



Khrystyna Mereniuk

 <https://orcid.org/0000-0003-4114-5663>

Krypiakevykh Institute of Ukrainian Studies of NAS of Ukraine

Knight's Tournaments in England and France from the 11th to the 14th Century: The Problems of Sources and Terminological Aspects

In the medieval times chivalric culture was the foundation for developing warfare based on tournament competitions, which spread throughout medieval Europe. New relationships, new institutions, previously unknown in the Middle Ages, led to the emergence of the “tournament.” “The show of armed horsemen”¹ in the 11th century spread from France to neighboring countries, including England, where it began to take a leading position.² The history of “tournament” in the English lands had distinct features that globally reflect the role of this “sports competition” for the pivotal military and cultural components of the everyday life of the medieval warriors.³

¹ According to Alessandro Rizzi, See more: Alessandro Rizzi. “Sviata, ihry ta obriady v Serednovichchi,” in *Istoriia yevropeiskoi tsyvilizatsii. Serednovichchia. Sobory. Lytsari. Mistia*, transl. V. Smetina (Kharkiv 2018), 208—209.

² Not all of the medievalists agree on the French origin of the tournaments. However, this phenomenon of chivalrous victory came to the English lands from French territory, because only one country—France—could set that specific atmosphere at that time. Francis Henry Cripps-Day, *The History of the Tournament in England and in France* (Toronto, 1918), 6. In addition, the vast majority of terminological constructions came from the French language, which was widespread at that time. Charles du Fresne Du Cange in the Glossary of Latin terms refers to the fact that “the French tournament was adopted by the British”: “*A francis Tourneamentorum usum acceperere Angli*” Charles du Fresne Du Cange, *Glossarium Mediae et Infimae Latinitatis* (Graz, 1846), vol. 6, 612—613. In addition, medieval chronicler Matthew of Paris pointed to the French origin of the tournament.

³ The “tournament” in England became a kind of institution with its own ideals and goals. Kings, in particular Edward I, used them to raise their own prestige on the political arena.

Scientific study of tournament competitions began in the first half of the 20th century.⁴ The main terminological constructions of medieval military games and their definitions are contained in the monograph of Francis Henry Cripps-Day *The History of the Tournament in England and in France* (1918)⁵ Robert Coltman Clephan in his study analyzed the development of tournaments from their formation to decline.⁶

English scholar Maurice Keen in his monograph *Chivalry* (1984) described the complex of reality of knighthood: its secular foundations, main rules, special armor and weapons, the development of tournaments. Maurice Keen supported his conclusions with many examples from medieval literature, epic, lyric poetry and translated sources. Juliet Barker and Richard Barber successfully filled the gaps in terminological discourse. They published a thorough study of medieval military games, *Tournaments: Jousts, Chivalry, Pageants in the Middle Ages* (1989).⁷ The authors explored the phenomenon of tournaments in Western Europe and linked the development of chivalric romance with tournaments. If it were not for the latter, there might have been no plot for the former, without literature there would be no incentive for the development of competitions.⁸ Juliet Barker in *The Tournament in England, 1100—1400* (1986)⁹ investigated the genesis of the tournament culture in England. The works

For this purpose, he spent a lot of money and energy on the organization of such military spectacles. Khrystyna Mereniuk and Solomiia Mereniuk, "Tradyttsiia turnirnykh poiedynkiv u Yevropi ta na Rusi," *Fenomen Yevropy: Derzhavotvorchi ta intehratsiini protsesy*, vol. 3 (2019): 14—21. In addition, later in England were popular special types of competitions, which replaced the traditional "mêlée"—"hostile combat" or "jousts of war." Richard Barber and Juliet Barker, *Tournaments: Jousts, Chivalry and Pageants in the Middle Ages* (Woodbridge, 1989), 34.

⁴ This was represented in the history of chivalry, or in everyday life of the military elite. The historiography on this topic is mostly represented by the works of European and American historians. The first prominent investigations about knightly competitions appeared at the beginning of the 20th century. The leading medievalists at this time started to investigate such specific problem: Robert Coltman Clephan, *The Tournament: Its Periods and Phases* (London, 1919), Francis Henry Cripps-Day, *The History of the Tournament in England and in France* (Toronto, 1918). However, really powerful studies appeared in the late XX century: Maurice Keen, *Chivalry* (London, 1984), Sabine Krüger, "Das kirchliche Turnierverbot im Mittelalter," in *Das ritterliche Turnier im Mittelalter: Beiträge zu einer vergleichenden Formen- und Verhaltensgeschichte des Rittertums*, ed. Josef Fleckenstein (Göttingen, 1985), 401—422, Helmut Nickel, "The Tournament: A Historical Sketch," in *The Study of Chivalry: Resources and Approaches*, ed. Howell D. Chickering and Thomas H. Seiler (Kalamazoo, 1988), 213—262, Juliet Barker and Richard Barber, *Tournaments: Jousts, Chivalry and Pageants in the Middle Ages* (Woodbridge, 1989).

⁵ Cripps-Day, *The History of the Tournament in England and in France*, 140.

⁶ Clephan, *The Tournament: Its Periods and Phases*.

⁷ Barber and Barker, *Tournaments: Jousts, Chivalry and Pageants*.

⁸ Barber and Barker, *Tournaments: Jousts, Chivalry and Pageants*, 20—21.

⁹ Juliet Barker, *The Tournament in England, 1100—1400* (Woodbridge, 1986).

by David Crouch,¹⁰ John Gillingham,¹¹ and Nigel Saul¹² are also significant for our study.

As for French historiography, the works of Andre Coville,¹³ Fransua Lot are also important for the article.¹⁴ However, early French historiography described tournament competitions mainly from a romantic point of view, emphasizing their grandeur and festivity.

The article is based on two types of sources:

1. Chronicles of clergy.
2. Chronicles of the laity.

The chronicles written in Latin by Anglo-Norman monks became the basis of the first group of sources. The most famous of such narrative sources are: *The History of the Kings of England* (1142) by William of Malmesbury (1090—1143)¹⁵ and *The Great Chronicle* (1259) by the Benedictine monk Matthew of Paris (1200—1259).¹⁶ Matthew had access to a closed royal archive, thus the material of the chronicle is important for research.¹⁷ The author provided unique information about tournaments: he was the first to call tournaments *batailles francaises*, which meant “French skirmishes.”¹⁸ Thus, the chronicler connected knightly martial games with French origins. *Chronicles*¹⁹ and *Gesta Henrici II et Gesta Regis Ricardi* [Deeds of Henry II and King Richard], written by Roger of Hoveden (died in 1201), provided detailed information about the flourishing of the tournament culture.

The source for understanding the general ethos and culture of chivalry is *The Book of Knighthood and Chivalry* by the Catalan missionary Ramon Llull (1235—1316), which enjoyed popularity in Medieval England.²⁰ It is known

¹⁰ David Crouch, *Tournament* (London, 2007).

¹¹ John Gillingham, “War and Chivalry in the History of William the Marshal,” in *Thirteenth Century England II*, ed. Peter R. Coss, [Peter Coss, and [Simon D. Lloyd (Woodbridge, 1988), 1—95.

¹² Nigel Saul, *Scenes From Provincial Life: Knightly Families in Sussex 1280—1400* (Oxford, 1986); Nigel Saul, *For Honour and Fame: Chivalry in England, 1066—1500* (London, 2011).

¹³ Alfred Coville, *Les Premiers Valois et la guerre de Cent Ans: 1328—1422* (Paris, 1982).

¹⁴ Ferdinand Lot, *L'art militaire et les armées au Moyen Age en Europe et dans le Proche Orient*, vol. 1 (Paris, 1946).

¹⁵ William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum Anglorum*, ed. Roger Aubrey Baskerville Mynors (Oxford, 1998).

¹⁶ Matthew Paris, *Chronica Majora*, vol. 1—3, ed. Henry Richards Luard (Cambridge, 2013).

¹⁷ Clephan, *The Tournament: Its Periods and Phases*, 14—15.

¹⁸ Matthew of Paris also called tournament as *Conflictus Gallicus*. Clephan, *The Tournament: Its Periods and Phases*, 10.

¹⁹ Roger of Hoveden, *Chronica*, ed. William Stubbs, (London, 1870), 268.

