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Pas d'armes and Late Medieval Chivalry: A Casebook

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The *Pas d'armes* in Europe (Fifteenth–Sixteenth Centuries): the Transfer and Transformation of a Chivalric Event

Antoine de Lalaing (*c.*1480–1540) wrote a fascinating report on his travels to Iberia and different parts of the Habsburg territories in 1501–03 as a member of the household and retinue of Archduke Philip the Fair (1478–1506).[1] In it, Lalaing, who came from a line of renowned jousters, describes how the itinerant court was involved in different types of tournament. Between January and October 1502, he watched twenty-one cane games* (Figure 5) and bull runs* in Castile. On 13 June, he observed *joustes royales* (royal jousts), which were 'cried' in the town, on the main market square of Toledo (now Plaza de Zocodover) with the participation of fifteen *courreurs* (runners or jousters) both from Castile and the Low Countries.[2] On 23 and 24 April 1503, he witnessed an *armes* and a *pas* in the town of Bourg (the present Bourg-en-Bresse), in Savoy, when Philip visited his sister Margaret of Austria (1480–1530) and her husband Philibert II of Savoy (1480–1504). In September 1503, the archduke was in Innsbruck to visit his father, Emperor Maximilian (1459–1519).[3] Here both the princes and Lalaing became involved in a so-called *emprise**, a chivalric ritual whereby a knight wore a scarf, a cuff or a shackle on part of his armour that challengers touched as a prelude to undertaking combat with him. Apolone of Innsbruck, a member of the household of Maximilian's second wife, Bianca Sforza (1472–1510), who was going to marry the count of Lodron, sent to Maximilian, Philip the Fair, Lalaing and some other noblemen of the household 'ung cransselin de ses coleurs, faict de fil d'or et de fil de soye blance et de soye cramoisy' (a heraldic charge indicating a band of trefoil leaves in his colours, made of gold and white and crimson silk thread).[4] On 3 October, the day after the wedding, Philip the Fair and three noblemen put their *cransselin* around their necks. On doing so, they were told by a courtier that if they wore their *cransselin* uncovered 'à la fachon d'Allemaigne' (in the German style) they would have to accept the challenge to fight against all who touched it. Philip and the nobles accepted that condition and immediately had to proclaim how they would engage with their challengers if they touched their *emprise*. The archduke, however, decided that this would take place when they had returned to their northern lands. That very day, there was jousting 'à la mode d'Allemaigne' (in the German fashion).[5] On their return, Lalaing kept his promise and, on the feast of St Martin (11 November 1503), it was proclaimed on his behalf at the court in Mechelen that a *pas d'armes* would take place in Brussels. The day after, Antoine carried his 'emprise à son col' (around his neck) which, after Mass,

[1] CdV; see also Source 14.
[2] CdV, p. 184.
[3] *Ibid*., p. 309.
[4] *Ibid*., p. 321.
[5] *Ibid*., pp. 322–3.

Figure 5. *Juego de cañas* (cane game) in Valladolid, on the occasion of Philip the Fair's visit to Castile. Unknown artist, first half of the sixteenth century. Brussels, Koninklijk Instituut voor het Kunstpatrimonium (KIK) — Institut royal du Patrimoine artistique (IRPA), no. 1015445 (cliché B184488). Photo: KIK-IRPA.

was indeed touched by some thirty-five nobles. Finally, the court moved to Brussels in December. On 16 December 1503, at two o'clock in the afternoon, Philip, who was also eager to complete his *pas*, was on the Grote Markt in Brussels prepared to take on all challengers who had touched his *emprise*. Lalaing's report ends here and mentions neither the actual combats nor his own *pas d'armes*. From the town accounts of Brussels we know that, from 17 to 23 December, Antoine did indeed hold his 'pas ende tfait van wapenen' (*pas* and feat of arms) on the Grote Markt, for which the town administration paid him 200 pounds (of forty groats) and organised several banquets afterwards in the town hall at a cost of 100 pounds.[6]

Lalaing's testimony is telling in several respects. First, we see how a court on the move created opportunities for jousting and other tournament forms in the towns it passed through, involving local elites as it went. Secondly, members of Philip the Fair's household seem to have been able to participate in whatever feats of arms they pleased in places as diverse as Toledo, Bourg, Innsbruck and Brussels, meaning that they were trained and equipped to take part in these events. Thirdly, although these feats of arms are named in a way that was perfectly clear to Lalaing and his contemporaries, we now have to reconstruct the precise differences between royal jousts, German jousts, feats of arms and *pas d'armes*. Nevertheless, we can recognise here certain features of jousting that existed for a very long time, such as the *emprise* and the *pas d'armes*, but which undoubtedly underwent many changes over the years.

In this essay, we focus on the *pas d'armes*, a type of chivalric event that was transferred and transformed from one court to another between *c.*1420 and *c.*1520. We analyse the *pas d'armes* as both a product and a platform of socio-cultural interaction, using the perspective

[6] AR 30949 fols 184v–185r.

of cultural transfer.[7] This essay is thus interested in the transformation of specific features over time and in their spatial dissemination, thereby identifying moments and processes of contact, exchange, transformation and development. Indeed, Lalaing's report of 1503 shows that *pas d'armes* were at one and the same time chivalric events, at which knights from different geographical areas could meet, and spaces in which chivalric play, rules, norms and behaviour were defined and exchanged. The specific characteristics of these events were shaped or at least heavily influenced not only by travelling princes, nobles and knights, but also by the circulation of 'chapters of arms' (referred to as *chapitres* or *articles*) — which stipulated how and with what arms the combats were to be conducted — and of accounts describing *pas d'armes* amongst the courts of late medieval Europe. These will, therefore, merit special attention.

Our analysis follows the creation and reception (or reinterpretation) of *pas d'armes* in different kingdoms and principalities of fifteenth- to early sixteenth-century Europe. We consider that the different geographical contexts represent relatively specific cultural units that were in constant contact of varying intensity. At the same time, we are conscious of the fact that these units were not immutable and that the exchange worked both ways.[8] In fact, a detailed analysis of different *pas d'armes* can reveal to what extent this type of event belonged to a shared chivalric culture and how the particularities of each geographical sphere found their expression in the lists.[9] It goes without saying that over the timespan of almost a century, the character and nature of the event changed.[10] Hence this essay seeks to compare and contrast examples of effective and successful cultural transfer with a case where such a transfer did not take place, despite intensive contact and exchange.

It is our hypothesis that, overall, three interdependent factors could establish a milieu in which chivalric events such as *pas d'armes* could flourish. The first of these was the existence of a strong institutional environment in terms of courtly organisation/household and chivalric orders, focused on the prince and his closest relatives. Second was a well-developed chivalric spirit (influenced by political circumstances, crusading ideals and/or the role of women at the court as reflected in literary traditions) together with

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[7] See, for example, Matthias Middell, 'Kulturtransfer, Transferts culturels', *Docupedia-Zeitgeschichte: Begriffe, Methoden und Debatten der zeithistorischen Forschung* (online), (2016) <https://docupedia.de/zg/Kulturtransfer> [accessed 21 June 2024]; Michael Werner and Bénédicte Zimmermann, 'Beyond Comparison: *Histoire Croisée* and the Challenge of Reflexivity', *History and Theory*, 45.1 (2006), 30–50.

[8] These *caveats* have been underlined by studies on transculturality and hybridity: see Laila Abu-Er-Rub *et al.*, eds, *Engaging Transculturality: Concepts, Key Terms, Case Studies*, (London/New York: Routledge, 2021); Georg Christ *et al.*, *Transkulturelle Verflechtungen: Mediävistische Perspektiven* (Göttingen: Universitätsverlag Göttingen, 2016); Wolfram Drews and Christian Scholl, eds, *Transkulturelle Verflechtungsprozesse in der Vormoderne* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2016); Michael Borgolte and Bernd Schneidmüller, eds, *Hybride Kulturen im mittelalterlichen Europa/Hybrid Cultures in Medieval Europe* (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 2010).

[9] Werner Paravicini, 'Gab es eine einheitliche Adelskultur Europas im späten Mittelalter?', in *Europa im späten Mittelalter. Politik – Gesellschaft – Kultur*, ed. by Rainer C. Schwinges, Christian Hesse and Peter Moraw (Munich: R. Oldenbourg Verlag, 2006), pp. 401–34, identifies shared characteristics of noble culture while underlining that they were not homogeneous on a 'European' level. The practice of tournaments seems to have been by and large specific to Latin Europe and played only a minor role in Byzantium: see Peter Schreiner, 'Turnier. D. Byzanz', *Lexikon des Mittelalters*, 8 (1997), col. 1118; and *idem*, 'Ritterspiele in Byzanz', *Jahrbuch der österreichischen Byzantinistik*, 46 (1996), 227–41.

[10] On the varying and changing character of the *pas d'armes* across Europe, see Essays 4 and 5.

a class consciousness amongst the nobles that inspired them to undertake performances that allowed them to distinguish themselves either from 'newcomers' — that is, from the urban elites — or from other nobles who were competing for princely jobs or favours. The final factor was the availability of a suitable stage where this chivalric competition could take place and where noble values could be displayed, these often being supplied by urban environments where princely residences were located. Towns were not only able to meet all the competitors' needs (horses, arms, armour, luxurious clothes, jewellery, etc.), but were also willing to collaborate in the construction of ephemeral architecture in their most emblematic public spaces where a large audience could witness the events, this being essential for the construction of social distinction of the nobility. We will use these three factors as a test case for the institutional context of the transfer of the *pas* from one geographical area to another and for a possible explanation of why, on occasion, these transfers failed to occur. Furthermore, to distinguish the *pas* from other chivalric events we have defined five characteristic features: (1) a knight, the organiser (*entrepreneur**), who alone or together with other knights (2) defends either a passage (such as a bridge or a gate) or a symbolic object (such as a fountain or a column) against all challengers, thereby including a serial element, (3) this defence sometimes involving theatrical production and a fictional scenario and/or being organised according to a fixed set of rules known as chapters of arms, (4) and being witnessed by an audience (noble and non-noble, including women) (5) in a publicly accessible setting (often urban, but also near castles) and making use of ephemeral architecture.[11] Many of these features could also be present in the context of other chivalric events, but together they form a cluster that appears highly specific to the *pas d'armes*.

In the first section of this essay, we discuss the earliest traces of the *pas* that can be identified on the Iberian Peninsula, more precisely in Castile (*Paso de la Fuerte Ventura*, Valladolid, 1428) and in León (*Paso Honroso*, 1434), from where it spread to France and the Burgundian lands (see Map, p. 22). This transfer, on which we elaborate in a second section, did not take on the form of a simple, monodirectional dissemination, as the approaches, practices and attitudes changed during this process: when Burgundian knights took part in a *pas d'armes* in the 1440s, they seem to have had something different in mind from their Iberian predecessors a few decades earlier, whose events were more violent and embedded in factional rivalries within the royal household.[12] The history of the *pas d'armes* reached its apogee in the Burgundian lands and Anjou between *c.*1440 and *c.*1470, and numerous noblemen from elsewhere either witnessed or participated in examples of this particular feat of arms. In a third section, we analyse how, around 1500, this specific chivalric event was emulated in the duchy of Savoy, a French- and Italian-speaking part of the Holy Roman Empire, not least due to a long tradition of close kinship relations between the Burgundian-Habsburg and Savoyard ruling dynasties. However, while comparable ties also existed between the dynasties of Burgundy and Cleves, an analogous transfer did not occur in that part of the Empire, as our fourth section demonstrates.

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[11] On the issue of the actual term *pas d'armes*, see Catherine Blunk, '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 (pp. 88, 91–2). What we present here is more a grid of possible defining characteristics than a strict definition.

[12] On the role of animosity in the Castilian *pas d'armes* compared to Burgundian ones, see Essay 6.

The *Paso de la Fuerte Ventura*, the first *pas d'armes*?

One of the first *pas d'armes* that we know of is described in four different chronicles and was celebrated on the Plaza Mayor of Valladolid on Tuesday 18 May 1428 under the aegis of the court of King Juan II of Castile (1405–54). The first and most extensive report of this event was written by Juan's falconer, Pedro Carrillo de Huete (*c.*1380–*c.*1448), who was knighted in 1407 and held office at the Castilian court until 1455.[13] The narrative forms part of his chronicle on the Castilian court under Juan II between 1420 and 1450. The transmission of the text, however, is somewhat complicated.[14]

The organiser of the *Paso de la Fuerte Ventura* was the Infante Enrique of Aragon (1400–45), third son of King Fernando I of Aragon (1380–1416), who had acted as regent of Castile in the years 1406–15 and made his young son *maestre* (grandmaster) of the Order of Santiago in 1409.[15] Enrique became one of the most prominent noblemen of Castile when he inherited the Castilian possessions of his father in 1416. The Aragonese had a heavy presence at the Castilian court in general and, in May 1428, in Valladolid in particular. Enrique's elder sister María (1396–1445), for example, was married to King Juan II of Castile, whereas his younger sister, the Infanta Leonor of Aragon (1402–45), was in Valladolid on her way from the Aragonese court to Lisbon, where she would marry the crown prince Infante Duarte I of Portugal (1391–1438). Also present in Valladolid was Enrique's elder brother, Juan II the Great of Aragon (1398–1479); he was the acting king of Navarre because of his marriage to Blanca I of Navarre (1385–1441). The only absentee was their elder brother, Alfonso V the Magnanimous (1396–1458), king of Aragon who, thanks to all these family ties, could pull many strings in the neighbouring kingdoms.

Enrique's main opponent at the Castilian court was Álvaro de Luna. The 1420s were characterised by political strife between them as leaders of competing factions of Castilian nobles in the late 1420s, so it is safe to say that the *Paso* took place in an atmosphere of intense rivalry.[16] The influence of Enrique and Juan II the Great on their brother-in-law, Juan II of Castile, had been so heavy that they managed to bring about the removal of Álvaro de Luna from court in August 1427. However, this triumph was short-lived because, in February 1428, the king restored the constable to office. The festivities of Valladolid may therefore have sought to re-establish the peace between the two rival factions at the Castilian court.[17]

The competitive spirit of the court is evident since the *Paso* was embedded in a series of chivalric events during the months of May and June that were organised by the main political protagonists of the Castilian court, each of whom did so in turn.[18] The festivities started on 2 May, when Álvaro de Luna jousted with seven knights (up to forty or fifty,

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[13] See Source 2.

[14] For a fuller discussion of this issue, see the introduction to Source 2, p. 59.

[15] Angus MacKay, 'Enrique, Infante of Aragón', in *Medieval Iberia. An Encyclopedia*, ed. by Edmund Michael Gerli (New York: Routledge, 2003), pp. 306–7; DBE, lemma 'Enrique de Aragon'.

[16] Sébastien Nadot, *Le Spectacle des joutes: Sport et courtoisie à la fin du Moyen Âge* (Rennes: Presses Universitaires de Rennes, 2012), p. 284; Teofilo F. Ruiz, *A King Travels: Festive Traditions in Late Medieval and Early Modern Spain* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2012), pp. 231–2.

[17] DBE, lemma 'Álvaro de Luna'.

[18] For this and what follows see, in particular, PCH, pp. 19–27; LB, pp. 59–66; and the summary and analysis by Ruiz, *A King Travels*, pp. 226–34, 335–8.

according to Álvar García de Santa María) in 'arnés real' (royal harness*) against Juan II and his two brothers-in-law, Juan the Great and Enrique of Aragon. The second event was the actual *pas* of Enrique of Aragon on 18 May, celebrated on the main square of Valladolid. Most chroniclers relate this as a one-day event, although García de Santa María mentions that the feast lasted for six days, during which Enrique was 'faciendo sus justas é otras caballerías de cade dia' (performing either jousts or other chivalric feats every day).[19] This would make sense, as the next 'fiesta', that organised by Juan II the Great of Aragon, king of Navarre, with five knights, took place on 24 May in the same square.[20] Their opponents were Juan II of Castile accompanied by ten knights, all dressed as hunters and carrying horns and javelins, preceded by a lion and a bear guarded by barking hunting dogs, and Don Enrique, who appeared with five knights armed with lances. On 6 June, Juan II of Castile, dressed as God the father, organised yet another royal joust on the main square with twelve knights, who were dressed as twelve saints, like the Apostles, each with the symbol of his martyrdom in his hands. This time, the opponents were Enrique together with twelve knights, Juan II the Great — who appeared within a rock on a horse with a man holding a banner on top of it — with fifty knights, and the count of Castro with another twenty knights. The fifth and final event consisted of an *emprise* worn by the Aragonese knight Luis de Falces, which was touched by the Castilian nobleman Gonzalo de Guzmán, lord of Torija. On 8 June, these two men subsequently jousted in the garden of the palace of San Pablo in Valladolid in the presence of all the royals.[21]

When we consider the five characteristic features of *pas d'armes*, it becomes clear that all these events had individual organisers who are identified as *mantenedores* (defenders). Although this element alone is not distinctive enough to define them all as *pas*, for the event organised by Enrique a obvious passage — a second feature — *is* described: this was an arch between two towers with a banner reading: 'Este es el arco del pasaje peligroso de la fuerte ventura' (This is the Arch of the Dangerous Passage of the Daunting Adventure). On top of the two towers, two men with horns were placed as if they were gatekeepers.[22] A lady on horseback was accompanied by a herald who would ask the challengers entering the lists through the arch which adventure had attracted them to come to this dangerous passage and remind them that they couldn't pass by it without jousting. This was definitely part of the fictional scenario — a third feature — of the *Paso*, although the different accounts do not spell out its meaning in detail. Even if chapters of arms are not specifically mentioned, some jousting rules do seem to have been in place. The description of an 'entremés' (borrowing the French term *entremets**, meaning 'interlude', in the Spanish original),[23] one involving eight damsels on horses with a cart pulled by two horses and twenty footsoldiers on which a unspecified 'goddess' and another twelve damsels were singing accompanied by minstrels, confirms the impression that there was much more

[19] AGSM, p. 16. On this chronicler, see Source 2, p. 59.

