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The Tournament at Saint-Inglevert (1390): Chivalry, Diplomacy and Pas d'armes

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ABSTRACT

In March and April 1390, three French knights jousted against over one hundred knights and squires who had travelled from across Europe to challenge them, but above all from England. This great tournament was held at Saint-Inglevert near to Calais, the English outpost on the northern coastline of France. Modern scholars have viewed the event through the lens of the on-going Hundred Years War. But rather than seeing this chivalric competition as an extension of the war between the two sides, it should rather be understood as part of the diplomatic engagement between Charles VI and Richard II during the 1390s, an informal opportunity for the elites to meet and form bonds that shaped the rapprochement between the two sides. Saint-Inglevert also marked an important stage on the path towards the great theatrical tournaments of the fifteenth century, helping to explain the rise in popularity of the famous pas d'armes.

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One of the most famous tournaments of the late Middle Ages took place outside of the abbey of Saint-Inglevert near to Calais in March and April 1390.[1] Three French knights, Jean II Le Meingre known as Boucicaut, Renaud de Roye and Jean de Sempy, took it in turns to joust against over one hundred knights and squires, most of whom were from England, though some may have come from the Holy Roman Empire, Denmark and Poland.[2] The prowess, courage, endurance and courtesy displayed by these Frenchmen cemented their personal reputations, their accomplishments served

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[1] Philippe Contamine, 'Les tournois en France à la fin du moyen âge', in *Das ritterliche Turnier im Mittelalter : Beiträge zu einer vergleichenden Formen und Verhaltensgeschichte des Ritterturms*, ed. Josef Fleckstein (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1985), 425–49 (441-2); Denis Lalande, *Jean II le Meingre, dit Boucicaut (1366-1421) : Étude d'une biographie héroïque* (Geneva: Librairie Droz, 1988), 31-36; Steven Muhlberger, *Deeds of Arms: Formal Combats in the Late Fourteenth Century* (Highland Village, TX: Chivalry Bookshelf, 2005), 197-215; Jonathan Sumption, *The Hundred Years War, III. Divided Houses* (London: Faber and Faber, 2009), 723-4; Sébastien Nadot, *Rompez les lances! Chevaliers et tournois au moyen âge* (Paris: Autrement, 2010), 109-10; Chris Given-Wilson, *Henry IV* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2016), 61-3; Richard Barber, 'Chivalry in the Tournament and *Pas d'Armes*', in *A Companion to Chivalry*, ed. Robert W. Jones and Peter Coss (Woodbridge, UK: The Boydell Press, 2019), 119–37 (135-6).

[2] *Chronographia Regum Francorum*, ed. Henri Moranville, 3 vols. (Paris: Société de l'Histoire de France, 1891-7), III, 97. For the difficulties of confirming precisely who took part in the jousts at Saint-Inglevert, see pages 7 to 8 below.

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as a source of patriotic pride, and the tournament was celebrated as a high watermark in the history of French chivalry.[3]

Modern scholars tend to view Saint-Inglevert through the lens of the bitter rivalry and hostility between the French and the English during the Hundred Years War. Juliet Barker has claimed that 'national enmities were at the basis of the whole event' and Jonathan Sumption has argued that 'it was war, not sport, and old animosities were never far below the surface'.[4] Such interpretations underestimate the significance of the fact that Saint-Inglevert took place during a period of rapprochement between the French and English courts. The tournament was held just a few miles from Leulinghen, where ambassadors from both sides met immediately following the conclusion of the jousting. Saint-Inglevert was a prelude to these negotiations, a preliminary and informal moment before the official meeting where chivalric friendships and brotherhoods were forged and deepened in a courtly context, helping to shape and to sustain the path towards peace. And it was that context of diplomatic engagement rather than patriotic antagonism that shaped the decisions regarding the type of event that was staged at Saint-Inglevert. In short, this tournament offers a powerful case-study in the importance of reintegrating chivalric activities into wider narratives of political, diplomatic and military histories.

The second important question surrounding this event is its place in the wider history of pas d'armes. The first recorded pas d'armes took place in Castile in 1428 and they quickly became a common type of chivalric combat. They were theatrical events that employed literary themes to amplify the drama of combat either on horseback or on foot between two individuals, one acting as the defender of a 'pas', that is to say a bridge or other border, against the other as attacker. The team of defenders ('tenans') initiated the pas d'armes by issuing a challenge to attackers ('dehors') and thereby undertaking a type of emprise or enterprise.[5] Some historians have claimed that Saint-Inglevert was itself a pas d'armes but no contemporary source described the event in those terms.[6] In 1390, the English King Richard II referred to it as 'une fest' in the safe-conducts that he issued for the French participants, and both Jean Froissart and the anonymous author of a verse account of Saint-Inglevert used the terms 'jouste', 'jeu' and 'feste', emphasising the sportive and ludic aspects of the tournament.[7] The great monastic chronicler of Saint-

[3] Elisabeth Gaucher, 'Les joutes de Saint-Inglevert: Perception et écriture d'un événement historique pendant la guerre de Cent Ans', *Le Moyen Âge*, 102 (1996): 229-43.

[4] Juliet Barker, *The Tournament in England, 1100–1400* (Woodbridge, UK: Boydell and Brewer, 1986), 37-8; Sumption, *The Hundred Years War, III*, 723. Also see Lalande, *Jean II le Meingre*, 31. Also see Muhlberger, *Deeds of Arms*, 8: 'Issues of national pride lurked in the background, with the possibility that the fragile truce or the long hoped-for permanent peace might be threatened by the rivalry of a formal deed of arms.'

[5] There is a debate amongst experts about the precise definition of the pas d'armes. See, for example, Catherine Blunk, 'Faux pas in the Chronicles. What Is a *pas d'armes*?', in *The Medieval Chronicle 11*, ed. Erik Kooper and Sjoerd Levelt (Turnhout: Brepols, 2018), 87-107, together with *Pas d'armes and Late Medieval Chivalry: A Casebook*, ed. Rosalind Brown-Grant and Mario Damen (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, forthcoming, 2025).

[6] Scholars who have identified Saint-Inglevert as a *pas d'armes* include Torsten Hiltmann, 'Un État de noblesse et de chevalerie sans pareilles? Tournois et hérauts d'armes à la cour des ducs de Bourgogne', in *La cour de Bourgogne et l'Europe: Le rayonnement et les limites d' un modèle culturel*, ed. Werner Paravicini (Ostfildern: Jan Thorbecke, 2013), 253–88 (261) and Barber, 'Chivalry in the Tournament and *Pas d'Armes*', 119–37 (135). Gaucher has reviewed the evidence for contemporary terminologies in 'Les joutes de Saint-Inglevert', 233.

[7] *Foedera. Conventiones, literæ, et cujuscunque generis acta publica, inter reges Angliæ, et alios quosuis imperatores, reges … ab anno 1101, ad nostra usque tempora, habita aut tractata,* ed. Thomas Rymer, 20 vols. (London: A. and J. Churchill, 1704-35), VII, 663 (9 March) and also see 665 (13 March); *Partie inédite des chroniques de Saint-Denis, suivie d'un récit également inédit de la campagne de Flandres en 1382 et d'un poème sur les joutes de Saint-Inglebert (1390)*, ed. Jérôme Pichon (Paris: Imprimerie de Charles Lahure, 1864), 61, 63, 68, 69 and 76, and Jean Froissart,

Denis, Michel Pintouin, echoed that notion when he employed the Latin term 'gladiatorius ludus', though he also used more serious terms such as 'duellum' and 'militare exercicium'.[8] Twenty years after the tournament had taken place, the anonymous biographer of Jean II Le Meingre described it as an 'enterprise' or 'emprise', a term that had also been used by Froissart when describing the original letter of challenge issued by the three French knights.[9] So there is no doubt that 'emprise' is the most appropriate term for the tournament at Saint-Inglevert, that is to say an event that was carefully planned in advance and announced through a challenge issued in writing so that knights and squires might respond to the challenge and accept the terms of the competition defined in that document.[10] But there are many striking similarities and shared characteristics between this emprise at Saint-Inglevert and the pas d'armes of the fifteenth-century which, does raise the likelihood that it marked an important stage in the path towards the pas d'armes.[11]

The Tournament

The only surviving eyewitness account of the tournament held at Saint-Inglevert is an anonymous poem rhymed in octosyllabic verse.[12] The author reported that he had personally seen Henry Bolingbroke, earl of Derby, fighting right before his eyes ('à veu de mons sens') and that immediately after the jousting had finished, he had travelled to Boulogne in order to begin composing his account.[13] He chose not to describe the details of the combat itself because he regarded that as the job of the heralds, but he did insert into his poem a list of knights and squires who had jousted against the French knights that he claimed to have received from those heralds.[14] The author also underlined the distinction between traditional heraldic records and his own account by the decision to write in verse at a time when prose was becoming far more common for historical narratives, and also by framing the account in the style of *pastourelles,* a type of lyric poetry that typically recounted the romance of a shepherdess.[15]

Perhaps the most famous account of Saint-Inglevert was offered by Jean Froissart in book IV of his *Chroniques*, probably written between 1395 and 1400.[16] There is no

Œuvres de Froissart, ed. J.M.B.C. Kervyn de Lettenhove, 26 vols. (Brussels: Comptoir universel d'imprimerie et de librairie, 1867-77), XIV, 106.