²⁰ Ramon Llull, *Libre del'orde de cavalleria/The Book of the Order of Chivalry*, ed. Noel Fallows (Woodbridge, 2013).

that the author was born on Mallorca and his father was a friend of the famous Jaime I the Conqueror, King of Aragon. *The Libre del'orde de cavalleria* [The Book of the Order of Chivalry] was written between 1274 and 1276, after Ramon gave up his extravagant life. *The Book* is one of the author's earliest works.²¹ It was written in Catalan for knights who did not know Latin. In the prologue, the author wrote about the origins of the institution and analyzed the main responsibilities of a medieval knight. He listed thirty-six main duties of a medieval military man; there was the tenth clause among them, where the author emphasized the mandatory participation of a knight in tournaments. Such statements were unusual for a religious person: the participation of knights in those "war games" were threatened by the clergy with the denial of a proper church burial in the event of dying during a tournament. Thus, in the initial context, the impact of the official lifting the ban by Pope John XXII on the war games can be traced.²²

Early clergy chronicles often condemned tournaments because the Church was one of the main rivals to tournament competitions. Jacques de Vitry (1170—1240) was a famous theologian and preacher. He also defended the Church's position and was a staunch opponent of tournaments. In particular, he considered tournaments to be the source of the seven deadly sins.²³

The secular chronicles are another variety, the most famous being *Chronicles* of Jean Froissart (1337—1405).²⁴ The work consists of four books and ends in 1400.²⁵ It has certain shortcomings, the dating of events in particular.

²¹ Keen, *Chivalry*, 20.

²² The clergy were not sympathetic to tournaments, they condemned medieval competitions in different ways but, when Pope John XXII (1244—1334) lifted the ban on tournaments in 1316, their activities declined markedly.

²³ Seven deadly sins consisted of vanity, envy, wrath, greed, sloth, gluttony, lust, pride. This concept was developed by the monks of the East, detailed and then restored by Gregory the Great (540—604). This classification of sins took the form of an army of seven lieutenants led by a commander. An American medievalist, Raymond Kilgour, explains that such a condemnation by the Church would not be unfounded, because chivalrous culture lost over time its military-religious zeal. The proper feature of knights was significant luxury: already in the 15th century, knights were characterized by cruelty and greed. See: Raymond Lincoln Kilgour, *The Decline of Chivalry as Shown in the French Literature of the Late Middle Ages* (Cambridge, 1937). Discussions about the brutality and pragmatism of chivalry continue to this day. Nigel Saul critically rejects the concept of "thoughtless anger." The author notes the influence of chivalry not only on the military (a radical change in warfare), but also on sociological aspects. Nigel Saul's phrase that without knights "the Middle Ages would be not only stupid and dark, but also cruel" is quite revealing and well-known (Saul, *Scenes From Provincial Life: Knightly Families in Sussex 1280—1400*, 204).

²⁴ Jean Froissart (1337—1405) was a French medieval chronicler, who created several works, including *Chronicles* and *Meliador*, as well as a large number of poems. His chronicle is a considerable source for the Hundred Years' War.

²⁵ Jean Froissart, *Chronicles of England, France, Spain and the Adjoining Countries*, ed. Thomas Johnes (New York, 1857).

René of Anjou (1409—1480) considered the planning, form of announcement and structure of the tournaments.²⁶ The author gave a fairly accurate explanation of the military customs that preceded the tournaments. First of all, he emphasized that the organizer of tournament had to have noble origin. His descriptions of tournaments were different from traditional chronicles. For example, his stories lacked sensual scenes, previous vows and joint roundtables. René of Anjou described the tournament without any reference to a specific place or time limit.²⁷

Chronicles of the Reign of Edward I and Edward II are also important for the article. Their anonymous authors showed the attitude of the English royal authority to tournament competitions.²⁸ The *Chronicles* consist of several sources: *Annales Londoniensis* and *Annales Paulini*. The financial expenses of the participants in the knightly games are contained in *The Roll of Purchases Made for the Tournament of Windsor Park in 1278*.²⁹ The source presents some information about prices of medieval games: thirty-seven sets of weapons cost from seven to thirty-three shillings, and, respectively, knight's equipment differed significantly in its quality and decoration.³⁰

In addition, *Medieval Glossary of Latin Terms* by Charles du Fresne du Cange is useful for correct interpretation of certain tournament terms and schemes.³¹ The glossary consists of seven volumes, in which the author explained different Latin terms. Unfortunately, he did not describe all French phrases and words. Thus, in order to explain a French term (for example *joust*) a scholar needs to know its Latin equivalent.

The generally accepted terminological basis for the study of the tournament is debatable. Only at the end of the 20th century, primarily thanks

²⁶ René of Anjou (1409—1480) was Duke of Anjou and Count of Provence, he also reigned as King of Naples. He is known in France as the Good King René. He was one of the most famous organizers of knightly competitions in Late Medieval Europe. Also see: Elizabeth Bennett, *King René's Tournament Book: A Modern English Translation*, (Princeton, 1997—1998).

²⁷ The author emphasized that his work was based on German, French and Spanish traditions.

²⁸ *Chronicles of the Reigns of Edward I and Edward II*, ed. William Stubbs (London, 1882).

²⁹ On July 9, 1278, King Edward I of England (Edward Longshanks, 1239—1307) organized a knightly competition in Windsor Park. It is known, that thirty-eight of his chamber knights and closest associates participated in these games and all were supplied with their weapons and armor at the king's own cost. All knights received equipment and individual weapons (leather helms and cuirasses). The twelve noblest knights wore gilded helms while the less mighty warriors had silvered ones. The King also bought eight hundred little bells to decorate the armors. Barker and Barber, *Tournaments: Jousts, Chivalry and Pageants in the Middle Ages*, 153.

³⁰ Clephan, *The Tournament: Its Periods and Phases*, 18.

³¹ Du Cange, *Glossarium ad scriptores mediae et infimae latinitatis*, vol. 1—5 (Parisiis, 1733).

to the works of Juliet Barker and Richard Barber, a preliminary classification of the main knightly tournament competitions was carried out.³² French historians usually use terms derived from Latin words, such as: *tournois*, *behourd*, *justes*, *pas d'armes*, or some other purely French expressions of the time.³³ English scholars in their tournament histories use the following words: *tournament*, *tourney*, *joust* and some other phrases borrowed from French language concepts.³⁴ However, scholars also use Latin terms, borrowed from medieval sources: *torneamento ludum* (tournament game), *torneamentum* (tournament),³⁵ *hastiludium* (game with lances),³⁶ *ludi equestri* (equestrian games, horse games),³⁷ *ludi militares* (war games), *militaria exercita* (military training), *meditationes militares* (military exercises), etc.

In the Middle Ages, tournaments were military competitions, which took place in a specially equipped arena surrounded by a place for observers. Moreover, the knightly competitions were the grandiose spectacles in which all medieval knights were involved.

However, despite such a narrow interpretation, it is not easy to exactly define and distinguish the boundaries of the concept of tournament, and therefore there exist many interpretations of it.³⁸ Despite the generally accepted classification of Juliet Barker and Richard Barber,³⁹ there were others. From the end of 20th century in historiography, the word "tournament" is not technically correct, because it has too general a meaning.⁴⁰

³² According to J. Barker and R. Barber, the tournament consists of several varieties: *joust*, *melee*, *behourd* and *hastilude* as well as other forms of tournaments. See: Barker and Barber, *Tournaments: Jousts, Chivalry and Pageants in the Middle Ages*, 224. Also see: Barker, *The Tournament in England, 1100—1400*. In addition, research of Cripps-Day is devoted to the problems of terminology.

³³ Therefore, the French terms *vespres du tournoi*, *escremerie*, *essays encommencaille* are common for *justes*: The equivalent of *pas d'armes* was *castilles*. Despite the existence of a common *tournois*, also used were *melee*, *la presse*, *combat a la foule*, *cembel*. Cripps-Day, *The History of the Tournament in England and in France*, 14—16.

³⁴ For example, *pas a'darmes*, *melee* or other words are borrowed from the medieval French language.

³⁵ *Torneamentum* came from the French tradition, where there exist the words *tornoiment* or *tornoymnt*.

³⁶ The term *hastiludium* and its use were discussed in: Du Cange, *Glossarium ad scriptores mediae et infimae latinitatis*, vol. 3 and 6.

³⁷ Cripps-Day, *The History of the Tournament in England and in France*, 14—16.