[20] PCH, p. 23. Compare LB, p. 62, who incorrectly dates the event to 24 March.

[21] This *emprise* is specifically mentioned by Cervantes in his *El ingenioso hidalgo don Quijote de la Mancha* of 1605. Martín de Riquer, *Vida caballeresca en la España del siglo XV* (Madrid: Gráficas Marina, 1965), pp. 67–8. Diego de Guzmán, brother of Gonzalo, would later touch the *emprise* of Jacques de Lalaing, which would lead to a foot combat on the nearby Plaza de San Pablo in February 1448. CL, pp. 171–6.

[22] PCH, p. 21.

[23] *Ibid.*, p. 21; LB, p. 60.

to see than jousting alone. Indeed, the accounts of the events organised by the kings of Navarre and Castile also indicate that there were disguises and role-playing. However, the ephemeral architecture, another characteristic feature, seems far less fully developed than in Enrique's *Paso*.

García de Santa María explicitly underlines that Enrique ordered the construction of the wooden buildings. He says it was estimated that it cost him more than 15,000 *florines*, and that most of this was spent on horses, horse equipment, silk and cloth of gold, as well as gowns with *argentaría**[24] for the members of his retinue. At the junction of the square with the Calle de Santiago, a Lombard from Enrique's entourage constructed a castle (alternatively called 'fortaleza' and 'Alcázar') that was made of wood and textiles but painted as if it was made of brick, thus alluding to royal power in general and (the coat of arms of) Castile in particular.[25] Next to the castle, a large gilded 'rueda de la aventura' (Wheel of Fortune) was placed with a richly adorned seat right in front of it, where a goddess would be seated. A 'tela de cañas' (tilt* made of canes) connected the castle with the arch mentioned above, hence mirroring the city gate of the Puerta del Campo at the end of the Calle de Santiago.[26] The largest tower of the ephemeral castle had not only four turrets but also a typical urban element, the belfry, on which a pillar was placed with a gilded griffin on top that held a large standard coloured white and red.[27] The griffin was the symbol of the Aragonese Order of the Jar, founded by Enrique's father, Fernando, in 1403. Although not explicitly mentioned by the Castilian chroniclers, this seems to imply that the *Paso* was performed under the aegis of this knightly order and not under that of the Order of the Band of King Juan II.[28] The belfry had varying functions according to the different chroniclers: Pérez de Guzmán says that the challengers rang it to indicate the number of jousts in which they wanted to engage, whereas in those reports derived from Carrillo de Huete, the bell functioned as a wake-up call for a lady, who would then interrogate the challengers, as noted above.[29]

In short, this ephemeral architecture was based on building traditions from princely, noble and urban environments, which brings us to the final features of the *pas*, namely the audience and the setting of the event. Valladolid is considered to be the centre of courtly and political activity during the reign of Juan II as most of the meetings of the Cortes (the

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[24] This term probably has the same meaning as *orfèvrerie** in French.

[25] Nadot, *Le Spectacle*, p. 195. Although Nadot assumes that the castle was a heraldic representation of Juan II of Castile, in reality the coat of arms of Castile contains a castle with three towers, with the middle one being a little bigger than the other two, whereas here only one tower was constructed.

[26] PCH, p. 21.

[27] A white mantle and stole were worn by members of the Order of Jar: see 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), p. 335. These colours of white and red may allude to St George, the patron saint of knighthood in general, or more specifically to the Enterprise or Order of St George, another knightly order founded in the 1370s by King Pere of Aragon, but no longer active in the 1420s as it was more or less replaced by the Order of the Jar. *Ibid*., pp. 279–88. On the belfry as an urban symbol of autonomy, see Essay 3.

[28] Boulton, *Knights*, p. 330. A griffin was attached to the collar of the Order. Although Nadot, *Le Spectacle*, p. 196, states that the griffin was the symbol of Fernando, then appropriated by his son Enrique, the crest of the kings of Aragon was in fact a dragon rather than a griffin, even if it is often hard to distinguish between these two heraldic animals.

[29] FPG, p. 250; PCH, p. 22; LB, p. 61.

representatives of the three Estates) were held there.[30] The *Paso* was celebrated in the main square of Valladolid, now the Plaza Mayor. Being the most important marketplace of the town, with several guild houses, it also had religious significance, with the convent of San Francisco occupying the greater part of its southern side. The king also used the square to exercise and display his jurisdictional powers: for example, just before the jousts took place, he had a man called Juan García de Guadalajara, a member of the knightly Order of the Band, beheaded on the square.[31] The public square of Valladolid was deliberately chosen for this event and not the more 'royal' square of San Pablo, where the king's residence was situated, let alone the more secluded gardens of that residence, where the *emprise* of 8 June was held. The public square was large enough to construct the ephemeral architecture, to enable the participants to perform a full-scale joust and to host a considerable number of spectators. The town administration was clearly happy to collaborate with the king and his relatives and to temporarily close off its most important square. Unfortunately, because of the lack of urban financial accounts, it is impossible to know if the town also helped to finance the building of this impressive ephemeral architecture, but local craftsmen were doubtless involved in its preparation.

The *Paso de la Fuerte Ventura* was thus definitely a spectacular event that should be considered as one of the first *pas d'armes* ever held. Yet, we should be wary of declaring this event to be the birth of the *pas*. We are simply well informed about it, as it constituted an important moment in the reign of Juan II with Álvaro de Luna back in charge, one that would lead to the forced exit from the Castilian court of both Enrique and Juan later in June 1428. There is no doubt that other events preceded the *Paso*, but received much less coverage in the narrative sources. Archival evidence, for example, suggests that Enrique's eldest brother, Alfonso V the Magnanimous, organised several tournaments between 1426 and 1428 on the square of the Mercat in Valencia, when he resided in the town for a prolonged period. These events were not described in detail in chronicles, but the costs were mentioned in the urban financial accounts. Hence, we know that they did include some *grans entremeses* (extensive interludes) built on three carts with crowned Roman goddesses, the construction of a wooden structure with five towers called the castle of the *Fada Morgana* (Morgan le Fay) — financed by the town administration — that was defended by the king and high-ranking courtiers against assailants, and the appearance of twelve Wild Men dressed in hemp and with big cardboard heads.[32] For the Valladolid festivities of 1428, Enrique must have been inspired in some respects by Alfonso's impressive chivalric undertakings.[33] This

[30] Francisco de Paula Cañas Gálvez, *El itinerario de la corte de Juan II de Castilla (1418–1454)* (Madrid: Silex Ediciones, 2007), pp. 71, 76.

[31] This man confessed, after being tortured, that he had falsified the name and seal of the constable of Castile when issuing several letters. FPG, p. 214; Ruiz, *A King Travels*, p. 336.

[32] Juan Vicente García Marsilla, 'El impacto de la Corte en la ciudad: Alfonso el Magnánimo en Valencia (1425–1428)', in *El Alimento del Estado y la salud de la Res Publica: Orígenes, estructura y desarrollo del gasto público en Europa*, ed. by Angel Galán Sánchez and Juan Manuel Carretero Zamora (Madrid: Instituto de Estudios Fiscales, 2013), pp. 291–308 (pp. 296–7).

[33] Juan Vicente García Marsilla, 'El poder visible: demanda y funciones del arte en la corte de Alfonso el Magnánimo', *Ars longa: cuadernos de arte*, 7–8 (1996), 33–47 (pp. 37–9); Álvaro Fernández de Córdova Miralles, 'L'impact de la Bourgogne sur la cour castillane des Trastamare', 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. 593–630 (p. 608 n. 75).

demonstrates that several characteristics of later *pas d'armes* were already present in Iberia in the 1420s. In most Iberian kingdoms, but especially in Castile and Aragon, the three factors that could establish a milieu favourable to this particular type of chivalric event — powerful princely institutions, a competitive *esprit de corps* amongst the nobles and a receptive urban environment — were in place. The question, then, is how the actual transfer and dissemination of this cultural form occurred from Iberia to north-western Europe.

From Iberia to Burgundy

Sébastien Nadot has already suggested that the immediate occasion of the *Paso de la Fuerte Ventura*, the subsequent marriage of the Infanta Leonor with the Portuguese crown prince Duarte, can be seen as a possible link between the Iberian realms and Burgundy, since a large Burgundian embassy was present in Lisbon in the spring of 1429 when this marriage was celebrated.[34] Among them were high-ranking nobles, such as Jean de Roubaix, Baudoin de Lannoy, André de Toulongeon, Pierre de Vaudrey, some heraldic officers and the court painter, Jan van Eyck, who had been commissioned to produce a portrait of Isabel of Portugal for her prospective future spouse, Duke Philip the Good.[35] In July, the marriage treaty was concluded and the ambassadors waited patiently for Isabel to travel with them by ship to the Burgundian lands. As part of this occasion, there were of course entertainments provided at the court, of which jousts and tourneys were an important part. Hence, marriages between royal and princely dynasties were essential in forging and cementing new forms of chivalric display. Nevertheless, it would be another fifteen years before the first Burgundian *pas d'armes* took place in 1443. We therefore have to consider other possible means of communication and transfer between the courts and nobilities of Europe.

The first point to make is that the Iberian Peninsula had long been an attractive destination for nobles from the Low Countries, either to fight in the so-called *Reconquista* and/or to undertake a pilgrimage to the shrine of St James in Santiago de Compostela in north-western Galicia.[36] For example, in June 1402, the seneschal of Hainaut, Jean de Werchin (1374–1415), wrote an *emprise* challenging all 'chevaliers, escuiers et gentilz hommes de nom et d'armes, sans reprouche' (knights, squires and noblemen in name and in arms, who are without reproach) between the towns of Coucy and Santiago de Compostela to take up arms against him while he completed his pilgrimage.[37] On his

[34] Nadot, *Le Spectacle*, pp. 19, 134.

[35] Louis-Prosper Gachard, ed., *Collection de documens* [sic] *inédits concernant l'histoire de la Belgique*, 3 vols (Brussels: Louis Hauman, 1834), vol. 2, pp. 64, 69.

[36] Werner Paravicini, 'Nobles Hennuyers sur les chemins du monde: Jean de Werchin et ses amis autour de 1400', in *idem*, *Noblesse: Studien zum adeligen Leben im spätmittelalterlichen Europa. Gesammelte Aufsätze*, ed. by Ulf-Christian Ewert, Andreas Ranft and Stephan Selzer (Ostfildern: Thorbecke Verlag, 2012), pp. 273–320 (pp. 283–6). For a discussion of the problematic ideological charges of the notion 'Reconquista', see Nikolas Jaspert, '"Reconquista". Interdependenzen und Tragfähigkeit eines wertekategorialen Deutungsmusters', in *Christlicher Norden – Muslimischer Süden. Ansprüche und Wirklichkeiten von Christen, Juden und Muslimen auf der Iberischen Halbinsel im Hoch- und Spätmittelalter*, ed. by Matthias M. Tischler and Alexander Fidora (Münster: Aschendorff Verlag, 2011), pp. 445–65.

[37] EdM, vol. 1, pp. 39–43; Werner Paravicini, 'Jean de Werchin, sénéchal de Hainaut, chevalier errant', in *idem*, *Noblesse: Studien zum adeligen Leben im spätmittelalterlichen Europa. Gesammelte Aufsätze*, ed. by Ewert, Ranft and Selzer, pp. 251–72; Martín de Riquer, *Caballeros andantes españoles* (Barcelona: Ariel, 2019), p. 118.

return, since he planned to pass through Portugal, Aragon, Valencia and Catalonia, it was clearly his intention to fight against Iberian knights. According to the Burgundian chronicler Enguerrand de Monstrelet (*c.*1390–1453), nobody showed up at Jean's place of departure, the court of the duke of Orléans, although the seneschal did indeed perform deeds of arms in seven different places on his way to Santiago, and at least once in Valencia,[38] and 'tous les princes qui estoient juges d'icelles armes furent contens de sa personne' (all the princes who were judges of these feats of arms were happy with his conduct).[39] The letter of the *emprise* was distributed in advance by his personal herald in all the territories and towns on his itinerary and it specified in detail the arms and armour to be used as well as some rules of engagement. It was not in fact Jean's first time in Iberia, nor his last: together with other Hainaut noblemen, he had already taken part in a tournament in Cardona (Catalonia) in 1399 and, in 1407, he took part in a feat of arms pitting four against four at the court of King Martín I (1356–1410) in Valencia.[40]

Jean de Werchin was definitely an example for the famous Burgundian knight Jacques de Lalaing (*c.*1421–53) during his own travels and chivalric exploits in Iberia in the 1440s and is indeed explicitly mentioned in the prologue of the latter's chivalric biography.[41] Jean's chivalric exploits therefore show that we should not simply focus on the axis Iberia–Burgundy *per se*, but rather consider that contacts took place in both directions and that earlier chivalric exchanges may have already influenced practices in Iberia beforehand.[42] Nadot may be right in suggesting that the Castilian chivalric tradition is key to understanding the spread of *emprises* and *pas d'armes* across Europe, but this tradition was not autonomous and must have been inspired and shaped in its turn by others, including Moorish ones.[43] The afore-mentioned cane games, a mock battle in which the participants were dressed as 'Moors' and threw spears made of canes at each other, is a good example in this respect. This game was practised widely by elites in Castile and Portugal, but also

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[38] This was on 7 April 1403 against Lluis d'Abella. See Paravicini, 'Jean de Werchin', based on Martín de Riquer, *Lletres de batalla: cartells de deseiximents i capítols de passos d'armes*, Els nostres clàssics, 3 vols (Barcelona: Barcino, 1963–68), vol. 1, pp. 63 n. 17, 68.

[39] EdM, vol. 1, p. 43.

[40] Paravicini, 'Jean de Werchin', pp. 130–1.

[41] CL, p. 76. In fact, Jacques's first diplomatic journey was to Iberia in the company of his friend and master, Johann, duke of Cleves, who escorted his sister, Agnes, to Olite in the kingdom of Navarre where she would marry Carlos, the successor to the crown. This costly expedition, from July 1439 until March 1440, was led by Jacques's father, Guillaume de Lalaing. As a prolongation of this journey, part of the company also went on pilgrimage to Santiago de Compostela. Monique Sommé, 'De Flandre en Navarre: le voyage d'Agnès de Clèves, nièce de Philippe le Bon et princesse de Navarre, en 1439', in *L'itinéraire des seigneurs (XIVe–XVIe siècles): actes du colloque international de Lausanne et Romainmôtier, 29 novembre–1er décembre 2001*, ed. by Agostini Paravicini Bagliani and Eva Pibiri (Lausanne: Cahiers lausannois d'histoire médiévale, 2003), pp. 173–92 (pp. 180–2); Werner Paravicini, 'Un tombeau en Flandre: Hervé de Mériadec', *Francia: Forschungen zur westeuropäischen Geschichte*, 34.1 (2007), 85–146 (p. 100).

[42] This important point has been made already by Fernández de Córdova Miralles, 'L'impact', pp. 608–9; and Eric 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 José García García and Alicia Esteban Estríngana (Madrid: Fundación Carlos de Amberes, 2010), pp. 561–606 (p. 571).

[43] Nadot, *Le Spectacle*, p. 135.

in Northern Africa, from the late fourteenth until well into the seventeenth century. Thus, it became part of a shared culture and its presence in the Christian context was more than merely an act of appropriation by the Castilian nobility. Cane games were often held during courtly festivities and Joyous Entries in Castile and, for the participants, dressing and fighting like 'Moors' served as a means of showing that they really belonged to the aristocracy, although not all participants had the necessary equestrian skills or the appropriate equipment.[44] The *pas d'armes* was thus not unique in being an equestrian event that was used as a distinctive feature of how to display a noble lifestyle.

