Geneva: Droz, 2003).

<sup>10</sup> Crouch, *Tournament*, pp. 78–9.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 116.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 117.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 119–20.

<sup>14</sup> See Nigel Bryant, trans., *The Tournaments at Le Hem and Chauvency*. Sarrasin, *The Romance of Le Hem*, Jacques Bretel, *The Tournament at Chauvency* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2020).

<sup>15</sup> Malcolm Vale, 'Le tournoi dans la France du Nord, l'Angleterre et les Pays-Bas (1280–1440)', in *Théâtre et spectacles hier et aujourd'hui: Moyen âge et Renaissance. Actes du 115<sup>e</sup> Congrès National des Sociétés Savantes (Avignon, 1990). Section d'histoire médiévale et de philologie* (Paris: Éditions du CTHS, 1991), pp. 263–71 (p. 267); Torsten Hiltmann, 'Un État de noblesse et de chevalerie sans pareilles? Tournois et hérauts d'armes à la cour des ducs de Bourgogne', in *La cour de Bourgogne et l'Europe: le rayonnement et les limites d'un modèle culturel*, ed. by Werner Paravicini, Torsten Hiltmann and Frank Viltart (Ostfildern: Jan Thorbecke Verlag, 2013), pp. 253–88 (pp. 260–1).

<sup>16</sup> Barber and Barker, *Tournaments*, pp. 30–50.

nobility stopped holding (and attending) Round Tables when they began to be organised by urban authorities in places such as Paris and Tournai, as they no longer served to highlight the nobility's distinctiveness as the imitators of noble literary models.<sup>17</sup>

An example of another type of precursor of the *pas d'armes* organised by members of the nobility is the tournament held at the abbey of Saint-Inglevert situated between Boulogne-sur-Mer and Calais in March and April 1390. Publicised by three French knights — Jean II Le Meingre, known as Boucicaut, Renaud de Roye and Jean de Sempy — this event saw these three men defend the lists against all comers. Whilst Richard Barber and Juliet Barker have described this tournament, which took place during a period of truce between the English and the French, as featuring 'the most famous jousts of the fourteenth century', of which six different accounts have come down to us,<sup>18</sup> there is some debate amongst scholars as to whether Saint-Inglevert should in fact be classified as a *pas d'armes*. Some elements of these jousts can indeed be found in the later *pas*: letters of challenge were circulated in advance in which the types of weapon (rebated or sharp-tipped lances) and shield, number of courses run and rules of engagement were outlined; challengers were explicitly invited to touch a shield (either of peace or of war) of one of the defenders in order to indicate their willingness to engage in combat; the event itself was heavily sponsored by a patron (King Charles VI of France); and the organisers donated their arms to a church in Boulogne-sur-Mer, an action that was also often performed by some of their fifteenth-century counterparts in *pas d'armes*. Nevertheless, the chief commentator on this event, Froissart, described Saint-Inglevert not as a *pas* but rather as either 'armes' (arms) or a 'jeu' (game) and the activity involved as being 'jouster' (jousting). Furthermore, not only did it take place on a military frontier, which was in effect a real rather than a symbolic passage,<sup>19</sup> but no theatrical *mise en scène* or fictive scenario seems to have been part of the way in which the event was set up (see below).

The first tournaments to which the French term *pas d'armes* — or, more accurately, its Castilian equivalent, *paso de armas* — was explicitly applied were held in the early fifteenth century in the Iberian Peninsula. Some of these events stipulated jousting with rebated lances, whereas others featured combats on horseback and on foot with sharpened weapons. Some even included tourneys, which were similar to *mêlées* in being fought in pairs or teams, albeit on a smaller scale.<sup>20</sup> The fanciful jousts of Round Tables also found new expression at these events, in that festive theatrics could exist alongside this variety of combat forms and weapons. From there the *pas d'armes* spread to the ducal courts in Anjou and the Burgundian lands and to the royal court in France, where they would take on their most lavish and spectacular form yet. Unlike Round Tables, which had been adopted by urban elites, proof of noble ancestry, usually on both the paternal and the maternal side, was required for participation in these events, thus making the *paso* or *pas*

<sup>17</sup> VdN, p. 53.

<sup>18</sup> Barber and Barker, *Tournaments*, p. 43; Steven Muhlberger, *Deeds of Arms: Formal Combats in the Late Fourteenth Century* (Highland Village, TX: Chivalry Bookshelf, 2005), pp. 70, 198–9.

<sup>19</sup> See the Online Froissart <<https://www.dhi.ac.uk/onlinefroissart>> (following London, BL, Harley 4379–4380, fols 43r–60v). See also Élisabeth Gaucher, 'Les joutes de Saint-Inglevert: perception et écriture d'un événement historique pendant la Guerre de Cent Ans', *Le Moyen Âge*, 102 (1996), 229–43 (pp. 233–5), who argues in favour of calling this event a *pas*.

<sup>20</sup> Noel Fallows, *Jousting in Medieval and Renaissance Iberia* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2010), p. 3. No *pas d'armes* ever consisted of just a *mêlée*, however.

an important instrument of distinction for the higher nobility.<sup>21</sup> Finally, in the sixteenth century, as chivalric contests grew ever more stage-managed and choreographed, the term *pas d'armes*, in the French context in particular, became used almost interchangeably with the more general term *tournoy* (tournament).<sup>22</sup> If, then, the *pas* lost much of its earlier, specific flavour in this later period, this was not before leaving a lasting legacy in terms of the sheer number of events of this type that were organised and of which evidence has come down to us.

#### SOURCES FOR THE *PAS D'ARMES*

Although often spectacular, a *pas* was by its very nature an ephemeral event, with the competitors' armorial shields and parts of the architectural décor often being taken away at the end to be displayed in a local castle, church or hospital.<sup>23</sup> By far the most durable form of commemoration of a *pas d'armes* was therefore the written text. The vast majority of the narrative accounts of these events are written in prose, but verse was also used for composing such texts in the Angevin milieu, where it was a highly popular medium for courtly and chivalric literature.<sup>24</sup> In addition, numerous administrative documents also provide us with details of how a *pas* was staged.

Many of the authors of the narrative accounts of *pas d'armes* were the heralds who had been involved in publicising the event, such as Orléans Herald, who names himself as the author of the northern French *Pas des armes de Sandricourt* (1493), the chief *entrepreneur* of which was Louis de Hédouville.<sup>25</sup> Other authors who do not give their names but were likely to have been heralds include the person responsible for commemorating the Burgundian *Pas du Perron Fée* (Bruges, 1463), organised by Philippe de Lalaing.<sup>26</sup> This should not surprise us, as heralds were traditionally very heavily involved in the staging of tournaments. They not only proclaimed and publicised the event beforehand but helped the judges evaluate the performance of the tourneyers during it and took care of the record-keeping afterwards. Indeed, from the early beginnings of the tournament it was heralds who produced written reports with short descriptions of the participants, their coats of arms and the prize winners: these descriptions, which were also very popular among those knights who had not participated in the tournament itself, were the sources of the first armorials.<sup>27</sup>

Heralds were probably involved in the writing of other forms of narrative too, such as the chivalric biography known as the *Livre des faits de messire Jacques de Lalaing* (early

<sup>21</sup> Malcolm Vale, *War and Chivalry: Warfare and Aristocratic Culture in England, France and Burgundy* (London: Duckworth and Co., 1981), pp. 96–7.

<sup>22</sup> See Essay 4, p. 431.

<sup>23</sup> At two Burgundian events, for example, shields were removed from the *Pas de l'Arbre Charlemagne* (Marsannay-la-Côte, 1443) and parts of the décor were removed from the *Pas de la Fontaine des Pleurs* (Chalon-sur-Saône, 1449–50): see Sources 4 and 7, respectively.

<sup>24</sup> See Florence Bouchet, ed., *René d'Anjou, écrivain et mécène (1409–1480)* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2011).

<sup>25</sup> See PSt, and Source 13.

<sup>26</sup> See PPF, and Sources 11a and 11b.

<sup>27</sup> Crouch, *Tournament*, p. 225. Armorials are manuscripts containing collections of coats of arms, drawn or painted, in a specific order — geographically, institutionally or heraldically — with or without a text to identify the escutcheons. A collection of coats of arms recorded at a specific battle or tournament, for example, is normally called an occasional armorial or roll of arms. Michel Pastoureau, *Les armoiries* (Turnhout: Brepols, 1976), p. 39.

1470s), which includes an account of the Burgundian *Pas de la Fontaine des Pleurs* (Chalon-sur-Saône, 1449–50) that was organised by its eponymous hero.<sup>28</sup> Heralds' reports of *pas d'armes* could also serve as the basis for chroniclers' versions of these events. For instance, Olivier de La Marche, the prolific historiographer of many Burgundian tournaments, freely acknowledges his debt to heralds in his account of the *Pas de l'Arbre Charlemagne* (Marsannay-la-Côte, 1443) held by Pierre de Bauffremont, lord of Charny.<sup>29</sup>

Although most of the narrative accounts of *pas d'armes* were produced by heralds and chroniclers, there were nonetheless other types of author too. For example, the poem recounting the *Pas de la Bergère* (Tarascon, 1449) organised by Philippe de Lenoncourt and Philibert de Laigue was written by Louis de Beauvau, a knight from Anjou who had himself jousted at the event.<sup>30</sup> The account commemorating the famous Angevin *Pas de la Joyeuse Garde/Pas de Saumur* (1446), held by Duke René of Anjou, was composed by a cleric who reveals his ecclesiastical status without divulging his name.<sup>31</sup> A fragmentary and incomplete description of the *Pas* of Brussels (1503), staged by the nobleman Antoine de Lalaing, was written up by the *entrepreneur* himself in his chronicle account of the journey to Spain of his lord, Archduke Philip the Fair.<sup>32</sup>

In addition to recording who had participated in these events, another key focus of the authors of *pas d'armes* narratives was on how their account could provide a means of teaching their readers about chivalry through retelling the competitors' martial deeds. Their accounts were therefore meant to be not just commemorative but also prescriptive, offering their readers good examples to follow in their own lives whilst also indicating the bad examples to be avoided. Of particular interest to many of these writers was also the spectacle of the *pas*. They therefore pay a lot of attention to how each competitor entered the lists, which high-ranking figures accompanied him, how lavishly he — and his horse — were dressed (in silk, satin, velvet, cloth of gold, and with jewels or gold ornaments, etc.), what the crest on top of his helm was made of (egret feathers, gemstones, expensive veils, etc.) and even how many times an *entrepreneur* changed his outfits in the course of a multi-day event.