[8] *Chronique du Religieux de Saint-Denis contenant le règne de Charles VI, de 1380 à 1422*, ed. Louis Bellaguet, 6 vols. (Paris: Imprimerie de Crapelet, 1839-52), I, 674 and 680.

[9] *Le livre des fais du bon messire Jehan le Maingre, dit Bouciquaut, Mareschal de France et gouverneur de Jennes*, ed. Denis Lalande (Geneva: Librairie Droz, 1985), 65, 67, 68 and 70, and Froissart, *Œuvres*, XIV, 55. The biographer also invoked the idea of a Round Table, but in the specific context of the food and drink that Boucicaut was providing for the participants, which suggests that this was a reference to feasting rather than a term to describe the tournament as a whole. See Évelyne Van den Neste, *Tournois, joutes, passe d'armes dans les villes de Flandres à la fin du Moyen Âge (1300-1486)* (Paris: Écoles des Chartes, 1996), 53.

[10] Contamine, 'Les tournois en France à la fin du moyen âge', 441, and Catherine Blunk, 'Je cuidoie avoir bien fait: Saintré and the Rules of the Game', *Medieval Feminist Forum*, 52 (2017), 126-7.

[11] Jean-Pierre, Jourdan, 'Le thème du pas d'armes dans le royaume de France (Bourgogne, Anjou) à la fin du Moyen-Âge: L'émergence d'un symbole', *Annales de Bourgogne*, 62 (1990), 117–33 (123) and Blunk, 'Je cuidoie avoir bien fait', 126. Also see Sébastien Nadot, *Le spectacle des joutes: Sport et courtoisie à la fin du moyen âge* (Rennes: Press Universitaires de Rennes, 2012), 28.

[12] *Partie inédite des chroniques de Saint-Denis,* 59-78.

[13] *Partie inédite des chroniques de Saint-Denis,* 66.

[14] *Partie inédite des chroniques de Saint-Denis,* 74.

[15] *Partie inédite des chroniques de Saint-Denis,* 59-78.

[16] Froissart, *Œuvres*, XIV, 55–8 and 105-51.

evidence that Froissart had personally witnessed the jousting and it seems more likely that he too drew upon lost heraldic records, though there are many factual errors in the account that he provided.[17] The tournament was also reported in the Latin chronicle written by the Religeux or Monk of Saint-Denis, Michel Pintouin.[18] Like the anonymous author of the verse account, Pintouin listed the challengers who fought against the French knights, presumably drawing upon a lost heraldic source. A fourth important account of the tournament was offered in the anonymous biography of Boucicaut that recounted his life up to 1409, some thirteen years before he died. This may have been written by Jean d'Ony and Nicolas de Gonesse, but the author or authors did not give any direct indication of the specific sources that had been used for the discussion of the tournament at Saint-Inglevert.[19] Finally, there is an abbreviated and less useful account of the event in the *Chronographia Regum Francorum,* which must have been written after 1399 because the author identified Henry Bolingbroke as the future king Henry IV; it may have been completed in 1405.[20]

Many modern scholars have written about Saint-Inglevert, but there have been surprisingly few detailed studies.[21] Denis Lalande offered a careful narrative account in his biography of Boucicaut, and Saint-Inglevert was one of the case studies examined by Steven Muhlberger in his book on *Deeds of Arms: Formal Combats in the Late Fourteenth Century*, which he later supplemented with a collection of translated primary sources.[22] But without doubt, the most valuable contribution has been provided by Elisabeth Gaucher, who offered a sophisticated analysis and commentary upon the key narrative sources rather than a reconstruction of what actually happened. Indeed she concluded that 'No one will ever know, in its complete truth, what happened in Saint-Inglevert in the spring of 1390'.[23] This is an important reminder that there are simply too many inconsistencies between the different accounts and gaps in the records to be completely certain about every detail of this story.

Boucicaut, Roye and Sempy issued their original letter of challenge on 20 November 1389, inviting 'gentlemen, knights and squires of France and other countries near or far' to joust against them over a thirty day period beginning on 20 May 1390.[24] The French knights offered 'to deliver from their vows' anyone who challenged them, presumably a reference to the possibility that a challenger might have already vowed to fight in the lists, so that taking part in the tournament at Saint-Inglevert would release them from that promise.[25] This letter only survives in the *Chroniques* of Jean Froissart who said that it

[17] See page 7 below.
[18] *Chronique du Religieux de Saint-Denis*, I, 672-82, and also see Gaucher, 'Les joutes de Saint-Inglevert', 231 and 241.
[19] *Livre des fais du Bouciquaut,* 65-74, and also see *The Chivalric Biography of Boucicaut : Jean II Le Meingre*, trans. Craig Taylor and Jane H.M. Taylor (Woodbridge, UK: The Boydell Press, 2016), 48-52. For the authorship, see Craig Taylor, *A Virtuous Knight. Defending Marshal Boucicaut (Jean II Le Meingre, 1366-1421)* (York: York Medieval Press, 2019), 48-73.
[20] *Chronographia Regum Francorum*, III, 97-100. There are other less useful accounts, including for example the chronicle attributed to Jean Juvénal des Ursins, *Histoire de Charles VI*, ed. J.A.C. Buchon, in *Choix de chroniques et mémoires relatifs à l'histoire de France avecs notices biographiques* (Paris: Abel Pilon, 1875), 372-3.
[21] For a complete bibliography, see footnote 1 above.
[22] Lalande, *Jean II le Meingre*, 31-36, and Muhlberger, *Deeds of Arms*, 197-215, together with *Royal Jousts at the End of the Fourteenth Century*, trans. by Steven Muhlberger (Wheaton, IL: Freelance Academy Press, 2012), 27-73.
[23] Gaucher, 'Les joutes de Saint-Inglevert', 243: 'Personne ne connaîtra jamais, dans sa vérité totale, ce qui s'est passé à Saint-Inglevert au printemps de l'année 1390'
[24] Froissart, *Œuvres*, XIV, 56-7.
[25] This was similar to the commitment made by members of Boucicaut's order Order of *La Dame Blanche à l'Écu Vert* to accept the challenge of honourable and fitting opponents who had vowed to fight in the lists, thereby enabling

was written at Montpellier with the approval of King Charles VI.[26] The three French knights had been accompanying the king as royal chamberlains on his journey to Avignon for the coronation of Louis II duke of Anjou as king of Jerusalem and Sicily on 1 November 1389.[27] Charles VI was at Montpellier from 15 to 19 November 1389 and the letter was dated the following day, after the king had departed for Béziers.[28] The chronicler of Saint-Denis, Michel Pintouin, reported that this letter was proclaimed by heralds accompanied by trumpeters who travelled to courts in neighboring countries and especially to England, whilst the *Chronographia Regum Francorum* claimed that the English prince John of Gaunt helped to publicize the tournament by sending his own herald to carry the letter of challenge across Europe.[29]

The venue selected for the tournament was the abbey of Saint-Inglevert, a very small village or commune in the Pas-de-Calais. This was a convenient site located roughly midway between two urban centres that could serve as the base for the competitors and spectators, that is to say Boulogne, which was held by the French, and Calais, which was in English hands.[30] On 9 March 1390, the English king Richard II issed a safe-conduct that provided protection for Boucicaut, Roye, Sempy and their company of up to one hundred people and all of their property while they were in the March between Boulogne and Calais.[31] The abbey was also just three miles from another village, Leulinghen, that frequently served as a venue for diplomatic negotiations between the kings of France and England during the 1380s and 1390s, again because of its convenient location close to Calais and Boulogne. Jean Froissart described how the English and their company retired to Calais in the evenings after the jousts whilst the French remained at Saint-Inglevert.[32]

The letter of challenge had declared that the event would run from late May until early June 1390, and Froissart insisted that the jousting did take place then.[33] Yet the tournament must have concluded by 13 May 1390 when Charles VI rewarded each of the three French knights with 2000 francs.[34] And on 11 June 1390, Boucicaut and Roye attended the wedding of the royal secretary Jean de Montagu at Viliers near to Neauphle-le-Château, where they received gifts from Charles VI in honour of their jousting.[35]

those challengers to fulfill the terms of their vows. *Livre des fais du Bouciquaut,* 165-6, and Richard Barber and Juliet Barker, *Tournaments. Jousts, Chivalry and Pageants in the Middle Ages* (Woodbridge, UK: Boydell and Brewer, 1989), 112.

[26] In a unique miniature in Paris, BNF MS français 2646, fol. 24v, the three French knights are shown presenting the letter to Charles VI in order to secure his permission for the tournament. This manuscript was owned by Louis de Gruuthuse. Laetita Le Guay, *Les princes de Bourgogne, lecteurs de Froissart : Les rapports entre le texte et l'image dans les manuscrits enluminés du Livre IV des 'Chroniques'* (Paris : CNRS éditions, 1999), 30-31.