Apart from the knightly traffic going from north to south, that from the Iberian to the Burgundian sphere should also be taken into account. Martín de Riquer, Teofilo Ruiz, Nadot and others have already listed in detail the names and feats of arms of the knights who travelled from Iberia to the north in the 1430s and 1440s, these being mainly from Castile but also some from Aragon: examples include Juan de Merlo, Pedro Vásquez de Saavedra, Gutierre Quijada, Diego de Valera, François L'Aragonais, Felip Boyl and Jean de Boniface.[45] Yet, the question remains as to how the actual transfer took place. We can discern three factors in this process of acculturation. The first is the detailed accounts made by Burgundian chroniclers such as Jean Lefèvre de Saint-Rémy (*c.*1396–1468) and Enguerrand de Monstrelet of the chivalric *emprises* undertaken by Iberian noblemen. For example, both chroniclers dedicate many pages to the feat of arms between Juan de Merlo and Pierre de Bauffremont during the Congress of Arras on 11–12 August 1435, after Bauffremont had touched Merlo's *emprise*.[46] The authors focus in particular on the creation of a level playing field, meaning that both competitors had to use the same kind of weapons.[47] The fact that Merlo — one of Álvaro de Luna's men[48] — was present at this highly political Congress that sought to conclude a peace between Burgundy and France, testifies to Juan II's attempts to reach beyond Iberia in his policies. Merlo continued his journey to Basel, where his *emprise* was touched by another knight, which also fits into this pattern of Iberian knights reaching out to their noble counterparts elsewhere in Europe.[49]

Of course, the event in Arras was an *emprise* rather than a *pas d'armes*, meaning that it did not necessarily involve a passage or symbolic object, a theatrical scenario or ephemeral architecture. Nevertheless, it shows how the duke (as a judge), his courtiers (as aides), the

[44] Javier Irigoyen-Garcia, *Moors Dressed as Moors: Clothing, Social Distinction and Ethnicity in Early Modern Iberia* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2018), pp. 28–39, especially p. 38: 'Moorish clothing for the game of canes was costly enough to be a sign of distinction and social status, but affordable enough to accommodate all sorts of local elites and not only titled nobles.' See also Noel Fallows, *Jousting in Medieval and Renaissance Iberia* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2010), pp. 283–4.

[45] On the complex Aragonese origins of Jean de Boniface, see CL, p. 122.

[46] At least according to this chronicle: 'Fuele tocada su enpresa por … Pierres de Brecemont, señor de Charni' (his *emprise* was touched by Pierre de Bauffremont, lord of Charny): see FPG, p. 338. Monstrelet, by contrast, describes Merlo as an 'appellant' (challenger) 'sans querelle diffamatoire, pour acquérir honneur' (without a dishonourable dispute, so as to acquire honour): EdM, vol. 5, p. 139. Lefèvre de Saint-Rémy, for his part, simply calls this event 'armes' without identifying the challenger: JLdSR, vol. 2, pp. 313–21; see also Richard Vaughan, *Philip the Good: The Apogee of Burgundy* (London/New York: Longman, 1970), p. 146; and Riquer, *Vida*, p. 37.

[47] JLdSR, vol. 2, pp. 313–21; EdM, vol. 5, pp. 138–43.

[48] Fernández de Córdova Miralles, 'L'impact', p. 608.

[49] FPG, p. 338; Riquer, *Vida*, p. 40.

competitors (with their appropriate arms and armour) and the high-ranking spectators all gave shape to this highly formalised feat of arms on the town's main market square. It also demonstrates how the chroniclers (and in the case of Lefèvre de Saint-Rémy, Toison d'or King of Arms, the highest-ranking officer of arms in the Burgundian lands) recorded the event, with its as yet unwritten rules, for posterity. These accounts were read or heard by courtly audiences in the following years and so it comes as no surprise that many of these rules would later appear in the chapters of arms of Burgundian *pas d'armes* of the 1440s. The fact that both Lefèvre de Saint-Rémy and Monstrelet signal that Merlo had his visor raised during the combat on foot may even have inspired Jacques de Lalaing to do the same during many of his own feats of arms.[50]

The recruiting policy of the Burgundian dukes is a third factor of importance which may help explain the process of chivalric exchange. The Burgundian household was a melting pot that integrated different political, linguistic and cultural traditions. Pedro Vásquez de Saavedra is an interesting case with which to illustrate this point. His origins are uncertain, but Olivier de La Marche (*c.*1425–1502), a Burgundian courtier and historiographer, describes him as a knight from Castile. Vásquez's military track record and participation in (as well as his organisation of) several *pas d'armes* is impressive. Together with Diego de Valera, he was one of the two Castilian knights who took part in the *Pas de l'Arbre Charlemagne* of 1443, fighting with a raised visor against the *entrepreneur* Pierre de Bauffremont, lord of Charny.[51] The announcement of the event (i.e. through its chapters of arms) by a herald at the Castilian court — although Vásquez heard about it when he was in London — can be interpreted as yet another form of rapprochement between Castile and Burgundy. According to La Marche, the Castilian nobleman was at that time already known to members of the duke's household, who had seen him participating in a feat of arms in Cologne and who regarded him as an 'homme renommé' (man of renown); he would in fact go on to become a chamberlain of Philip the Good in that same year, at the instigation of Bauffremont.[52] The following year he took part in a naval expedition to Constantinople and the Black Sea, directed against the Ottoman Turks, that was under the command of Waleran de Wavrin.[53] In 1449–50, he participated in Jacques de Lalaing's *Pas de la Fontaine des Pleurs* as his aide.[54] In 1452–53, he fought in the Ghent war and, a year later, he made his vow at the Feast of the Pheasant in Lille, where he took part in the *Pas du Chevalier au Cygne*.[55] Together with Antoine of Burgundy, also known as the Great Bastard of Burgundy, and Philippe de Crèvecœur, Vásquez started to organise the *Pas de la Dame Inconnue* in Bruges in February 1463, but this event never actually took place as

[50] CL, pp. 131, 201–2, 239.

[51] See Source 4, p. 73.

[52] OdlM, vol. 1, pp. 296, 305; Riquer, *Caballeros*, p. 155; PCB no. 1056.

[53] Riquer, *Caballeros*, pp. 156–9. Waleran de Wavrin (also known as Waleran de Berlettes) was a nobleman from Walloon Flanders, a chamberlain of Philip the Good and the leader of a naval expedition from 1444 to 1446 against the Ottoman Turks. PCB no. 662.

[54] CL, pp. 223–4.

[55] 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; actes du colloque international tenu à Paris les 9, 10 et 11 octobre 2007*, ed. by Werner Paravicini, Torsten Hiltmann and Franck Viltart (Ostfildern: Jan Thorbecke Verlag, 2013), pp. 253–88 (p. 265); Nadot, *Le Spectacle*, p. 136; MdE, vol. 2, p. 129; VdF, pp. 146, 344–5.

no challengers showed up.[56] In 1468, however, he did participate in the *Pas de l'Arbre d'or* at Bruges. Thus, what started as a one-off participation in a *pas d'armes* evolved into a far more permanent relationship between Vásquez and the Burgundian duke, his household and the chivalric endeavours of the Burgundian court over several decades. In this sense, it is questionable whether Vásquez and other Castilian knights were really exploring other European battle and tournament fields in their own right. It is more probable that he himself was influenced by chivalric practices at the Burgundian court, rather than merely bringing novelty into a fairly well-established princely and noble environment.

A fourth factor that underpins the cultural transfer of the *pas d'armes* concerns the widespread circulation of chapters of arms. We know that heralds were expressly sent by *entrepreneurs* to courts elsewhere in Europe, and that they played a fundamental role in the dissemination of these written documents. For example, Burgundian heralds travelled with these texts to the courts of Castile and Aragon to announce the *pas d'armes* organised by Pierre de Bauffremont in August 1443 near Dijon, as well as the feats of arms that Jacques de Lalaing was going to undertake in Castile in 1447–48. Bauffremont's chapters of arms were even translated into Catalan to make it easier for the knights in Aragon to understand what was expected of them.[57] Likewise, the chapters of arms that the Aragonese knight Felip Boyl used for his *emprise* were translated into English when he came to the court of King Henry VI (1421–71) in 1444–45.[58]

We also know that Burgundian knights sent challenges around Europe calling upon members of royal entourages to participate in *pas d'armes*. However, the exact intention of these challenges was not always clear and so noblemen from distant countries were not always inclined to travel a long way to attend them. For example, the Burgundian chronicler Georges Chastelain (*c.*1414/5–75) reports how Antoine of Burgundy, Philippe de Crèvecœur and the above-mentioned Pedro Vásquez de Saavedra sent letters of challenge carried by Charolais Herald to 'tous roys et royaumes chrestiens' (all Christian kings and realms) concerning a *pas d'armes* to be held in the lands of the duke 'pour la querelle et instance d'une dame' (for the dispute and at the request of a lady). According to Chastelain, Christian I, king of Denmark, Norway and Sweden, sent a squire named Henry to tell the duke in August/September 1463 at the court in Hesdin that the king and his knights would always be prepared to defend women and the oppressed, but that he really needed to know more about the 'secret de cestuy pas, de la nature et condition de la dame et de sa querelle, et de la manière et condition de la bataille qui se devoit faire pour elle, et en quel lieu' (secret of this *pas*, of the nature and condition of the lady and her quarrel, of the conditions of the battle that had to be fought on her behalf and in what place). Clearly, other foreign knights had some doubts about this *pas*, better

[56] For more detail, see Essay 3. See also Hiltmann, 'Un État', pp. 258–9, for further bibliographical references.

[57] Riquer, *Caballeros*, p. 154; and the translation in *idem*, *Lletres*, vol. 3, pp. 10–18. The chapters of arms of the *Paso Honroso* were also translated from Castilian into Catalan. See *ibid.*, vol. 2, pp. 137–45. For the visit of the herald Châteaubelin to the court of Juan II to announce the *Pas de l'Arbre Charlemagne*, see Source 3, p. 69. La Marche (OdLM, vol. 1, p. 322) specifically mentions that the Savoyard nobleman Martin Ballart, when presented before the duke during Bauffremont's *pas*, spoke 'en son piemontois' (in his Piedmontese). Jacques de Lalaing repeatedly needed a French-speaking courtier to communicate with the rulers of Iberia during his travels there. CL, pp. 179–80, 185.

[58] Riquer, *Caballeros*, p. 149; and the translation in *idem*, *Lletres*, vol. 3, pp. 25–6.

known as the *Pas de la Dame Inconnue*, because in the end nobody showed up, according to Chastelain, although Antoine himself maintained that this was because of the crusade that he had to lead in the duke's stead.[59] In short, challenges and chapters of arms circulated widely, from Portugal to Norway, informing knights of different princely and royal courts of the nature of the *pas d'armes*, but only to a certain extent. In these cases, the Burgundian court appears to have functioned as a chivalric centre that attracted foreign knights, although in others it worked also as an exporter of chivalric games, as we will see in the following section.

FROM BURGUNDY TO SAVOY

Although Savoy is not one of the territories that typically appear in historical analyses of the *pas d'armes*, events of this type were indeed organised in the Alpine duchy. Between 1498 and 1522, five potential *pas d'armes* can be identified — potential, because the sources leave certain points in the dark, and none of these feats of arms clearly combines all of the five characteristics of the *pas d'armes* established at the beginning of this essay. However, the overall impression is that, fifty years after France, Anjou and the Burgundian lands had adopted and transformed this specific type of chivalric event, Savoy was in turn influenced by the *pas d'armes* phenomenon.

Savoy was situated south of Burgundy and occupied, just like the latter, large territories on the margins between the kingdom of France and the Holy Roman Empire. In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, the dukes of Savoy ruled over an area that extended from Lake Geneva to the port of Nice on the Mediterranean, and from the gates of Lyon to eastern Piedmont. Despite its large size, however, Savoy remained a secondary power on the European chessboard and had far fewer financial resources than, for example, the Burgundian composite state. It had enjoyed something of a golden age from 1391 to 1439 under the reign of Amédée VIII (1383–1451), a count of Savoy who had been elevated to the rank of duke by Emperor Sigismund in 1416. After his reign, the duchy entered a long phase of political decline. During the second half of the fifteenth century, no fewer than seven dukes (some of them mere children) succeeded each other on the throne of Savoy, thus considerably weakening ducal power both politically and financially.[60]

Yet, from the end of the fifteenth century to 1522, several feats of arms were organised at the Savoyard court. This chivalric vogue spanned the reign of two dukes in particular: Philibert II (Figure 6), from 1497 to 1504, and Charles II of Savoy, from 1504 to 1553. Meanwhile, the Italian Wars (1494–1559), during which France and the Empire were fighting against each other for possession of territories in Italy, gave the weakened Savoyard state more and more strategic importance. Indeed, most of the Alpine passes granting access to the Italian peninsula from the north were located on Savoyard territory; the authorisation of the duke of Savoy was therefore necessary for anyone wanting to send armies to Italy. Moreover, the marriages contracted by these two dukes were both above their

[59] GC, vol. 4, pp. 311, 370–2. For the detailed description of Duke Philip the Good's authorisation and the chapters, see JDI, pp. 474–82. According to a letter written in 1466 by a squire of Antoine of Burgundy, this *pas* could not take place because of Pope Pius II's crusade plans: see MT, pp. 81, 335.

[60] For the political context, see Thalia Brero, *Rituels dynastiques et mises en scène du pouvoir: Le cérémonial princier à la cour de Savoie* (Florence: SISMEL Edizioni del Galuzzo, 2017), pp. 3–22.

Figure 6. Duke Philibert II of Savoy (1480–1504). Portrait bust (walnut wood) made by Conrad Meit, Mechelen, *c.*1518. 12.5 × 29 × 10.8 cm. London, British Museum, Waddesdon Bequest, WB 261. Photo: The Trustees of the British Museum.

rank and clearly illustrate Savoy's sudden political ascension: in 1501, Philibert II married Margaret of Austria (1480–1530), daughter of Emperor Maximilian I and the duchess Mary of Burgundy; in 1523, his younger brother and successor, Charles II, married Beatriz of Portugal (1504–38), daughter of King Manuel I of Portugal and María of Aragon.

Like the Burgundian composite state, Savoy was multilingual and brought together several distinct geographical and cultural areas. Bisected by the Alps, the Savoyard duchy encompassed a French-speaking area in the north (the 'Savoie propre' (actual Savoy) from which the ruling family originated) and an Italian-speaking area in the south. Originally, the Savoyard rulers had dominion only north of the Alps and their first capital was Chambéry. However, by the end of the fifteenth century, the centre of gravity of the duchy began to shift southwards towards Piedmont.[61]

When *pas d'armes* were organised in Savoy at the turn of the sixteenth century, the duke's household was still predominantly French-speaking and composed mainly of aristocrats from north of the Alps. However, the process of Italianisation had already begun. Piedmontese nobles were multiplying in the duke's entourage and an ever-increasing proportion of members of the household came from Italian-speaking territories, as the court resided more and more in the south, particularly around Turin, which was to become the capital of the duchy in the second half of the sixteenth century.

[61] Lino Marini, *Savoiardi e piemontesi nello Stato sabaudo (1418–1601)* (Rome: Istituto storico italiano per l'Età Moderna e Contemporanea, 1962).

The ruling family of Savoy had demonstrated a strong dynastic identity and chivalric consciousness as early as the fourteenth century. For example, it was among the first ruling dynasties in Europe to create an order of chivalry, the Order of the Collar (1364), it adopted an elaborate funeral ceremony[62] and it used sophisticated emblems as insignia of its power.[63] Yet, a century later, the situation was quite different. Far from being a centre of innovation, the Savoyard court conformed in almost every respect to Franco-Burgundian custom, both in the organisation of the household and in the way that ceremonies were conducted. This may suggest a deliberate strategy on the part of the Savoyard dukes to assert their place in international politics by imitating prestigious models that were recognised throughout Europe.

Thus, despite their increasing orientation towards their southern possessions, the dukes of Savoy continued to follow the cultural influence provided by their neighbours in the north-west. They were speaking French, they married mostly princesses from the French sphere, and cultural life at court was mainly inspired by Francophone courts, even if they were princes of the Empire. Yet, even more than from the kings of France, they seem to have drawn inspiration from the dukes of Burgundy, with whom they had established close ties. In 1393 already, Amédée VIII of Savoy had married Marie of Burgundy, daughter of Duke Philip the Bold. It is therefore probably no coincidence that, a century later, Savoy would undergo some kind of chivalric revival precisely at the time of the wedding between the descendants of these two dynasties, when Philibert II of Savoy married Margaret of Austria, the only daughter of Mary of Burgundy and Maximilian I — who was himself known for his passion for tournaments and chivalric culture.[64]

Indeed, in the first decades of the sixteenth century, most Savoyard court events were directly inspired by Burgundian examples. For instance, the chivalric Order of the Collar, which had fallen into oblivion, was revived in 1518 by Charles II. He renamed it the Order of the Annunciation and provided new statutes that were practically identical to those of the Burgundian Order of the Golden Fleece that had been created by Duke Philip the Good in Bruges in 1430. The rituals of the Savoyard court also seem to have come under Burgundian influence: in 1534, the funeral of a Savoyard prince, Philippe, count of Genevois, was modelled entirely on that of Philip the Fair in Mechelen, as described by Jean Lemaire de Belges in 1507.[65]

The festivities and splendour of the Burgundian court were very well known in Savoy, thanks to accounts written by the people who had attended them. Savoyard contingents were, for example, present at some Burgundian *pas d'armes*, especially the

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[62] Counts Amédée VI (d. 1383) and Amédée VII (d. 1391) both had double funerals: during the first, their bodies were buried quite simply in the Savoyard necropolis, Hautecombe; during the second, magnificent funeral ceremonies took place, with a knightly offering whereby weapons, horses and banners were presented to the church: see Nadia Pollini, *La mort du prince: Rituels funéraires de la Maison de Savoie (1343–1451)* (Lausanne: Cahiers lausannois d'histoire médiévale, 1994) pp. 71–5.