The pre-circulated articles or chapters of arms outlining the rules of engagement for these events could also be preserved by chroniclers or heralds, either on their own or as part of a longer narrative. In the latter case, when they were not reproduced verbatim but rather were incorporated into the narrative, this could involve an awkward transposition of verb tenses, as these chapters were designed to stipulate in the future or conditional tense what *would* happen at a *pas d'armes*, whereas the narrative account itself was written in the past tense in order to record what *did* happen.<sup>33</sup>

As well as these various forms of historiographical narrative recounting the *pas d'armes*, a second but much less well-known textual source of information about these events is the surviving financial records. These can be found either in the administrative accounts of the towns that part-subsidised an *entrepreneur's* organisation of such an event or in the records of the princely households with which the *entrepreneur* and/or the competitors on

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<sup>28</sup> See CL, pp. 210–17, 219–51.

<sup>29</sup> See OdLM, vol. 1, pp. 283–7, 290–324, 324–35.

<sup>30</sup> See PB, and Source 6.

<sup>31</sup> See PSr, and Source 7.

<sup>32</sup> See CdV, pp. xiv–xv, 123; and Source 14.

<sup>33</sup> See, for example, Sources 4 and 12.



his team were connected. From the urban accounts, which often detail payments made to carpenters and labourers, it is possible to calculate the costs involved in preparing a suitable playing surface for combat, in building lists and pavilions for the competitors, in erecting stands for judges, heralds and high-ranking guests and even in creating pieces of ephemeral architecture such as a huge column or a castle associated with the fictional scenario of a particular *pas*.<sup>34</sup> These accounts could also include the sums paid to the owners of private houses that were rented as temporary residences by high-ranking guests or as vantage points from which to witness events and could specify the gifts, either in kind or in money, that were granted to competitors.<sup>35</sup> Princely financial accounts of a particular lord or lady could likewise list payments made directly to the organisers of these events,<sup>36</sup> or to the armourers, cloth merchants, jewellers and tailors who provided the arms, armour and clothing worn by participants and their horses, as well as the materials used for the post-combat festivities.<sup>37</sup>

Apart from these written records, another important way in which the memory of these chivalric events was preserved was through the illustrations that accompanied the narrative accounts of a number of *pas* that were held in Anjou, the Burgundian lands and France. In the manuscripts of standalone texts devoted to recounting a specific tournament, these images could range from a single frontispiece, as for the *Pas de la Bergère*, to a cycle of around ten miniatures, as for the *Pas des armes de Sandricourt*, and even to a uniquely lavish ninety images for the *Pas de la Joyeuse Garde/Pas de Saumur*.<sup>38</sup> In the case of one record of a *pas* that is included in a much longer narrative, namely the chivalric biography of Jacques de Lalaing, three out of a cycle of eighteen miniatures in total in three different illustrated manuscripts of this text are devoted to this event, one to the fictional setting and two to some of the combats featured at it.<sup>39</sup> Although a certain amount of artistic licence has to be allowed for in these miniatures as pictorial sources, which interpret as much as they record the event through the use of iconographical convention, they nonetheless abound in meticulously detailed coats of arms, crests and clothing that do in fact often tally with the descriptions of these items in the narrative texts and with the mentions of them in financial accounts.<sup>40</sup> Again, as for the producers of many of the written accounts of *pas d'armes*, the names of the artists involved in creating these image cycles are usually unknown to us, being referred to only by a sobriquet such as the 'Master of the Getty Lalaing'; it is very rare that these images can be attributed to a particular named artist, as in the case of Simon Bening in this same manuscript.<sup>41</sup>

<sup>34</sup> For the *Pas du Perron Fée* and the *Pas* of Brussels, see Sources 11b and 14, respectively.

<sup>35</sup> For the *Pas du Perron Fée*, see Source 11b.

<sup>36</sup> For the *Pas de la Bergère*, see Source 6.

<sup>37</sup> For the *Pas* of Carignano, see Source 15.

<sup>38</sup> For the *Pas de la Bergère*, see Source 6; for the *Pas des armes de Sandricourt*, see Source 13 and Essay 4; for the *Pas de la Joyeuse Garde/Pas de Saumur*, see Source 5 and Essays 2 and 7.

<sup>39</sup> See Essay 6, pp. 489–90, 493–4.

<sup>40</sup> See Source 6.

<sup>41</sup> In the case of the Lalaing biography preserved in Los Angeles, J. Paul Getty Museum, 114, Simon Bening produced the elaborate frontispiece featuring the supposed author of the text dressed as the King of Arms of the Burgundian Order of the Golden Fleece, whereas the Master of the Getty Lalaing painted the other seventeen miniatures depicting scenes from the narrative.

Whilst armorials have survived as the pictorial records of some late medieval tournaments, none are known to exist for any specific *pas d'armes*. The only *pas d'armes* manuscript that incorporates a series of heraldic depictions that comes closest to an armorial roll is El Escorial, Real Biblioteca del Monasterio de San Lorenzo, e-IV-5 (fols 59v–63r): here, the armorial shields of thirty-one competitors at Claude de Vaudrey's *Pas du Chevalier au Souci* (near Paris, 1484) are depicted alongside the narrative recounting their names. This manuscript has an account of both this event and the *Pas* of Paris that immediately preceded it, the two tournaments forming part of the festivities that followed Charles VIII's coronation in Reims (May 1484) and his Royal Entry into Paris (July 1484).<sup>42</sup>

The importance of heraldry as a visual source for these events is also evident in the narrative and administrative accounts. These records go into great detail on the coats of arms that were depicted on the banners, pennons and horse trappers of the *entrepreneur* and the other competitors, worn in the form of coat armour, or painted on their shields or on the ephemeral architecture of the *pas*, even if, unfortunately, none of these actual items now survives. Such heraldic display not only served to show the identity of the individual tourneyers but also allowed the nobility as a social group to put itself on display in a public space. In this way, heraldry served both to exclude non-nobles from competing in these events and to highlight what was distinctive about the highest-ranking echelons of late medieval society.<sup>43</sup>

Finally, the actual weapons used at *pas d'armes* are likewise a key source for scholars, even if it is impossible to link any actual examples of arms and armour currently preserved in museum collections to those used at these particular tournaments. Nevertheless, what the narrative accounts of *pas d'armes* say about the size and shape of these items and the fighting techniques employed to wield these weapons clearly underlines the fact that the contestants at these events were engaged in serious and dangerous combats where the risk of injury was high. The material culture of the *pas* can thus be studied by using other sources (administrative, narrative and pictorial) to put these weapons into context and to assess their martial, economic and symbolic significance.

#### SCHOLARLY APPROACHES TO THE *PAS D'ARMES*

The *pas d'armes* has received two main forms of attention from scholars over the past few hundred years, each of which has yielded valuable results: the first is the publication of editions of primary sources; the second is the analytical study of this type of tournament. The former began much earlier than the latter: for instance, in the seventeenth century antiquarians such as Marc Vulson de la Colombière enthusiastically collected and transcribed all sorts of materials relating to courtly and chivalric culture, including narratives of *pas*.<sup>44</sup> In the

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<sup>42</sup> CRC, paragraphs 73–81 (*Pas* of Paris), paragraphs 82–126 (*Pas du Chevalier au Souci*). See <<https://rbme.patrimonionacional.es/s/rbme/item/13537#?xywh=-486%2C-91%2C3310%2C1804>> [accessed 6 June 2024] for the images of these coats of arms. For a translation of the narrative account of these two *pas d'armes*, see Supplementary Source 2, Liverpool University Press Digital Collaboration Hub <<https://liverpooluniversitypress.manifoldapp.org/projects/pas-d-armes-casebook>> [accessed 1 November 2024].

<sup>43</sup> Vale, *War and Chivalry*, pp. 95–9.

<sup>44</sup> See VT and SH. On the *Pas* of Carignano (1504), see PC, the work of the Savoyard antiquarian Samuel Guichenon.

nineteenth century, Belgian and French aristocratic scholars, such as Henri Beaune and Jules d'Arbaucourt, Henri Courteault, Gaston du Fresne de Beaucourt, Félix Brassart, Louis Douët-d'Arcq and Joseph Kervyn de Lettenhove, sought to publish an authoritative body of medieval texts to promote the study of this period; their publications include numerous editions of chapters of arms and of surviving narrative accounts of *pas d'armes*.<sup>45</sup>

Although much of the information contained in these nineteenth-century editions remains of value, the modern scholar can often be frustrated by their editors' lack of precision concerning the particular manuscript sources that they used to compile their texts,<sup>46</sup> as well as by the absence of a proper scholarly apparatus providing, for instance, information about the people who participated in these events. By contrast, although the nineteenth-century editions of financial accounts that contain entries about the *pas d'armes* are often more systematic in what they cover and more reliable in their transcriptions than those of the narrative sources, they are nonetheless frustratingly rare, being largely confined to the ducal court of Anjou and to some of the towns in the Burgundian lands.<sup>47</sup> More information of this type may, however, remain to be discovered in the archives.

In the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries, researchers such as G. A. Lester and Ralph Moffat have produced modern scholarly editions of medieval tournament books that are collections of miscellaneous narrative accounts in both English and French of chivalric events; these books have included a number of *pas d'armes*.<sup>48</sup> Several modern editions have also been produced of narratives devoted to a particular *pas*, although these vary greatly in the quality of their critical apparatus. For example, Natalia Elagina *et al.*'s edition of the *Relation du Pas de Saumur* (as the poem devoted to this event is known) and the edition by Chloé Horne, Anne Rochebouet and Michelle Szkilnik of the different manuscript versions of the *Pas du Perron Fée* offer meticulous transcriptions of the original texts and provide full notes on the biographies of the participants at these events, thus facilitating scholarly engagement with these works.<sup>49</sup> Less useful is Harry F. Williams's edition of the poem recounting the *Pas de la Bergère*, which is marred by an unreliable glossary on the arms, armour and clothing terms appearing in it.<sup>50</sup>

As the examples cited above indicate, the bulk of the editorial work on sources for *pas d'armes* has focused on Middle French texts commemorating tournaments held in Anjou, the Burgundian lands and France, which is where the greatest concentration of such events is undoubtedly to be found. Where editions of the various chronicles in which Castilian *pasos* are mentioned have been published, they are more rigorous than many of

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<sup>45</sup> On editions produced by Beaune and d'Arbaumont, see OdLM; by Beaucourt, see MdE; by Brassart, see *Le Pas du Perron Fée, tenu à Bruges, en 1463, par le chevalier Philippe de Lalaing* (Douai: L. Crépin, 1874); by Douët-d'Arcq, see EdM; by Kervyn de Lettenhove, see GC and JDI.