[27] Erika Graham-Goering, 'Aristocratic Involvement in Charles VI's Royal Progress in Languedoc, 1389–90', *Historical Research*, 268 (2022): 172–95 (175).

[28] Ernest Petit, *Séjours de Charles VI (1380-1440)* (Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1894), 43.

[29] *Chronique du Religieux de Saint-Denis*, I, 674, and *Chronographia Regum Francorum*, III, 98.

[30] Théophile Mermet, *Saint-Inglevert: L'hôpital, la paroisse, la commune* (Boulogne: Librairie Deligny, 1924). Accounts of the jousts emphasised that Saint-Ingelvert was located between Boulogne and Calais. See, for example, *Livre des fais du Bouciquaut,* 65, and *Chronographia Regum Francorum*, III, 98.

[31] *Foedera*, VII, 663 (9 March) and 665–6 (13 March).

[32] Froissart, *Œuvres*, XIV, 108, 126–7 and 139.

[33] Froissart, *Œuvres*, XIV, 55–58 and 105-51. Gaucher has suggested that Froissart may have shifted the dates of the tournament from March to May in order for it to take place in springtime with all of its overtones of renewal and rebirth, in 'Les joutes de Saint-Inglevert', 234.

[34] Paris, BNF, MS français 21809, folios 11 to 15.

[35] Paris, BNF, MS français 21809, folio 55, and also see Contamine, 'Les tournois en France à la fin du moyen âge', 425, and Petit, *Séjours de Charles VI*, 46.

It therefore seems more credible that the jousting actually began on Monday 21 March 1390 and ran until Sunday 24 April, as claimed by the author of the anonymous verse account.[36] Those dates fit with the letter of safe-conduct issued to the three French knights by Richard II.[37] And it is possible that the dates of the tournament were changed from those advertised in the original letter of challenge in order to accommodate a diplomatic meeting held at Leulinghen in June 1390.[38]

Most accounts agree that the lists were set up in a meadow near to the abbey at Saint-Inglevert. Beautiful and richly appointed pavilions were provided for each of the three French knights, together with another great one for their challengers.[39] These pavilions and the countryside around them are depicted in miniatures of three manuscripts of Froissart's *Chroniques*, though the fact that one of them also shows a tilt barrier is a reminder that the images naturally reflected jousting at the time that the artist was working rather than the practice in 1390.[40]

Pintouin reported that for three days before the jousting began, the French knights greeted their visitors with due courtesy and that banquets were held for them every day. Pintouin also claimed that on the days when there was no jousting, competitors enjoyed themselves with all the noble lords and ladies who were present.[41] The biographer of Boucicaut reported that there was a large household of attendants and servants, as well as heralds, trumpeters, minstrels and people of all degrees.[42] According to the anonymous verse account, the hospitality and the festivities were organized by two *maîtres d'hôtel*, Jean Piquet and Hostri de Bous.[43] The biographer of Boucicaut claimed that he had provided the wines, meats and everything else that was needed at his own expense, whereas both the anonymous poet and Froissart presented this as a shared enterprise by all three French knights.[44] Froissart claimed that King Charles VI had offered 10,000 francs to help pay the expenses when he first gave permission for the event, but the only surviving record is of a gift of 500 francs on 3 March 1390.[45] Michel Pintouin stated that Charles VI provided servants from the royal palace, including doctors who assisted those wounded in combat.[46]

The letter of challenge promised that the French knights would run five courses against any knight, squire or gentlemen who wished to compete against them. As *tenants*, the Frenchmen were to hang shields emblazoned with their arms outside of their tents.[47] The *venants*, or challengers, were asked to touch the appropriate shield in order to indicate the French knight against whom they wished to fight and the weapons to be used, that is to say the blunted lances (*rochets*) used for jousts of peace,

[36] *Partie inédite des chroniques de Saint-Denis,* 69–74.
[37] See footnote 7 above.
[38] See footnote 24 below.
[39] *Chronique du Religieux de Saint-Denis*, I, 676.
[40] London, British Library, MS Harley 4379, fol. 23v and 43r, and also see Paris, Arsenal MS 5190, fol. 36r and Paris, BNF, MS français 2646, fol. 43v. A further image of the jousts without the pavilions appears in Paris, BNF, MS français 2648, fol. 69r. Also see, together with Le Guay, *Les princes de Bourgogne,* 77–9 and 228–9.
[41] *Chronique du Religieux de Saint-Denis*, I, 676 and 678.
[42] *Livre des fais du Bouciquaut,* 68–70.
[43] *Partie inédite des chroniques de Saint-Denis,* 68.
[44] *Livre des fais du Bouciquaut,* 69; *Partie inédite des chroniques de Saint-Denis*, 411–2 ; Froissart, *Œuvres*, XIV, 107.
[45] Froissart, *Œuvres*, XIV, 58, and Paris, BNF, MS français 21809, folios 9 and 10.
[46] *Chronique du Religieux de Saint-Denis*, I, 661.
[47] Froissart, *Œuvres*, XIV, 56: the letter indicated that each French knight would display a target of war (*targe de guerre*) and a shield of peace (*escu de pais*).

the lances of steel (*glaives*) used in jousts fought *à outrance*, or both.[48] The narrative sources confirm that challengers did chose their opponents and weapons by means of the shields hanging from a tree, though there are conflicting reports of precisely what happened. Michel Pintouin reported that when knights and squires arrived to joust against the three French knights, they were met by courteous men who recorded their names and directed them to a hawthorn tree from which the shields were hanging so that they could make their selections for the jousts.[49] According to the biographer of Boucicaut, the shields were suspended from a great elm tree, and he added the detail that challengers were asked to blow a horn hanging from one of the branches to announce their decision, at which point the defender or defenders emerged from their pavilions fully armed and mounted, lance raised and ready for combat.[50] The anonymous author of the *Chronographia regum Francorum* even claimed that a herald climbed up into the branches of the tree from which the three French knights had hung their shields, and required anyone who touched one of them to declare 'his name, country, and family, and whether he was noble by name or by arms'.[51] But the sources agree that despite the fact that challengers were offered the choice of jousts of peace and jousts of war, everyone declined the safer option of bated weapons.[52]

It is very difficult to reconstruct the narrative of the combats that ensued. Froissart offered the most detailed, energetic and dramatic account, painting a vivid picture of the spectacle of the competition and even describing the heraldry of competitors including John Cliseton and Roger Lamb. This has been widely used by historians, but caution is needed given that Froissart was certainly wrong when he reported that the jousting took place in May 1390, that it lasted just four days, that the French knights fought against just thirty-nine challengers and that each challenger took part in three rather than five courses.[53] The other accounts deliberately offered far less detail than Froissart: as noted above, the anonymous poet, for example, declined to describe the combat in detail because that was the job of heralds, whilst the biographer of Boucicaut claimed not to see the value in drawing out his narrative by describing every single blow exchanged.[54] But the anonymous poet did identify one hundred different knights and squires who challenged the three French knights between Monday 21 March and Sunday 24 April, a list that very closely mirrors the information offered by Michel Pintouin, who named one hundred and one challengers.[55] The biographer of Boucicaut claimed that a total of one hundred and twenty Englishmen had taken part, as well as a further forty individuals from other countries, but only named seven of the challengers, which casts some doubt upon his statistics.[56] The lists of names offered by the anonymous poet and Michel Pintouin seem the most plausible because of the similarities

[48] Froissart, *Œuvres*, XIV, 56. Michael Pintouin used the terms *hastiludii exercicium* (blunted) and *duellum* (sharp), in *Chronique du Religieux de Saint-Denis*, I, 674. Also see Will McLean, 'Outrance and plaisance', *Journal of Medieval Military History*, 8 (2010): 155–70 (especially 169-70).
[49] The anonymous poet described it as a pine ('espine'). *Partie inédite des chroniques de Saint-Denis,* 69.
[50] *Livre des fais du Bouciquaut,* 68-70.
[51] *Chronographia Regum Francorum*, III, 99.
[52] See, for example, *Partie inédite des chroniques de Saint-Denis,* 64-65.
[53] Froissart, *Œuvres*, XIV, XIV, 106-51.
[54] *Livre des fais du Bouciquaut,* 72.
[55] *Partie inédite des chroniques de Saint-Denis,* 69–74 and *Chronique du Religieux de Saint-Denis*, I, 676-82.
[56] *Livre des fais du Bouciquaut,* 73.

between these sources, but even with those lists, it is often impossible to identify many of the individuals, including many of the retainers of Henry Bolingbroke.[57]

The heralds who attended the tournament presumably kept records that were the sources for the lists of challengers provided by the anonymous poet, Jean Froissart and Michel Pintouin: the letter of challenge required every knight or squire who wished to joust to give his name, and Pintouin said that courteous gentlemen collected the names of participants as they arrived.[58] The anonymous author of the verse account credited the list of participants that he transcribed to two heralds whom he identified as Bourbon and Bleu-levrier; the former was presumably the herald of Louis II Duke of Bourbon, a patron of Boucicaut and the leader of a crusading expedition to Al-Mahidya in June 1390.[59] The heralds also kept records of the jousts themselves, as Pintouin indicated when he described how one of the challengers, Robert Rochefort, complained to the judges that he had only been allowed to run four courses and refused to accept the tally presented by those heralds.[60] But there is no sign that these heralds themselves sought to create a record or account that would survive past the conclusion of the tournament.