³⁸ Roman Kshanovskiy, "Osoblyvosti lytsarskoho turniru v serednovichnii Anhlii: istoriohrafichnyi ohliad (XX—pochatok XXI st.)," *Hileia: naukovyi visnyk*, no. 114 (2016): 123—124.

³⁹ Barker and Barber, *Tournaments: Jousts, Chivalry and Pageants*, 16.

⁴⁰ Kshanovskiy, "Osoblyvosti lytsarskoho turniru v serednovichnii Anhlii: istoriohrafichnyi ohliad," 123—124.

Taking into account the picture of the Western European tournament, the emergence of this entertainment is one of debatable problems. It is difficult to trace the appearance of medieval games, because chroniclers between 9th and 11th centuries rarely mentioned them.⁴¹ It is also unclear how tournaments emerged as a distinct form of martial arts. In addition, the sources, mentioning tournaments were confused by chroniclers, who sought to record their patrons' participation in tournaments to be as lengthy as possible.

Maurice Keen and other historians believed that the tournament as a distinct form of fighting game appeared in the late 11th century.⁴² It is accepted that the phenomenon of tournaments originated in France.

In the history of England in 1194, tournaments were mentioned as "Gallic battles" (*conflictus gallicus*). Apparently, in England of the time, these games were regarded as a French invention. The roots of these medieval games can be traced to *hippika gymnasia*, the military competitions of the Roman Empire. These military competitions were partially revived in the Frankish state under the Carolingian dynasty. Such conclusions are not unfounded, because Lambert of Ardes (1194—1203)⁴³ called the tournament a *gladiatora*. Another medieval historian and philosopher, John of Salisbury (1110—1180), wrote about the Roman roots of tournament fighting, focusing, in particular, on the epoch of the Roman Republic.⁴⁴ Some types of tournament competitions, such as mace fighting, have their roots in trials by combat. An English scholar Nigel Saul believes that the tournaments became a by-product of the so-called peace movement of the 11th century, which aimed to direct the knightly energy in

⁴¹ For example, the Frankish chronicler of the 9th century, Niethard (790—843), described the military competitions of the detachments of Louis of Germany (806—876), King of the East Frankish Kingdom, and his brother Charles the Bald (823—877), King of the West Frankish Kingdom at Worms in 843. On the other hand, Henry III of Brabant reported a death in a knightly duel that took place near his farm in 1095. It is the first mention of the phenomenon of the jousts. Nigel Saul, *Chivalry in Medieval England* (Harvard, 2011), 16.

⁴² The history of knightly competitions begins in the period when the crystallization of the basic concept of chivalry is felt—a period of about a hundred years, from the middle of the 11th to the middle of the 12th century. Maurice Keen, *Chivalry* (London, 1984), 152.

⁴³ Lambert of Ardes was a chronicler of Medieval France in the 12th century. He created *Historia comitum Ghisnensium*.

⁴⁴ Du Cange, *Glossarium Mediae et Infimae Latinitatis*, vol. 6, 612. The *Glossary* also states: "There are versions that the tournaments were invented by the Trojans, and Aeneas brought these competitions to Europe. Others believe that the tournaments were invented by the Romans. The third theory postulated that these games were traditional Gallic competitions." [*Tourneamentorum nomen manare multi opinantur ab illa equorum decursione, et sciomachia, seu imaginaria pugna veterum, quam Trojam et Trojanum ludum vocabant, ab Aenea in Sicilia ad Anchisae patris tumulum primum inventa, deinde ad Romanos traducta*] Charles Du Cange supported the third version, see Du Cange, *Glossarium Mediae et Infimae Latinitatis*, vol. 6, 613.

the right direction.⁴⁵ He indicated that church bans exerted great influence on feudal wars: knights in order not to lose their fighting skills turned to tournaments. So, knights in areas where royal power was weak organized different competitions.⁴⁶ In addition, bans on these competitions appear in the sources of the 12th century. This fact confirms that these competitions were quickly becoming more popular.⁴⁷ The chroniclers of the 12th century mentioned the rules for participants in the competitions.

Another major issue is the origin of the term “tournament.” There are two most common theories in historiography. The first one proves that this term came from the word *tournier*, which means “to rotate.” According to the second theory, the term came from word *tournoi*, due to the fact that people went on a *par tour*—to the turn of the quintain.⁴⁸

During the study of the phenomenon of tournaments, a scholar will collide with a large number of legends and exaggerations. In this context, a source database, which is indeed problematic, has a direct impact. In many sources, the same tournaments do not match the chronological order, thus leading to errors. Some chroniclers, for example the famous Jean Froissart (1337—1405), selectively described chosen tournaments. At the same time, he kept silent about others. It is not clear what goals Froissart pursued, perhaps political, or perhaps he aimed to satisfy personal interests.⁴⁹

Apart from the constant confusion in written sources, illustrative materials, including miniatures in manuscripts were simply fantastic and did not correspond to the reality of the time. Often, the images were not created in the periods they were meant to represent. The testimony of chroniclers did not always match the reality of the Middle Ages. For example, Froissart's *Chronicle* depicts the St. Inglever Tournament of 1389, where a barrier separating rivals was presented. In fact, the barrier was put into practice around the end of the first quarter of the following century. Similar anachronisms are quite common for other annals.

In addition, it is difficult to clearly define the boundaries of the concept of “tournament.” But it is possible to identify three main features that are inherent in them: utilitarian—preparation for war; game—a tournament for professionals who strive to win for the sake of fame and profit; festive — tournaments have always been a magnet that attracted large audiences who wanted spectacular entertainment.

Confusion in the terminology sector affects further study of the phenomenon of tournaments, and inaccuracies in the translation only contribute to

⁴⁵ Saul, *Chivalry in Medieval England*, 16.

⁴⁶ Saul, *Chivalry in Medieval England*, 16.

⁴⁷ Barker and Barber, *Tournaments: Jousts, Chivalry and Pageants*, 16.

⁴⁸ Clephan, *The Tournament: Its Periods and Phases*, 1—2.

⁴⁹ John Joseph Norman Palmer, *Froissart. Historian* (London, 1981), 136—137.

the problem. Analyzing English historiography, it is obvious that terms such as *tourney* and *joust* are often confused in scientific circles. These terms are perceived as synonyms, while *joust* was direct part of the tournament process.

A lot of medieval terms related to chivalry were written in French, reflecting the French culture that gave rise to European fashion afterward. The dominance of the French language in England was introduced after the Battle of Hastings (1066), when the Normans under the rule of William I the Conqueror (1028—1087) defeated the Anglo-Saxon nobility. Thus, the French language became dominant in cultural and political life of England. For a long time, French was used by English kings, including Richard I of England (1157—1199).

Terminology of our research is extremely divergent—almost every concept, subject, duel, etc. had its own name. The term “tournament” was used mostly for all forms of chivalrous games, and therefore it is a collective term.⁵⁰ So, in European historiography, it is believed that “tournament” is not a scientifically correct term, because of its general meaning. Chronicler Roger of Howden (Hoveden) (died in 1202) confirmed this fact. He worked in the 12th century and defined *torneamentum* as “military exercises conducted not in the spirit of hostility” (*nullo interveniente odio*), but solely for practice and valor.” So, already in the 12th century *torneamentum* had transformed into a common name for various knightly duels or group competitions.⁵¹ Therefore, the term “tournament” can refer to all types of formalized fights.

Torneare (*torniare, torniamentare*) is a verb that literally translates as “to engage in a tournament.” Another derivative term from *torneamentum* is *torniator* (*tornerius*), meaning a participant in a tournament. Other sources also provide forms *tornerium, tornetta*, which denote “tournament”: “celebrari per dies continuos cum tripudiis, giostris et Torneriis...”⁵² In the sources of the 12th century, the terms *torneamentum, burdeare* (*behourd*), *justas* (*joust*) were dissimilar. It is obvious that these competitions differed among themselves and were not synonymous.⁵³

Melée were group fights, where teams met on an open field. It was a dangerous form of the sport, and as a result, over time, such competitions became

⁵⁰ Palmer, *Froissart. Historian*, 27.

⁵¹ Wilhelm of Newbligen (1125—1198), a monk from Yorkshire, wrote that the tournament was a “*hastilude—horse games*”. Roger of Goveden (died 1201) wrote about “military exercises” in: Du Cange, *Glossarium Mediae et Infimae Latinitatis*, vol. 6, 612.