<sup>46</sup> This is especially true of Auguste Vayssièr's edition of the *Pas des armes de Sandricourt* (1493): see PSt.

<sup>47</sup> See, for example, Albert Lecoy de la Marche's edition of René of Anjou's household accounts in ECMR, and Louis Gilliodts-van Severen's partial edition of the town account of 1463 of Bruges concerning the *Pas du Perron Fée* in his *Inventaire des archives de la ville de Bruges. Section première: Inventaire des chartes. Première série: treizième au seizième siècle*, 9 vols (Bruges: Gailliard, 1871–85), vol. 5, pp. 533–5.

<sup>48</sup> Godfrey Allen Lester, *Sir John Paston's Grete Boke: A Descriptive Index with an Introduction of British Library MS. Lansdowne 285* (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 1984); and MT.

<sup>49</sup> See PSr and PPF, respectively.

<sup>50</sup> See PB.

the nineteenth-century works on the Burgundian and French *pas*,<sup>51</sup> but these chronicles tend to contain much shorter accounts of these *pasos* in the first place. By contrast, where a much lengthier narrative exists, as for the most famous Castilian event, the *Paso Honroso* (Órbigo Bridge, near León, 1434), the edition of it produced by Noel Fallows in his broader study of jousting in Iberia preserves only part of the original text.<sup>52</sup>

Moreover, those editions of the narrative and administrative sources for *pas d'armes* that have appeared in print have usually been published in their original language (Medieval Castilian, Middle Dutch, Middle French, etc.) which can thus present a considerable linguistic challenge to scholars unfamiliar with these languages. Translations of these works into modern English are few and far between: Anthony Annunziata's compilation of translated extracts from a range of *pas* offers a useful taster of the available sources;<sup>53</sup> Fallows' partial edition of the *Paso Honroso* includes a facing-page translation of these sections;<sup>54</sup> Andrew Brown and Graeme Small's study of court and civic society translates excerpts from Olivier de La Marche's account of the *Pas de l'Arbre d'or* (Bruges, 1468);<sup>55</sup> and, most recently, Rosalind Brown-Grant and Mario Damen's complete translation of the Lalaing biography includes its account of the *Fontaine des Pleurs*.<sup>56</sup>

As for the illuminated manuscripts of *pas d'armes*, whilst a number of these have been digitised and can now be consulted online, this is sadly not true of the unique manuscripts of either the *Pas de la Bergère* (Paris, BnF, fr. 1974) or the *Pas de la Joyeuse Garde/Pas de Saumur* (St Petersburg, NLR, fr. F. p. XIV, 4).<sup>57</sup>

If the first approach to the *pas d'armes* has been to make the sources for these events available in print, the second approach, one taken by scholars from a variety of disciplinary perspectives — cultural, social and political history, literary studies, material culture, gender studies and art history — has been more analytical in nature. One of the earliest scholars to make use of the nineteenth-century editions in order to analyse the *pas* was the

<sup>51</sup> See AGSM; FPG; HCMLI; LB; PCH.

<sup>52</sup> See PH. At the time of his death in 2022, Fallows was working on a full edition of this text with facing-page English translation; it is hoped that this work may be brought to completion in the near future by a team of collaborators.

<sup>53</sup> Anthony Annunziata, 'Teaching the *pas d'armes*', in *The Study of Chivalry: Resources and Approaches*, ed. by Howell Chickering and Thomas H. Seiler (Kalamazoo, MI: Medieval Institute Publications, 1988), pp. 556–82.

<sup>54</sup> See PH.

<sup>55</sup> Andrew Brown and Graeme Small, eds., *Court and Civic Society in the Burgundian Low Countries c. 1420–1530* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2007), pp. 54–85. For the only description in Middle Dutch of a *pas d'armes*, see the report written on the same event by the Bruges rhetorician Anthonis de Roovere in HKB.

<sup>56</sup> See CL.

<sup>57</sup> For digitised manuscripts and early printed editions of the *Pas des armes de Sandricourt*, see Paris, BnF Arsenal, 3958 Réserve: <ark:/12148/btv1b550057254>; Paris, BnF, fr. 1436 (*Armoriaux de la Table Ronde*, including 'Le Pas des armes de Sandricourt' and 'Description des tournois faits l'an 1519 à Chambly et Bailleul'): <ark:/12148/btv1b10525465m>; Paris, BnF, Vélins 1033: <ark:/12148/bpt6k15241119>; and BnF, Vélins 1034: <http://catalogue.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/cb36283971x>. For digitised manuscripts of the *Livre des faits de messire Jacques de Lalaing*, see Paris, BnF, fr. 16830: <ark:/12148/btv1b10537591f>; and Los Angeles, J. Paul Getty Museum, 114: <<https://www.getty.edu/art/collection/object/109M32>> [accessed 6 June 2024].

Dutch cultural historian Johan Huizinga, whose ground-breaking *Herfsttij der middeleeuwen* (1919)<sup>58</sup> laid much of the foundation for future study of this phenomenon. Identifying seven *pas d'armes* by name, Huizinga argues that the knight (i.e. *entrepreneur*) who organises the *pas* is often modelled on the anonymous or 'unknown' knights of Arthurian romance, something he likens to the 'childlike imaginings of the fairy tale'. Yet, Huizinga also stresses the 'erotic character' of *pas* and their 'bloody violence', and sees the knights who competed at these tournaments as expressing their love for their ladies in the sublimated form of chivalric service to them, given that women formed a key part of the audiences at such events. Finally, Huizinga emphasises the dramatic and emotional impact that the *pas d'armes* would have produced on both those who fought in them and those who spectated at them, this impact being heightened by the use of ephemeral architecture, props, role-playing characters and heraldic symbolism and colours.<sup>59</sup>

Following Huizinga's work in both this foundational study and his own later *Homo Ludens* (1938), where he argues for seeing the *pas d'armes* and other forms of tournament as examples of 'play', in the sense of voluntary acts that could involve disguise and were bound by certain rules with the capacity to create social bonds between participants,<sup>60</sup> much of the debate on the topic has been dominated by the issue of whether it should be regarded more properly as a type of sport or a form of theatre than as real fighting. Those scholars who have argued that the *pas* should be classified as a kind of sport include Sébastien Nadot, who sees these events as being comparable to present-day sporting encounters, in that those who competed at them had to not only observe certain rules and regulations (chapters of arms) but also undergo intensive physical training and become expert in the use of specialised equipment (especially for mounted combat) so as to avoid injury.<sup>61</sup> Similarly, Noel Fallows describes the joust, a key element of many *pas*, as 'the greatest sport of the medieval age',<sup>62</sup> and regards rule-based tournaments such as *pas d'armes* as contributing to 'the overall development of a sporting ethos', especially when it came to winning prizes, a characteristic element of most sports today.<sup>63</sup>

Those who have interpreted the *pas d'armes* not as a sport but rather as a form of theatre, given its origins in the highly dramatised tournament form of the Round Table, include Alice Planche. Directly comparing the material and social infrastructure of the

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<sup>58</sup> Johan Huizinga, *Herfsttij der middeleeuwen. Studie over levens- en gedachtenvormen der veertiende en vijftiende eeuw in Frankrijk en de Nederlanden* (Haarlem: H. D. Tjeenk Willink & Zoon, 1919).

<sup>59</sup> Johan Huizinga, *Autumn of the Middle Ages: A Study of Forms of Life and Thought of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries in France and the Low Countries*, ed. by Anton van der Lem and Graeme Small, trans. by Diane Webb (Leiden: Leiden University Press, 2020), pp. 117, 121.

<sup>60</sup> Johan Huizinga, *Homo ludens: A Study of the Play-Element in Culture* (Boston, MA: Beacon Press, 1955), pp. 13, 122–31. See also Andrew Brown, 'Huizinga's Autumn. The Burgundian Court at Play', in *Rereading Huizinga: Autumn of the Middle Ages, a Century Later*, ed. by Peter Arnade, Martha C. Howell and Anton van der Lem (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2019), pp. 25–40 (pp. 29–31, 35).

<sup>61</sup> Nadot, *Le Spectacle*, pp. 25–8, 35–6, 327.

<sup>62</sup> Noel Fallows, 'Rules and Order', in *A Cultural History of Sport in the Medieval Age*, ed. by Noel Fallows (London: Bloomsbury, 2022), pp. 113–40 (p. 118).

<sup>63</sup> Noel Fallows, 'Introduction', in *ibid.*, pp. 1–34 (p. 15). Compare Gert Melville, 'Der Held in Szene gesetzt: einige Bilder und Gedanken zu Jacques de Lalaing und seinem Pas d'armes de la Fontaine des Pleurs', in *Aufführung' und 'Schrift' in Mittelalter und früher Neuzeit*, ed. by Jan-Dirk Müller (Stuttgart: Metzler, 1996), pp. 253–86 (p. 275), who argues that all the competitors in a *pas* were winners since the only thing that was at stake was honour.

*pas* with that of the medieval theatre, she suggests that, while the noble competitors at these chivalric events may have been of a different social class from the town-dwellers who staged medieval plays, there were nonetheless striking similarities between these two types of event, even if the outcomes in theatre were pre-ordained by a script whereas those of a *pas* were unpredictable. Both involved extensive advance planning and organisation, both featured a purpose-built architectural infrastructure for the participants, spectators and judges, and both stimulated a certain level of participation in the event from the audience watching.<sup>64</sup> Jean-Pierre Jourdan likewise emphasises the inherent theatricality of the *pas*, with the lists constituting an enclosed space, the presence of symbolic objects such as a tree, a column, a bridge or a gate contributing to the ‘mystery’ of the *pas*, and the setting of the whole event on either a real or a symbolic border or in an urban market square, creating a symbolic ritual space.<sup>65</sup> This theatrical aspect of *pas d’armes*, which is underlined by the inclusion of elaborate dramatic interludes (*entremets*) and dances, can thus be seen as a precursor of sixteenth-century chivalric events that, as William Henry Jackson argues, incorporated ‘artistic forms of renaissance and baroque theatre, ballet and opera, forms which flourished at the same princely courts as and drew some of their features from the tournament’.<sup>66</sup> Many scholars would, however, now be happy to accept that the *pas d’armes* incorporated elements of both sport and theatre. As Malcolm Vale puts it, the *pas* is a ‘later medieval *Gesamtkunstwerk* binding the arts of war and peace, and employing allegory, poetry, ceremonial and music to achieve its dramatic effects’.<sup>67</sup>

Vale’s view that the *pas* brought together the arts of war and peace points to a second area of debate, namely whether these events were purely a form of chivalric entertainment or also served as preparation for actual warfare. Sydney Anglo and Noel Fallows have both adopted the first position, arguing that jousting was increasingly ‘irrelevant to contemporary warfare’ and that ‘the activity was an end unto itself, with the result that jousts trained above all to be good jousts’.<sup>68</sup> By contrast, for Vale and other historians such as Helen Watanabe-O’Kelly, the fact that these chivalric encounters involved a wide variety of combat techniques, both on foot and on horseback, meant that they were able to retain a military relevance well into the seventeenth century.<sup>69</sup>

<sup>64</sup> Alice Planche, ‘Du tournoi au théâtre en Bourgogne. Le Pas de la Fontaine des Pleurs à Chalon-sur-Saône, 1449–1450’, *Le Moyen Âge*, 81 (1975), 97–128 (pp. 126–8).