[63] Luisa Gentile, *Riti ed emblemi: Processi di rappresentazione del potere principesco in area subalpina (XIII–XVI secc.)* (Turin: Silvio Zamorani Editore, 2008), pp. 139, 262.

[64] See below, pp. 358–61.

[65] Thalia Brero, 'La fête de l'ordre de l'Annonciade. Une innovation cérémonielle du duc Charles II de Savoie', in *Mémoires de cours: Études offertes à Agostino Paravicini Bagliani par ses collègues et élèves de l'Université de Lausanne*, ed. by Bernard Andenmatten *et al.* (Lausanne: Cahiers lausannois d'histoire médiévale, 2008), pp. 303–33; *eadem*, *Rituels dynastiques*, pp. 489–90.

two that were closest to the Savoyard borders. At the first of these, in 1443, Duke Louis of Savoy attended the *Pas de l'Arbre Charlemagne* near Dijon with his wife Anne of Cyprus, his brother Philippe, count of Geneva, the herald Savoy and several noblemen from the duchy. Two of them, his favourite Jean de Compeys and Jacques de Challant, distinguished themselves during combat, although a Piedmontese called Martin Ballart made a very bad impression by being ridiculously boastful, at least according to Olivier de La Marche.[66] At the second event, held seven years later in 1450, Jacques d'Avanchy, a Savoyard nobleman who belonged to the household of Louis of Savoy, took up Jacques de Lalaing's challenge at the *Pas de la Fontaine des Pleurs* in Chalon-sur-Saône, through the intermediary of Piedmont, herald of the duke of Savoy, who, on his behalf, touched the shields that had been set up for all comers so as to indicate their acceptance of Lalaing's challenge.[67] A number of knights-errant also passed through Savoy: for example, the Aragonese Jean de Boniface came to challenge Jean de Compeys in Savoy in 1447, and, two years later, Duke Louis presided over the joust that took place between the two of them on the castle square of Turin.[68]

This circulation of men and women between Savoy and Burgundy — it being important not to overlook the significance of foreign brides and their retinues in the cultural transfers between courts — went hand in hand with that of written testimonies and reports of chivalric undertakings. Shortly after the wedding of Charles the Bold and Margaret of York in Bruges (1468), a *Traictié des noces de monseigneur le duc de Bourgoigne et de Brabant* reached the Savoyard court.[69] This narrative (a variant of Olivier de La Marche's account of the same event) includes a description of the *Pas de l'Arbre d'or* organised as part of the wedding celebrations by Antoine, the Great Bastard of Burgundy.[70] Two years later, La Marche's account of the *Pas de la Dame Sauvage*, that was staged in Ghent in 1470 by the Burgundian nobleman Claude de Vaudrey,[71] was addressed to Philippe of Savoy (1438–97), count of Bresse and Bugey, who became duke of Savoy towards the end of his life, in 1496.

Of course, Savoy had its own tradition of tournaments; they are documented from the reign of Count Amédée VI (1334–83) onwards, he being known as the 'Green Count' because he was particularly renowned for wearing this colour during jousts.[72] Between

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[66] OdLM, vol. 1, pp. 266, 295–6, 302, 309–10, 320–3; Pierre du Bois, 'Chronique de la Maison de Challant', ed. by Orphée Zanolli, *Archivium Augustanum*, 4 (1970), 63–7. On the Ballart incident, see also Essay 6. On Challant, see Source 4, pp. 76–7; for a short poem by an unknown author on his extracurricular fight against Diego de Valera as part of the latter's *emprise*, see CPM.

[67] CL, pp. 232, 240–3, 249. Jacques d'Avanchy turned out to be one of the three prize winners of the *Pas* and was rewarded with a golden sword by Lalaing.

[68] Gentile, *Riti ed emblemi*, p. 63.

[69] Auguste Dufour and François Rabut, eds, 'Description inédite des fêtes célébrées à Bruges en 1468 à l'occasion du mariage du duc Charles le Téméraire avec Marguerite d'York', *Mémoires de la Commission des antiquités de la Côte-d'Or*, 9 (1877), 311–53.

[70] OdLM, vol. 3, pp. 101–200; on the dissemination of these wedding narratives, see Werner Paravicini, 'The Court of the Dukes of Burgundy. A Model for Europe?', in *Princes, Patronage and the Nobility: The Court at the Beginning of the Modern Age (c. 1450–1650)*, ed. by Ronald G. Asch and Adolf M. Birke (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991), pp. 69–102.

[71] Bernard Prost, ed., *Traicté de la forme et devis comme on faict les tournois par Olivier de la Marche, Hardouin de la Jaille, Anthoine de la Sale, etc.* (Paris: A. Barraud, 1878), pp. 55–6.

[72] Eugene L. Cox, *The Green Count of Savoy: Amadeus VI and Transalpine Savoy in the Fourteenth Century* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1967), pp. 92–8.

1347 and 1356, at least nine tournaments were organised in the Savoyard territories north of the Alps; some chronicles (in particular the one written by Jean d'Orville, known as Cabaret) give detailed descriptions of these events.[73] During the first decades of the fifteenth century, which correspond to Amédée VIII's reign, the financial accounts of the court mention a dozen jousts; these were often organised in connection with courtly celebrations but not in any systematic fashion. For instance, in 1433, Jean Lefèvre de Saint-Rémy, in his capacity as Toison d'or, accompanied Philip the Good to Chambéry for the sumptuous wedding between Louis of Savoy and Anne of Cyprus. The King of Arms and chronicler noted with surprise that 'fust la feste sans tournoy et jouste' (there was no tournament or joust accompanying this celebration).[74]

From the 1440s onwards, in parallel with the political and economic decline of the duchy, the practice of jousting clearly diminished at the Savoyard court and ceremonies became more modest. Of course, chivalric activities did not disappear completely, thanks to noblemen such as Jean de Compeys, as noted above. Indeed, some sources indicate that derivatives of *pas d'armes* were practised in Savoy.[75] However, it is not until the very end of the fifteenth century that *pas d'armes* do seem to have been organised on a larger scale. The sources mention five such events.

The first took place in Geneva. On 19 March 1498, a 'faict d'armes' (feat of arms) that seems to have had the structure of a *pas d'armes* was organised in the city. This event is known thanks to a list that summarises the names and coats of arms of the four defenders (Philibert de Challant, Bertrand de Lucinge, 'Ferriez' and Ognas) and the forty-four challengers (among whom were the duke himself and his half-brother, René, the Great Bastard of Savoy), but does not specify who the *entrepreneur* was.[76] This laconic document says nothing about a fictional plot or setting, but it does suggest an event of some magnitude, given the fact that almost fifty combatants participated in it. This feat of arms was possibly linked to the Joyous Entry of Philibert II into the town that had taken place three weeks earlier, on 24 February 1498.[77]

The second event also happened in Geneva, but three years later, in 1501. When Duke Philibert II married Margaret of Austria in Romainmôtier on 1 December 1501, the couple left almost immediately for Geneva, where the new duchess of Savoy made her Joyous Entry on 8 December. A few days later, 'grosses joustes de .VI. qui receurent tous venans' (great jousts where six [defenders] received all challengers) were organised in the same town in a very elaborate setting. We know of the event thanks to the description of

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[73] On tournaments at the Savoyard court, see Gentile, *Riti ed emblemi*, pp. 57–60.

[74] JLdSR, vol. 2, p. 297.

[75] In 1445, on Shrove Tuesday, the crown prince, the future Amédée IX of Savoy, is said to have fought 'contre tous vennans' (against all comers) but, as he was only ten years old at the time, the combats must have had a playful rather than a martial dimension: see Gentile, *Riti ed emblemi*, p. 61. In February 1466, the duchess Yolande of France organised a tournament in Chambéry at which four gentlemen appeared to be defending a *pas*: see Elio Colombo, *Iolanda, duchessa di Savoia (1465–1478)* (Turin: Paravia, 1893), p. 11.

[76] TG, pp. 373–7. A. Fourtier, who edited this document in the nineteenth century, found it among the original manuscripts collected in the seventeenth century by Samuel Guichenon, who summarises it in his *Histoire généalogique de la royale Maison de Savoie*, 5 vols (Turin: J. M. Briolo, 1778–80), vol. 2, p. 183.

[77] François Bonivard, *Chroniques de Genève*, ed. by Micheline Tripet, 3 vols (Geneva: Droz, 2001–14), vol. 1, p. 235.

the Burgundian chronicler Jean Molinet (1435–1507), who was in the service of Archduke Philip the Fair, Margaret's brother.[78]

The third of these events was organised in Bourg, the main town of Bresse, in April 1503, when the ducal couple held a reception here for Philip the Fair, who, on his way back from a trip to Spain, stopped in Savoy to visit his sister Margaret. A *pas* had been prepared to entertain the visitor, but both princes fell ill and the combat was postponed. However, it took place a few days later in a simplified version. The events are reported in Antoine de Lalaing's account of Philip the Fair's first voyage to Spain, as mentioned in the introduction of this essay.[79]

The fourth *pas* was organised in Carignano, in Piedmont, where the court of Savoy gathered from 18 to 20 February 1504 to attend the wedding of Laurent de Gorrevod, grand squire of Duke Philibert II and one of his favourites, and Philippa de La Palu.[80] This event served as a pretext for the duke to organise a 'pas à la barriere à pied' (a *pas* on foot at a barrier), which lasted three days and brought together twenty-six competitors. This event is recounted in the only Savoyard account specifically dedicated to recording a feat of arms. Although the original is lost, the text has come down to us through a trustworthy seventeenth-century edition.[81]

The fifth event took place eighteen years later, in 1522, in Ivrea. Duke Philibert II had died a few months after the *Pas* of Carignano. He was succeeded by his brother, Charles II, who seems to have been less enthusiastic about tournaments: it was only on the occasion of the christening of his first child, Adrien, in December 1522, that a feat of arms of some magnitude was organised once again in Savoy. This chivalric event is reported in a very long account of the baptism written in Italian.[82] The festivities lasted for four days; the second and third days were devoted to jousting. Hence, the account of the combats is part of a larger text describing other celebrations as well.

The evidence we have for each of these five events is very uneven. The first three feats of arms were organised north of the Alps and their existence is known only through relatively brief passages of documents that are not specifically dedicated to the events themselves, namely a list of participants and passages taken from two Burgundian chronicles. The other two events, those organised in Piedmont, are reported in accounts that were explicitly written to commemorate them and which devote dozens of pages to the jousts. It should also be noted that these five feats of arms were all organised as entertainments in the context of courtly ceremonies: Joyous Entries (Geneva, 1498 and 1501), the reception of a foreign prince (Bourg, 1503), a wedding (Carignano, 1504) and a baptism (Ivrea, 1522).

To what extent can these events really be characterised as *pas d'armes*? In order to determine this, let us analyse them in the light of the five essential characteristics outlined at the beginning of this essay. The first key element is the *entrepreneur* at the origin of the *pas d'armes*. The Savoyard sources are rarely explicit on this matter, but there is one exception:

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[78] JM, vol. 2, pp. 495–6.

[79] CdV, pp. 287–9.

[80] Philippa de La Palu was daughter of Hugues de La Palu, count of Varax. Her sister married Claude de Vaudrey, who is mentioned below in the context of his combat against Maximilian: see HBB, p. 300.

[81] PC, pp. 469–77; see also Source 15.

[82] ARCT, pp. 251–437.

Antoine de Lalaing clearly indicates that the *entrepreneur* of the *pas d'armes* in Bourg (1503) was the 'baron de Chevron': 'il fist publier une tres-belles armes' (he had a very fine feat of arms proclaimed).[83] This was probably François de Chevron-Villette, who was a councillor and chamberlain of Philibert II.

The texts documenting the other four events point to the duke of Savoy himself as the *entrepreneur*. In Geneva in 1498, it was decided to 'faire faict d'armes pour le bon plaisir et commandement de notre très redoubté seigneur monseigneur le duc de Savoye' (organise a feat of arms by order of, and for the pleasure of, our lord, the duke of Savoy).[84] Six years later, at the *Pas* of Carignano in 1504, two knights having supposedly been told by 'la deesse Fame' (Fama, goddess of Fame) of the forthcoming wedding of the grand squire Laurent de Gorrevod, 'pour honnor[er] la feste ont entreprins tenir ung pas' (held a *pas* to celebrate the occasion).[85] The two men are not named but, since the defenders of the *pas* were Duke Philibert II himself and a nobleman called Sibuet de La Balme, we can probably assume that they were also the *entrepreneurs*. In the Savoyard context, where feats of arms were generally part of larger courtly festivities, it is not surprising that the *entrepreneur* was often the duke himself.

The second key characteristic of a *pas d'armes* is that the *entrepreneurs* defend a passage or a symbolic object against challengers, alone or with the help of other defenders. It is clear that *tenans** and *venans** (defenders and challengers) are both present in the five feats of arms of our corpus. This is also indirectly confirmed by a decorative element: an artificial tree, from which the defenders' shields were hung, was present at three of the events in question. In Geneva in 1498, four combatants were 'attendant contre tous venants', who put 'leurs escus à l'arbrose pour faire faict d'armes' (waiting for challengers to come who would hang their shields on the tree in order to proceed to undertake a feat of arms).[86] In Bourg in 1503, a pine tree from which hung three plain shields (one grey, one yellow and one red) as well as the arms of seven 'deffendans' was put on a platform. These defenders undertook to fight all challengers who presented themselves, the nature of the combat depending on which shield they touched, a recurring feature of many *pas d'armes*.[87] Finally, in Ivrea in 1522, the defenders' shields were arranged on an artificial tree, where a 'nymph' hung a red shield that the challengers had to strike in order to ask for permission to do combat.[88]

While there is no doubt about the presence of defenders and challengers, the sources do not always indicate what exactly they had to defend. In several cases, the only element to be guarded seems to have been a barrier, protected by some defenders as they sought to prevent challengers from crossing it. For instance, Molinet states that in Geneva, in 1501, knights 'deffendirent une barrière contre tous venans' (defended a barrier against all challengers),[89] though they did not succeed very well in performing this task, since the structure ended up in pieces. At Carignano, in 1504, the defenders were once again two knights (including the duke), who had 'entreprins tenir ung pas … à tous venans deux à

[83] CdV, p. 287.
[84] TG, p. 373.
[85] PC, p. 469.
[86] TG, p. 373.
[87] CdV, p. 287.
[88] ARCT, p. 329.
[89] JM, vol. 2, p. 497.

deux' (held a *pas* against all challengers, two by two). The first two days were dedicated to a 'pas à la barrière à pied' (*pas* at the barrier on foot), followed by jousting on horseback with swords on the third day; in addition, individual jousts and running at the ring* were also part of the festivities.[90] The first day of the 1522 feat of arms at Ivrea was likewise dedicated to 'il corere a l'annello' (running at the ring) and to jousting, with the second day being devoted to a 'fiera pugna alla barriera' (fierce combat at the barrier).[91] In Savoy, a *pas d'armes* could thus involve many different types of combat.

There is, then, no doubt about the noblemen involved in the Savoyard *pas*, the actual role they played and the diverse combat forms that they practised. As for the staging of the event and the remaining three characteristics of a *pas d'armes* — namely, the fictional setting, the audience and the location — these merit further attention. Let us deal first with the latter two, as the question of the theatrical production and the fictional scenario will be treated more extensively later. The two earliest *pas* in our corpus (1498 and 1501) took place in Geneva, which was then, together with Turin, the largest town in the duchy of Savoy: both cities had a population of just over 10,000 at that time.[92] The third *pas* took place in 1503 in Bourg, which was the largest town in Bresse, but probably had no more than 3000 or 4000 inhabitants. The last two events took place in Carignano (1504) and Ivrea (1522), respectively 20 km south and 50 km north of Turin. Both were relatively small towns, but they hosted castles where the Savoyard household regularly took up residence. While the Carignano *pas d'armes*, which was held in the courtyard of the castle, was a fairly select event attended mainly by courtiers, the Ivrea *pas* was also accessible to an urban audience.