It seems certain that many spectators watched the jousts and participated in the wider entertainments. The three French knights were supported by a number of attendants and servants, and the original letter of challenge had invited knights, squires and gentlemen to bring companions with them to assist in the event.[61] Froissart reported that many knights and squires who had declined to accept the challenge came to watch the jousts.[62] Miniatures later added to his *Chroniques* presented the standard image of lords and ladies viewing the jousts from stands positioned above the lists, as well as attendants, trumpeters and other onlookers mounted upon horses or standing near to the pavilions.[63] But the narratives sources give very little information about these audiences. The biographer of Boucicaut claimed that during the first jousts between that French knight and John Holland, earl of Huntingdon, the Englishman's horse would have fallen if it had not been supported by bystanders; this gives some sense of the crowd of people present and perhaps also their physical proximity to the jousting.[64] Froissart recorded comments and judgements supposedly passed by these spectators, for example the common opinion that Boucicaut and Holland had jousted well, whilst Pintouin reported that Sempy was judged by the ladies, heralds and judges to have been victorious when he carried on fighting after Boucicaut and Roye had been injured.[65] But the narrative sources offered very little information about who actually

[57] Given-Wilson, *Henry IV*, 62n, together with Anthony Goodman, *The Loyal Conspiracy: The Lords Appellant under Richard II* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1971), 57, 161-2, 181 and 191.
[58] Froissart, *Œuvres*, XIV, 56, and *Chronique du Religieux de Saint-Denis*, I, 674.
[59] *Partie inédite des chroniques de Saint-Denis,* 74, and in general 69-74. The identity of the second herald is uncertain: the heraldic device of the blue greyhound (lévrier bleu) was associated with Béraud III de Clermont-Sancerre between 1410 and 1430. Inès Villela-Petit, 'Béraud III, dauphin d'Auvergne ou Guichard II Dauphin? Un cas d'homonymie héraldique', *Revue Française d'Héraldique et de Sigillographie*, 71–72 (2001-2): 53-72.
[60] *Chronique du Religieux de Saint-Denis*, I, 680.
[61] See page 4 above and Froissart, *Œuvres*, XIV, 56-7. These attendants are depicted in many of the miniatures, for example London, British Library, MS Harley 4379, fol 43r.
[62] Froissart, *Œuvres*, XIV, XIV, 106-7.
[63] London, British Library, MS Harley 4379, fol. 23v and 43r; Paris, Arsenal MS 5190, fol. 36r; Paris, BNF, MS français 2646, fol. 43v; Paris, BNF, MS français 2648, fol. 69r.
[64] *Livre des fais du Bouciquaut,* 71-72.
[65] Froissart, *Œuvres*, XIV, 110, and *Chronique du Religieux de Saint-Denis*, I, 678.

attended this event. The anonymous verse account merely identified two judges, the Frenchman Lancelot de La Personne and Henry Percy, earl of Northumberland and captain of Merke near to Calais in 1389, whose brother Thomas was taking part in the jousting. Froissart claimed that the French king attended incognito, in the company of Jean de Garencières, but this seems implausible given the abundant evidence for his presence in Paris during this period.[66]

It is also unclear precisely what happened at the conclusion of the jousting. Froissart was certainly wrong to claim that the jousting finished after just four days and that the three French knights then simply remained at Saint-Inglevert for a further twenty-six days.[67] The anonymous poet reported that the three French knights were honoured in an assembly held in the abbey at Saint-Inglevert before a great feast that was described as the equal to those held at the court of the king.[68] He said that during this feast, music was played by trumpeters of the count of Saint-Pol and of the king, along with many minstrels. Then the judge Lancelot de La Personne took down the shield of war, the lord of Saint-Saulieu took down the shield of peace, and the *maître d'hôtel* Hostri de Bours took the lance. The anonymous poet also reported that the pursuivant of Sir Jean de Roye was made a herald, given the title Saint-Inglevert and sworn in before the king, which would more likely have happened in Paris.[69]

Other accounts are less detailed. Pintouin simply reported that on the final day of the jousting, the spectators agreed that the French knights had performed extremely well, that the official judges refused to say which of these three men had done the best and that Boucicaut, Sempy and Roye declined to accept the arms and the horses that were their prizes and instead presented gifts to the knights and squires who had challenged them.[70] According to the chronicle attributed to Jean Juvénal des Ursins, the three French knights donated their arms to the church of Notre Dame at Boulogne, a celebrated pilgrimage site. Boucicaut may have also donated a gold clasp surrounded by pearls and precious stones and decorated with an elephant with a castle on its back, and Sempy a gold clasp shaped like a thorn, surrounded by pearls and decorated with a bird of prey holding a ruby in its talons.[71]

Chivalry and Diplomacy

There are three arguments used by historians who have interpreted the tournament at Saint-Inglevert as a moment of competition between the rival French and the English and an extension of the military conflict between the two sides: firstly, the French narrative sources painted the English as the main rivals and opposition at the tournament, largely ignoring challengers from other regions; secondly, the tournament was held in the Calais Marches, which were occupied by the English, and therefore formed a frontier

[66] Froissart, *Œuvres*, XIV, 127 and 150, and see Petit, *Séjours de Charles VI*, 45, and also see Lalande, *Jean II le Meingre*, 34.
[67] Froissart, *Œuvres*, XIV, 151.
[68] *Partie inédite des chroniques de Saint-Denis,* 67-68.
[69] *Partie inédite des chroniques de Saint-Denis,* 77.
[70] *Chronique du Religieux de Saint-Denis*, I, 682. Also see *Chronographia Regum Francorum*, III, 99.
[71] Jean Juvénal des Ursins, *Histoire de Charles VI*, 373; Antoine Leroi, *Histoire de Notre-Dame de Boulogne*, 9th edn (Paris: Techener, 1839), 52, and Daniel Haigneré, *Histoire de Notre-Dame de Boulogne* (Boulogne-Sur-Mer: Berger frères, 1857), 78.

on the northern coastline of France between the two sides for most of the Hundred Years War; thirdly, challengers were given the option of jousting with bated or unbated lances but unanimously preferred to use weapons of war.

Contemporary French accounts of the tournament at Saint-Inglevert did indeed focus upon the participation of leading Englishmen and paid very little attention to knights and squires from other locations. Michel Pintouin admitted that the English were not the only challengers at Saint-Inglevert, echoing the *Chronographia regum Francorum* and the biography of Boucicaut that briefly acknowledged the presence of other participants including Danes, Germans, Bohemians and Poles.[72] But the narrative sources rarely named anyone other than Englishmen as challengers. For example, Froissart's list of the challengers was almost exclusively English, highlighting the most senior figures who jousted at the beginning of the event, including John Holland, earl of Huntingdon and half-brother of Richard II, Thomas Mowbray, earl of Nottingham and earl marshal, Henry Bolingbroke, son of John of Gaunt, and Sir Thomas Clifford, chamber knight of King Richard II. Froissart described Holland as the most enthusiastic: he crossed to Calais with 'more than sixty knights and squires.'[73] Bolingbroke was accompanied by a Lancastrian contingent of at least a dozen men, including his eighteen-year old half-brother John Beaufort, Sir Robert Ferrers, Sir Thomas Swynford and Henry Percy ('Hotspur'), the son and heir of Sir Henry Percy, earl of Northumberland, who served as a judge at Saint-Inglevert.[74] Of course, there was an obvious reason for French writers to highlight the participation of these Englishmen as the most prestigious and worthy opponents, thereby underlining the chivalric achievements of Boucicaut and his companions. This was made clear when the anonymous poet directly addressed King Charles VI, arguing that the three French knights deserved reward for honouring the fleur-de-lys with their great deeds of arms fought against lords of the highest lineages who had come from England.[75] And the biographer of Boucicaut was particularly proud to report that John of Gaunt had asked Boucicaut to exchange ten lance strokes with his son Henry Bolingbroke, rather than the five specified in the challenge, so that Henry might have the chance to learn from such an expert.[76]

The choice of Saint-Inglevert as the venue for the tournament also reinforces the sense that Boucicaut, Roye and Sempy were most focused upon jousting against their English counterparts. Throughout the Hundred Years War, border zones like the Calais Marches and also Gascony in the southwest of France were common locations for tournaments and jousts between French and English knights.[77] Boucicaut himself had fought against Sir Piers Courtenay and Sir Thomas Clifford in the Calais Marches in 1380.[78] And in Antoine de Sale's *Jehan de Saintré*, completed in 1456, the hero organized a pas d'armes between Calais and Gravelines in order to allow both French and English knights and squires to participate during a truce, taking advantage of the short distances