<sup>65</sup> Jean-Pierre Jourdan, ‘Le thème du pas d’armes dans le royaume de France (Bourgogne, Anjou) à la fin du Moyen Âge: aspects d’un théâtre de chevalerie’, in *Théâtre et spectacles hier et aujourd’hui: Moyen âge et Renaissance. Actes du 115e Congrès National des Sociétés Savantes (Avignon, 1990). Section d’histoire médiévale et de philologie* (Paris: Éditions du CTHS, 1991), pp. 285–304 (pp. 286–90).

<sup>66</sup> William Henry Jackson, ‘The Tournament and Chivalry in German Tournament Books of the Sixteenth Century and in the Literary Works of Emperor Maximilian I’, in *The Ideals and Practice of Medieval Knighthood*, ed. by Ruth Harvey and Christopher Harper-Bill (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1986), pp. 49–73 (p. 73).

<sup>67</sup> Vale, *War and Chivalry*, p. 68.

<sup>68</sup> Sydney Anglo, ‘The Tournament at Binche’, in *Charles V, Prince Philip, and the Politics of Succession. Imperial Festivities in Mons and Hainault, 1549*, ed. by Margaret McGowan and Margaret Shewring (Turnhout: Brepols, 2020), pp. 223–41 (p. 238); Fallows, *Jousting*, pp. 240–1, 292.

<sup>69</sup> Vale, *War and Chivalry*, pp. 70, 78–80; Helen Watanabe-O’Kelly, ‘Tournaments and their Relevance for Warfare in the Early Modern Period’, *European History Quarterly*, 20 (1990), 451–63. See also Mario Damen, ‘Tournaments and the Integration of the Nobility in the Habsburg Composite State’, *Renaissance Quarterly*, 76.2 (2023), 497–541.

This latter view of *pas d'armes* has been bolstered by those scholars writing from a material cultural perspective, including Richard Barber and Juliet Barker, who, along with Vale, have produced detailed studies of the weaponry and armour used at this type of tournament.<sup>70</sup> In their opinion, new military techniques adopted by both cavalry and infantry had an impact not only on the way in which battles (and also the mock battles of the *pas*) were waged in the later Middle Ages but also on the materials knights used to protect themselves and attack their opponents. These included the development of plate armour and new types of helmet, such as the sallet, as well as the appearance of the lance-rest to facilitate the balancing of the heavy lance across the body and to enhance the impact of the blow when the two jousts encountered.

Given that the arms and armour used in the *pas* were often identical to those used in actual armed conflict, such tournaments did clearly hone the knight's chivalric prowess in times of peace and provide him with a training for times of war. Indeed, more recent scholars, such as Tobias Capwell and Ralph Moffat, have developed this approach further by studying surviving examples of arms and armour — albeit ones that cannot be definitively linked to particular *pas d'armes* — in conjunction with the narrative and pictorial sources relating to these events so as to gauge more precisely how competitors might have used them.<sup>71</sup>

In addition to debates about whether the *pas d'armes* was a form of sport or theatre and whether or not it was a type of preparation for war, a third, complementary area of study has been developed by scholars such as Jean-Pierre Jourdan, who have focused rather on the socio-political aspect of these events. In his view, the point of the *pas* was to create bonds between noble competitors rather than to break them, hence the need to provide proof of one's nobility so as to forge social and political alliances. For Jourdan, this also explains why 'foreigners' were sometimes excluded from participating in these events, this being to reduce the likelihood of political conflict arising from the combats, and why opponents usually made a gesture of reconciliation, such as touching hands, after competing against each other.<sup>72</sup> Similarly, Éric Bousmar has highlighted the ways in which the *pas* helped to foster diplomatic relations between an international brotherhood of knights and their princes and to promote cohesion between knights belonging to the same polity, particularly in the Burgundian lands.<sup>73</sup> Andries Van den Abeele has also focused

<sup>70</sup> Vale, *War and Chivalry*, pp. 100–28; Barber and Barker, *Tournaments*, pp. 98–102, 107–38.

<sup>71</sup> Tobias Capwell, *Arms and Armour of the Medieval Joust* (Leeds: Royal Armouries Museum, 2018); *idem*, 'Armor, Weapons, and Combat in the Getty Lalaing', in *A Knight for the Ages: Jacques de Lalaing and the Art of Chivalry*, ed. by Elizabeth Morrison (Los Angeles: The J. Paul Getty Museum, 2018), pp. 151–64; and MT.

<sup>72</sup> See Jourdan, 'Le thème du pas d'armes', pp. 301–3; *idem*, 'Le symbolisme politique du pas dans le royaume de France (Bourgogne et Anjou) à la fin du moyen âge', *Journal of Medieval History*, 18 (1992), 161–81; *idem*, 'Le thème du Pas et de l'Emprise. Espaces symboliques et rituels d'alliance en France à la fin du Moyen Âge', *Éthnologie française*, 22.2 (1992), 172–84.

<sup>73</sup> Éric Bousmar, 'Pasos de armas, justas y torneos en la corte de Borgoña (siglo XV y principios del XVI). Imaginario caballeresco, rituales e implicaciones socio-políticas', in *El legado de Borgoña: Fiesta y ceremonia cortesana en la Europa de los Austrias (1454–1648)*, ed. by Krista De Jonge, Bernardo J. García García and Alicia Esteban Estringana (Madrid: Fundación Carlos de Amberes/Marcial Pons Ediciones de Historia, 2010), pp. 561–605; *idem*, 'Jousting at the Court of Burgundy. The "Pas d'armes": Shifts in Scenario, Location and Recruitment', in *Staging the Court of Burgundy: Proceedings of the Conference 'The Splendour of Burgundy'*, ed. by Wim Blockmans *et al.* (Turnhout/London: Brepols/Harvey Miller, 2013), pp. 75–84.

on the relations between the participants at a *pas* — as well as the underlying tensions that these bonds could belie — in his analysis of the divergent agendas being pursued by the *entrepreneur* and the various defenders and challengers at the *Pas du Perron Fée*.<sup>74</sup>

A further area of socio-political debate on the *pas d'armes* has been the extent to which these events were exclusively courtly in nature or were also influenced by the non-courtly, urban environment in which many of them took place. For example, historians such as Nadot, Barber and Barker have tended to derive their conclusions about the overwhelmingly courtly aspect of these tournaments from their reading of contemporary commentators on the *pas d'armes* such as the Burgundian chroniclers.<sup>75</sup> These accounts naturally stress the involvement of courtiers, and even the occasional presence or participation of the prince in these *pas*, not to mention the astonishing display of luxury clothes, horse trappers, armour, armorial banners and pennons that took place at them. However, at the same time as describing all these items in detail, in order to emphasise the dazzling visual spectacle offered by these events, the chroniclers systematically downplay — or do not even mention — the general urban setting of many of these events.

Challenging this view of the *pas d'armes* as uniquely courtly based on the surviving narrative sources, other historians such as Élodie Lecuppre-Desjardin have argued that the organisation of these events in the middle of a town not only had a notable impact on urban space, converting the open marketplace into a 'closed universe', but also allowed them to serve as an 'instrument of pacification' in the hands of the prince and the nobility vis-à-vis the urban population.<sup>76</sup> By contrast, Évelyne Van den Neste and Mario Damen have stressed the fact that *pas d'armes*, in spite of being noble, chivalric entertainments, could actually help to bring together both the urban and courtly milieus of the Burgundian Low Countries, not surprisingly perhaps, given that a lively jousting culture was often already present in these towns.<sup>77</sup> In Bruges, for example, a jousting society known as the 'Witte Beer' (White Bear) was active from the late fourteenth century onwards, staging an annual jousting event. The presence of a prosperous and organised urban elite who owned horses and armour was certainly a great stimulus for the organisation of chivalric activities not only in Flemish towns such as Bruges and Lille but also in other urban centres of Brabant, Hainaut and Artois. Furthermore, as Juliet Vale and Robert Stein have shown, the holding of such events was not simply an attempt to imitate an aristocratic lifestyle but rather had its own dynamic, stemming mainly from socio-political developments in the towns whereby jousts, much like archery and crossbow competitions, evolved into

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<sup>74</sup> Andries Van den Abeele, 'De Wapenpas van de Betoverde Burcht, voorbode van de machtsgreep door Karel de Stoute', *Handelingen van het Genootschap voor Geschiedenis te Brugge*, 146 (2009), 93–139. For a similar approach in the context of later Habsburg chivalric events, see Damen, 'Tournaments'.

<sup>75</sup> Barber and Barker, *Tournaments*, pp. 110–25; and Nadot, *Le Spectacle*, pp. 273–81.

<sup>76</sup> Élodie Lecuppre-Desjardin, *La ville des cérémonies: Essai sur la communication politique dans les anciens Pays-Bas bourguignons* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2004), pp. 205–10.

<sup>77</sup> VdN; Mario Damen, 'The Town as a Stage? Urban Space and Tournaments in Late Medieval Brussels', *Urban History*, 43.1 (2016), 47–71. Although no *pas* are known to have taken place in the Holy Roman Empire, other types of tournament may have served a similar socio-political function there: see Thomas Zotz, 'Adel, Bürgertum und Turniere in Deutschen Städten', in *Das ritterliche Turnier im Mittelalter: Beiträge zu einer vergleichenden Formen- und Verhaltensgeschichte des Rittertums*, ed. by Josef Fleckenstein (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1985), pp. 450–99 (pp. 473–85); and Klaus Militzer, 'Turniere in Köln', *Jahrbuch des Kölnischen Geschichtsvereins*, 64.1 (2015), 37–60.



inter-urban contests in which the honour of the towns and their ruling lineages was at stake.<sup>78</sup> That not only the local nobility but sometimes even the duke and members of his household took part in them indicates that these events enjoyed considerable prestige. However, as Andrew Brown has demonstrated, towards the end of the fifteenth century political and economic problems made it increasingly difficult for the urban elites of Bruges and Lille to participate in, let alone organise, these annual jousting events.<sup>79</sup> Whilst the highly exclusive *pas d'armes*, in which competitors had to prove that they were of noble birth on all four sides, survived this decline, its main stage and audience were no longer predominantly urban by the first quarter of the sixteenth century.