Nevertheless, it is difficult to get a grasp of the actual impact of the *pas* on the Savoyard nobility and, more widely, on the subjects of the duke. The texts refer to the audience in a largely indirect way, mentioning the ladies, the judges and the heralds only in passing to confirm that they were present. Yet, it is typical of these accounts to emphasise the presence of noble ladies and not to mention any urban audience: the authors apparently wanted to avoid bothering their intended readership with details about the spectators that would have transformed the *pas* into an urban event. Only the account of the *pas* of Ivrea in 1522 repeatedly mentions the public, referring to an urban audience as well as spectators from the nobility. For example, it describes the installation of stands in the square next to Ivrea castle, including a platform leaning against the castle for 'una innumere turba de damicelle, nobille et citadine' (an innumerable crowd of damsels from the nobility and the town alike).[93] This account mentions that the crowd flocked to watch the combats in the square, but, furthermore, that people were also watching the spectacle from the windows and the rooftops.[94] Of particular interest are the emotions of the audience described in the narrative: the ladies turn pale during particularly violent exchanges and the audience is saddened when two Piedmontese knights suffer such a severe blow that one almost dies and the other is carried off with a broken leg.[95]

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[90] PC, p. 469.

[91] ARCT, p. 349.

[92] Rinaldo Comba, ed., *Storia di Torino, vol. 2: Il basso Medioevo e la prima età moderna (1280–1536)* (Turin: Einaudi, 1997), pp. 431–2; DHS, lemma 'Genève (canton)'.

[93] ARCT, p. 350.

[94] *Ibid*., pp. 326, 332–3, 349.

[95] *Ibid*., pp. 356–8.

Further evidence of audience involvement in the spectacle at Ivrea is that burlesque interludes took place between two combats specifically to amuse the spectators: for example, a hideous nun mingled with the audience with firecrackers and rockets that exploded under her skirts. To avoid her, the spectators moved away and fell over, which caused general hilarity. Later, firecrackers attached to the tail of a mule, ridden by a mock-priest, made everyone laugh.[96] There is little doubt that this large audience included more than just the Savoyard court and the bourgeoisie of Ivrea. Indeed, the text itself mentions 'l'inepta et fremente plebe' (the uninitiated and excitable people) — that is, commoners — who were apparently so numerous that one could not see the ground anymore.[97] People had probably come from further afield to see this courtly festivity, at least from as far away as Turin.

To come back to the third characteristic associated with the *pas d'armes*, that of the presence of a fictional/theatrical scenario, it is true to say that the Savoyard sources focus on the names of the participants, their clothing and their performances rather than on a narrative framework that highlights a passage in the form of a bridge, a crossing or other construction that had to be defended. Indeed, these elements are given very little prominence in our texts. However, the presence of ephemeral architecture does provide us with valuable clues about a fictional scenario underpinning the organisation of the event, as we saw above in the case of the *Paso de la Fuerte Ventura*.[98] In Geneva in 1501 and in Bourg in 1503, the settings of the feats of arms recall the ephemeral architecture built for Joyous Entries.[99] In Geneva, for instance, the jousting took place close to an artificial castle decorated with the head of an enormous lion (possibly a reference to Margaret of Austria's coat of arms, which included such an heraldic device); nearby was the 'jardin d'Austrice' (garden of Austria), decorated with daisies (*marguerites* in French). The combats were started off by six fire-breathing dragons that flew from the highest tower of the castle and bore the arms of the six jousters.[100] The simultaneously personal and dynastic dimension of these settings suggests that some elements from the Joyous Entry that Margaret of Austria had received in this city a few days earlier had been reused for the joust itself.

Similarly, Antoine de Lalaing reports that in Bourg in 1503, next to the tree bearing the shields, was 'l'ymage d'une pucelle bien accoustrée, pareille à l'entrepreneur, jettante par ses mamelles eaue en une fontaine, et emprès elle quatre homes saulvages bien faicts' (the representation of a well-dressed maiden, dressed in a similar fashion to the *entrepreneur*, whose breasts spouted forth water, and near her were four very convincing Wild Men).[101] This fountain had in fact been presented to Margaret of Austria at her Joyous Entry into Bourg in the previous year, so it was an effective recycling of an attraction that had worked well on that occasion.[102] This was probably also the case with the Wild Men, these being symbols of fertility and essential figures in the entries offered to young brides, who were expected to produce offspring for the dynasty that they were joining. In any case, a new

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[96] *Ibid.*, pp. 358–9, 362–3.

[97] *Ibid.*, p. 344. The same topos is also used by chroniclers to describe the audience at tournaments in Brussels. See Mario Damen, 'The Town as a Stage? Urban Space and Tournaments in Late Medieval Brussels', *Urban History*, 43.1 (2016), 47–71 (pp. 59–61).

[98] See above, pp. 327–30.

[99] Brero, *Rituels dynastiques*, pp. 291–305.

[100] JM, vol. 2, pp. 495–6.

[101] CdV, p. 288.

[102] Jules Baux, *Histoire de l'Église de Brou* (Lyon: impr. de A. Vingtrinier, 1854), pp. 27–8.

life was given to these artefacts, which, transposed to the context of the joust, were put at the service of creating a fiction. The fact that the giant maiden of the fountain was dressed like the *entrepreneur* (i.e. in matching colours) could well be an indication of this; when he changed his clothes, she also changed hers, probably following a narrative of some kind.[103]

In addition to the use of ephemeral architecture itself, the descriptions of the fights allow us to hypothesise about some of the details of a probable fictional scenario underpinning these chivalric events. In Geneva in 1501, a Piedmontese knight arrived in the lists led by a ten-year-old girl wearing a splendid dress 'à lettres d'or' (with golden letters), who held him prisoner by a white silk belt to which he was tied.[104] The motif of the knight imprisoned by a lady was recurrent in many *pas d'armes*, such as the *Pas du Perron Fée* (Bruges, 1463), where, in order to regain his freedom, the prisoner had to agree to challenge other knights in different kinds of combat.[105] The figure of the 'Slave-Knight' had also appeared in the *Pas de l'Arbre d'or*, an account of which circulated in Savoy.[106] Apart from references to well-known motifs familiar from Burgundian *pas*, the scenarios of the Savoyard *pas* would also seem to have come under other influences. At Carignano in 1504, for example, the herald's proclamation opening the *pas* evokes images from classical antiquity: he announces that Cupid has gathered his subjects and that in the presence of Juno, Pallas and Venus, the marriage of 'a nymph' and her future husband (i.e. Philippa de La Palu and Laurent de Gorrevod) was agreed upon.[107] This kind of role-playing indicates that the intended courtly audience had at least some familiarity with the characters and stories of Roman mythology.

In the Savoyard corpus, if the descriptions of the combats themselves do not provide extensive information about possible fictional/theatrical/narrative scenarios, the nocturnal entertainments and post-combat parties do give us some valuable clues. Indeed, the dances that took place during all of the evening entertainments at the Carignano *pas* could well have been intended to be a continuation of the narrative of the jousts, since their choreography mimed a combat.[108] A 'momerie par mode de combats' (*momerie** in a fighting mode), and others featuring Amazons and Slave-Knights respectively entertained the participants during the three evenings of the *pas*. These dramatised dances were performed by members of the Savoyard court, including the duke and duchess themselves.[109]

The second evening of the Carignano *pas*, 19 February 1504, is particularly interesting. The entertainment began with the arrival of the duke and three other noblemen disguised as hermits. Next, a herald-damsel dressed in a coat of arms adorned with the cross of St Andrew[110] made her entrance. She proclaimed that the queen of the Amazons, having

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[103] CdV, p. 288.

[104] JM, vol. 2, pp. 495–6.

[105] On the *Perron Fée*, see Essay 3 and Source 11a.

[106] OdLM, vol. 3, pp. 164, 168. On the figure of the Slave-Knight, the knight imprisoned by a lady or the prisoner of love in the *pas d'armes*, see Nadot, *Le Spectacle*, pp. 171–5, 184.

[107] PC, p. 469.

[108] *Ibid*., pp. 476–8.

[109] Margaret McGowan, *La danse à la Renaissance: Sources livresques et albums d'images* (Paris: Bibliothèque nationale de France, 2012), pp. 39–45; Alison Rosie, 'Morisques and Momeryes: Aspects of Court Entertainment at the Court of Savoy in the Fifteenth Century', in *Power, Culture and Religion in France c.1350–c.1550*, ed. by Christopher Allmand (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1989), pp. 57–74 (pp. 59–60, 69–71).

[110] St Andrew was the patron saint of the dukes of Burgundy, Margaret of Austria's ancestors.

Figure 7. Amazons. *Le secret de l'histoire naturelle contenant les merveilles et choses mémorables du monde* (France, *c.*1480–85). Paris, BnF, fr. 22971, fol. 2r. Photo: BnF.

heard of the *pas d'armes* held by the duke of Savoy, had sent troops to Carignano to assist him. Two female trumpeters then announced their arrival, and four Amazons (including Margaret of Austria herself) and their pages (including Claude of Savoy, illegitimate daughter of the duke's father), all dressed in extravagant warrior costumes, came into the room, then danced a *moresca** (Figure 7).[111]

[111] PC, p. 476. See also the reading of this episode in Essay 6.

The following evening, a *momerie* based on the theme of the Slave-Knight was presented. Four gentlemen dressed in white satin shirts danced into the room, accompanied by four ladies, 'qui les emmenoient encheinés de grosses et longues cheines d'or comme esclaves' (who led them in on long, thick chains of gold as if they were slaves).[112] These dancers were the two defenders of the *pas d'armes*, Duke Philibert II of Savoy and Sibuet de La Balme, Laurent de Gorrevod, the bridegroom whose wedding was being celebrated by the *pas*, and Claude de Balleyson, one of the duke's favourites. Suddenly, four other knights appeared, seemingly intent on kidnapping the ladies. As the women untied their prisoners, a combat ensued in which Philibert particularly distinguished himself: 'n'en y eust nul qui se peut comparer à mondit seigneur, car d'un coup d'espée abattit un sien chevallier adversaire, et d'un aultre coup d'espée un aultre, de sorte qu'il lui rompit une espaule' (none of them was a match for my said lord who, with one stroke of his sword, brought down one of the opposing knights as well as another with a second stroke that ended up dislocating this man's shoulder).[113] The evenings at Carignano were thus perhaps the extension of a narrative that had begun during the day's jousts, but which employed a different register — dancing instead of fighting — and gave the ladies an active part in the scenario.

It should also be noted that, unlike most Burgundian *pas d'armes*, the main plot of the *Pas* of Carignano was based not on chivalric romances but rather on classical mythology. Of course, elements from antiquity were not absent from fifteenth-century feats of arms. We may recall, for example, the goddesses who appeared in the decorations of the Castilian feats of arms of the 1420s, the *entremets* based on the theme of the 'Twelve Labours of Hercules' in the *Pas de l'Arbre d'or*, or Mars and Pallas dictating to Claude de Vaudrey the chapters of his duel with Maximilian in Worms in 1495.[114] Nevertheless, this fictional setting evoking classical antiquity seems to be a novel feature for a *pas d'armes*, one that underwent considerable development towards the turn of the sixteenth century. It should also come as no surprise that this synthesis between a form of chivalric entertainment from the French-speaking world and a theme very much in vogue in the Italian peninsula took place precisely in a principality that straddled the Alps.

The tournament organised in Ivrea in 1522 for the baptism of Adrian of Savoy likewise probably employed a classical context. Beginning with a pyrotechnical show,[115] it entertained the audience with an artificial storm composed of smoke, thunder and lightning, which, when it dissipated, revealed a ruined tower on top of which a naked and crowned little boy stood, holding a sword in his right hand and a sceptre in his left. At his feet, the golden letters 'Petite pluie abat grand van' (A small rain can drive away a strong wind) were written: a clear reference to the newborn who was destined to rule Savoy.[116] This representation, with its classical overtones, coupled with the 'nymph' who hung the combatants' shields on the tree, also suggests a Greco-Roman context. Similar allusions can also be observed during the prize-giving ceremony in the evening, which

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[112] PC, p. 478.

[113] *Ibid*.

[114] See below, p. 359.

[115] On the use of a similar device in what may well be a Scottish example of a *pas d'armes*, see Essay 5.

[116] ARCT, pp. 333–4. *Le livre des faits de messire Jacques de Lalaing* reports that at the time of the *Pas de Nancy*, the expression 'pou de pluie abat grant vent' (a little rain can drive away a great wind) was used by the duchess of Calabria, Marie of Bourbon, to predict the success of Jacques de Lalaing, who was then only a young squire. LF, p. 94; CL, p. 113.

was probably scripted. The same scene was repeated several times: one of the duchess's ladies-in-waiting awarded that day's winner a piece of jewellery, while giving a speech full of classical references that was certainly not improvised. With an equally elaborate reply, the winner, out of modesty, refused the prize and gallantly offered it in return to the lady. Thanks to these dramatic twists and turns, the fictional atmosphere of the *pas* can be seen to have continued outside the lists.[117] As at Carignano, the evening festivities at Ivrea are described in detail in the sources, and one may well wonder whether the *pas* was in fact just one of several components of a festive scenario that linked together ceremony, jousting, banqueting and night-time entertainment.

At the beginning of this essay, we postulated three conditions characterising cultural contexts in which the *pas* can develop, which we can now apply to the case of Savoy. First, an elaborate courtly infrastructure was definitely in place in this duchy, which, despite certain difficult periods, was still one of the most important ducal houses in western Europe. The second condition, a lively spirit of chivalry, is more difficult to discern. Although the crusading ideal was in decline around the turn of the sixteenth century, Duke Philibert still attempted to embody the chivalric ideals of the past. The Savoyard *pas d'armes* had a brief golden age under his reign, when he organised four of them (out of the five we know of) over a period of six years. Born in 1480, Philibert was seventeen years old when he came to power and only twenty-four when he died. Although traditional historiography presents him as being more interested in hunting than in ruling, one could also add jousting to his list of passions, as he was expected to take part in all of the above-mentioned feats of arms.[118] Illness prevented him from being one of the defenders in Bourg in 1503, but he fought alongside his half-brother René, the Great Bastard of Savoy, in Geneva in 1498 and in 1501, and was the star of the *pas d'armes* of Carignano in 1504. As organiser of this *pas*, he was also one of its two defenders, receiving a prize from the ladies and distinguishing himself in the nocturnal dance performances. His youth and his temperament were clearly related to the frequency of feats of arms that took place during his reign. His wife, Margaret of Austria, was herself present at three of the four feats of arms in which he took part. Moreover, she actively participated in the last one since she helped to sponsor it, as is demonstrated by her financial accounts in which the costumes for the dances performed at Carignano appear on her expenses.[119]

Yet, there is another explanation for the duke's endeavours to revive the *pas d'armes*: the fact that the Savoyard dynasty, after many difficult decades, was trying to return to the forefront of the European political scene. This was spurred on by the Italian Wars, which, as we have seen, suddenly gave the duchy an unprecedented importance. As part of its efforts, the court of Savoy began a process of staging power through ceremonies, taking inspiration from the great Burgundian courtly celebrations of the time of Philip the Good and Charles the Bold, which remained an important point of reference in terms

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[117] Thalia Brero, 'Soirées festives et vie nocturne à la cour de Savoie', in *Le Banquet: manger, boire et parler ensemble (XIIe–XVIIe siècles)*, ed. by Bruno Laurioux, Agostino Paravicini Bagliani and Eva Pibiri, Micrologus Library, 91 (Florence: SISMEL Edizioni del Galluzzo, 2018), pp. 229–60 (pp. 238–40).

[118] On the subject of the princes participating in tournaments, see Torsten Hiltmann, 'Ideal und Physis. Der spätmittelalterliche Fürst in Turnier und Zweikampf', in *Die Performanz der Mächtigen: Rangordnung und Idoneität in höfischen Gesellschaften des Mittelalters*, ed. by Klaus Oschema *et al.* (Ostfildern: Jan Thorbecke Verlag, 2015), pp. 121–49.

[119] See Source 15, pp. 311–12.

of magnificence. There was, of course, one important difference between the Savoyard and the Burgundian contexts: in Savoy, chivalric events that can be seen as *pas d'armes* were organised by the duke himself, whereas those held in the Burgundian lands were staged by noblemen, albeit with the consent and sponsorship of the duke, which were indispensable.

The third condition fostering the development of the *pas* is the urban setting that allowed such events to be staged and watched by a large audience. Although Savoy was far less urban than the central principalities of the Burgundian composite state, it was characterised by two fairly densely populated regions (the possessions north of the Alps and Piedmont), which were separated by a cultural desert, the Alps.