[72] *Chronique du Religieux de Saint-Denis*, I, 674 and *Chronographia Regum Francorum*, III, 97 and 99, and *Livre des fais du Bouciquaut,* 67 and 73, together with Gaucher, 'Les joutes de Saint-Inglevert', 237.
[73] Froissart, *Œuvres*, XIV, 106-7.
[74] Given-Wilson, *Henry IV*, 62-63.
[75] *Partie inédite des chroniques de Saint-Denis,* 64 and 66-67.
[76] *Livre des fais du Bouciquaut,* 73.
[77] Barker, *The Tournament in England,* 36-37.
[78] *Livre des fais du Bouciquaut,* 52-55.

between those locations and the quality of the road in order to be able to present themselves ready to joust.[79]

Gaucher has gone further in arguing that the choice of a location on a frontier, the Calais Marches, imbued the chivalric competition in 1390 with the spirit of French resistance to the English occupation: Boucicaut and his companions were fighting in defence of a location that was effectively a 'pas' to be held against their enemies.[80] Yet the choice of Saint-Inglevert might be better understood within the context of the diplomatic negotiations between the kings of France and England that were frequently conducted in the Calais Marches. The tournament was made possible by a three-year truce agreed between Charles VI and Richard II at Leulinghen on 18 June 1389, just a few miles from Saint-Inglevert. That breakthrough in negotiations had come quickly after Richard II had formally assumed responsibility for the conduct of government on 3 May 1389.[81] The truce marked the start of a period of diplomatic negotiations which ultimately led to Charles and Richard meeting at Ardres between the 26 and 30 October 1396, seven months after they had agreed a twenty-eight year truce.[82] Many more diplomatic encounters took place at Leulinghen, including the very next conference, which opened in June 1390, just days after the end of the jousting at Saint-Inglevert.[83] It therefore seems more reasonable to view the jousts and festivities that took place in March and April 1390, three miles from Leulinghen, as both a product of, and a stage in, the thawing relations between the two crowns rather than as a continuation of older tensions.

The format selected for the jousts was very carefully designed to minimise the sense that this was a competition for collective or national honour. The three French knights organized the event whilst Charles VI and Richard II kept their distance, merely giving permission for the tournament to take place. Froissart and Pintouin were keen to insist that the French king and his counsellors had initially had concerns about the event before granting permision.[84] And it was only after the event had safely and successfully concluded that King Charles VI publicly endorsed it by praising and rewarding Boucicaut, Roye and Sempy, after their return to his court in Paris.[85]

[79] Antoine de La Sale, *Jehan de Saintré*, ed. Jean Misrahi and Charles Knudsen, 3rd edition, (GenevaL Droz, 1978), 173-5.
[80] Gaucher, 'Les joutes de Saint-Inglevert', 234-5.
[81] Nigel Saul, *Richard II* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997), 203-5.
[82] Henri Moranville, 'Conférences entre la France et l'Angleterre (1388-1393)', *Bibliothèque de l'École des chartes*, (1889), 351-80; J.J.N. Palmer, 'English Foreign Policy, 1388-99', in *The Reign of Richard II: Essays in Honour of May McKisack*, ed. F. R. H. Du Boulay and Caroline M. Barron (London: Atholone Press, 1971), 75-107, and Palmer, *England, France and Christendom, 1377–99* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1972), 142-51; Christopher J. Phillpotts, 'John of Gaunt and the English Policy towards France 1389-95', *Journal of Medieval History* 16 (1990): 363-86; Anthony Tuck, 'Richard II and the Hundred Years War', in *Politics and Crisis in Fourteenth-Century England*, ed. John Taylor and Wendy R. Childs (Gloucester,UK: Alan Sutton, 1990), 117-131; Françoise Autrand, 'La paix impossible: Les négociations franco-anglaises à la fin du 14e siècle', *Annales de Bourgogne*, 68 (1996) : 11-22; James Magee, 'Crusading at the Court of Charles VI, 1388-1396', *French history*, 12 (1998): 367-83.
[83] The dates for the jousting at Saint-Inglevert may have been changed because of the diplomatic conference scheduled to open at Leulinghen in June 1390 which concluded unsuccessfully on 4 July 1390. Moranville, 'Conférences entre la France et l'Angleterre', 359 and 367-9.
[84] Froissart, *Œuvres*, XIV, 55 and 151, and *Chronique du Religieux de Saint-Denis*, I, 672. Both kings did prevent other jousts from taking place during this period. For example, Charles VI had just prevented a joust between Guy de La Tremoïlle and the lord of Clary at Paris in 1389, and in May 1396 Richard II prohibited any Englishman from engaging in feats of arms against any subject of the French crown. Froissart, *Œuvres*, XIV, 41–50 and *Chronique du Religieux de Saint-Denis*, I, 392-8, and *Foedera,* VII, 832.
[85] Froissart, *Œuvres*, XIV, 151, and also see Juliet Vale, 'Violence and the Tournament', in *Violence in Medieval Society*, ed. Richard W. Kaeuper (Woodbridge, UK: Boydell and Brewer, 2000), 143–58 (151).

Meanwhile, when Richard II granted safe conducts to the French knights, he carefully recorded the fact that these had been requested by Beaumont, Courtenay, Clifford, Holland and Mowbray, indicating that the impetus for this event came from his loyal subjects rather than from him.[86] There is also no evidence that either king attended the jousts beyond Froissart's claim that the French king was present in disguise, in the company of Jean de Garencières.[87] If that story were indeed true, it would illustrate the lengths to which Charles VI went to distance himself from the tournament, but it seems unlikely that the French king was there, as we noted above, given the stronger evidence that he was in Paris during the course of the tournament: this may be another detail that the chronicler added to his account in order to illustrate his overall celebration of the revival of French knighthood as the king reached his majority.[88]

There was an obvious contrast between the tournament at Saint-Inglevert and the royal tournaments that were organized by Charles VI and Richard II immediately before and afterwards. On 5 May 1389, a team of twenty-two French knights including Roye and Sempy had competed on behalf of Charles VI and wore his arms when jousting against another team of twenty-two squires at the culmination of celebrations at Saint-Denis for the knighting of Louis and Charles d'Anjou.[89] Similarly, at the tournament at Smithfield from 10 to 12 October 1390, knights on the side of King Richard II wore his livery decorated with the white hart whilst competing against a team of foreign knights.[90] There is no evidence that competitors at Saint-Inglevert wore the arms of their kings and the tournament certainly did not pitch one evenly matched team against another as happened at Saint-Denis and Smithfield, or indeed during more aggressive mêlées and formal combats between representatives of the two crowns such as the Combat of the Thirty in 1351, the jousts between twenty French knights and twenty Gascons in 1352, the jousts between fifteen French knights and fifteen Englishmen at Rennes in 1382, or the jousts between seven Frenchmen and seven Anglo-Gascons at Montendre on 19 May 1402. Those combats were attempts to resolve disputes between the two sides through the 'voie de jugement' rather than the 'voie de fait', that is to say outright war, and they had much in common with real military combat, especially when the defeated were forced to pay ransoms.[91] The format of the tournament at Saint-Inglevert was very different.

It is true that both Froissart and Pintouin did allude to rivalry and hostility between the French and English. Pintouin presented the jousts at Saint-Inglevert as a French effort to prove their superior prowess and skill-in-arms, responding to the aggressive behaviour of English knights who had come to France after Richard II and Charles VI had agreed to

[86] *Foedera*, VII, 663 (9 March) and also see 665–6 (13 March), and also see Given-Wilson, *Henry IV*, 62n.
[87] Froissart, *Œuvres*, XIV, 127.
[88] Petit, *Séjours de Charles VI*, 45, and also see Lalande, *Jean II le Meingre*, 34.
[89] Marius Barroux, *Les fêtes royales de Saint-Denis en mai 1389* (Paris: Société des Amis de Saint-Denys, 1936), 14–21 and 43-9, and also see *Chronique du Religieux de Saint-Denis*, I, 594-8, and Eustache Deschamps, *Oeuvres complètes de Eustache Deschamps*, ed. Auguste Henri Edouard Saint-Hilaire and Gaston Raynaud, 11 vols. (Paris : Société des Anciens Textes Français, 1878-1903), III, 255.
[90] Froissart, *Œuvres*, XIV, 253-64, and see Sheila Lindenbaum, 'The Smithfield Tournament of 1390', *Journal of Medieval and Renaissance Studies*, 20 (1990): 1-20, and James Beswick, 'Richard II of England and the Smithfield Tournament of October 1390: An Instrument to Establish Royal Authority', in *The Medieval Tournament as Spectacle: Tourneys, Jousts and Pas d'Armes, 1100-1600*, ed. Alan V. Murray and Karen Watts (Woodbridge, UK: Boydell Press, 2020), 62-76.
[91] Jean-Pierre Jourdan, 'Le thème du Pas et de l'Emprise. Espaces symboliques et rituels d'alliance en France à la fin du Moyen Age', *Ethnologie française*, 22 (1992), 172–84 (176) and Gaucher, 'Les joutes de Saint-Inglevert', 235.

the truce on 18 July 1389.[92] According to Pintouin, Boucicaut, Roye and Sempy wanted to end any debate about the worthiness of French knighthood and to win everlasting glory for the French kingdom. Pintouin's account thereby emphasised the serious stakes of the jousts, given that the French knights might have been defeated and humiliated, bringing shame upon the king and kingdom of France.[93] This served a narrative purpose, creating dramatic tension in the face of such an audacious and risky enterprise and also magnified the scale of their success, which he compared to David's defeat of Goliath.[94]