Still on the socio-political dimensions of the *pas*, but from a different perspective, is the approach taken by scholars who have focused on the role of gender. Ruth Mazo Karras, for example, has argued that medieval tournaments, including *pas d'armes*, promoted a form of aristocratic masculine identity that was both homosocial, in terms of the bonds they fostered between competing knights, and heterosexual, in positioning ladies as admiring and appreciative spectators of these knights' feats of arms and as amorous inspirers of chivalric prowess.<sup>80</sup> Whilst Karras herself suggests that women's actual agency in these two capacities was somewhat limited, other scholars, such as Bousmar, have seen their roles as more active and influential than Karras's analysis would allow.<sup>81</sup>

So far, then, the approaches to the *pas d'armes* set out above have emphasised using the surviving primary sources as a means by which to situate it in cultural, martial and socio-political contexts. However, an alternative line of enquiry has been to take these sources themselves as an object of study in their own right and to examine the reciprocal influence of literature on actual practice, and vice versa, as pioneered by Armand Strubel, Annette Lindner and particularly Michel Stanesco.<sup>82</sup> In Stanesco's view, *pas d'armes* are examples of what he terms the *enromancement* (romanticisation) of medieval chivalric culture, whereby knights of the period strove consciously to imitate literary models in order to prove their own worthiness of being commemorated for their military deeds, whether on the field of battle or the tilting yard.<sup>83</sup> Following in their footsteps, other scholars, such as

<sup>78</sup> Juliet Vale, *Edward III and Chivalry: Chivalric Society and its Context, 1270–1350* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1982), pp. 25–41; Robert Stein, 'An Urban Network in the Medieval Low Countries. A Cultural Approach', in *Networks, Regions and Nations: Shaping Identities in the Low Countries, 1300–1650*, ed. by Robert Stein and Judith Pollmann (Leiden: Brill, 2010), pp. 43–71 (pp. 48–54).

<sup>79</sup> Andrew Brown, 'Urban Jousts in the Later Middle Ages: The White Bear of Bruges', *Revue Belge de Philologie et d'Histoire*, 78 (2000), 315–30.

<sup>80</sup> Ruth Mazo Karras, *From Boys to Men: Formations of Masculinity in Late Medieval Europe* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2003).

<sup>81</sup> Éric Bousmar, 'La place des hommes et des femmes dans les fêtes de cour bourguignonnes (Philippe le Bon–Charles le Hardi)', *PCEEB*, 34 (1994), 123–43. See also Nadot, *Le Spectacle*, pp. 179–87; Audrey Pennel, 'Des hours aux lices: la place des dames dans les enluminures des tournois et Pas d'armes aux XIVe et XVe siècle', *Francia. Forschungen zur westeuropäischen Geschichte*, 46 (2019), 431–42.

<sup>82</sup> Armand Strubel, 'Le *pas d'armes*: le tournoi entre le romanesque et le théâtral', in *Théâtre et spectacles hier et aujourd'hui: Moyen âge et Renaissance. Actes du 115e Congrès National des Sociétés Savantes (Avignon, 1990). Section d'histoire médiévale et de philologie* (Paris: Éditions du CTHS, 1991), pp. 273–84; Annette Lindner, 'L'influence du roman chevaleresque français sur le pas d'armes', *PCEEB*, 31 (1991), 67–78; Michel Stanesco, *Jeux d'errance du chevalier médiéval: aspects ludiques de la fonction guerrière dans la littérature du Moyen Âge flamboyant* (Leiden: Brill, 1988), p. 23.

<sup>83</sup> Stanesco, *Jeux d'errance*, p. 23.

Catherine Blunk, Rosalind Brown-Grant, Michelle Szkilnik and Jane H. M. Taylor, have highlighted the degree of cross-fertilisation between the accounts of *pas d'armes* contained in works of chivalric and courtly fiction, such as La Sale's *Jehan de Saintré* and other less well-known examples from the Angevin, Burgundian and French courts, and those which describe actual *pas*.<sup>84</sup>

Scholars studying the illuminated texts commemorating actual *pas* have often attempted to reconstruct the conditions under which they were brought into being and to determine the reasons behind their commissioning, as is the case of Christian de Mérindol in his analysis of the heavily illustrated *Pas de Saumur* manuscript. Others have focused instead on text/image relations in these works, particularly the degree to which text and image can differ in their presentation and interpretation of both the combats and the post-combat festivities at *pas d'armes*.<sup>85</sup> Noting the relative scarcity of images of *pas* in general, Guillaume Bureaux has argued that the vividness of the textual descriptions of these events can help compensate for the lack of direct pictorialisation in many cases.<sup>86</sup>

To sum up this survey of the two main strands of scholarship on the *pas d'armes*, those wishing to study this chivalric phenomenon now have at their disposal a wealth of primary sources about particular events, especially those held in Anjou and the Burgundian lands, thanks to the richness of the written and pictorial records that survive for them. However, information for other geographical areas, such as Castile, is harder to come by and scholarly access is not helped by a continuing lack of material in translation. Moreover, valuable though much of the existing interpretive scholarship is on the *pas d'armes*, many questions not only remain unanswered but would also benefit from being tackled in a multi-disciplinary fashion. The Sources and Essays offered here in this Casebook thus attempt to address these two significant shortcomings.

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<sup>84</sup> Catherine Blunk, 'La vois des hiraus: the Poetics of Tournament in Late Medieval Chronicle and Romance' (unpublished PhD dissertation, University of Wisconsin-Madison, 2008); *eadem*, 'Faux pas in the Chronicles. What is a *pas d'armes*?', in *The Medieval Chronicle 11*, ed. by Erik Kooper and Sjoerd Levelt (Turnhout: Brepols, 2018), pp. 87–107; *eadem*, 'Between Sport and Theatre: How Spectacular was the *Pas d'armes*?', in *The Medieval Tournament as Spectacle: Tourneys, Jousts and Pas d'Armes, 1100–1600*, ed. by Alan V. Murray and Karen Watts (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2020), pp. 120–38; Rosalind Brown-Grant, 'Art Imitating Life Imitating Art? Representations of the *Pas d'armes* in Burgundian Prose Romance: The Case of *Jehan d'Avennes*', in *The Medieval Tournament as Spectacle: Tourneys, Jousts and Pas d'Armes, 1100–1600*, ed. by Alan V. Murray and Karen Watts (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2020), pp. 139–54; Michelle Szkilnik, 'Que lisaient les chevaliers du XVe siècle? Le témoignage du *Pas du Perron Fée*', *Le Moyen Français*, 68 (2011), 103–14; Jane H. M. Taylor, "'Une gente pastourelle": René d'Anjou, Louis de Beauvau et le Pas d'armes de la bergère', in *René d'Anjou, écrivain et mécène (1409–1480)*, ed. by Florence Bouchet (Turnhout: Brepols, 2011), pp. 197–208; *eadem*, 'La fête comme performance, le livre comme document: le Pas de Saumur', in *Les arts et les lettres en Provence au temps du roi René*, ed. by Chantal Connochie-Bourgne and Valérie Gontero-Lauze (Aix-en-Provence: Presses Universitaires de Provence, 2013), pp. 233–41.

<sup>85</sup> Elisabeth Gaucher, 'Le Livre des Fais de Jacques de Lalain: Texte et image', *Le Moyen Âge*, 95 (1989), 503–18; and Michelle Szkilnik, 'Mise en mots, mise en images: *Le Livre des Faits du bon chevalier Jacques de Lalain*', *Ateliers (Cahiers de la Maison de Recherche, Université Charles de Gaulle–Lille 3)*, 30 (2003), 75–87.

<sup>86</sup> Christian de Mérindol, *Les fêtes de chevalerie à la cour du roi René. Emblématique, art et histoire (les joutes de Nancy, le Pas de Saumur et le Pas de Tarascon)* (Paris: Éditions du CTHS, 1993); Guillaume Bureaux, 'Pas d'armes et vide iconographique: quand le texte doit remplacer l'image (XVe siècle)', *Perspectives médiévales*, 38 (2017) <<https://journals.openedition.org/peme/12792>> [accessed 6 June 2024].

## STRUCTURE AND AIMS OF THE PRESENT VOLUME

In order to facilitate scholars' engagement with both the narrative and financial sources for the *pas d'armes* and the surviving pictorial evidence for them, the texts translated in Part I of this volume include narrative works by a range of different authors — chroniclers, memoirists, heralds, knights and clerics — who were active across nearly a century of writing in at least five different territories, the order in which they appear here being chronological. These texts represent the full range of primary materials available to scholars, which run from the pleasingly complete to the tantalisingly fragmentary. Given that modern editions of narratives relating to fictional *pas* are generally easier to access than those which record historical *pas*, only one such example has been included, albeit an influential early one: this is Source 1, on the romance of *Ponthus et Sidoine* (discussed in Essay 6), which also includes three miniatures of scenes depicting the eponymous hero's *emprise* taken from a particularly beautiful manuscript version of the text.

For a small number of the historical *pas*, both a complete narrative account, with an accompanying image, and multiple entries in financial accounts exist. In these exceptional instances, juxtaposition of the different sources enables scholars to obtain a fuller understanding of how these events were actually staged than when just one type of account is analysed in isolation from the others. With all three kinds of material being present in Source 6 on the poem recounting the *Pas de la Bergère*, it is thus possible to see how an event of this nature was experienced by those who competed at it, how it was financed and how it was commemorated for posterity both textually and visually. For other events of which a complete narrative record survives (as opposed to just chapters of arms), this too has been rendered in full wherever possible, as in Source 7 on La Marche's account of the *Fontaine des Pleurs* (discussed in Essay 6), Source 9 on Georges Chastelain's account of the *Pas du Compagnon à la Larme Blanche* (Le Quesnoy, 1458), and Source 13 on Orléans Herald's account of the *Pas des armes de Sandricourt* (discussed in Essay 4). Put into dialogue with each other, what these accounts of two Burgundian and one northern French *pas* reveal is the range of different attitudes adopted towards these events by the authors who wrote them up, in particular the contrast between the ultra-enthusiastic La Marche, the more restrained Chastelain and the self-effacing but heavily invested herald.