It is true, however, that the Savoyard *pas d'armes* were, above all, internal events in the duchy, without a real international dimension. With a few exceptions, such as the 'chevaliers franchois' (French knights) who showed up in Bourg in 1503 to challenge the defenders, or the noblemen who came from the Low Countries in the retinue of Margaret of Austria, the combatants were almost all from the Savoyard territories north of the Alps. The feat of arms at Ivrea in 1522 was innovative, as Piedmontese courtiers of more recent extraction also took part in the combats, which clearly indicates a desire to integrate all the nobility of Savoy.[120] It was also the last feat of arms that was organised in Savoy for a period of some sixty-five years; the duchy had fallen on hard times, particularly between 1536 and 1559, after the invasion by Bern and France, which led to its being dismantled. In 1587, the duke of Savoy, Charles-Emmanuel I, organised jousts in the great hall of the castle of Turin to celebrate the baptism of his first-born son, Philip-Emmanuel. The pattern of the *pas* was preserved: two defenders, the 'Dédaigné' and the 'Désespéré' (the Scorned and the Desperate), prevented the challengers from entering the 'Temple de la Félicité amoureuse' (Temple of the Joy of Love). In very elaborate settings, the charge was led by the duke himself and other members of the court in what were probably choreographed combats.[121]

Finally, let us return to the varied means by which the actual narratives of Savoyard *pas d'armes* have come to our knowledge. Two of them (Geneva, 1501 and Bourg, 1503) are by Burgundian writers, Jean Molinet and Antoine de Lalaing; two others (Carignano, 1504 and Ivrea, 1522) were written by Savoyards, but they have come down to us thanks to later printed versions, the original manuscripts having been lost. How many others might have escaped our notice? For example, Gaspar Correia, a Portuguese chronicler, indicates that following the wedding of Charles II of Savoy and Beatriz of Portugal, which took place in Nice in 1523, a tournament was held; the chronicler does not give any details except that the audience was struck by a woman leading two knights who were held captive by

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[120] Gentile, *Riti ed emblemi*, pp. 65–6. On the question of the integration of the nobility, see also Essay 6.

[121] Gualterio Rizzi, ed., *Repertorio di feste alla corte di Savoie (1346–1669). Raccolto dai trattati di C. F. Ménestrier* (Turin: Centro Studi Piemontesi, 1973), pp. 5–6; Domenico Filiberto Bucci, *Il Solenne Battesimo del Serenissimo Prencipe di Piemonte Filippo Emanuelle […]* (Turin: Bevilacqua, 1588), pp. 18–46, 55–60. On early modern tournaments, see Helen Watanabe O'Kelly, *Triumphal Shews: Tournaments at German-Speaking Courts in their European Context, 1560–1730* (Berlin: Gebr. Mann Verlag, 1992); Marina Viallon, 'Never-Ending Chivalry: Tournaments in Renaissance France from Charles VIII to Louis XIII', in *Tournaments: A Thousand Years of Chivalry*, ed. by Stefan Krause (London: Thomas del Mar, 2022), pp. 101–15.

golden chains.[122] This pattern, which is found in the Burgundian *Pas de l'Arbre d'or*, in the Savoyard *pas* of Geneva in 1501 and that of Carignano in 1504, may well suggest that a *pas*, of which nothing else is known, was organised on this occasion. In short, the Savoyard *pas d'armes* — essentially internal events that were usually linked to other celebrations — were far less 'mediatised' than their Burgundian counterparts, but they attest clearly to the fact that the cultural transfer of *pas d'armes* occurred in a wider geographical and chronological framework than scholars have hitherto thought.

THOU SHALT NOT *PAS*? THE LIMITS OF CULTURAL TRANSFER

While the *pas d'armes* spread from the Iberian realms to France, Burgundy and probably even Savoy, a closer look at the regions further east reveals the limits of this transfer. Several territories and their ruling dynasties developed very close ties to the Burgundian dukes, who became princes of the Empire themselves as a result of the expansion of their rule during the fifteenth century.[123] However, the *pas d'armes* did not spread into the German-speaking parts of the Empire. The duchy of Cleves and the case of Emperor Maximilian I furnish two particularly telling examples of its failure to do so.

Starting in the later fourteenth century, the counts and dukes (as of 1417)[124] of Cleves became tightly integrated into the Burgundian sphere.[125] Adolf of the Mark (1332/33–94), the first count who ruled over Cleves and the Mark, struck an alliance with the French king Charles VI (1368–1422). Because of the latter's illness, which effectively prevented him from ruling during prolonged periods, a regency council was established in which the Burgundian duke Philip the Bold (1363–1404) played a central role.[126] Adolf's son, Adolf II of Cleves (1373–1448), intensified this Burgundian orientation: he became the vassal of Duke John the Fearless (1371–1419) and even married John's daughter, Marie, in 1406.[127]

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[122] José Pereira da Costa, ed., *Gaspar Correia, Crónicas de D. Manuel e de D. João III (até 1533)* (Lisbon: Academia das Ciências, 1992), p. 155.

[123] Robert Stein, *Magnanimous Dukes and Rising States: The Unification of the Burgundian Netherlands, 1380–1480* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017), pp. 19, 35–48.

[124] See Manuel Hagemann and Hiram Kümper, *1417: Kleve wird Herzogtum. Mit der Erhebungsurkunde vom 28. April 1417 in Transkription, Übersetzung und Kommentar* (Cleves: Klevischer Verein für Kultur und Geschichte, 2017).

[125] Abraham Glezerman and Michael Harsgor, *Cleve – ein unerfülltes Schicksal: Aufstieg, Rückzug und Zerfall eines Territorialstaates* (Berlin: Duncker & Humblot, 1985); *Land im Mittelpunkt der Mächte: Die Herzogtümer Jülich, Kleve, Berg* (Cleves: Boss, 1984). For relations with Burgundy, see Gregor Hövelmann, 'Die Anfänge der Beziehungen zwischen Kleve und den Herzögen von Burgund', *Annalen des Historischen Vereins für den Niederrhein*, 161 (1959), 232–43; Petra Ehm, *Burgund und das Reich: Spätmittelalterliche Außenpolitik am Beispiel der Regierung Karls des Kühnen (1465–1477)* (Munich: R. Oldenbourg Verlag, 2002), pp. 28–35, 37–43.

[126] Hiram Kümper, 'Adolf III. von Kleve-Mark (*1332/33–†1394): Zweimal (fast) Bischof und Begründer der Union mit Kleve', in *Die Grafen von der Mark: Ein biographisches Handbuch*, ed. by Dietrich Thier and Stefan Pätzold (Witten: Bergischer Verlag, 2021), pp. 251–86 (pp. 253–56). On Charles VI and Philip the Bold, see Bernard Guenée, *La folie de Charles VI, roi bien-aimé* (Paris: Perrin, 2004); Richard Vaughan, *Philip the Bold: The Formation of the Burgundian State* (London/New York: Longman, 1962), pp. 44, 56.

[127] The marriage was consummated in 1415 (Marie was born in 1394): see Jens Lieven, 'Adolf IV./II. (1394–1448) und Johann I. von Kleve-Mark (1448–1481)', in *Die Grafen von der Mark: Ein biographisches Handbuch*, ed. by Dietrich Thier and Stefan Pätzold (Witten: Bergischer Verlag, 2021), pp. 303–28

At least four of Adolf and Marie's children received their education at the Burgundian court.[128] The couple's first son (and Adolf's successor) Johann (1419–81) is thought to have arrived in the Burgundian lands as early as 1428; in 1430, his retinue became part of the household of the duchess, Isabel of Portugal (1397–1471).[129] Johann was present at the peace Congress at Arras (1435),[130] received gifts from his uncle Philip the Good and appeared regularly in the 'écroes de gages' (salary lists) from January 1436 onwards.[131] Contemporaries were well aware of this: the Cleves chronicler Gert van der Schuren mentions that Johann was called 'dat kynt van Ghent' (the child of Ghent), because he attended school there, and that he became well acquainted with the 'Ruterwerk' (business of knighthood).[132] Present at several key moments of Burgundian history,[133] Johann also chose a Burgundian alliance when he married his wife Élisabeth in 1455: her parents were Jean of Burgundy, count of Nevers and Rethel, and Jacqueline d'Ailly. In 1451, Johann was finally elected as a knight of the Order of the Golden Fleece.[134]

Several other members of the Cleves dynasty were equally drawn into the Burgundian sphere, not least by way of marriages that Philip the Good arranged for his nieces.[135] Johann's younger brother, Adolf of Cleves (1425–92), who married Beatriz of Coimbra in 1453, also became a knight of the Order of the Golden Fleece (1456).[136] He was undoubtedly the most 'Burgundian' member of his family, with the strongest record of engagement in tournaments. As lord of Ravenstein, he held an important lordship and castle in fief in the northern part of the duchy of Brabant and continued to play a key part in Burgundian politics well after the demise of Charles the Bold (1433–77).

Adolf II of Cleves and his descendants were thus literally part of the Burgundian family and well acquainted with the court's culture, including feasts, banquets and tournaments, during which they repeatedly played major roles. This situation provided ample

(pp. 307–8); Bertrand Schnerb, *Jean sans Peur: Le prince meurtrier* (Paris: Éditions Payot & Rivages, 2005), pp. 183, 185–6.

[128] Holger Kruse, *Hof, Amt und Gagen: Die täglichen Gagenlisten des burgundischen Hofes (1430–1467) und der erste Hofstaat Karls des Kühnen* (Bonn: Bouvier, 1996), pp. 152–3.

[129] Holger Kruse and Werner Paravicini, eds, *Die Hofordnungen der Herzöge von Burgund. Band 1: Herzog Philipp der Gute 1407–1467*, Instrumenta, 15 (Ostfildern: Jan Thorbecke Verlag, 2005), pp. 97–8.

[130] André Bossuat, ed., *Antoine de la Taverne, Journal de la Paix d'Arras (1435)* (Arras: L'Avenir, 1936), pp. 33–4, 53, 56 and *passim*. GvdS, p. 146; Dieter Scheler, 'Köln oder Brüssel: die heimlichen Hauptstädte von Kleve-Mark', in *Dieter Scheler: Stadt und Kirche, Land und Herrschaft am Niederrhein in Mittelalter und anbrechender Neuzeit. Gesammelte Studien*, ed. by Hiram Kümper and Andrea Berlin (Münster/New York: Waxmann, 2019), pp. 27–41 (p. 29).

[131] Jacques Paviot, ed., *Portugal et Bourgogne au XVe siècle (1384–1482): Recueil de documents extraits des archives bourguignonnes* (Lisbon/Paris: Centre Culturel Calouste Gulbenkian/Commission nationale pour les commémorations des découvertes portugaises, 1995), p. 259; Scheler, 'Köln oder Brüssel', p. 29; Kruse and Paravicini, *Die Hofordnungen*, p. 97. Earlier appearances of Johann in the *écroes* first concern his father's retinue, then remain sporadic: PCB no. 0384.

[132] GvdS, p. 146; Lieven, 'Adolf IV./II.', p. 319. See also Joël Blanchard, ed., *Mémoires de Philippe de Commynes*, 2 vols (Geneva: Droz, 2007), vol. 1, p. 390.

[133] Scheler, 'Köln oder Brüssel', pp. 28–36; Lieven, 'Adolf IV./II.', p. 319.

[134] COTO, pp. 109–12.

[135] Adolf's daughters, Katharina and Maria, were an essential part of Philip the Good's marriage politics: see Vaughan, *Philip the Good*, p. 124; C. A. J. Armstrong, 'La politique matrimoniale des ducs de Bourgogne de la maison de Valois', *Annales de Bourgogne*, 40 (1968), 5–58, 89–139 (p. 19).

[136] COTO, pp. 131–4.

opportunity for cultural transfer[137] and pertinent examples can be found in several contexts, although it remains difficult to establish whether individual objects or practices definitively reflect strictly Burgundian influence. The dukes of Cleves were, for example, amongst the first princes in the Holy Roman Empire to produce 'ordinances' (i.e. normative texts that regulated the structure of the household) for their court.[138] Their funerary tradition was also probably inspired by Burgundian examples: the sepulchral monuments in Cleves share similarities with the tombs at Champmol, where the dukes of Burgundy were buried, and Adolf II's foundation of a Carthusian monastery at Wesel as a new dynastic burial place may equally have followed this model.[139] As for more chivalric traditions, Adolf II founded an Order of St Anthony that may have been inspired by the Golden Fleece,[140] although it remained rather short-lived, disappearing from the sources in 1483, and could not compete with its more exclusive and prestigious model.

Most importantly, however, members of the house of Cleves repeatedly participated in tournaments in the Burgundian lands and beyond, including *pas d'armes*. Johann I, for example, jousted at Dijon (or Besançon) and Brussels.[141] In Lille, he organised one of the feasts that paved the way for the famous Feast of the Pheasant in 1454, during which his brother Adolf announced his *Pas du Chevalier au Cygne*;[142] the famous tournament champion Jacques de Lalaing was described as his *mignon* (protégé).[143] How deeply Johann was imbued with Burgundian culture is expressed in one quite spectacular episode: in the summer of 1448, he challenged the archbishop Dietrich of Cologne to a single combat in order to avoid more military bloodshed during the Soest Feud![144] Nothing came of this initiative,

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[137] On the influence in the arts, see Hans Peter Hilger, 'Kleve und Burgund', in *Land im Mittelpunkt der Mächte: Die Herzogtümer Jülich, Kleve, Berg* (Cleves: Boss-Verlag, 1985), pp. 209–33. For a recent attempt to collect and analyse pertinent material, see Marian Bornemann, 'Vorbild Burgund? Die Hoforganisation und Hofkultur der Herzöge von Kleve im 15. Jahrhundert' (unpublished MA dissertation, Ruhr-Universität Bochum, 2022).

[138] Klaus Flink and Bert Thissen, eds, *Die klevischen Hofordnungen* (Cologne/Weimar/Vienna: Böhlau, 1997). In this respect, Paravicini, 'Court of the Dukes', pp. 90–1, has to be slightly modified, since these texts were not available to him at the time of publication.

[139] Lieven, 'Adolf IV./II.', p. 318; Hilger, 'Kleve und Burgund', pp. 225–7; for Champmol, see Renate Prochno, *Die Kartause von Champmol: Grablege der burgundischen Herzöge 1364–1477* (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 2002).

[140] Leo Peters, 'Der jülichsche Hubertus- und klevische Antonius-Ritterorden', in *Land im Mittelpunkt der Mächte: Die Herzogtümer Jülich, Kleve, Berg* (Cleves: Boss-Verlag, 1985), pp. 125–32 (pp. 128–30). The foundation 'before 1435' allows for Burgundian influence, but it might have taken place as early as 1420 (the charter is lost). Adolf I had already established at least two — albeit rather short-lived — chivalric societies.

[141] OdLM, vol. 1, p. 267 (Dijon or Besançon, 1442), vol. 2, pp. 52–3 (Brussels, 1444). On the author's penchant for waxing lyrical about those whom he considered to be chivalric heroes, see Jean Devaux, 'Le culte du héros chevaleresque dans les *Mémoires* d'Olivier de la Marche', *PCEEB*, 41 (2001), 53–66; see also Catherine Emerson, *Olivier de la Marche and the Rhetoric of Fifteenth Century Historiography* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2004).

[142] OdLM, vol. 2, pp. 333, 346 (Johann at Lille); MdE, vol. 2, p. 114; VdF, pp. 31–2, 109–13.

[143] OdLM, vol. 1, p. 268; see also Klaus Oschema, *Freundschaft und Nähe im spätmittelalterlichen Burgund: Studien zum Spannungsfeld von Emotion und Institution* (Cologne/Weimar/Vienna: Böhlau, 2006), p. 373; and CL, introduction, pp. 17–18.

[144] Joseph Hansen, ed., *Westfalen und Rheinland im 15. Jahrhundert. Vol. 1: Die Soester Fehde* (Leipzig: Hirzel, 1888), pp. 356–7, 360–2. In the early 1440s, the city of Soest sought to liberate itself from its

as was the case in virtually all of such challenges that we know of (not to mention the singularity of challenging a cleric), but Johann's attempt strongly resembles a comparable proposition by Philip the Good, who had challenged Duke Humphrey of Gloucester in 1425 in order to settle the conflict over the territories of Jacqueline of Bavaria.[145]

Johann's brother Adolf of Cleves had an even more illustrious chivalric career, distinguishing himself in jousts at Dijon, Lille and elsewhere.[146] Georges Chastelain mentions his participation, amongst other occasions, in a tournament organised by Charles, count of Charolais, at Lille in August 1458.[147] On this occasion, Adolf, Philippe Pot and Pedro Vásquez de Saavedra publicly wore an *emprise* and proposed to organise a more fully fledged event that might have become a *pas d'armes*. They didn't succeed, however: although they sent their chapters to England, owing to the political situation the English noblemen did not receive their king's permission to leave and take up the three men's challenge.[148]

In the same year, Adolf was one of the noblemen who accepted a challenge organised by Guillaume de Meuillon (or Moullon) that was carried by a 'Moor' to the Burgundian court: Chastelain recounts that Duke Philip allowed twelve members of his court to touch the *emprise*, but insisted that the rest of the proceedings were to take place in a setting where the ladies could be present.[149] This *Pas du Compagnon à la Larme Blanche*, referred to by the name chosen for himself by Guillaume in his fictional framework, finally took place in October 1458 at Le Quesnoy.[150] It was unusual in the series of Burgundian *pas d'armes* in that its *entrepreneur* was neither a vassal of Duke Philip nor a member of the Golden Fleece.[151] Chastelain explicitly refrained from describing it in more detail 'pour ce que ne furent que joustes' (because the affair merely concerned jousts)[152] and never calls it a *pas d'armes*. Still, his narrative highlights two participants: Adolf of Cleves and Antoine of Burgundy, the Great Bastard.[153] Exactly a decade later, in 1468, these two were once again the central protagonists during the *Pas de l'Arbre d'or* in Bruges on the occasion of Charles the Bold's

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lord, the archbishop of Cologne, and offered its allegiance to Duke Adolf II of Cleves. The conflict had wide repercussions and lasted from 1444 to 1449: see Heinz-Dieter Heimann, 'Die Soester Fehde', in *Soest. Geschichte der Stadt. Bd. 2: Die Welt der Bürger. Politik, Gesellschaft und Kultur im spätmittelalterlichen Soest*, ed. by Heinz-Dieter Heimann, Wilfried Ehbrecht and Gerhard Köhn (Soest: Mocker & Jahn, 1996), pp. 173–260 (pp. 236–7).