⁵² Du Cange, *Glossarium Mediae et Infimae Latinitatis*, vol. 6, 614.

⁵³ “[...] *seu alibi infra regnum no strum, Torneare, burdeare, justas facere, aventuras querere seu alia facta armorum exercere praesumeret, sine licenda nostra speciali, et quod si quos post inhibitionem etc. tunc eos cum equis et liernesiis suis arestares et in prisona nostra salvo custodiri faceres donec.*” (Du Cange, *Glossarium Mediae et Infimae Latinitatis*, vol. 6, 614).

increasingly rare in medieval England. Arms ranged from lance to mace or, more frequently, sword.⁵⁴

Hastiludium or *hastilude*, literally “spear game,” were repeatedly mentioned in English and French chronicles between 1100 and 1400.⁵⁵ This type of tournament fight could occur both *en masse* or in form of individual fights. *Hastiludium* and *hurdicia* are as common terms as *torneamentum*, as they are often repeated in papal and royal prohibitions. In addition, these terms are often identified with each other. For example, Matthew of Paris noted: “[...] as during the *hastilude* which is called the tournament” (*non ut in hastiludio quod torneamentum dicitur*).⁵⁶ So in this way, these concepts were identified in the time of the chronicler. This medieval historian wrote about a tournament, which he definitely called *hastiludium*. It took place on June 4, 1256 near Blythe. The source stated that the competition was successful “in accordance with the rules of chivalry and discipline.” It is known that the son of King Henry III (1207—1272), Edward I (1239—1307), took part in this *hastilude*, where he “became acquainted with the laws of war.”⁵⁷ An interesting feature of this event was that all participants were dressed in *lineis et levibus*—they used ordinary clothes instead of armor. These signs suggest that it was a peaceful meeting.⁵⁸ Other spellings of this term are also known, in particular in the sources: *hastiludia*, *hastiludiare*, *hastiludere*, *hastilisare*, *hastiludus* and *hastillia*. An interesting derivative is *hastiludiavit* (derived from the word *hastiludiare*), used by the Flemish chronicler and theologian Gilles de Rua (1415—1478).⁵⁹ It is literally interpreted as “to participate in *hastilude*.” The same concept was present in Geoffrey the Baker’s *Chronicle*⁶⁰ (died circa 1360): “regni vero sui Anglie quintodecimo, rex Edward celebravit Christi Natale apud Guldeford, et postea apud Reding Christmas *hastiludiavit*.”⁶¹ The chronicler noted that in 1341, on the feast of the Epiphany, another *hastilude* was organized near Langley. Here the author used the term *hastiludia*: “Iterum in festo Purificacionis,

⁵⁴ Barker and Barber, *Tournaments: Jousts, Chivalry and Pageants*, 213.

⁵⁵ Barker and Barber, *Tournaments: Jousts, Chivalry and Pageants*, 2.

⁵⁶ Cripps-Day, *The History of the Tournament in England and in France*, 15. Matthew of Paris believed: “*Hastiludia et torneamentum*.”

⁵⁷ “*Et circa Pentecosten, apud Blye commissum est hastiludium prospere et generaliter, secundum legem et disciplinam militarem; ubi Edwardus domini regis primogenitus in lineis et levibus, ut militaribus legibus informetur, fuerat armaturus.*” Cripps-Day, *The History of the Tournament in England and in France*, 45.

⁵⁸ Barker and Barber, *Tournaments: Jousts, Chivalry and Pageants*, 29.

⁵⁹ Gilles de Roye (1415—1478) was a Flemish chronicler and theologian, author of the *Annals of Belgium*. See: Steven Vanderputten, “Giles de Roye,” in *The Encyclopedia of the Medieval Chronicle*, ed. Graeme Dunphy and Cristian Bratu (Leiden-Boston, 2016), 547.

⁶⁰ Geoffrey Le Baker (died circa 1360) was an English chronicler, one of the chroniclers of the early stages of the Hundred Years’ War. He is also known as Walter of Swinbroke.

⁶¹ *Chronicon Galfridi le Baker de Swynebroke*, ed. Edward Maunde Thompson (Oxford, 1889), 73.

apud Langeley puerorum propter honorem nobilium de Vasconia quos ibidem cinxit ad ordinem militare, habuit solempnia hastiludia.”⁶²

The term *hastiludiare* means to engage in hastilude. In *Glossarium* this verb is explained as: “to break spears in hastiludes or tournaments.”⁶³ So, sometimes in the sources hastilude was identified with the tournament, therefore in some variations it is a collective term.

Béhourd (*buhurd*, *bohord*, latin form—*bohordicum*) means general military training. It is possible that it was the original German term for military competitions. The word *turnier*, derived from the French language, supplanted it later. The verb *béhourder* has been used in French since about the 12th century.⁶⁴ The earliest French translation of Geoffrey of Monmouth’s⁶⁵ (1095—1155) *De gestis Britonum or Historia Regum Britanniae* [History of the Kings of Britain] used this term to denote an imitation of combat. When tournaments were banned, in the literary tradition the *béhourd* was an important part of the court festivities: various celebrations often ended up with the *béhourd* and dances.⁶⁶ In the German-language version of Chrétien de Troyes’s novel, the *béhourd* is held immediately after the wedding of Erec and Enide, and three weeks later the grand tournament was held. I do not have specific historical reports of what the *béhourd* was, probably because it was an informal and impromptu event, as opposed to a larger competition. It is known that it was also a series of military exercises with spear and shield. In Alexander Neckam’s (1157—1217) *Dictionary*, *tirocinium*—a competition for young knights (*tirones*) is equated by commentators with *behourd*.⁶⁷ Juliet Barker and Richard Barber presented the *behourd* as a limited form of hastilude fought between esquires or knights in training.⁶⁸ It was used for games and training, so the use of combat weapons was prohibited. It is often mentioned as an integral part of various celebrations and ceremonies.

Charles Du Cange supported the version of the “limited kind of *hastilude*.” He explained that *bohordicum* or *behourd* was a special type of hastilude in which young knights could demonstrate their skills: “Hastiludii species [...] in quo nobiles adolescentes vires suas experiebantur.”⁶⁹ He also reported that a resolution of the Council of Albi in 1254 had been passed, which was forbid-

⁶² *Chronicon Galfridi le Baker de Swynebroke*.

⁶³ “*Hastis conflagere in hastiludiis et torneamentis*.” Du Cange, *Glossarium Mediae et Infimae*, vol. 3, 1071.

⁶⁴ Barker and Barber, *Tournaments: Jousts, Chivalry and Pageants*, 164.

⁶⁵ Geoffrey of Monmouth was an English priest and one of the main popularizers of tales about King Arthur. His most famous work is chronicle *The History of the Kings of Britain*.

⁶⁶ Barker and Barber, *Tournaments: Jousts, Chivalry and Pageants*, 164.

⁶⁷ Du Cange, *Glossarium Mediae et Infimae Latinitatis*, vol. 1, 1213. Also see: Tony Hunt, *Teaching and Learning Latin in the Thirteenth Century* (Oxford, 1991), 463.

⁶⁸ Hunt, *Teaching and Learning Latin*, 212.

⁶⁹ Du Cange, *Glossarium Mediae et Infimae Latinitatis*, vol. 1, 1213.

ding the participation in *behourd*: “Trepidare quoque, quod vulgariter Biordare dicitur, cum scuto et lancea aliquis Clericus publice non attentet.”⁷⁰ Perhaps such a negative attitude towards *behourd* was caused not only by the fact that they were the military entertainment of the nobility. The probable origin of this species had traces of paganism. Medieval chroniclers also wrote about the possible genesis of *behourds*. In particular, Lambert of Ardennes in his chronicle described games of pagans (to which he also included burghers) with clubs and sticks, which took place in the fields.⁷¹ The term *behourd* probably came from sticks (“*virgulis sive baculis*”) which were used in games of this kind. H. F. Cripps-Day believes that the terms *behourd* or *bohourd* come from the Latin word *burdandum*, which means “forgery,” “lie.”⁷² In conclusion, *behourd* means fictitious military competitions. However, Charles Du Cange believed that this term came from the Saxon word “bord,” which meant a building, so *bohorder* (border) would mean an attack on house (or castle).⁷³

In medieval sources, there were various variations of the spelling of this term, in particular, the following Latin forms were common: *bohordeis*, *burgensium*, *behordeis*, *behorder*, *border* or *bohorder*, etc. Therefore, *béhourd* (*bohord*) was a limited type of *hastilude*, in which esquires or young knights participated. The term was sometimes identified with an improvised holiday event. In *behourd* knights usually used blunt weapons and cloth armour.