For those historical events where the narrative account is too long to be translated in full, representative extracts have been chosen to cover different aspects or phases of them. Hence, for example, in Source 5, on the poem recounting the *Pas* held at Saumur (discussed in Essays 2 and 7), the selected extract of the first fifty-eight stanzas narrates the whole of the opening sequence that explains how this *pas* came to be organised and how the first in a long series of jousts was conducted at it. This is also the case in Source 15, which is an account of a *pas d'armes*, hitherto not identified as such, that took place at Carignano (1504) in the duchy of Savoy (discussed in Essays 1 and 6). The excerpts from it illustrate the motivation behind the organisation of this *pas*, which was to celebrate the wedding of one of the Savoyard duke's most important courtiers, as well as the nature of the festivities that followed the combats over the course of the event. This source, which is also accompanied by extracts from a financial document relating to the tournament, is important not only for putting Savoy firmly on the map as a court that staged *pas d'armes* but also for revealing the role that women, most notably the duchess of Savoy, Margaret of Austria, could play in staging these entertainments. Similarly, in Source 11a, extracts from

two different narrative accounts of the *Pas du Perron Fée* (discussed in Essay 3) have been chosen to demonstrate the contrasting ways in which the treatment of the declaration of the event, its setting and its closing sequences could be handled by two different authors. This is complemented by Source 11b, which features extracts relating to the same event from both urban and court financial accounts that are available only in archival form; here, the accounts in Middle Dutch and Middle French, respectively, are both transcribed in the original language and given a facing-page translation. What these two sources show with particular clarity is the range of actors involved in the organisation of these events and the different priorities of those who subsidised them and those who commissioned manuscript versions of them.

A representative selection of narrative accounts that preserve only the chapters of arms has also been included in this first part of the volume, thus illustrating the conventions governing the writing of these texts and the degree to which they could vary in terms of their literary style and tone. Of course, whilst these chapters of arms were probably written up by heralds, they would have done so at the behest of the particular *entrepreneur* whose stamp would also thereby be imprinted on them. These examples are as follows: Source 4 features the chapters of the *Pas de l'Arbre Charlemagne* preserved in Enguerrand de Monstrelet's chronicle that would have been written up for Pierre de Bauffremont, lord of Charny; Source 12 contains the chapters of the *Pas de l'Arbre d'or* that were composed on behalf of Antoine, the Great Bastard of Burgundy; and Source 16 consists of the chapters governing the *Emprise of the Wild Knight of the Black Lady* (Edinburgh, 1507 and 1508) that were written up in Middle French by Marchmont Herald, probably at the command of King James IV of Scotland (discussed in Essay 5). This latter important document concerning a Scottish tournament that probably took place in two consecutive years and which has not previously been seen as a *pas*, is derived from the material preserved in the antiquarian collection of Vulson de la Colombière.

A final set of sources comprises those concerning *pas* in Castile and the Low Countries for which we have only brief mentions in much longer narratives — mostly chronicles, but also one chivalric biography<sup>87</sup> — and/or administrative sources. Thus, Source 2 is on the *Paso de la Fuerte Ventura* (Valladolid, 1428), staged by Enrique of Aragon; Source 3 covers the *Paso de Valladolid* (1440), organised by Ruy Díaz de Mendoza; Source 8 concerns the *Paso de El Pardo* (1459), held by Beltrán de la Cueva; Source 10 features the *Paso de Jaén* (1462), arranged by Fernán Mexía; and Source 14 presents a *pas* managed by Antoine de Lalaing (Brussels, 1503) (the first and the last of these are discussed in Essay 1). What these examples demonstrate is the need for scholars of *pas d'armes* to base their studies on all the available types of source material, including financial accounts, which, in some cases, enable the identification of an historical *pas* that has otherwise not been recognised as such. For instance, in the case of Source 14, the evidence amassed on the event organised by Antoine de Lalaing has not hitherto been included in scholarly discussions of *pas d'armes* but this material clearly shows him following in the footsteps of the earlier Jacques and Philippe de Lalaing, thus revealing how different generations of the same family could be heavily invested in these tournaments as a way of enhancing not only their individual prestige but also the renown of their entire lineage.

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<sup>87</sup> Sources 2, 3, 8 and 14 are extracted from chronicles, whereas Source 10 is from a chivalric biography.

In order to facilitate the reader's access to these translated materials, each Source is accompanied by a short introductory essay setting out where the *pas d'armes* was held, who organised it, how it related to its particular cultural milieu, what its combats consisted of and who wrote it up; a select bibliography is also provided for each Source.

The seven essays contained in Part II of this Casebook address the second main aim of this volume: namely, to develop some of the existing avenues of enquiry on the *pas d'armes* whilst also taking scholarly debate on this topic in new directions. These essays not only draw extensively on many of the Sources from Part I but also demonstrate the importance of exploiting the full range of available narrative, financial and pictorial materials in order to examine these tournaments in as complete a fashion as possible and to bring fresh perspectives to bear on them. A key issue addressed by a number of these essays is that of cultural transmission: that is, how and why *pas d'armes* came to be adopted in certain milieus and not others. Essay 1, by Thalia Brero, Mario Damen and Klaus Oschema, thus seeks to explain why *pas d'armes* originated in Castile, why they spread thence to the Burgundian lands and to the ducal court of Savoy — which has not previously been identified as the location of such events — and, conversely, why they never took off in German-speaking courts such as those of Cleves and Habsburg. On this question of the geographical spread of *pas d'armes*, Essay 5 by Alan V. Murray reveals that, unlike in England, which was never a milieu favouring the organisation of this type of tournament, the court of James IV of Scotland does seem to have welcomed them, holding a particularly spectacular example — or probably two of them under the same name — in Edinburgh in 1507 and 1508. Essay 4 by Marina Viallon examines the influence exerted on early sixteenth-century tournaments in France by probably the most elaborate of all French *pas d'armes*, that held at Sandricourt (1493). Her focus here is on the innovative form of combat that was devised at this event, whereby the defenders and challengers fought each other not only as teams in the lists but also individually 'in the manner of Arthurian knights-errant' as they wandered through an evocatively named 'Labyrinthine Forest'.

A second strand of essays in the volume interrogates two particularly famous *pas d'armes* — one from Anjou and the other from the Burgundian Low Countries — from different critical angles but with a shared focus on the manuscript traditions of the narratives recounting these events. Essay 2, by Anne D. Hedeman and Justin Sturgeon, reassesses the St Petersburg manuscript that preserves the sole narrative account of the *Pas de la Joyeuse Garde/Pas de Saumur* (1446). Their study of text/image relations, heraldry and memorialisation within the manuscript allows them to make a new argument about who commissioned this famous illuminated codex and why they did so. Essay 3, by Mario Damen and Michelle Szkilnik, concentrates on the *Pas du Perron Fée* (Bruges, 1463), which they examine in terms of the personal motivations of the *entrepreneur*, Philippe de Lalaing, the complex urban/court relations revealed by juxtaposing the narrative and financial accounts pertaining to it, and the role played by the different manuscript versions of the narrative in the construction of family memory.

A final pair of essays seeks to deepen our understanding of the gender and power relations inherent in the *pas* in terms of how these events involved the expression of both homosocial and heterosexual masculine identity. Essay 6, by Rosalind Brown-Grant, looks at two important issues governing the construction of chivalric masculinity at these events: ethics, in terms of rule-making and rule-breaking in their combats, as seen in various Castilian and Burgundian examples; and erotics, in terms of women's influence

on how the male competitors at them were perceived, as seen in both Burgundian and Savoyard examples. Essay 7, by Christina Normore, which is devoted to the St Petersburg manuscript of the poem recounting the *Pas* at Saumur, also focuses on questions of gender but this time from a more corporeal perspective. Her analysis of the manuscript's representations of both chivalric and non-chivalric bodies — that is, of the men who competed at the event, of the various ladies who participated in it, and of the dwarf who stage-managed it — complicates any simplistic reading of the power dynamics involved in this *pas* concerning who was there to be looked at and who did the looking and how this affects the reader/viewer's interpretation of the tournament.

In addition to the Sources and the Essays presented here, a number of other research tools have been included in this Casebook. A Map and a Table of *pas d'armes* are provided below and a Note to the Translations explaining the editorial principles adopted for the Sources has been supplied immediately after this introduction. At the end of the volume is a Glossary defining the most important terms of arms, armour and clothing featured in both the Sources and the Essays; those items included in this glossary have been asterisked on their first mention in each particular Source/Essay. The Bibliography that follows the Glossary lists all the archival, manuscript and printed primary sources, secondary sources and web-based sources cited in the volume.

Naturally, the views offered in this Casebook do not constitute the last word on the *pas*. A number of questions undoubtedly await further investigation. For instance, can more *pas d'armes* be identified in as-yet-unedited archival or financial sources? For what reasons did the rulers of other territories, which possessed their own chivalric cultures and had extensive cultural and political links to many of the courts discussed here, not adopt the *pas d'armes* as a significant chivalric event? The example of England springs to mind, as does that of Italy — aside from the parts belonging to the duchy of Savoy — and even further afield in Eastern Europe, particularly Poland and Hungary, given their lively chivalric cultures. Even on French territory, the greater interest in *pas d'armes* shown at the ducal court of René of Anjou than at the royal court of King Charles VII would repay closer study, as would the fact that Charles VIII's support for *pas d'armes* such as those held at Paris (1484) and Sandricourt (1493) was largely limited to allowing noble *entrepreneurs* such as Louis, duke of Orléans, Claude de Vaudrey and Louis de Hédouville to organise them.<sup>88</sup> Given the emphasis placed by many scholars on the socio-political functions of the *pas*, does comparison of different narrative accounts of the same event reveal the divergent political agendas of their respective authors? Finally, what might analysis of other non-chivalric bodies in *pas d'armes*, such as those of giants and Wild Men/Women, reveal about the gender and power issues raised by these figures who exerted such a pull on the medieval imagination? The authors and translators of the Sources and Essays presented in this volume, who are also the creators of the additional resources provided online, will have more than achieved their aims if this Casebook succeeds in stimulating further research on this fascinating aspect of late medieval chivalric culture.

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<sup>88</sup> See Philippe Contamine, 'Les tournois en France à la fin du Moyen Âge', in *Das ritterliche Turnier im Mittelalter: Beiträge zu einer vergleichenden Formen und Verhaltensgeschichte des Ritterturns*, ed. by Josef Fleckenstein (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1985), pp. 425–49 (pp. 446–7).



## TABLE OF PAS D'ARMES

Because it has not been an easy task to produce the Map and Table, a few words are necessary to explain how and why they were compiled. All depends on, first, the amount of detail that the actual primary sources provide, and, second, how strictly one applies the definition of a *pas* as set out above in the Introduction to the data distilled from these sources. Third, future research on late medieval manuscripts and archival sources will doubtless uncover new events that can be classified as *pas d'armes*. For these reasons, the list of events illustrated on the Map and presented in the Table is not intended to be seen as exhaustive — far from it.