Jean Froissart was even more direct in claiming that King Charles VI and his counsellors had initially feared that the jousts could escalate into real hostilities and imperil the Anglo-French truce, before finally giving permission for the tournament to take place.[95] But again, this served a clear dramatic purpose, creating tension that was resolved when the king was quickly won over by the youthful enthusiasm of Boucicaut and his companions, illustrating the wider theme of a French chivalric resurgence that was at the heart of this part of the chronicle. Moreover, Froissart quickly abandoned any suggestion that the jousts might have led to real hostilities when he praised the good spirit in which the English accepted the challenge; they were keen from the beginning to take part in the games and did not want to disappoint the French knights, whom they regarded as good companions.[96]

There is no doubt that the combat at Saint-Inglevert was carefully designed to be friendly and controlled. The letter of challenge emphasised that the event was being organized in a spirit of friendship: they were not staging the tournament out of 'pride, hatred or malevolence', but solely out of a desire to enjoy their honourable company and to make their acquaintance. Challengers were invited from across Christendom and could be knights, squires or gentlemen.[97] They were offered the option of fighting with bated weapons and the French knights promised that there would be no tricks or improper equipment such as shields covered with iron or steel, and that the jousts would be regulated by judges.[98] It is true that no one did choose to fight with *rochets*, but it is important to recognise this was true for all the challengers and not just the English: the knights and squires who took part unanimously regarded the unbated weapon as more appropriate and honourable. Pintouin directly stated as much when he reported that challengers from England, Hainaut, the Lorraine and other countries ignored the shield representing combat with bated weapons because that was regarded as a common and clownish exercise.[99] And it also striking that in the opening of the anonymous verse account, a beautiful shepherdess and the narrator insisted that the unique feature of the jousting at Saint-Ingelvert, and the most important element in

[92] *Chronique du Religieux de Saint-Denis*, I, 672.
[93] The *Chronographia* also emphasised the contribution that the French knights had made to the honour of their kingdom at the end of his brief account, *Chronographia Regum Francorum*, III, 100.
[94] *Chronique du Religieux de Saint-Denis*, I, 674, and also see Gaucher, 'Les joutes de Saint-Inglevert', 235.
[95] Froissart, *Œuvres*, XIV, 57.
[96] Froissart, *Œuvres*, XIV, 106-7. Also see *Livre des fais du Bouciquaut,* 70-01.
[97] On the involvement of squires, see Vale, 'Violence and the Tournament', 158.
[98] Froissart, *Œuvres*, XIV, 56-7.
[99] *Chronique du Religieux de Saint-Denis*, I, 674: 'qui scutum hastiludi exercicium jocosum et commune significans contempnentes'.

making it worthy, was the use of lances of steel (fer de lanche), a term that was repeated five times.[100]

It is also important to note that the use of unbated weapons did not require competitors to fight to the death: the focus was upon honourably completing five lances per challenger, rather than defeating or killing an opponent. Indeed, the fortunes of battle may have gone one way and then the other, but as usual, the main narrative accounts were generally more concerned to identify who had participated and fought well rather than to attempt to keep an overall score. Juliet Vale has carefully demonstrated the emphasis that Jean Froissart placed upon the form, style and skill of the jousters in aiming their lances and striking their opponents, in withstanding strikes themselves and being able to continue on to the end of the course.[101] So, for example, Froissart emphasised that spectators agreed that Sir John Holland and Boucicaut had opened the event by jousting very well indeed, without inflicting injury upon one another.[102] He later noted that Nicholas Clifton acquitted himself valiantly and therefore left the list so that others could have their turn jousting, and that John Savage demanded to continue after he and Renaud de Roye had both broken their lances because 'he had not crossed the sea to run just one lance (pour courir une lance)'.[103] Disgrace was not the consequence of defeat but rather of breaking the rules: Froissart highlighted the example of Herr Hans, a Bohemian chamber knight of Richard II's queen Anne, who struck a blow at Boucicaut from the side and thereby committed a foul.[104] Meanwhile, the anonymous poet said that it was for the heralds to count the blows, while he focused upon praising the achievements of the French knights in particular, but also shaming eight Englishmen who had struck a shield to initiate a joust but then failed to take part.[105]

For Boucicaut, Roye and Sempy, success lay not in victory over every single challenger but rather in fulfilling their promise to fight against all comers for the duration of the jousts, an extraordinary physical challenge. Some accounts claimed that the French knights managed to complete their marathon without serious injury, whilst Pintouin reported that both Boucicaut and Roye sustained severe injuries that prevented them from competing for nine days, leaving Sempy to fight on his own.[106] According to Pintouin, the three French knights ultimately refused to accept the prizes that they had earned and preferred to give presents to the knights and squires who had fought against them.[107]

That courtesy is a reminder that the risk of rivalries and tensions between the competitors was also reduced by the emphasis placed upon the courtly and festive aspects of the event. The jousts took place against a backdrop of hospitality and feasting in an elaborate and decorated setting specially created for the event. This may be the best context within which to understand the tantalizing references to the courtly or even literary perspectives on the tournament that reframed what might have be seen exclusively as an

[100] *Partie inédite des chroniques de Saint-Denis,* 61-3.
[101] Vale, 'Violence and the Tournament', 148-9.
[102] Froissart, *Œuvres*, XIV, 110.
[103] Froissart, *Œuvres*, XIV, 118 and 128-9.
[104] Froissart, *Œuvres*, XIV, 141-2.
[105] *Partie inédite des chroniques de Saint-Denis,* 76.
[106] *Chronique du Religieux de Saint-Denis*, I, 678, and also see *Livre des fais du Bouciquaut,* 67.
[107] *Chronique du Religieux de Saint-Denis*, I, 682.

Anglo-French competition into a male competition performed before the female gaze. Most famously, Jean Froissart claimed that Boucicaut, Roye and Sempy had been inspired to issue their letter of challenge during conversations with the ladies and damsels of Montpellier in front of the king.[108] There is no corroboration for this story, but it does echo the suggestion that the royal courtiers had held a 'puy' or poetic competition before the king just a few weeks before, presenting *ballades* debating the importance of love as an inspiration for chivalric and martial honour, responding to the *Livre des cent ballades* that had just been written by Jean de Saint-Pierre, seneschal of the count of Eu.[109] The narrator of the *Livre des cent ballades* claimed that Boucicaut, Jean de Crésecque and Philippe d'Artois, count of Eu, had all declared that they preferred and upheld loyal love, and the biographer of Boucicaut later claimed that he had helped Jean de Saint-Pierre write the *Livre des cent ballades*.[110] All of this circumstantial evidence might support the possibility that debates at the French court about the *Livre des cent ballades* inspired Boucicaut and his companions to issue their letter of challenge for the tournament at Saint-Inglevert. But either way, it is certain that that story shifted the focus of the tournament from rivalry and competition between French and English knights towards a more courtly interpretation and framing of the grand chivalric event.

That same dynamic is also at play in the account by the anonymous poet, which opens with the narrator encountering shepherds and shepherdesses in a field near Ardres, dancing, singing and engaged in a 'pleasant pastorelle'.[111] In this story, the shepherdesses were deeply impressed by the unusual bravery of knights planning to take part in the fierce and dangerous jousts, emphasizing that no event like this had taken place for a long time. One of them contrasted the behaviour and bravery of the knights intending to fight in the jousts with the boasting of her own lover who was not willing to perform any deeds of arms for her. As a result, the three French knights were the envy even of all those who were not present, spoken of well by many ladies, and deserving of a poem and song about them.[112] Again, this opening configured the tournament at Saint-Inglevert as an effort to put into practice courtly ideas of love and violence, rather than emphasising the rivalry or tensions between the different groups of knights and squires who fought there.