Even when the institution of the tournament was not limited by strict rules, there was a kind of competition in which insignificant knights could participate.⁷⁴ Such ad-hoc fights were most often held without previous lists and were called *estachettes*. In medieval England, there were also tournaments for poor knights—*vesper* or *vigils*.⁷⁵ They took place in the evening, on the eve of the main competition. Their peculiarity consisted in the participation of poor knights, without the right for captivity and ransom.⁷⁶

Initially, there was a tendency for the chronicles to relate to knightly fights as *torneamentum*, *hastiludium* or *bohordicum*. Later, other names came into

⁷⁰ Du Cange, *Glossarium Mediae et Infimae Latinitatis*, vol. 1, 1213.

⁷¹ “[...] *Ludicra certamina paganorum et burgensium, quae illi cum baculis et fustibus in campo*” (Du Cange, *Glossarium Mediae et Infimae Latinitatis*, vol. 1, 1213).

⁷² Charles Du Cange emphasized other versions of the origin of the term. “Dissertation VII. Su'r L'Histoire de saint louys par le sire de joinville by Charles du Fresne, Seigneur du Cange,” in Cripps-Day, *The History of the Tournament in England and in France*, Appendix II, XVIII.

⁷³ “Dissertation VII. Su'r L'Histoire de saint louys par le sire de joinville by Charles du Fresne, Seigneur du Cange,” in Cripps-Day, *The History of the Tournament in England and in France*, Appendix II, XVIII.

⁷⁴ Cripps-Day, *The History of the Tournament in England and in France*, 14.

⁷⁵ Barker and Barber, *Tournaments: Jousts, Chivalry and Pageants*, 213.

⁷⁶ Barker and Barber, *Tournaments: Jousts, Chivalry and Pageants*, 27.

use, including some French terms. Until the end of the 14th century, the common name was *pas d'armes*, which was used for all forms of tournament. The *Pas de Saladin*⁷⁷ battles embodied the legendary deeds of Richard I of England (1157—1199) and Salah ad-Din (1137—1193).⁷⁸

Pas d'armes was a variety of knightly hastilude, which developed in the late of 14th century. It involved a knight or a group of knights, who would put gates in place of the tournament. If other knights (*venants*) wanted to go through them, they had to fight first.⁷⁹ In French chronicles, the common term was *pas d'armes*, the English equivalent being “triumph.”⁸⁰ However, *trionphe* was also used in French sources. *Pas of the shepherdess*—a battle of shepherds—was organized by Rene of Anjou (1409—1480). For three days, the nobles, dressed as shepherds, protected a noble lady disguised as a shepherdess. The tournament was altruistic; the winners received kisses and flowers from her instead of trophies.

Jousts were specific single fights, one to one. This variety was presented as a fight on horseback using spears.⁸¹ European historians have not agreed on the transliteration and pronunciation of the terms *just* or *joust/joustes*. Some medievalists use the term *joust*.⁸² However, others believe that “facts are all against the spelling *joust*.” In addition, Francis Henry Cripps-Day considers that sound “ou” is short by origin. The historian believes that “The historical spelling of 12th is *just*.”⁸³ As a result of French influence the word simply transformed into *joust*.⁸⁴ Despite lengthy terminological discussions, the more common spelling is still “*joust*,” but with a pronunciation suggested by historical phonetics.⁸⁵ Pronunciation with a long “o” or “ou” was proposed at the end of the 20th century and is used by the vast majority of experts.

⁷⁷ “When Queen Isabella of Bavaria (1370—1435) entered in 1389, French knights with weapons stood on a large scaffold, and in front of them were also armed saracens. The King of France was Richard the Lionheart, when the queen approached, he asked the king for permission to fight the saracens, the battle began and lasted a long time.” Cripps-Day, *The History of the Tournament in England and in France*, 14.

⁷⁸ Cripps-Day, *The History of the Tournament in England and in France*, 15.

⁷⁹ If the *venant* did not have a weapon to handle the challenge, he would be provided with it. In case the *venant* decided not to fight, he left the spurs.

⁸⁰ “What news from Oxford? Hold those justs and triumphs?” *Pericles*, Act II, Sc. 2, 1. “Are the knights ready to begin the triumph?” See: Cripps-Day, *The History of the Tournament in England and in France*, 18.

⁸¹ Barker and Barber, *Tournaments: Jousts, Chivalry and Pageants*, 213.

⁸² “Joust” is used by such leading historians of chivalry as Juliet Barker, Richard Barber, Nigel Saul, Maurice Keen, Robert Coltman Clephan, David Crouch.

⁸³ Cripps-Day, *The History of the Tournament in England and in France*, 14.

⁸⁴ “[...] under the French influence (when the French began to turn ‘juster’ into ‘joster’ and ‘joust’).” So, term “joust” also began to be used by English historians. Cripps-Day, *The History of the Tournament in England and in France*, 14—15.

⁸⁵ Cripps-Day, *The History of the Tournament in England and in France*, 15.

Later, the English equivalent of *joust* became *tilt*, from the end of the 14th century this concept became to be identified with a barrier. The term *atteint* was used to define the final blow in the jousts. When in the early 15th century a barrier was introduced, it became technically impossible to fight more than one enemy.⁸⁶

In Latin chronicles, the equivalent of “joust” was *giostra* (*giostrare*). This term comes from the Latin *iuxtare*, which means “to approach, to meet”: “celebrari per dies continuos cum tripudiis, giostris et Torneriis.”⁸⁷

Taking into account the criterion of safety, jousts were divided into:

1. *Joust à plaisance* (used also in *hastilude*: fr. *hastilude à plaisance*, lat. *hastiludia pacifica*)—sports competitions, military training based on knightly etiquette. In the form of *à plaisance* tournament, participants met mostly to share experiences.

2. *Joutes à Outrance* or *Justes Mortelles et à Champ*—deadly duels.⁸⁸ According to Jean Froissart, this type of tournament involved a fight to the death of one of its participants.⁸⁹ In some places, daggers were used to kill the wounded: only then the fight could be over.⁹⁰ The phrase *coup de grace* meant a fatal blow that a knight inflicted on his opponent.

Thus, according to the intentions of the participants, knightly games may be divided into *à plaisance* and *à outrance*. They were distinguished through the use of combat (*outrance*) and blunt (*plaisance*) weapons. Fight as *à outrance* lasted until death or serious injury, but in form of *à plaisance* combat lasted until significant damage, the main point of it was demonstrating military prowess.⁹¹ The *coronal* was often used in a peaceful tournament. *Coronal* was a crown-shaped tip instead of a regular point. Because it had three curved prongs, it spread the force of the blow and did not penetrate the armor.⁹²

There was another kind of tournament—*espinette*, which chroniclers distinguished. The reasons for such decisions are not entirely clear. Robert Coltman Clephan wrote about this type of competition: in 1339, Jean Bernier went to a tournament, taking with him three noble ladies and his wife. This knight entered the field for a duel, his horse was led by two girls with two gilded chains, while the other two carried spears. However, according to chroniclers, that year the king of *espinette* was Pierre de Curtre. By transliteration similar-

⁸⁶ Barker and Barber, *Tournaments: Jousts, Chivalry and Pageants*, 213.

⁸⁷ Du Cange, *Glossarium Mediae et Infimae Latinitatis*, vol. 6, 614. “Multas alias festivitates fecerunt in Giostrando et tripudiuudo.” Du Cange, *Glossarium Mediae et Infimae Latinitatis*, vol. 4 (Niort, 1885), 70.

⁸⁸ Clephan, *The Tournament: Its Periods and Phases*, 9.

⁸⁹ Froissart, *Chronicles of England, France, Spain and the Adjoining Countries*, 131.

⁹⁰ Barker and Barber, *Tournaments: Jousts, Chivalry and Pageants*, 212.

⁹¹ Will McLean, “Ourance and Plaisance,” *Journal of Medieval Military History*, vol. 8 (2010), 157—158.