For pragmatic reasons, both of these research tools cover events starting from the 1420s. Most scholars agree that one of the first *pas* was the *Paso de la Fuerte Ventura* in 1428 in Valladolid, but, as is argued in this volume, other similar chivalric events in the Iberian Peninsula, which were in turn influenced by knightly traffic to and from France and the Burgundian Low Countries, may well have preceded it.<sup>89</sup> The chronological timespan of this book as a whole is one century; hence the end point in the Map and Table is around 1520. Whilst this opens up the possibility of exploring the (dis)continuities of the *pas* in the last quarter of the fifteenth century and the first quarter of the sixteenth century, especially outside Anjou and the Burgundian lands, it also takes account of the fact that the term *pas d'armes* (or even *pas des armes*) in the French context in particular, became almost interchangeable with the more general term *tournoy* (tournament) after this point.

As the Table shows, the period 1428–63 marked a high point in the numbers of *pas d'armes* that were staged: over a period of thirty-five years no fewer than twenty-one events were organised, comprising 54 per cent of the thirty-nine *pas* that have been identified here. Most of these events took place under the aegis of three princes: Juan II, king of Castile (three events), René, duke of Anjou (four events) and Philip the Good, duke of Burgundy (six events), albeit the Angevin duke was the only one who was directly involved in the organisation of some *pas* (in which he also competed), whereas Juan and Philip simply facilitated and/or contributed financially to the *pas* held in their lands.<sup>90</sup> If it is not a coincidence that contacts between these three courts were extensive in this period, the personalities of these three princes must also have played an important role in this particular flowering of the *pas*. All of them also had to deal with noble rivals from different regions within their territories who were eager to perform feats of arms so as to mark themselves out from others in order to obtain princely favours or positions, to contract advantageous marriages or to increase their status. The three princes in question likewise tried to neutralise possible threats from their nobles by integrating them into knightly orders intended to promote chivalric behaviour, to foster cooperation between them and even to unify the nobility.<sup>91</sup> Finally, the literary culture at these three courts may have had a hand in the promotion of *pas d'armes*, as the inventories of the libraries of these princes and their highest-ranking nobles reveal a vivid interest in the chivalric literature

<sup>89</sup> See Essay 1.

<sup>90</sup> Bertrand Schnerb, *L'État bourguignon: 1363–1477* (Paris: Perrin, 2006), p. 332; Bousmar, 'Pasos', p. 552.

<sup>91</sup> D'Arcy Jonathan Dacre Boulton, *The Knights of the Crown: the Monarchical Orders of Knighthood in Later Medieval Europe 1325–1520* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1987), pp. 13–14, 496–8.



of the past.<sup>92</sup> Nevertheless, it would be wrong to focus solely on princes and their courts as instigators of *pas d'armes*, as it was largely their noble subjects themselves who took the initiative to stage and to participate in these chivalric competitions where noble values could be displayed, by which they could differentiate themselves from their peers and the rest of late medieval society.

The information provided by the Table includes the name of the *pas*, the year in which it was held, the place where it was staged, the name of the *entrepreneur(s)*,<sup>93</sup> the name of the prince who authorised it, the primary source(s) containing the narrative and/or administrative accounts of it and the number of the Source that translates it here and/or of the Essay in which it is discussed. The names of the *pas* are derived directly from the primary sources and are also rendered in English translation. In cases where no 'official' name exists, the *pas* has been named after the town in which it was held (e.g. Brussels, Carignano). More details about all of these events (e.g., exact dates, names of challengers, composition of the teams, type of combats, theatrical scenario, ephemeral architecture, guests and spectators etc.) can be found in the Sources and Essays in this volume as well as in the online database that has been provided on the project website ([www.pasdarmes.org](http://www.pasdarmes.org)). The events have been listed in chronological order rather than simply by geographical area, as has hitherto tended to be the case in scholarship on the *pas*; instead, the distribution of these events across Western Europe is illustrated in the Map. Being based on research by the authors of the Sources and Essays presented in this volume, the chronological and geographical coverage of the Map and Table is rather broader than that of earlier studies of the *pas d'armes*. Thus, although the Table includes all of the *pas* listed by Barber and Barker, by Nadot and by Torsten Hiltmann, it also includes a number of other such events, in particular those held in the duchy of Savoy and the kingdom of Scotland, which are discussed here.<sup>94</sup>

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<sup>92</sup> On this aspect, see Essay 1.

<sup>93</sup> Where a primary source has supplied insufficient information to allow for full identification of an *entrepreneur*, his name has been cited in inverted commas in the Table, e.g. 'Ferriez'.

<sup>94</sup> Barber and Barker, *Tournaments*, pp. 98–102, 107–38; Nadot, *Le Spectacle*, pp. 335–7; Hiltmann, 'Un État', pp. 258–9, 262–4. However, the table excludes some of the events listed for the period 1443–1549 in Guillaume Bureaux, 'Union et désunion de la noblesse en parade. Le rôle des Pas d'armes dans l'entretien des rivalités chevaleresques entre cours princières occidentales, XVe–XVIe siècles (Anjou, Bourgogne, France, Saint-Empire)' (unpublished PhD dissertation, Normandie Université, 2018), pp. 34–5, 45–6, 50, 64; these are the *Pas du Camp du Drapeau d'or* (Field of Cloth of Gold) (1520) and the *Pas de Worms*, which took place in 1495 but which he erroneously dates to 1514. For a discussion of this latter tournament, see Essay 1.

Thanks are due to Klaus Oschema and S. H. Rigby for their comments on an earlier version of this introduction.

TABLE OF *PAS D'ARMES* ORGANISED IN EUROPE, c.1420–c.1520

Name	Year	Place	Entrepreneur(s)	Authorised by	Primary sources	Source	Essay
<i>Paso de la Fuerte Ventura</i> ( <i>Paso</i> of the Daunting Adventure)	1428	Kingdom of Castile, Valladolid, Plaza Mayor	Enrique of Aragon	Juan II, king of Castile	AGSM, p. 16; FPG, p. 250; LB, pp. 59–62; PCH, pp. 20–2	2	1
<i>Paso Honroso</i> ( <i>Paso</i> of Honour)	1434	Kingdom of Castile, Órbigo Bridge (now Hospital de Orbigo) near León	Suero de Quiñones	Juan II, king of Castile	LPH; PH		1, 6
<i>Paso de Valladolid</i> ( <i>Paso</i> of Valladolid)	1440	Kingdom of Castile, Valladolid, Plaza Mayor?	Ruy Diaz de Mendoza	Juan II, king of Castile	FPG, pp. 41–12	3	6
<i>Pas de l'Arbre</i> ( <i>Pas</i> of the Tree of Charlemagne)	1443	Duchy of Burgundy, Marsannay-la-Côte, by an elm tree (near Dijon)	Pierre de Bauffremont	Philip the Good, duke of Burgundy	EdM, vol. 6, pp. 68–73; OdLM, vol. 1, pp. 283–7, 290–335; GPM, pp. 330–7	4	1, 6
<i>Pas de Nancy</i> ( <i>Pas</i> of Nancy)	1445	Duchy of Lorraine, Nancy, Place de la Carrière	René of Anjou, duke of Anjou; Louis de Luxembourg, count of Saint-Pol; Ferry II de Vaudémont-Lorraine; Pierre II de Brézé; Philippe de Lenoncourt (HGF); Charles of Anjou, count of Maine; Louis de Luxembourg, count of Saint-Pol replaced by Jacques de Lalaing (LF)	René of Anjou, duke of Anjou (with Charles VII?)	HB, pp. 269–72; HGF, vol. 1, pp. 129–70; LF, pp. 72–118; MdE, vol. 1, pp. 40–2; OdLM, vol. 2, pp. 59–61; Paris, BnF, fr. 5054, fols 128r–129v		

Name	Year	Place	Entrepreneur(s)	Authorised by	Primary sources	Source	Essay
<i>Pas (?) de Châlons-sur-Marne (Pas of Châlons-sur-Marne)</i>	1445	Kingdom of France, Châlons-en-Champagne, Place du Marché	Jean de Vaudémont-Lorraine; Louis de Beauvau, lord of Beauvau; Jean de Hangest, lord of Genlis; L'Ardenois <sup>95</sup>	Charles VII, king of France?	Berlin, Ham. 606, fols 62v–74r; HB, pp. 272–3; HGF, vol. 1, pp. 170–94; HGFMO, pp. 191–2; LF, p. 118; MdE, vol. 1, pp. 42–51; OdLM, vol. 2, pp. 54–9		
<i>Pas du Géant à la Blanche Dame du Pavillon (Pas of the Giant and the White Lady of the Pavilion)</i>	1446	Duchy of Anjou, Launay, at the country manor of René of Anjou	René of Anjou, duke of Anjou; Ferry II de Vaudémont-Lorraine; Philippe de Lenoncourt; Jean de Fénétrange, lord of Fénétrange; Louis de Beauvau, lord of Beauvau	René of Anjou, duke of Anjou	Berlin, Ham. 606, fols 131v–140r; HGFMO, pp. 201–2		
<i>Pas de la Guéule du Dragon/Pas du Rocher Pêrilleux (Pas of the Dragon's Mouth/Pas of the Perilous Rock)</i>	1446	Kingdom of France, between Chinon and Razilly <sup>96</sup>	Gaston IV, count of Foix; Guillaume d'Harcourt, count of Tancarville; Claude de Châteauneuf; Guillaume de Courcelles	Charles VII, king of France?	Berlin, Ham. 606, fols 98v–129v; HGF, vol. 1, pp. 194–5; PSr, pp. 68–9	5	2

<sup>95</sup> This is probably Jean de Barbençon, lord of Donstiennes in Hainaut; many of his lineage were called 'L'Ardenois' (i.e. presumably L'Ardennois), including his father, Guy. Ernest Matthieu, 'La reconnaissance par les États de Hainaut de Charles le Téméraire comme héritier du comté en 1465', *Bulletin de la Commission royale d'Histoire*, 55.13 (1886), 225–42 (p. 238).

<sup>96</sup> The distance between these two castles is around 7 km; whilst Chinon is also now a commune (départ. Indre-et-Loire, rég. Centre-Val de Loire), Razilly exists only as a castle.