[145] Vaughan, *Philip the Good*, pp. 38–9; on princely combats, see also Élodie Lecuppre-Desjardin, 'Le duel judiciaire dans les villes des anciens Pays-Bas bourguignons: privilège urbain ou acte de rébellion?', in *Agon und Distinktion: Soziale Räume des Zweikampfs zwischen Mittelalter und Neuzeit*, ed. by Uwe Israel and Christian Jaser (Berlin: LIT-Verlag, 2016), pp. 181–97 (pp. 184–5).

[146] OdLM, vol. 1, p. 286 (Dijon, 1443?); vol. 2, pp. 379 (Lille, 1454), 401 (Lille, 1454).

[147] GC, vol. 3, p. 452.

[148] *Ibid*., vol. 3, pp. 454–5. In 1455, the conflicts between York and Lancaster that led to the Wars of the Roses had erupted.

[149] *Ibid*., vol. 3, pp. 463–4.

[150] GCC, pp. 127–32: see Source 9. See also Nadot, *Le Spectacle*, p. 131 (Nadot terms it the *Pas du Quesnoy*: see *ibid*., pp. 89, 266, and dates the event to 1456).

[151] See Jacques Paviot, 'Le rôle des ordres de chevalerie dans la ritualisation de la cour', in *Rituels et cérémonies de cour de l'Empire romain à l'âge baroque*, ed. by Delphine Carrangeot, Bruno Laurioux and Vincent Puech (Villeneuve-d'Ascq: Presses Universitaires du Septentrion, 2018), pp. 97–106 (p. 105).

[152] GCC, p. 128.

[153] GC, vol. 3, p. 466; GCC, pp. 127–8; for the terminology, see also Blunk, 'Faux Pas'. On Antoine, see COTO, pp. 129–31.

marriage to Margaret of York.[154] While Antoine acted as its *entrepreneur* and defender, Adolf was the first challenger and their combat opened the event. The large depiction of this scene in a manuscript of the *Excellente Cronike van Vlaenderen* thus shows the coat of arms of Cleves and the Mark prominently alongside the Burgundian arms and those of Antoine (Figure 8).

Adolf participated on many occasions in Burgundian jousting events. In the *Pas du Perron Fée* in 1463, he was accompanied by his brother Johann and others, including Philip the Good, Charles of Charolais (i.e. the future Charles the Bold) and Louis de Luxembourg, count of Saint-Pol.[155] Although he was usually addressed (and thus perceived) as lord of Ravenstein, Adolf's self-presentation clearly played on his paternal traditions. At the *Pas du Chevalier au Cygne*, for example, the arms of Cleves and accompanying motifs figured even more prominently than at the *Arbre d'or*: on the day of the Feast of the Pheasant (17 February 1454), Adolf impersonated the 'Swan Knight', the mythical founding figure of the house of Cleves.[156] Although Duke Philip may himself have been more interested in the related story of Godfrey of Bouillon when he acquired a series of three tapestries that depicted the story of the 'Swan Knight' in 1462,[157] the setting in 1454 clearly underlined the tradition of Cleves.[158]

Members of the Cleves family thus played prominent and active roles in Burgundian tournament culture and were keen participants in chivalric and courtly life. In 1450, for example, Johann I of Cleves travelled to Jerusalem, and he repeatedly carried out diplomatic tasks for his Burgundian uncle.[159] The significance of such activities was not lost on their subjects. The chronicler Gerd van der Schuren, for example, mentioned not only the

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[154] OdLM, vol. 3, pp. 123–33; see also Werner Paravicini, 'Die zwölf "Magnificences" Karls des Kühnen', in *Formen und Funktionen öffentlicher Kommunikation im Mittelalter*, ed. by Gerd Althoff (Stuttgart: Jan Thorbecke Verlag, 2001), pp. 319–95 (pp. 331–9); and Eric Bousmar, '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.

[155] PPF, pp. 118–19 (Paris, BnF, fr. 5739), 186–7 (Lille, BU, 104). See also 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.

[156] OdLM, vol. 2, p. 345. See, for example, 'Clevisches Wappenbüchlein um 1475', in *150 Jahre Landkreis Kleve: Beiträge zu der geschichtlichen Entwicklung* (Cleves: Boss, 1966) [no page numbers]; on the legend and its role in the construction of family identity in Cleves, see Jens Lieven, *Adel, Herrschaft und Memoria: Studien zur Erinnerungskultur der Grafen von Kleve und Geldern im Hochmittelalter (1020–1250)* (Bielefeld: Verlag für Regionalgeschichte, 2008), pp. 148–78. For the Brabantine dimension of the motif, see Jan Frans Willems, ed., *De Brabantsche Yeesten, of rymkronyk van Braband, door Jan De Klerk, van Antwerpen* (Brussels: Hayez, 1839), pp. 1–2; Sjoerd Bijker, 'The Functions of the Late Medieval Brabantine Legend of Brabon', in *Networks, Regions and Nations: Shaping Identities in the Low Countries, 1300–1650*, ed. by Robert Stein and Judith Pollmann (Leiden/Boston, MA: Brill, 2010), pp. 91–109.

[157] Two surviving fragments are preserved at Vienna and Krakow: see Anna Rapp Buri and Monica Stucky-Schürer, *Burgundische Tapisserien* (Munich: Hirmer, 2001), pp. 280–9, who suggest that this series was not inspired by Adolf's appearance in 1454 (p. 286). This seems to be corroborated by Romina Westphal, 'Tapestry and Gender: On the Hero and Heroine Motifs and the Construction of Burgundian Identity' (unpublished PhD dissertation, University of Leeds, 2019), pp. 147–79, who mentions Adolf's appearance in 1454 but not the Cleves dimension of the motif (p. 175).

[158] MdE, vol. 2, p. 120; OdLM, vol. 2, p. 342; VdF, p. 110.

[159] Kathrin Kelzenberg, *Heiliglandfrömmigkeit im Nordwesten des Reiches: die Herzogtümer Brabant, Geldern, Jülich und Kleve im späten Mittelalter* (Heidelberg: Universitätsverlag Winter, 2022), pp. 99–141; on the

Figure 8. The two opponents of the first combat of the *Pas de l'Arbre d'Or*, Antoine of Burgundy and Adolf of Cleves. The shields in the tree display the coats of arms of Antoine (left), Charles the Bold (centre) and Cleves-Mark (right). *Excellente Cronike van Vlaenderen* (*c.*1490–1500). Douai, BM, 1110, fol. 268v. Photo: IRHT-CNRS.

tournaments that took place in the counties of the Mark and Cleves in his chronicle, but also the counts' and dukes' pilgrimages and their *reissen* (crusading journeys) to Prussia.[160] According to him, Duke Adolf I had spent no less than 100,000 'schylde' (*écus*, gold coins) on travels, tournaments and social activities in places such as Granada, Heidelberg and Paris, but also Brussels as well as other places in Brabant.[161] Concerning the tournaments, however, Van der Schuren does not refer to the splendid Burgundian *pas d'armes*, but rather to regional events at Cologne, Mainz and Andernach.[162]

The general awareness of the need for chivalric display is equally evident in the work of Arnold Heymerick, a cleric at Xanten and a humanist, especially in his panegyric on Johann II of Cleves (1458–1521), who received a Golden Rose (a symbolic gift awarded to exemplary Christian princes) from Pope Innocent VIII in 1489. Heymerick praised his duke in the highest terms, depicting him and his court as chivalric and splendid: when the procession that brought the rose arrived at the city of Cleves, the duke, as he waited, was surrounded by his most distinguished noblemen, who all carried collars and were accompanied by knights in sumptuous attire: 'Dux vero triumphator cum proceribus nobilibus et torquatis, equestrisque ordinis viris miranda preciositate amictis' (But the triumphant duke [waited] with the most distinguished noblemen, who were wearing collars, and marvellously well-clad knights).[163]

Yet, while courtly splendour was visibly appreciated in Cleves, neither Heymerick nor other sources contain any indication that *pas d'armes* were organised there. Based on the criteria we identified at the beginning of this essay — an institutionalised court culture, the presence of a strong chivalric spirit amongst a class-conscious nobility and the availability of a suitable stage — we have to assume that the court and nobility in Cleves did not reach the critical mass that would have allowed for the organisation of such an elaborate event. Not only did staging a *pas d'armes* imply a significant financial burden, but the event's success was dependent on the presence of a sufficient number of stakeholders, participants and onlookers.

Concerning the potential stage, the urban centres available to the dukes of Cleves were hardly promising settings in which to host a major chivalric event: towns such as Cleves, Wesel or Kalkar[164] could not compete in size and wealth with Bruges or Ghent, and the

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stay at Naples, see *ibid.*, pp. 105, 113, 119–21. In 1459, Johann was part of a Burgundian embassy to see Pope Pius II at Mantua: see MdE, vol. 2, pp. 377–93.

[160] GvdS, p. 29: Count Engelbert I of the Mark travelled to Prussia in 1261–62; see Gerhard E. Sollbach, 'Engelbert I. Graf von der Mark (*vor 1249–†1277)', in *Die Grafen von der Mark: Ein biographisches Handbuch*, ed. by Dietrich Thier and Stefan Pätzold (Witten: Bergischer Verlag, 2021), pp. 69–84 (pp. 82–3). On these late medieval crusades in Prussia, see Werner Paravicini, *Die Preußenreisen des europäischen Adels*, Beihefte der Francia, vol. 17. 1–2, 2 vols (Sigmaringen: Jan Thorbecke Verlag, 1989–95); *idem*, *Adlig leben im 14. Jahrhundert. Weshalb sie fuhren: Die Preußenreisen des europäischen Adels. Teil 3* (Göttingen: V&R unipress, 2020) ; *idem*, *Verlust und Dauer. Weshalb sie nicht mehr fuhren und was an die Stelle trat: Die Preußenreisen des europäischen Adels. Teil 4* (Göttingen: V&R unipress, 2024).

[161] GvdS, p. 138.

[162] *Ibid.*

[163] Dieter Scheler, ed., *Die Goldene Rose des Herzogs Johann von Kleve: Der Bericht Arnold Heymericks von der Überreichung der Goldenen Rose im Jahr 1489* (Cleves: Stadtarchiv Kleve, 1992), p. 74.

[164] Around 1550, Cleves had *c.*2200 inhabitants, Wesel *c.*6750, Kalkar *c.*1700: see Klaus Flink, 'Die klevischen Herzöge und ihre Städte, 1394–1592', in *Land im Mittelpunkt der Mächte: Die Herzogtümer Jülich, Kleve, Berg* (Cleves: Boss-Verlag, 1985), pp. 75–98 (p. 83).

contrast is even stronger in the case of Hamm, Iserlohn or Unna in the county of the Mark. Other, more promising urban centres in the area were not at the dukes' disposal. The imperial city of Dortmund, for example, had traditionally strained relations with the counts of the Mark[165] and Soest became available only towards the late 1440s, when the dukes of Cleves forcefully acquired it from the archbishop of Cologne.[166] The dukes' own cities visibly failed to provide a propitious setting for the staging of representative tournaments — in contrast to what Gerard Nijsten described for late medieval Arnhem in the nearby duchy of Guelders.[167] While Guelders functioned as an effective transmission belt for cultural features and courtly practices between Burgundy and the Empire,[168] Cleves illustrates the limits of transfer, at least as far as the *pas d'armes* are concerned, even though the decisive reasons remain somewhat elusive.

This is all the more remarkable given that some of the towns in the region around Cleves and the Mark *did* have a tournament culture. In addition to the tournaments at Cologne, Mainz and Andernach, in which Duke Adolf II took part, according to Van der Schuren, we can identify further events at Dortmund (1442, 1445, 1484?), Mainz (1480, 1481?) and Cologne (1481, 1486).[169] Eberhard, a son of Count Adolf I of the Mark, even met an untimely end during a tournament at Neuss in 1241, one that was still remembered in late medieval chronicles.[170] For 1347, Van der Schuren describes a 'heerliken hoff' (magnificent court) and a 'steeckspeel' (joust) organised by the young count, Engelbert III, at Hamm.[171] While this long-standing tournament tradition continued into the fifteenth century, none of the later events show the influence of *pas d'armes* that the dukes of Cleves witnessed in the Burgundian lands.

Besides the characteristics of the urban network and culture in Cleves, the structure and orientation of the regional nobility probably also played an important role in the apparent failure of cultural transfer. *Vivre noblement* (living a noble lifestyle) came with a hefty price tag and nobles in Cleves and in the Mark had relatively modest financial

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[165] See Thomas Schilp, 'Die Reichsstadt (1250–1802)', in *Geschichte der Stadt Dortmund*, ed. by Stadtarchiv Dortmund (Dortmund: Harenberg, 1994), pp. 69–211 (pp. 80–92). Gerhard of the Mark organised a tournament in Dortmund in 1442: see Johannes Franck and Joseph Hansen, eds, 'Chronik des Johann Kerkhörde von 1405–1463', in *Die Chroniken der deutschen Städte vom 14. bis ins 16. Jahrhundert*, vol. 20: *Dortmund. Neuss* (Leipzig: Hirzel, 1887), pp. 1–145 (pp. 64–5), but the description underlines that this was an unusual event which the inhabitants of the city had not expected.

[166] Heimann, 'Die Soester Fehde'; Ehm, *Burgund und das Reich*, pp. 37–43.

[167] Gerard J. M. Nijsten, *In the Shadow of Burgundy: The Court of Guelders in the Late Middle Ages*, Cambridge Studies in Medieval Life and Thought, 4th ser., 58 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), p. 399.

[168] Gerard J. M. Nijsten, 'Hof und Kultur. Charakteristik eines mittelgroßen Fürstenhofes am Niederrhein', in *Gelre – Geldern – Gelderland. Geschichte und Kultur des Herzogtums Geldern*, ed. by Johannes Stinner and Karl-Heinz Tekath (Guelders: Verlag des Historischen Vereins für Geldern und Umgegend, 2001), pp. 373–82 (p. 377).

[169] See the list in Hans H. Pöschko, 'Turniere in Mittel- und Süddeutschland von 1400 bis 1550. Katalog der Kampfspiele und der Teilnehmer' (unpublished PhD dissertation, Universität Stuttgart, 1987).

[170] GvdS, p. 11; see also Fritz Zschaeck, ed., *Die Chronik der Grafen von der Mark von Levold von Northof (Levoldi de Northof Chronica comitum de Marka)* (Berlin: Weidmannsche Buchhandlung, 1929), p. 34.

[171] GvdS, p. 28; and see *ibid.*, p. 83, for a tournament at Heidelberg (in 1400) on the occasion of Adolf II's marriage to Agnes, a daughter of the Roman-German king Ruprecht.

means: few (if any) noblemen and knights could have afforded to become the *entrepreneur* of a *pas d'armes*,[172] and the number of challengers they might have hoped to attract in the region was equally limited for the same reason. In addition, the court of Cleves itself could not compete in size with Burgundy or even Guelders.[173] The ducal family of Cleves might thus have preferred to invest in their participation in Burgundian *pas*, where they could be seen by a vast crowd. Finally, one should not underestimate the role and importance of regional traditions and preferences. Even though German noblemen shared the Burgundian predilection for knightly prowess, tournaments in the Empire were often more collective endeavours, organised by chivalric societies of the regional nobility, although individual princes or nobles were also active in this field.[174]

A similar mixture of contact, interest and yet lack of transfer can be observed in the case of Emperor Maximilian I. After his marriage to Mary of Burgundy in 1477, which led to the integration of large parts of the Burgundian inheritance into the Habsburg dominions,[175] Maximilian engaged wholeheartedly in the chivalric culture that he encountered in his new territories and enjoyed participating in jousts and tournaments.[176] In addition, his self-representation as an ideal chivalric hero dominates the autobiographical works that are part of his *gedechtnus*-project through which he sought to ensure his lasting memory:[177] the *Freydal*, the *Weisskunig* and the *Theuerdank*. The first of these texts focuses

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[172] For the costs involved for the *entrepreneur*, the challengers, the host and the town in question, see Essay 3; see also CL, pp. 28–33.