Taking all of this evidence together, it is difficult to accept Barber and Barker's claim that tournaments like Saint-Inglevert 'were the best form of practice for real warfare'.[113] It seems more plausible to view the jousting at Saint-Inglevert as a grand and courtly chivalric event designed to build bridges between the French and English aristocracy. And there is no doubt that friendships were forged or strengthened between the competitors

[108] Froissart, *Œuvres*, XIV, 43.
[109] It is far from certain that the *ballades* were ever presented at a real event given that at least one of the supposed respondents, the duke of Berry, could not have been physically present. *Les cent ballades, poème du XIVe siècle composé par Jean le Seneschal avec la collaboration de Philippe d'Artois, comte d'Eu, de Boucicaut le jeune et de Jean de Crésecque*, ed. Gaston Raynaud (Paris: Librairie de Firmin-Didot, 1905), 201-27, and Françoise Lehoux, *Jean de France, duc de Berri: Sa vie, son action politique (1340-1416)*, 4 vols. (Paris: Picard, 1966-8), II, 257n, and also see Lalande, *Jean II le Meingre*, 30-1.
[110] *Les cent ballades,* xl-lvi and 197-8, and also see 211, and *Livre des fais du Bouciquaut,* 32. Also see Jane H.M. Taylor, 'Inescapable Rose: Jean le Seneschal's *Cent ballades* and the Art of Cheerful Paradox', *Medium Ævum*, 67 (1998): 60-84.
[111] *Partie inédite des chroniques de Saint-Denis,* 61-62.
[112] *Partie inédite des chroniques de Saint-Denis,* 67.
[113] Barber and Barker, *Tournaments*, 166.

at Saint-Inglevert. Many of the English knights and squires, including John Beaufort, John, lord Clifford, John Cornwall, Janico Dartasso and John Russell, were recruited to join a French crusading expedition to Al-Mahdiya led by Louis de Bourbon in June 1390.[114] Henry Bolingbroke was refused a safe-conduct to travel to Marseilles to join that expedition, perhaps because the French crown feared that he might have used this as cover to travel to the duchy of Aquitaine, which had been granted to his father, John of Gaunt, earlier in the year. But soon afterwards, Bolingbroke and many of his retainers did join Boucicaut and other French knights in Prussia, fighting alongside the Teutonic Knights.[115] Boucicaut then invited Bolingbroke to join the Nicopolis expedition in 1396, but John of Gaunt advised his son not to take part.[116] Nevertheless Bolingbroke demonstrated his friendship towards Boucicaut when he sent him a saddle as a gift in 1398.[117]

Meanwhile, Philippe de Mézières was redrafting his plans for a chivalric Order of the Passion to fight the enemies of the Faith, to help the Christians in the East and to reconquer the Holy Land. The third draft was completed by 1394 and named sixty-one nobles and clerics who had pledged their support to the cause, including Boucicaut, as well as twenty four others who had offered help but not yet joined.[118] Four of the most important Englishmen affiliated with the Order had attended or were linked with the tournament at Saint-Inglevert: Thomas Mowbray, earl of Nottingham, Henry Percy, earl of Northumberland, John Holland, earl of Huntingdon, and John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster. Other English names on this list included Sir Richard Abberbury who fought at Saint-Inglevert, and Sir Lewis Clifford, Sir Ralph Percy and Sir Ralph Rochefort, whose relatives had competed there.[119]

Moreover, many individuals who had taken part in the jousts at Saint-Inglevert played a prominent role in subsequent diplomatic encounters.[120] On 28 April 1390, Richard II issued instructions for his ambassadors to the conference to take place at Leulinghen in June. They were led by Henry, earl of Northumberland, who was serving as one of the judges at Saint-Inglevert and was the brother of Thomas Percy who fought there. The group of ambassadors also included Sir Edward Dalyngrugg, who was presumably related to Jean Dalyngrugg, listed as a challenger in both the verse account and the

[114] Joseph Delaville Le Roulx, *La France en Orient au XIVe siècle : Expéditions du Maréchal Boucicaut*, 2 vols. (Paris: Ernest Thorin, 1886), I, 176; Léon Mirot, 'Une expédition française en Tunisie au XIVe siècle : Le siège de Mahdia (1390)', *Revue des questions historiques*, 97 (1931), 357–406 (372); Goodman, *The Loyal Conspiracy*, 191n; Simon Walker, 'Janico Dartasso. Chivalry, Nationality and the Man-at-Arms', *History*, 84 (1999): 31-51.

[115] Du Boulay, F.R.H., 'Henry of Derby's Expedition to Prussia', in *The Reign of Richard II*, ed. F.R.H. Du Boulay and Caroline M. Barron (London: Athlone Press, 1971), 153–72 (162), and Given-Wilson, *Henry IV*, 63. Also see Lynn Staley, 'Gower, Richard II, Henry of Derby, and the Business of Making Culture', *Speculum*, 75 (2000): 68–96 (84-5), and Werner Paravicini, *Adlig leben im 14. Jahrhundert: Weshalb sie fuhren. Die Preußenreisen des europäischen Adels, teil 3* (Göttingen: V&R unipress, 2020).

[116] Froissart, *Œuvres*, XIV, 132-7, and also see Given-Wilson, *Henry IV*, 121n.

[117] Given-Wilson, *Henry IV*, 113n.

[118] Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal MS 2251, fos. 112v-114v.

[119] Adrian Bell, 'English Members of the Order of the Passion: Their Political, Diplomatic and Military Significance', in *Philippe de Mézières and His Age. Piety and Politics in the Fourteenth Century*, ed. Renate Blumenfeld-Kosinski and Kiril Petkov (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 321-46, and also see Philippe Contamine, ''Les princes, barons et chevaliers qui a la chevalerie au service de Dieu se sont ja vouez' : Recherches prosopographiques sur l'ordre de la Passion de Jésus-Christ (1385-1395)', in *La noblesse et la croisade à la fin du Moyen Âge (France, Bourgogne, Bohême)*, ed. Martin Nejedlý and Jaroslav Svátek (Toulouse: Université Toulouse II Le Mirail, 2009), 43–67 (53-5).

[120] Boucicaut had taken part in earlier negotiations with the English at Leulinghen that resulted in an extension of the truce from 14 September 1384 until 1 May 1385. Lalande, *Jean II le Meingre*, 18, and *Livre des fais du Bouciquaut*, 42.

Religieux.[121] On 14 February 1391, Thomas Percy and Lewis Clifford met with Louis, duke of Bourbon, in Paris to discuss a personal meeting between Richard II and Charles VI at Leulinghen or a location between Guines and Ardres.[122] And the English ambassadors who negotiated for the marriage of Richard II to Isabelle of France that was agreed by a treaty on 9 March 1396 included Thomas Mowbray, earl of Nottingham, Henry Beaumont and Guillaume Heron, all of whom had jousted at Saint-Inglevert.[123]

Of course, a proper evaluation of the connections and friendships forged at Saint-Inglevert is impossible given that so little information survives about the spectators who attended the event. No information survives regarding how many lords and ladies mingled with one another while attending the festivities. As Nigel Saul has observed, tournaments like Saint-Inglevert 'were attended by princes and lords from all over the continent. Those who participated could converse with one another and take note of each other's appearances and manners. In any or all of these ways the styles and fashions of one court could be observed and followed in another'.[124] Saul's concern was to highlight the importance of events like Saint-Inglevert in the dissemination of courtly styles and fashions, and hence to support his arguments concerning changes that Richard II initiated at the royal court in England in the 1390s. But events like Saint-Inglevert must have been even more important than the formal diplomatic encounters that took place nearby at Leulinghen and Ardres in building bridges between the aristocracies of France and England and fueling progress towards reconciliation, even if that final peace was never secured between the two crowns.

The Legacy of Saint-Inglevert

The tournament held at Saint-Inglevert was remembered with great pride in France. King Charles VI owned a great tapestry celebrating the event that may have been completed by 1396.[125] It was also, as we have seen, commemorated in a number of narrative sources. The anonymous verse account written immediately after the end of the tournament celebrated the individual accomplishments, bravery and skill of the three French knights, 'nostre chevallerie', as well as the true friendships that were formed between all of the jousters and the glorious courtliness of the event as a whole.[126] For Jean Froissart, this was a key event in the revival of French knighthood and chivalric culture after King Charles VI had reached his majority in December 1388, and he particularly

[121] *English Medieval Diplomatic Practice. Part I,* ed. Pierre Chaplais, 2 vols. (London: H.M. Stationery Office, 1982), I, 191-3, and also see *Proceedings and Ordinances of the Privy Council of England*, ed. Nicholas Harris Nicolas, 7 vols. (London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1834-7), I, 19-24.
[122] Moranville, 'Conférences entre la France et l'Angleterre', 359 and 369-75.
[123] *English Medieval Diplomatic Practice,* II, 527-35. Another jouster from Saint-Inglevert, Guillaume Lord of Say, was employed by Henry IV in many negotiations in 1400 and 1402, including to secure the remainder of the ransom of King Jean II.
[124] Nigel Saul, *Richard II*, 345-6, and also see 351: 'Knights from England, France, the Low Countries and elsewhere gathered to joust, converse and socialize for nearly a month' at Saint-Inglevert.
[125] Jules Guiffrey, 'Inventaire des tapisseries du roi Charles VI, vendues par les anglais en 1422', *Bibliothèque de l'École des chartes*, 48 (1887) : 59–110 (89). Antoine de Sale may have been alluding to the tournament at Saint-Inglevert in *Jehan de Saintré*, completed in 1456, when the hero organised a pas d'armes between Calais and Gravelines. La Sale, *Jehan de Saintré*, 173.
[126] *Partie inédite des chroniques de Saint-Denis,* 64, 67–8 and 75, and Gaucher, 'Les joutes de Saint-Inglevert', 237 and 241-3.

emphasised the role of ladies as an inspiration for young gentlemen to undertake deeds of arms.[127] After the illness of Charles VI had put an end to the chances of a chivalric revival and relations with the English had deteriorated, Michel Pintouin presented the tournament at Saint-Inglevert as the continuation of the long history of tension and rivalry between the two sides, as three brave French knights took on an enormous physical challenge, gambled with the reputation of France, but ultimately won honour for themselves and the kingdom.[128] And nearly two decades after the tournament, the anonymous biographer of Boucicaut focused upon the importance of the tournament for the three French knights themselves and the impact upon their own careers and personal honour.[129] He concentrated in particular upon Boucicaut's role in the event, even at the expense of the accomplishments and importance of his companions, reflecting the focus of the biography as a whole upon defending Boucicaut's reputation as a great knight and presenting him as a model of chivalry to the reader.[130] In short, contemporary writers all celebrated the achievements of the three French knights at Saint-Inglevert, but from slightly different perspectives.[131]

Despite this celebration of the events at Saint-Inglevert, changing circumstances made it impossible for the French court to stage a grand tournament on the scale of that event again until the 1440s. Charles VI's illness from 1392 onwards put an end to his role as a chivalric patron and also permitted tensions between the princes of the blood to escalate, leading to sporadic outbreaks of violence and eventually civil war.[132] On 27 January 1406, the crown even prohibited jousts and deeds of arms, warning that they could lead to hatred, disputes and controversies.[133] Meanwhile, the temporary thaw in relations with the English quickly came to an end when Henry Bolingbroke deposed King Richard II and briefly seized his new French bride, Isabella of France. Friendships forged between French and English aristocrats during the 1390s lapsed or even turned into feuds.[134] The accession of King Henry V to the English throne in 1413 precipitated the full scale resumption of war.