Name	Year	Place	Entrepreneur(s)	Authorised by	Primary sources	Source	Essay
<i>Pas de la Joyeuse Garde/Pas de Saumur (Pas of the Joyous Guard/Pas of Saumur)</i>	1446	Duchy of Anjou, Saumur, at the castle	René of Anjou, duke of Anjou, and a large team of defenders too numerous to list here	René of Anjou, duke of Anjou	Berlin, Ham. 606, fols 76r–96v; MdE, vol. 1, pp. 107–8; PSr	5	2, 7
<i>Pas du Chevalier Aventureux (Pas of the Adventurous Knight)</i>	1447	Duchy of Berry, Bourges	Guillaume d'Harcourt, count of Tancarville	Not stated	Berlin, Ham. 606, fols 164r–169r; HGFMO, pp. 193–7		
<i>Pas de la Belle Pèlerine (Pas of the Beautiful Pilgrim)</i>	1449	County of Artois, Saint-Martin-lez-Tatinghem, on the road between Calais and Saint-Omer	Jean de Luxembourg, bastard of Saint-Pol	Philip the Good, duke of Burgundy	MdE, vol. 1, pp. 244–63; OdLM, vol. 2, pp. 118–23, 129–35		6
<i>Pas de la Bergère (Pas of the Shepherdess)</i>	1449	County of Provence, Tarascon, in or near the castle and by the Rhône	Philippe de Lenoncourt; Philibert de Laigue	René of Anjou, duke of Anjou (and count of Provence)	ECMR; PAB; PB	6	6
<i>Pas de la Fontaine des Pleurs (Pas of the Fountain of Tears)</i>	1449–50	Duchy of Burgundy, Chalon-sur-Saône, the island of Saint-Laurent in the River Saône	Jacques de Lalaing	Philip the Good, duke of Burgundy	GC, vol. 8, pp. 188–247; JLDsr – Ép., pp. 206–38; LF, pp. 311–404; MdE, vol. 1, pp. 264–73; OdLM, vol. 2, pp. 142–205	7	1, 3, 6

Name	Year	Place	Entrepreneur(s)	Authorised by	Primary sources	Source	Essay
<i>Pas du Chevalier au Cygne</i> ( <i>Pas of the Swan Knight</i> )	1454	County of Flanders, Lille, exact location unclear	Adolf of Cleves, lord of Ravenstein	Not stated	Marie-Thérèse Caron, <i>La noblesse dans le Duché de Bourgogne 1315–1477</i> (Lille: Presses Universitaires de Lille, 1987), pp. 109–13; JdC, vol. 2, pp. 195–9; MdE, vol. 2, pp. 118–30; OdLM, vol. 2, pp. 340–50		1, 3
<i>Pas du Pin aux Pommes d'Or</i> ( <i>Pas of the Pine Tree with the Golden Apples</i> )	1455	Kingdom of Aragon, Barcelona, Passcig del Born	Gaston IV, count of Foix	Not stated	HGF, vol. 2, pp. 44–59; Félix Pasquier and Henri Courteault, eds, <i>Chroniques romanes des comtes de Foix</i> (Foix: Gadrat Ainé, 1895), p. 77		
<i>Pas du Compagnon à la Larme Blanche</i> ( <i>Pas of the Companion of the White Teardrop</i> )	1458	County of Hainaut, Le Quesnoy, exact location unclear	Guillaume de Moullon	Philip the Good, duke of Burgundy	GC, vol. 3, pp. 462–6; GCC, pp. 127–39		9, 1
<i>Paso de El Pardo</i> ( <i>Paso of El Pardo</i> )	1459	Kingdom of Castile, El Pardo, near the royal hunting lodge	Beltrán de la Cueva	Enrique IV, king of Castile	DEC, pp. 168–70		8, 6
<i>Paso de Jaén</i> ( <i>Paso of Jaén</i> )	1461	Kingdom of Castile, Jaén, Plaza del Arrabal	Fernán Mexía	Miguel Lucas de Iranzo	HCMLI, pp. 58–9		10

Name	Year	Place	Entrepreneur(s)	Authorised by	Primary sources	Source	Essay
<i>Pas de Lille</i> ( <i>Pas</i> of Lille)	1461	County of Flanders, Lille, Place du Marché	Antoine, the Great Bastard of Burgundy		VdN, pp. 322–5		3
<i>Pas du Perron Fée</i> ( <i>Pas</i> of the Enchanted Column)	1463	County of Flanders, Bruges, Markt	Philippe de Lalaing	Philip the Good, duke of Burgundy	AR 32515, fols 36r, 40r, 46r–47r, 52v–53v; PPF	11	1, 3
<i>Pas de la Dame Inconnue</i> ( <i>Pas</i> of the Unknown Lady) <sup>97</sup>	1463	County of Flanders, Bruges	Antoine, the Great Bastard of Burgundy; Philippe de Crève-coeur; Pedro Vásquez de Saavedra	Philip the Good, duke of Burgundy	JDI		1, 3
<i>Pas de l'Arbre d'or</i> ( <i>Pas</i> of the Golden Tree)	1468	County of Flanders, Bruges, Markt	Antoine, the Great Bastard of Burgundy	Charles the Bold, duke of Burgundy	HKB; JDH, vol. 1, pp. 113–32; MT, pp. 106–12; OdLM, vol. 3, pp. 123–201; OdLM, vol. 4, pp. 95–144	12	1, 6
<i>Pas de la Dame Sauvage</i> ( <i>Pas</i> of the Wild Lady)	1470	County of Flanders, Ghent, Vismarkt	Claude de Vaudrey	Charles the Bold, duke of Burgundy	BP, pp. 55–95		6
<i>Pas</i> of Paris	1484	Kingdom of France, Paris, Rue Saint-Antoine	Louis, duke of Orléans, the future King Louis XII	Charles VIII, king of France	GRC, paragraphs 73–81		

<sup>97</sup> This *pas* never in fact took place as no challengers showed up for it. For more details, see Essay 3.

Name	Year	Place	Entrepreneur(s)	Authorised by	Primary sources	Source	Essay
<i>Pas du Chevalier au Souci</i> (Pas of the Knight of the Marigold/ Knight of Sorrow)	1484	Kingdom of France, outside Paris towards the Bois de Vincennes	Claude de Vaudrey	Charles VIII, king of France	CRC, paragraphs 82–126		
<i>Pas of Mechelen</i>	1491	Duchy of Brabant, Mechelen, Grote Markt	Claude de Salins	Philip the Fair, son of Maximilian, archduke of Austria	JM, vol. 2, pp. 225–8	1	
<i>Pas des armes de Sandricourt</i> (Pas of Sandricourt)	1493	Kingdom of France, Sandricourt, three locations around the castle	Louis de Hédouville	Charles VIII, king of France		13	4
<i>Fait d'armes in Geneva</i> (Feat of Arms in Geneva)	1498	Geneva, exact location unknown	Unknown, but possibly one of the four defenders (Philibert de Challant; Bertrand de Lucinge; 'Ferriez'; <sup>98</sup> Ognas <sup>99</sup> )	Philibert II, duke of Savoy	TG		1
<i>Grosses joustes in Geneva</i> (Grand jousts in Geneva)	1501	Geneva, exact location unknown	Philibert II, duke of Savoy	Philibert II, duke of Savoy and the city of Geneva	JM, pp. 495–6		1
<i>Armes in Bourg</i> (Feat of arms in Bourg)	1503	Duchy of Savoy, Bourg	François de Chevron-Villette	Philibert II, duke of Savoy	CdV, pp. 287–9		1

<sup>98</sup> This person has not been identified, hence his name has been left in inverted commas.

<sup>99</sup> This is Jean d'Aydic, known as Ognas, who was a *maître d'hôtel* of King Charles VIII (1497). CdF, no. 2406.

Name	Year	Place	Entrepreneur(s)	Authorised by	Primary sources	Source	Essay
<i>Pas</i> of Brussels	1503	Duchy of Brabant, Brussels, Grote Markt	Antoine de Lalaing	Philip the Fair, archduke of Austria	AR 30949, fols 184r–185r; CdV, pp. 335–40	14	1
<i>Pas</i> of Carignano	1504	Duchy of Savoy, the castle of Carignano	Philibert II, duke of Savoy	Philibert II, duke of Savoy	PC; Max Bruchet, <i>Marguerite d'Autriche, duchesse de Savoie</i> (Lille: Danel, 1927), pp. 323–4	15	1, 6
<i>Emprise</i> of the Wild Knight of the Black Lady (1)	1507	Kingdom of Scotland, Edinburgh, Palace of Holyroodhouse	James IV, king of Scotland	James IV, king of Scotland	JLBS, vol. 2, p. 128; SH, pp. 491–5; TA, vol. 3, pp. 258–60, 365–94	16	5
<i>Emprise</i> of the Wild Knight of the Black Lady (2)	1508	Kingdom of Scotland, Edinburgh, Palace of Holyroodhouse	James IV, king of Scotland	James IV, king of Scotland	HCS, vol. 1, pp. 242–4; TA, vol. 4, pp. 13–27, 117–29	16	5
<i>Pas de Vincelles</i> ( <i>Pas</i> of Vincelles)	1512	County of Franche-Comté, Vincelles, in the courtyard of the castle	Claude de Salins	Charles, archduke of Austria	BP, pp. 223–33		1
<i>Pas des armes de l'Arc triomphal</i> ( <i>Pas</i> of the Triumphal Arch)	1514	Paris, near the Hôtel des Tournelles	François, duke of Valois	Louis XII, king of France	GCM, n.p		4
<i>Pas de Nozeroy</i> ( <i>Pas</i> of Nozeroy)	1519	County of Franche-Comté, Nozeroy, in the courtyard and great hall of the castle	Philibert de Chalon	Not stated	BP, pp. 235–59		1



Name	Year	Place	Entrepreneur(s)	Authorised by	Primary sources	Source	Essay
<i>Chevaliers Errants aux Tournois de Chambly et Bailleul</i> (Knights-Errant at the Tournaments of Chambly and Bailleul)	1519	Kingdom of France, various castles (Chambly, Bailleul, Esches, Montagny, L'Isle-Adam and Méry)	Tanguy de La Motte; the lord of La Concy and Montagny <sup>100</sup>	Not stated	René Botto, <i>L'Isle-Adam et sa région au temps des tournois, 1493 et 1519</i> (L'Isle-Adam: Les amis de l'Isle-Adam, 2007), pp. 62–85		4
<i>Pas of Ivrea</i>	1522	Duchy of Savoy, Piedmont, Ivrea	Charles II, duke of Savoy	Charles II, duke of Savoy	ARCT, pp. 251–437		1

<sup>100</sup> This may be Jacques de Fouilleuse (d. before 1544), lord of La Concy, Flavacourt, Montagny and Bazincourt, whose family had a residence in the town of Gisors. Etienne Hamon, *Un chantier flamboyant et son rayonnement: Gisors et les églises du Vexin français* (Besançon: Presses Universitaires de Franche-Comté/Société des Antiquaires de Normandie, 2008), pp. 80–1.