⁹² Barker and Barber, *Tournaments: Jousts, Chivalry and Pageants*, 212.

ity to *espinette* the bears another French term—*fête de l'épinette*, about which not much is known. It is only recognized that it took place in Lille in 1283. In this fight was chosen *roi*—the king, and the main prize was a golden spur. The chosen *roi* was one of the contenders who had to face all the willing knights.⁹³ Richard Barber and Juliet Barker think that this was a “tournament festival,” *Roys de'espinette* (King of the Thorn) or *L'epervier d'Or* (The Golden Sparrowhawk) held each year at Lille since at least 1278 (detailed information is not available until the 14th century). The Roys de'espinette held great honor throughout the year and rode in triumph to a formal coronation which preceded the jousts; the festivities as a whole lasted up to two weeks.⁹⁴

One of the least studied terms is *tupinaires*, a form of tournament competition that is mentioned exclusively in French and English prohibition decrees. Unfortunately, no description of the event had survived. The term is repeatedly mentioned in the prohibitions of the French king Philip IV (1268—1314). In particular in 1312 he forbade French knights to participate in tournaments, jousts, and *tupinaires* in France. In English sources, this term also appears, under a slightly different spelling (*tupinaire*, *tupinas* and *turpine*), it was mentioned in the prohibition decrees of 1328, 1329 and 1331. It is believed that the term *tupinaires* comes from the French word *toupin*, which means pot. It was used in some regions of the kingdom (Dauphin, Burgundy), possibly in the *quintan*—a special knightly simulator for training. Knights had to hit the shield with a spear on horseback, which in the specified regions was often replaced by a pot. Considering the fact that Burgundy was an ancient legislator of chivalric fashions, and the Dauphine is an area owned by the future heir to the throne, there is some plausibility in this assumption. On the other hand, there is a lack of evidence to support such a hypothesis.⁹⁵

Another problematic term is *court of honor*. According to some versions, this was a tournament organized by Knight W. Marshall⁹⁶ with a group of judges and special individuals who monitored the counting of points. The rules are little known, but John Tiptoft (1427—1470) recorded in 1466 some details of this type of competition. The highest award was given to a knight who fell an opponent and captured two other warriors. The second prize went to the participant who managed to break two spears.

⁹³ At this fete, a “roi was selected on mardi-gras, jousts were held and the prize was a golden spur.” The “roi” was one of the challengers, who had to meet all comers. Cripps-Day, *The History of the Tournament in England and in France*, 21.

⁹⁴ Barker and Barber, *Tournaments: Jousts, Chivalry and Pageants*, 46.

⁹⁵ Barker and Barber, *Tournaments: Jousts, Chivalry and Pageants*, 151—152.

⁹⁶ William Marschal (1146/1147—1219) was an English knight of the Plantagenet dynasty. William Marshal developed his own tactics in tournament battles: he grabbed the opponent's horse by the bridle and dragged him to his knights. So, he forced the enemy to surrender and pay the ransom harness.

Another competition of unknown form was *fortunium*.⁹⁷ Juliet Barker and Richard Barber believed that it was used only once to describe the competition that took place in Hertford in 1241.⁹⁸ In fact, in historical sources it is recorded three times. For example, Matthew of Paris mentioned *fortunium* twice. This term literally meant “chance,” but it was probably coined specifically to avoid the royal ban on holding *hastilude* and *behourds*.⁹⁹ Jacob Bryant believed that this concept was not common, and mostly existed in medieval England.¹⁰⁰ Matthew of Paris used this term to describe the competition in Hertford, where Hilbert Marshall, Robert de Sey and many other famous knights were killed: “Comes Marefcallus Gelebertus, cum quibufdam alijs nobilibus juxta Hertfordiam [...] more militari, quoddam Hastiludium, quod vulgariter fortunium —appellatur, ad virium ceperat et exercuit experimenta.”¹⁰¹ The second note about *fortunium* also belongs to Matthew of Paris and dates back to 1241: King Henry III addressed his knight Walter and reminded him of the *fortunium*.¹⁰²

Jacob Bryant talked about another source that mentions this term—*Memory Book of Keynesham Convent*. In this source William, Earl of Gloucester, entertained two hundred knights with *tilts* (joust) and *fortunys* on his large estate.¹⁰³

Tabula Rotunda or *Mensa Rotunda* were real festivals that could last several days. The origin of this term is undoubtedly English.¹⁰⁴ The round table had been known since at least 1216: *behourd*, jousts, and sometimes other types of competitions were part of this spectacle.¹⁰⁵ The emergence of “round tables” was attributed to the legendary King Arthur. Among the mass of other competitions, they differed in the influence of the ideology of the Arthurian cycle. In particular, R. Kshanovskyi drew attention to the well-known example of the death of the knight Arnold de Montagna. He died at one of the round tables from a wound caused by a spear. Based on this, he concludes that the round tables

⁹⁷ In the *Glossarium* of Charles du Cange *fortunium* meant *hastiludium*, *torneamentum*. Du Cange, *Glossarium Mediae et Infimae Latinitatis*, vol. 3, 651.

⁹⁸ Barker and Barber, *Tournaments: Jousts, Chivalry and Pageants*, 60, 212.

⁹⁹ Barker and Barber, *Tournaments: Jousts, Chivalry and Pageants*, 212.

¹⁰⁰ *Observations Upon the Poems of Thomas Rowley: In Which the Authenticity of Those Poems is Ascertained*, ed. Jacob Bryant (London, 1815), 353.

¹⁰¹ *Observations Upon the Poems of Thomas Rowley*, 352.

¹⁰² Matthew Paris, *Chronica Majora*, ed. Henry Richard Luard, vol. 2, (Cambridge, 2013), 118.

¹⁰³ *Observations Upon the Poems of Thomas Rowley*, 352.

¹⁰⁴ Cripps-Day, *The history of the tournament in England and in France*, 15.

¹⁰⁵ Barker and Barber, *Tournaments: Jousts, Chivalry and Pageants*, 212. In *Glossarium* of Ch. Du Cange: “Le Roy Arthus et le Due de Lancastre ordonnent rent et firent la Table Ronde et les behours, tournois et joustes, et moult d’autres choses nobles, et jugemens d’armes, dont ils ordonnerent pour juger dames et damoiselles, roys d’armes et i heraux” (Du Cange, *Glossarium Mediae et Infimae Latinitatis*, Appendix II, 16).

were conducted only with blunt weapons.¹⁰⁶ This assumption seems premature, because according to the source, the knight was wounded in the throat. Perhaps, under any circumstances this injury was fatal, regardless of the sharpness of the spearhead.

The main feature of this type of tournament was an extraordinary splendor.¹⁰⁷ However, Charles Du Cange noted that the number of participants in round tables was fixed: “definito Militum numero obiri solita.”¹⁰⁸

Round tables could be organized by noble knights. In particular, the English chronicler Nicholas Trivet (1258—1334)¹⁰⁹ reported that in 1280 the famous knight Roger Mortimer organized a round table in Kellingworth. He also noted that a hundred knights took part in these competitions: “Illustris miles Rogerus de Mortuomari apud Kelingworthe ludum militarem, quem vocant Rotundam Tabulam, 100, Militum, ac tot Dominarum constituit, ad quam pro armorum exercitio de diversis regnis confluit Militia multa nimis.”¹¹⁰ Thus, the round tables were real military festival, which lasted several days. In this military event, the number of knights was strictly regulated.

English and French chroniclers often used common names for formal battles. The most common term, apart from the discussion *tournament*, was *faits d'armes* (or simply *armes*), which was used for any form of fight. *Armes* consisted of special fights with both blunt and sharp weapons.¹¹¹

In Medieval England, so-called border skirmishes were quite common. When the old *mêlée* tournament was forgotten, those knights who liked dangerous tournaments engaged in other types of mixed combat. The wars between England and France, as well as between England and Scotland, gave rise to a new version of the tournament—border armed skirmishes—commonly called “hostile combat” or “jousts of war.”¹¹² For example, “enemy battles” between the English and Scottish knights were fought during the sieges of Cooper, Perth and Alnwick Castle.

¹⁰⁶ Kshanovskiy, “Osoblyvosti lytsarskoho turniru v serednovichnii Anhlii: istoriohrafichnyi ohliad,” 148.

¹⁰⁷ Barker and Barber, *Tournaments: Jousts, Chivalry and Pageants*, p. 213.