[173] A systematic study is a desideratum: Flink and Thissen, eds, *Die klevischen Hofordnungen*, p. xxi, estimate an average size of 250 persons for Cleves; Nijsten, *Hof und Kultur*, p. 373, speaks of 300 to 600 for Guelders. The court of Charles the Bold grew to over 300 noblemen, not including its numerous non-noble members: see Valérie Bessey, Sonja Dünnebeil and Werner Paravicini, eds, *Die Hofordnungen Herzog Karls des Kühnen 1467–1477* (Berlin: Peter Lang, 2021), p. 14.

[174] Peter Jezler, Peter Niederhäuser and Elke Jezler, eds, *Ritterturnier. Geschichte einer Festkultur* (Lucerne: Quaternio Verlag, 2014); Werner Meyer, 'Turniergesellschaften: Bemerkungen zur sozialgeschichtlichen Bedeutung der Turniere im Spätmittelalter', in *Das ritterliche Turnier im Mittelalter. Beiträge zu einer vergleichenden Formen- und Verhaltensgeschichte des Rittertums*, ed. by Josef Fleckenstein (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1986), pp. 500–12 (pp. 501–2).

[175] See Klaus Oschema, 'Wege des Hauses Habsburg in den Westen Europas 1477 bis 1519', in *König Rudolf I. und der Aufstieg des Hauses Habsburg im Mittelalter*, ed. by Bernd Schneidmüller (Darmstadt: WBG, 2019), pp. 410–38; Jan Hirschbiegel, 'Mary and Maximilian – Burgundy and Habsburg: The Rise of an Empire', in *Unions and Divisions: New Forms of Rule in Medieval and Renaissance Europe*, ed. by Paul Srodecki, Norbert Kersken and Rimvydas Petrauskas (Abingdon: Routledge, 2023), pp. 210–23.

[176] On Maximilian, see Hermann Wiesflecker, *Kaiser Maximilian I. Das Reich, Österreich und Europa an der Wende zu Neuzeit*, 5 vols (Munich: Oldenbourg, 1971–86); on the Burgundian influence, see Malte Prietzel, 'Imitation, Inspiration und Desinteresse. Die Auseinandersetzung Maximilians I. mit den politischen Traditionen Burgunds', in *'Das kommt mir spanisch vor'. Eigenes und Fremdes in den deutsch-spanischen Beziehungen des späten Mittelalters*, ed. by Klaus Herbers and Nikolas Jaspert (Münster: Lit-Verlag, 2004), pp. 87–106. On Maximilian's penchant for chivalry, see, for example, Pierre Terjanian, ed., *The Last Knight: The Art, Armor, and Ambition of Maximilian I* (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2019); Dirk H. Breiding, 'Rennen, Stechen und Turnier zur Zeit Maximilians I.', in *'Vor Halbtausend Jahren…': Festschrift zur Erinnerung an den Besuch des Kaisers Maximilian I. in St. Wendel*, ed. by Cornelieke Lagerwaard (St. Wendel: Stiftung Dr. Walter Bruch, 2012), pp. 53–84.

[177] Jan-Dirk Müller, *Gedechtnus. Literatur u. Hofgesellschaft um Maximilian I* (Munich: Fink, 1982); Larry Silver, *Marketing Maximilian. The Visual Ideology of a Holy Roman Emperor* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2008).

almost entirely on tournament scenes, but the other two equally feature such events in both text and image.[178] Nevertheless, there is no indication that Maximilian either participated in or organised a fully fledged *pas d'armes*.

The closest he seems to have come to such an event is his famous joust and sword-fight with the Burgundian nobleman Claude de Vaudrey at Worms in September 1495.[179] Vaudrey, who came from a line of renowned jousters, already had quite a reputation as a knight, having not only participated in numerous tournaments but also organised two *pas d'armes* of his own,[180] when he chose to present a challenge written in a stylised literary fashion to his lord Maximilian: according to Molinet, the successor of Chastelain as the official chronicler at the Burgundian court, he contacted Maximilian in 1494 in Antwerp through Toison d'or King of Arms (a role held at that time by Thomas Isaac), who presented his request to the ruler. Vaudrey introduced himself as the 'chevalier esclave, serviteur à la belle geande à la blonde perrucque' (enslaved knight, servant to the Beautiful Giantess in the Blond Wig), asking the king to touch his *emprise*.[181] Maximilian graciously did so and Vaudrey presented the detailed chapters to him. He explained how the god Mars, accompanied by Pallas, had appeared to him in a series of dreams and declared that he should not sit at a table, kiss a lady, go to war or swear an oath to a lord before he had fought against the most valiant and virtuous knight in the world.[182]

Maximilian must have been flattered to be identified as this ideal knight and accepted the challenge. However, the two adversaries might have had different things in mind: whilst Vaudrey was probably thinking along the lines of a highly stylised chivalric *emprise*,[183] Maximilian's perspective was more pragmatic. The fact that the fight, which was scheduled to take place in 1495 at Worms, where Maximilian had announced an imperial diet, was repeatedly postponed[184] is quite telling: Vaudrey doubtless sought a magnificent

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[178] Stefan Krause, ed., *Freydal: Medieval Games, The Book of Tournaments of Emperor Maximilian I* (Cologne: Taschen, 2019); Stephan Füssel, ed., *Die Abenteuer des Ritters Theuerdank: Kolorierter Nachdruck der Gesamtausgabe von 1517* (Cologne: Taschen, 2003); Heinrich T. Musper, ed., *Weisskunig*, 2 vols (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1956).

[179] Malte Prietzel, '"Letzter Ritter" und "Vater der Landsknechte". Fürstliche Gewaltausübung als Praxis und Inszenierung', in *Maximilians Welt: Kaiser Maximilian I. im Spannungsfeld zwischen Innovation und Tradition*, ed. by Johannes Helmrath, Ursula Kocher and Andrea Sieber, Berliner Mittelalter- und Frühneuzeitforschung, 22 (Göttingen: V & R unipress, 2018), pp. 209–24 (pp. 210–17); Hiltmann, 'Ideal und Physis', pp. 142–3. On Claude de Vaudrey, see Georges Bischoff, 'Claude de Vaudrey, le meilleur chevalier du monde', *PCEEB*, 58 (2018), 251–73.

[180] In addition to the *Pas de la Dame Sauvage*, Claude was also the *entrepreneur* of the *Pas du Chevalier au Souci*, which was held as part of the celebrations in Paris in 1484 following the coronation of King Charles VIII of France. CRC, paragraphs 82–126. For a translation of the narrative account of this event, see Supplementary Source 2, Liverpool University Press Digital Collaboration Hub <https://liverpooluniversitypress.manifoldapp.org/projects/pas-d-armes-casebook> [accessed 1 November 2024].

[181] JM, vol. 2, pp. 400–1. In the *Chevalier au Souci*, Claude presents himself as being bound in a more abstract way (i.e. by a burden of sorrow), but the narrative account of that event likewise emphasises the idea of fighting in order to be liberated from a constraint: CRC, paragraphs 89, 92.

[182] JM, vol. 2, p. 402.

[183] *Ibid*., vol. 2, p. 399, explicitly uses the term *pas d'armes*. The account of the *Chevalier au Souci* repeatedly refers to the event as an *emprise*, but also makes it clear that Claude's intention as *entrepreneur* was to open and defend a *pas*. CRC, paragraphs 89, 93, 95.

[184] Evidence for the actual date is contradictory. Our most reliable source, the correspondence of Zaccaria Contarini and Benedetto Trevisano, the Venetian ambassadors at Worms, mentions that

Figure 9. One of the sixty-four tournament scenes in the *Freydal* depicts the fight between Claude de Vaudrey ('Claude Badre') and Freydal (i.e. Maximilian) in a relatively abstract setting. *Freydal*. Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, KK 5073, fol. 39r. Photo: KHM-Museumsverband.

stage for this feat of arms, whereas Maximilian clearly had other things on his mind. In the end, the fight took place on 3 September (Figure 9). According to Ludwig of Eyb (1450–1521), a nobleman and humanist from Franconia, who witnessed the scene and described it in his biography of the Franconian nobleman Wilwolt of Schaumburg (*c.*1450–1510), the combat was staged in an impressive setting:[185] there were stands for the spectators, two tents for the protagonists and lavish decorations with cloth of gold and tapestries. Ludwig also mentions a number of noble men and women in the audience (including Queen Bianca Sforza), princes who served as judges, their aides and the heralds. When the fight

the fight had been scheduled for 31 August, but was postponed until 3 September: see Hermann Wiesflecker *et al.*, eds, *Ausgewählte Regesten des Kaiserreiches unter Maximilian I. 1493–1519. Vol. 1: 1493–1495* (Vienna/Cologne: Böhlau, 1990), pp. 295–6, no. 2401. On 16 August, they explained that Maximilian had repeatedly postponed the date and that Claude de Vaudrey practically badgered him on this matter: see *ibid.*, p. 281, no. 2299.

[185] See Helgard Ulmschneider, ed., *Ludwig von Eyb der Jüngere: Geschichten und Taten Wilwolts von Schaumburg* (Münster/New York: Waxmann, 2018), pp. 271–4; Prietzel, '"Letzter Ritter"', pp. 211–13.

was about to begin, a herald ordered the audience to remain silent and not to distract the competitors. This detailed description of setting and context contrasts with the brevity of the actual fight itself: the opponents jousted once with lances and continued fighting on foot with swords. Apparently, Maximilian rapidly overcame his older adversary, who lost his sword and had to surrender. At that point, Count Rudolf of Anhalt-Zerbst, who officiated as the judge, broke his staff in order to indicate the end of the combat.[186] Afterwards, a *mêlée* was organised, in which an unknown number of noblemen and knights participated who are not identified in the sources, before the evening festivities began. As the winner of the joust, Maximilian received a gold chain with a gold ring, which he immediately passed on to Claude de Vaudrey, who gave it, in turn, to Queen Bianca.[187]

While the ruler's fight with Vaudrey certainly captured their contemporaries' attention, it was only one element of the festivities that accompanied the imperial diet, during which Maximilian fought on several occasions.[188] Ludwig of Eyb also mentions that Maximilian and many of the princes and knights in attendance organised a kind of Arthurian Round Table, calling each other by Arthurian names, as they fought and feasted.[189] No such literary motifs appear in the context of the fight with Claude de Vaudrey, however: either they were absent from this combat or the spectators didn't deem them worth mentioning. Even an author as deeply imbued with Burgundian chivalric culture as Olivier de La Marche described the event merely as 'armes en lices closes' (arms in closed lists), although he did mention the *emprise*.[190]

Was, then, the event at Worms a *pas d'armes*?[191] When we apply the five characteristics mentioned in our introduction, the answer has to be negative: the actual fight was not organised by a clearly identifiably *entrepreneur* who defended a passage against all challengers and the fictional scenario that Claude de Vaudrey had tried to propose with his challenge at Antwerp did not play any discernible role at Worms. In fact, our sources illustrate instead the limits of the dissemination of the model of the *pas*: while Molinet's description underlines the fictional scenario, the setting at Worms and its descriptions express something different, perhaps even a mutual lack of understanding. The knights and princes of the Empire were willing to follow chivalric models and to demonstrate their prowess, virtue and manliness through fighting, yet they did so in a more down-to-earth manner. This did not preclude luxurious settings, but they lacked the intricate arrangements and framing narratives that made the *pas d'armes* so special. Accordingly, the events mentioned by recent studies that seek to detect the presence of *pas d'armes* 'in the Empire' actually happened in places that were under immediate Burgundian rule.[192] The limits of transfer concerning this type of

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[186] Ulmschneider, *Ludwig von Eyb*, p. 274.

[187] Ludwig of Eyb omits this detail; see, however, Heinrich Boos, 'Tagebuch des Reinhard Noltz, Bürgermeisters der Stadt Worms 1493–1509, mit Berücksichtigung der offiziellen Acta Wormatiensa 1487–1501', in *Quellen zur Geschichte der Stadt Worms. III. Teil: Chroniken*, ed. by Heinrich Boos (Berlin: Weidmannsche Buchhandlung, 1893), pp. 371–584 (p. 397).

[188] See Prietzel, '"Letzter Ritter"', pp. 214–15, for Maximilian's fights with Wilwolt of Schaumburg and Friedrich of Saxony.

[189] Ulmschneider, *Ludwig von Eyb*, p. 274; Prietzel, '"Letzter Ritter"', p. 214.

[190] OdLM, vol. 3, p. 309; Hiltmann, 'Ideal und Physis', p. 142.

[191] Bischoff, 'Claude de Vaudrey', p. 258, does however classify the event as a *pas*.

[192] 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,

chivalric event did not therefore simply coincide with either the 'political' border between France and the Empire or the linguistic divide between a Francophone and a Germanophone sphere. Realities on the ground were far more complex than these categories would suggest, and our analysis effectively highlights the importance of the Burgundian courtly institutions and literary culture for the spread of the *pas d'armes*.

CONCLUSION

European chivalric culture took on many forms and, as we have aimed to show, the particular phenomenon of the *pas d'armes* was shaped by cross-cultural exchange informed by letters, normative and narrative texts that were generated and transferred by travelling princes, noblemen and heralds. While the transmission of the *pas d'armes* can be traced from the Iberian Peninsula to Burgundy (but also to France and Anjou), it seems to have found its limits at the borders of the Holy Roman Empire — at least in its German-speaking territories that were not part of the Burgundian sphere. Even a dynasty such as that of the dukes of Cleves, which was effectively part of the Burgundian family, did not seek to emulate this practice in its own territories — and even a chivalric enthusiast such as Emperor Maximilian I did not import this specific feature of the Burgundian tradition. The reasons behind this limitation still remain unclear: they might have to do with the more modest development of the urban setting in many of the German-speaking regions of the Empire, but also with the specific character of its tournament culture, which was heavily reliant on horizontally structured chivalric societies organised by the regional nobility. In any case, our observations demonstrate that we should not hastily characterise the *pas d'armes* as a 'European' phenomenon.

With the exception of the first Castilian *pas d'armes*, all the fifteenth-century events we know of as yet were intimately connected to the French language: they were mainly reported in French narratives and they took place in French- (and sometimes Dutch-) speaking territories. Only in the early sixteenth century does the *pas* spread to other geographical areas: Piedmont (Carignano, 1504 and Ivrea, 1522) or Scotland (the *Wild Knight of the Black Lady*, 1507–08).[193] In spite of its success in the Burgundian lands (but also in France and Anjou) and in spite of Burgundy's reputation and role as a cultural model, the only court that effectively seized upon this practice was that of the (mainly) French-speaking duchy of Savoy, where the motifs from classical mythology employed can be seen to anticipate the transformation towards Renaissance forms of chivalric fighting and festivities and an Italian influence.

The apparent link between the transmission of the *pas d'armes* and the French language is intimately related to the nature of the sources through which they are known to us:

Bourgogne, France, Saint-Empire)' (unpublished PhD dissertation, Normandie Université, 2018), p. 64, lists Mechelen (1491), Vincelles (1512), Nozeroy (1519) and Binche (1549), in addition to Worms (1495). The important princely residences of Mechelen and Binche were situated in Brabant and Hainaut, respectively, and formed part of the Habsburg territories in the North. Nozeroy and Vincelles were located in the Franche-Comté: while formally belonging to the Empire, they were primarily part of the Burgundian sphere. See also *ibid.*, pp. 194–5, for the distinction between 'French' and 'Imperial' *pas d'armes*. The sixteenth-century events follow a different logic from that of their fifteenth-century forerunners: see *ibid.*, p. 57, and above, n. 121. See also Essay 4.

[193] See above, pp. 336–50, and Essay 5.

until now, historians have studied them almost exclusively through the narrative texts that relate these events. The exploration of other sources, such as courtly and urban financial accounts, may yet modify our picture.[194] In addition, the Savoyard examples indicate that numerous *pas d'armes* may have gone unnoticed, since descriptions of courtly celebrations sometimes contain only traces of pertinent events without going into details — not every *pas* received such detailed literary coverage as did the *Perron Fée*, for example. The description of the baptism of Francis I's son, Francis of France, at Fontainebleau in 1518, for instance, ends with a *pas d'armes* that was organised to close the celebration.[195] Further research is thus necessary to establish whether there were other *pas d'armes* like this, hitherto unidentified as such, and to explore the extent to which this particular type of chivalric event was adapted and transformed in later sixteenth-century courtly environments.[196]

[194] See Essay 3.

[195] Théodore Godefroy and Denis Godefroy, eds, *Le Cérémonial françois*, 2 vols (Paris: Sébastien Cramoisy, 1649), vol. 2, pp. 142–3.

[196] See Essay 4; Watanabe O'Kelly, *Triumphal Shews*; and Mario Damen, 'Tournaments and the Integration of the Nobility in the Habsburg Composite State', *Renaissance Quarterly*, 76.2 (2023), 497–541.

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