As a result, it was only after the truce of Tours was signed on 28 May 1444 that the Valois court was able to resume great chivalric festivities like that of Saint-Inglevert. A string of tournaments took place in quick succession, including at Nancy (14-19 February 1445), Châlons-sur-Marne (May-June 1445), Razilly (June 1446), Saumur (27 June-7 August 14446), Launay (summer 1446?), Teillay (8 October 1446), Tours (1 May 1447), Bois-Sur-Amé (summer 1448?), Bourges (1 May 1448?) and Tarascon (3-5 June 1449). Little is known about most of these events that are only reported in Guillaume Leseur's *Histoire de Gaston IV de Foix,* which usually offers just lists of participants,

[127] Gaucher, 'Les joutes de Saint-Inglevert', 230–1 and 240.
[128] *Chronique du Religieux de Saint-Denis*, I, 672-6.
[129] Gaucher, 'Les joutes de Saint-Inglevert', 236.
[130] *Livre des fais du Bouciquaut,* 65-74.
[131] Gaucher, 'Les joutes de Saint-Inglevert', 243.
[132] See, for example, Riccardo C. Famiglietti, *Royal Intrigue. Crisis at the Court of Charles VI, 1392–1420* (New York : AMS Press, 1982).
[133] *Ordonnances des rois de France de la troisième race. Volume 9*, ed. Denis-François Secousse, and Louis-Guillaume de Vilevault (Paris: Imprimerie royale, 1755), 105-6.
[134] See, for example, Chris Given-Wilson, 'The Quarrels of Old Women: Henry IV, Louis of Orléans, and Anglo-French Chivalric Challenges of the Early Fifteenth Century', in *The Reign of Henry IV. Rebellion and Survival 1403–1413,* ed. Gwilym Dodd and Douglas Biggs (Woodbridge, UK: York Medieval Press, 2008), 28-47.

making it difficult even to categorize every one of these events.[135] That in turn makes it impossible to assess the impact that Saint-Inglevert might have had upon these later tournaments. If that earlier event had any influence, it could only have come through the narrative accounts of it. There were few if any knights or heralds alive in these years who had any direct memory of the tournament of 1390: the legacy of Boucicaut who had died in 1421 was carried by his nephew, Jean III Le Meingre, who jousted at Razilly, Saumur, Launay and Tours.

In short, there are too many gaps in the surviving evidence to argue that the tournament at Saint-Inglevert served as a direct template for entrepreneurs of the fifteenth-century.[136] Nevertheless, it certainly marked an important stage on the journey towards the great pas d'armes of the fifteenth-century. The letter of challenge issued by Boucicaut and his companions foreshadowed the *chapitres* and *lettres d'armes* that survive for later pas d'armes and also highlighted the fact that the event at Saint-Inglevert had been carefully planned and publicized rather than merely announced just a few days ahead of time.[137] The location chosen for the tournament, Saint-Inglevert, was quite literally a 'pas' on the frontier between the English and the French in the Calais Marches.[138] The three French knights who undertook this enterprise held their ground as 'tenants' against those knights and squires willing to fight them. There was a degree of theatricality and drama in the event. Each challenger declared his wish to fight by touching one of the shields that the French knights hung upon tree branches alongside the lists and the pavilions that were erected in the fields outside of the abbey – ephemeral works of architecture that had been created for the performance of this great spectacle. There is no indication any of this was inspired by or sought to recreate any particular chivalric story drawn from romance, as was the case for so many pas d'armes, nor that the three French knights took on any kind of fictional role themselves as the entrepreneurs of the tournament.[139] But it is important to acknowledge the limitations of the surviving sources, which offer precious little information on what happened outside of the lists: that there was a courtly audience in attendance that included women we know, but there is no evidence regarding their role, if any, in the drama that played out within the lists. One source, the anonymous verse account of Saint-Inglevert, did attempt, however, to place that tournament into the literary context of the *pastourelle,* certainly foreshadowing similar poems about the two famous pas d'armes organized by René

[135] Guillaume Leseur, *Histoire de Gaston IV de Foix, par Guillaume Leseur. Chronique française inédite du XVe siècle*, ed. Henri Courteault, 2 vols. (Paris: Société de l'Histoire de France, 1893), I, 129-98. Courteault's edition was based upon a manuscript that dates from the seventeenth century, Paris BNF, MS français 4992, which did not contain the chapters describing most of the chivalric events at the court of Charles VII in the 1440s, co Courteault published a set of eighteenth-century notes on a lost manuscript of the text, 'Le manuscrit original de l'*Histoire de Gaston IV comte de Foix*, pas Guillaume Leseur. Additions et corrections à l'édition de cette chronique', *Annuaire-bulletin de la société de l'histoire de France*, 43 (1906), 180-212. Those notes have been used by historians of the chivalric events of the 1440s without realising that the lost manuscript survives in Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preussischer Kulturbesitz, MS Hamilton 606. I am currently editing that manuscript for publication and preparing a new study of these events.

[136] There is also no evidence to support the suggestion by Barber and Barker that the tournament at Saint-Inglevert was a model for the earliest *pas d'armes*, the *Paso de la fuerte ventura* and the *Passo Honroso* held in Castile. Barber and Barker, *Tournaments*, 109.

[137] See footnote 24 above.

[138] Gaucher, 'Les joutes de Saint-Inglevert', 234-5.

[139] Nadot, *Le spectacle des joutes*, 20.

d'Anjou, the Pas de Saumur (1446) and the Pas de la Bergere at Tarascon (1449), the latter of which introduced the *pastourelle* themes into the drama of the tournament.[140]

Sébastien Nadot has argued that it is impossible to be certain that the *Paso de la fuerte aventura* held at Valladolid in 1428 was the very first pas d'armes given that jousts and tournaments held before that point already had so many of the characteristics of a pas d'armes.[141] The point is well made, but in practice it is impossible to identify any earlier tournament that should be reclassified as a pas d'armes given not just the limitations of sources for most of these events but also the more complicated problem of precisely how to define a pas d'armes and to distinguish it from so many similar types of events.[142] Saint-Inglevert might suggest different ways of thinking about this. Firstly, it demonstrates that pas d'armes did not suddenly emerge as a fully formed and clearly distinctive type of event, but was rather the product of evolution and development during an exciting period of time in the late Middle Ages when entrepreneurs and their collaborators were experimenting and adapting courtly and martial practices for a multitude of reasons. Indeed, the most striking question is why these entrepreneurs, knights, squires, courtiers and heralds were attracted to the very different options, large and small, that were available for a tournament. In the case of Saint-Inglevert, it seems that the overriding concern was to minimise tensions between the different participating groups, a concern that would also have been very important in France in the 1440s, when the court of Charles VII was riven with faction. But of course there must have been other motives too, not the least of which was the value of spectacle, drama and 'mystère' in entertaining the courtly audience and involving them in the chivalric activities playing out before them. It is therefore unfortunate but also intriguing that the surviving sources for the tournament at Saint-Inglevert offer so little information about the spectators and their role in that particular event.

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[140] *Das Turnierbuch für René d'Anjou (Le Pas de Saumur) : Vollständige Faksimile-Ausgabe im Originalformat der Handschrift Codex Fr. F. XIV. Nr. 4 der Russischen Nationalbibliothek in St. Petersburg. Kommentarband mit beiträgen*, ed. N. Elagina, J, Malinin, T. Voronova and D. Zypkin (Graz and Moscow: Akademische Druck – u. Verlagsanstalt, 1998), 67-113, and Harry F. Williams, '*Le Pas de la Bergère*: A Critical Edition', *Fifteenth Century Studies*, 17 (1990): 485-513.
[141] Nadot, *Le spectacle des joutes*, 28.
[142] Catherine Blunk, 'Faux pas in the Chronicles. What is a *pas d'armes*?', 87-107.