¹⁰⁸ “Decursionis, aut hastiludii species, a certo et definito Militum numero obiri solita, qui, priusquam in arenam descenderent, veletiam praeliis et velitalionibus decursis, ad mensam figura orbicularem una cibum capiebant, ne quod discrimen inter nobiles ex sedis praerogativa oriretur, indeque iurgia aut dissidia emergerent.” Du Cange, *Glossarium Mediae et Infimae Latinitatis*, vol. 6, 482.

¹⁰⁹ Trivettus Nicolaus (1258—1334) was an English chronicler. His most famous work is *Annales Sex Regum Angliae: Qui a Comitibus Andergavensibus Originem Traxerunt*, A. D. 1136—1307.

¹¹⁰ Du Cange, *Glossarium Mediae et Infimae Latinitatis*, vol. 6, 483.

¹¹¹ For example, the joust in London in 1390 is often referred to as the usual *faits d'armes*, joust as the duel in St. Ingleher of the same year is described by Jean Froissart as *d'armes*.

¹¹² Barker and Barber, *Tournaments: Jousts, Chivalry and Pageants*, 35.

In medieval sources, there also exists a French concept of *commencailles* (from the French “beginning”).¹¹³ These competitions were preliminary skirmishes, where several selected knights demonstrated their skills in single combat before the start of the general offensive.¹¹⁴ *Vespers* or “insomnia” was a competition, which was held the day before the main tournament. Usually, vespers were organized in the evening for young knights, who demonstrated their skills to senior colleagues. *A la toille* refers to the actual span of the competition. *A la toille* took place on both sides of the barrier. By the end of the 14th century, knightly competitions were held in the open, not on two sides of the barrier, which made this sport quite dangerous. A “challenge” meant calling another participant to battle, which could have been done in two ways: “friendly” (*plaisance tournament*) or “as in war” (*outrance tournament*). The *venants* were those who called for battle, while the *tenants* were those who defended themselves in the *pas d'armes*.¹¹⁵ All tournament competitions provided special safe places where knights could rest without the fear of being taken prisoner—*recet* (a hiding place).¹¹⁶ In almost all types of tournaments, participants wore a *crest*. It was a special helmet decoration. Crest differed in complexity, from a plain bunch of feathers to extraordinarily recreations of heraldic animals or different objects, painted in the miniatures from *Codex Manesse*.¹¹⁷ Ladies' seats in the stands were called *berfrois*. There was another term for this—*scaffold (escafaut)*.¹¹⁸ The tribune was usually built as a temporary wooden structure, it was located near the *lists*—the designated territory for tournament.¹¹⁹ *Berfrois* were usually reserved for ladies, but nobles, prominent knights and other distinguished guests were also allowed to sit there.

Tournament competitions led to the emergence of the institute of heralds, who provided for the audience a kind of report on major events on the field. The conceptual aspect is also important for clarifying the role of heralds, as the latter used accepted terminological schemes and names. A verbal construction such as *Lasseir les aler*¹²⁰ (depending on the region—*lachez*

¹¹³ Also known as *premières commençaille, encommencailles*.

¹¹⁴ Barker and Barber, *Tournaments: Jousts, Chivalry and Pageants*, 212.

¹¹⁵ Michael A. Cramer, *Medieval Fantasy as Performance: The Society for Creative Anachronism and the Current Middle Ages* (Toronto, 2010), 126.

¹¹⁶ Barker and Barber, *Tournaments: Jousts, Chivalry and Pageants*, 213.

¹¹⁷ *The Manesse Manuscript* (also in German—*Große Heidelberger Liederhandschrift*) was produced in Zürich, for the Manesse family in 14th century. This source is important for studying the medieval tournament. It contains numerous miniatures depicting knights in tournament armor and with heraldic elements. For more details see: *Codex Manesse*, accessed January 21, 2023, <https://digi.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/diglit/cpg848/0009>

¹¹⁸ Barker and Barber, *Tournaments: Jousts, Chivalry and Pageants*, 212.

¹¹⁹ Barker and Barber, *Tournaments: Jousts, Chivalry and Pageants*, 2—4, 212.

¹²⁰ “Letter from Thomas Duke of Gloucester and Constable of England to King Richard II Concerning the Manner of Conducting Judicial Duels” in: Clephan, *The Tournament: its*

allez) could be used during all competitions.¹²¹ This phrase is found in early sources of the 11th century and was identified with court matches, when the concept of tournament competitions was still crystallizing. From French, this phrase literally translates as “let go.” So the judges stopped the fighting to avoid death. *Holà* was a cry that interrupted the conduct of war games. This exclamation is also mentioned by Jean Froissart in his *Chronicles*: “Then the Erle of Buckingham sayd holà.” This word was mentioned in many other chronicles.

In conclusion, the terminological features of knightly tournaments are an urgent problem in modern historiography. It has been established that the concept of a “knight’s tournament” today is incorrect for use in scientific works, because this phrase is too general. Opinions of European and American medievalists are different on specific definitions. But they are unanimous in one opinion: if scholars can determine what kind of competition took place (*be-hourd*, joust, round table, etc.), historians should use this equivalent. However, it is fair to use the term “tournament” when it refers to knightly competitions in general. The term means not only, in fact, a military game, but also accompanying festive events (banquets, ceremonial meetings, etc.). Thus, the tournament is a general term: it consists of different types of knightly competitions. The terminological basis for the study of the era of tournament competitions is problematic. There are difficulties with translation, because without the division of competitions and without highlighting the main characteristics, it is impossible to understand medieval sources. As a result of constructive translation and explanation of the main accepted terms in Western historiography, the topic of tournament competitions was revitalized in medieval studies. In the present paper, the basic concepts were divided into specific categories and the main differences of certain types of tournament competitions were explained. The articles provides possibilities for further research of the main types of tournament competitions, highlighting the main differences in the conceptual field and introducing terminological constructions in Eastern European medieval studies.

Periods and Phases, 187. Also in: Clephan, *The Tournament: its Periods and Phases*, 15; Cripps-Day, *The History of the Tournament in England and in France*, 25.

¹²¹ Cripps-Day, *The History of the Tournament in England and in France*, 25.

References

Primary sources

- Anonymous. *Chronicles of the Reigns of Edward I and Edward II*. Edited by William Stubbs. London 1882.
- Codex Manesse*, accessed January 21, 2023, <https://digi.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/diglit/cpg848/0009>
- Froissart, Jean. *Chronicles of England, France, Spain and the Adjoining Countries*. Edited by Thomas Johnes. New York 1857.
- Galfrid le Baker de Swynebroke. *Chronicon*. Edited by Edward Maunde Thompson. Oxford, 1889.
- “Letter from Thomas Duke of Gloucester and Constable of England to King Richard II Concerning the Manner of Conducting Judicial Duels.” In *The Tournament: Its Periods and Phases*, Robert Coltman Clephan. London 1919.
- Llull, Ramon. *Libre del'orde de cavalleria, The Book of the Order of Chivalry*. Edited by Noel Fallows. Woodbridge 2013.
- Matthew of Paris. *Chronica Majora*, vol. 1—3. Edited by Henry Richards Luard. Cambridge 2013.
- Roger of Hoveden. *Chronica*, vol. 3. Edited by William Stubbs. London 1870.
- William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum Anglorum*. Edited by Roger Aubrey Baskerville Mynors. Oxford 1998.

Secondary sources

- Barber, Richard, and Juliet Barker. *Tournaments: Jousts, Chivalry and Pageants in the Middle Ages*. Woodbridge, 1989.
- Barker, Juliet. *The Tournament in England, 1100—1400*. Woodbridge, 1986.
- Bennett, Elizabeth. *King René's Tournament Book: A Modern English Translation*. Princeton, 1997—1998.
- Bryant, Jacob. *Observations Upon the poems of Thomas Rowley: In Which the Authenticity of Those Poems is Ascertained*. London, 1815.
- Clephan, Robert Coltman. *The Tournament: Its Periods and Phases*. London, 1919.
- Coville Alfres. *Les Premiers Valois et la guerre de Cent Ans: 1328—1422*, Paris, 1982.
- Cramer, Michael A. *Medieval Fantasy as Performance: The Society for Creative Anachronism and the Current Middle Ages*. Toronto, 2010.
- Cripps-Day, Francis Henry. *The History of the Tournament in England and France*. Toronto 1918.
- Crouch, David. *Tournament*. London, 2007.
- Du Cange, Charles du Fresne. *Glossarium Mediae et Infimae Latinitatis*, vol. 1—5. Parisiis, 1773.
- Du Cange, Charles du Fresne. *Glossarium Mediae et Infimae Latinitatis*, vol. 4. Niort, 1885.

- Du Cange, Charles du Fresne. *Glossarium Mediae et Infimae Latinitatis*, vol. 6. Graz, 1846.
- Gillingham, John. "War and Chivalry in the History of William the Marshal." In *Thirteenth Century England II*, edited by Peter R. Coss, [Peter Coss, and [Simon D. Lloyd. Woodbridge, 1988, 1—95.
- Hunt, Tony. *Teaching and Learning Latin in the Thirteenth Century*. Oxford, 1991.
- Keen, Maurice. *Chivalry*. London, 1984.
- Kilgour, Raymond Lincoln. *The Decline of Chivalry as Shown in the French Literature of the Late Middle Ages*. Cambridge, 1937.
- Krüger, Sabine, "Das kirchliche Turnierverbot im Mittelalter." In *Das ritterliche Turnier im Mittelalter: Beiträge zu einer vergleichenden Formen- und Verhaltensgeschichte des Rittertums*, edited by Josef Fleckenstein, 401—422. Göttingen, 1985.
- Kshanoskyi, Roman. "Osoblyvosti lytsarskoho turniru v serednovichnii Anhlii: istoriohrafichnyi ohliad (XX—pochatok XXI st.)." *Hileia: naukovyi visnyk*, no. 114 (2016): 123—127.
- Lot, Ferdinand. *L'art militaire et les armées au Moyen Age en Europe et dans le Proche Orient*, vol. 1. Paris, 1946.
- McLean, Will. "Outrance and Plaisance." *Journal of Medieval Military History*, vol. 8 (2010): 155—170.
- Mereniuk, Khrystyna, and Solomiia Mereniuk, "Tradyttsiia turnirnykh poiedynkiv u Yevropi ta na Rusi." *Fenomen Yevropy: Derzhavotvorchi ta intehratsiini protsesy*, vol. 3 (2019): 14—21.
- Nickel, Helmut. "The Tournament: An Historical Sketch, The Study of Chivalry: Resources and Approaches." In *The Study of Chivalry: Resources and Approaches*, edited by Howell D. Chickering and Thomas H. Seiler, 213—262. Kalamazoo, 1988.
- Palmer, John Joseph Norman. *Froissart. Historian*. London, 1981.
- Rizzi, Alessandro. "Sviata, ihry ta obriady v Serednovichchi," in *Istoriia yevropeiskoi tsyvilizatsii. Serednovichchia. Sobory. Lytsari. Mista*. Translated by V. Smetina. Kharkiv 2018, 208—12.
- Saul, Nigel. *Chivalry in Medieval England*. Harvard, 2011.
- Saul, Nigel. *Scenes From Provincial Life: Knightly Families in Sussex 1280—1400*. Oxford, 1986.

Khrystyna Mereniuk

Knight's Tournaments in England and France from the 11th to the 14th Century: The Problems of Sources and Terminological Aspects

Summary

The paper deals with arguable terminology of tournaments in England and France between the 11th and the 14th centuries. Following the analysis of English and French sources, the basic conceptual apparatus for the study of medieval battles was established. It was proved that the word "tournament" is a general and collective term. The work proves that the "tournament" consists of several types of fights: *jousts*, *melée*, *behourd*, *hastilude*, etc.

In the study of the phenomenon of tournament fights, the interpretation of the significance of knightly competitions is quite controversial. Some scholars appeal to the fact that it is only a sport and ritual, or a type of exercises to improve military skills. Others believe that a tournament is more than just military training or entertainment.

The concept of tournament was used mostly for all kinds of knightly martial games. *Tournois*, *behourds*, *joustes*, *pas d'armes*, or some other purely French words of that time were used by French historians: As for English-speaking scholars, they usually used the following names in their works and studios: tournament, tourney, joust borrowed from French-language concepts. There also existed other kinds of fights, for example, *fortunium*—this tournament occurred probably only once—in Hertford in 1241. This concept is literally interpreted as a “chance” or a “draw.” Common term in English and French chronicles in the period 1100—1400, was *hastiludium* or *hastilude*, literally a game fought with spears. *Jousts* were specifically single combats, one against one, though the jouster could belong to a team. This paper analyzes the latest discussions regarding the adopted terminological constructions and highlights the latest innovations concerning the tournaments.

Keywords: tournament, terminology, discussion, classification, England, France, Medieval Europe.

Khrystyna Mereniuk

Turnieje rycerskie w Anglii i Francji w okresie od XI do XIV wieku: problematyka źródłowa i konceptualna

Streszczenie

Artykuł jest poświęcony wieloznacznej terminologii turniejów rycerskich w Anglii i Francji w okresie od XI do XIV wieku. W oparciu o analizę angielskich i francuskich dokumentów źródłowych został opracowany aparat pojęciowy do badań nad średniowiecznymi potyczkami. Udowodniono, że słowo „turniej” stanowi ogólne pojęcie zbiorcze. Celem pracy jest wykazanie, że termin „turniej” odnosi się do wielu rodzajów zawodów rycerskich: *joust*, *melée*, *behourd*, *hastilude* itp.

Zasadniczo przedmiotowe pojęcie było używane dla wszystkich form zawodów rycerskich. Analizując współczesne prace europejskich badaczy, można napotkać głównie terminy stosowane przez francuskich historyków, jak *tournois*, *behourds*, *joustes*, *pas d'armes* lub inne, francuskojęzyczne określenia z omawianego okresu. Z kolei w pracach i opracowaniach badaczy anglojęzycznych dominuje tendencja do posługiwania się pojęciami *tournament*, *joust* oraz innymi zapożyczeniami z języka francuskiego. W angielskich i francuskich kronikach z okresu 1100—1400 powszechne są terminy *hastiludium* lub *hastilude*, które w dosłownym tłumaczeniu oznaczają „walkę włóczniami”. Pojęcie *jousts* odnosi się w szczególności do indywidualnych pojedynków, mimo iż w turnieju mogła uczestniczyć cała drużyna rycerzy. W artykule poddano analizie aktualne dyskusje poświęcone terminologii oraz omówiono najnowsze ustalenia dotyczące turniejów rycerskich.

Słowa kluczowe: turniej, terminologia, dyskusja, klasyfikacja, Anglia, Francja, średniowieczna Europa

Khrystyna Mereniuk

**Ritterturniere in England und Frankreich vom 11 bis 14 Jahrhundert:
problematische Aspekte der Quelle und terminologischer Charakter**

Zusammenfassung

Dieser Beitrag befasst sich mit der argumentativen Terminologie der Turniere in England und Frankreich im XI-XV Jahrhundert. Durch die Analyse englischer und französischer Quellen haben wir den grundlegenden konzeptionellen Apparat für das Studium mittelalterlicher Schlachten identifiziert. Es ist bewiesen, dass das Wort „Turnier“ ein allgemeiner und Sammelbegriff ist. Die Arbeit beweist, dass das „Turnier“ aus mehreren Arten von Kämpfen besteht: *joust*, *melée*, *behourd*, *hastilude*, usw.:

Das Konzept des Turniers wurde hauptsächlich für alle Arten von Ritterkämpfen verwendet. Bei der Analyse der zeitgenössischen Werke europäischer Historiker können wir die von französischen Historikern häufig verwendeten Begriffe hervorheben: *tournois*, *behourds*, *joustes*, *pas d'armes* oder einige andere rein französische Wörter dieser Zeit. Englischsprachige Forscher verwenden in ihren Werken und Ateliers normalerweise die folgenden Namen: *tournament*, *joust* und einige andere entlehnte französischsprachige Begriffe. In englischen und französischen Chroniken aus der Zeit zwischen 1100 und 1400 ist *hastiludium* oder *hastilude* üblich, wörtlich ein Spiel, das mit Speeren gekämpft wird. *Jousts* sind speziell Einzelkämpfe, eins gegen eins, obwohl der Turnier zu einem Team gehören kann. Dieses Papier analysiert die neuesten Diskussionen über die angenommenen terminologischen Konstruktionen und hebt die neuesten Innovationen in Bezug auf die Turniere hervor.

Schlüsselwörter: Turnier, Terminologie, Diskussion, Klassifizierung, England, Frankreich, Mittelalterliches Europa.