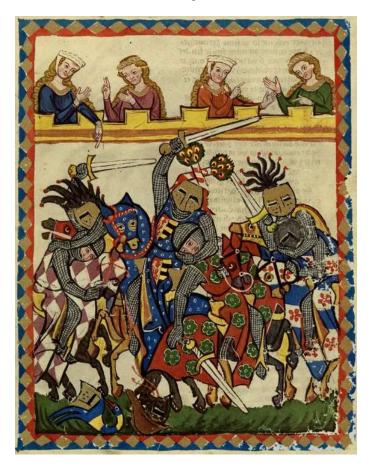# The Medieval Tournament as a Form of Tourism

Liminality, Identity, and *Communitas* amongst Participants

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24/06/2021

Abstract

The Tournament was a medieval aristocratic team-sport in which two opposing teams faced each other in a mock-fight on horseback. This study looks at the Medieval Tournament from the perspective of Tourism Studies through the lenses of liminality, identity and *communitas*. Through the analysis of four medieval texts and application of the three aforementioned frameworks this study will investigate the role the Tournament played in creating and consolidating communities by constructing social identities and confirming status. With a focus on participants rather than spectators, this study will find that the Medieval Tournament should indeed be considered a form of tourism. The Tournament had liminal qualities, being a 'space' or experience outside the day-to-day with social structures being temporarily weakened. The liminal experience was not limited to within the tournament field, however, and extended beyond it to include the whole circuit or tour surrounding the tournament. This liminality allowed for the development and confirmation of identities related to a young knight's Rite of Passage from boyhood to adulthood. This study also highlighted the strength of Western European Medieval social structures, which survived and permeated into the Tournament. This partial survival of day-to-day social structures impeded the true formation of *communitas*, which only appeared sporadically for short periods of time. These findings not only add to our understanding of long-term, recurring recreational activities, but also question the notion of the history of tourism being divided into 'pre-modern' and 'modern' tourism.

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Introduction

This study will demonstrate that the Medieval Tournament played an essential role in the confirmation and development of identities for participants. The focus will be on participants at tournaments in what is now Northern France and Belgium between c. 1100 and c. 1200. The north of twelfth-century France was the geographical centre of the Tournament. It was the area where most tournaments took place at the time. By the middle of the twelfth century the Tournament had developed into its 'mature' form, and by the end of the century we got some of the most renowned tourneyers (William Marshal, Count Philip I of Flanders, and Count Baldwin V of Hainaut) active on the field.

Despite having received attention within the field of History, the Medieval Tournament has been completely ignored within Tourism studies and Tourism History. Recently, attempts have been made to bring attention to the early history of tourism, yet most scholarly literature concerning the history of tourism still starts with the Grand Tour. Lately, tourism before the Grand Tour has received more attention, yet the focus has been on ancient tourism, with Roman tourism being a focal point. The Middle Ages has received little attention, and what little attention it has received has centred around religious pilgrimages. This limits our view of Medieval society as an exclusively religious one, with no other motivation to travel than spiritual ones. This is despite Crouch pointing out that 'the lure of the tournament was the most frequent reason for a nobleman and knight to travel any distance'. [1] This stands in contrast with the picture of the Middle Ages as exclusively religious as seen in Tourism Studies with their focus on religious pilgrimages. This study, therefore, will balance our view of Medieval travel by examining a form of non-religious travel in the form of the Medieval Tournament.

In order to provide some context some key definitions will be laid out first to clarify where the Medieval Tournament fits within Tourism studies. Next an overview of the existing literature will be given to position this study within the existing discourses on medieval travel and serious sport tourism. Lastly, the study's research question will be discussed together with the sources and methodology that will be used.

Definitions

Definition of Tourism

Tourism is a general term that is widely understood yet lacks an exact definition that scholars unanimously agree upon. In fact, definitions put forward so far have proven to be unsatisfactory.[2]

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[1] David Crouch, *Tournament* (London: Hambledon and London, 2005), p. 40.
[2] For previous definitions of Tourism see: Tourism, in *Cambridge Dictionary*, https://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/english/tourism [last accessed 11.03.2021, 15:37]; *World Tourism*

Therefore, a new definition will be put forward for this study. I define tourism as being the temporary geographical and/or psychological displacement from the usual environment in search of experiences while seeking satisfaction and recreation. This definition is heavily based on the work done by Ghanem. After critically reviewing the UNWTO's definition he offers an alternative definition of what a tourist is. For Ghanem, a tourist can be presented as:

> 'a subjective perception (state of mind) of a person escaping from primary obligations and daily routine for a period of time (relative to each individual), through a specific displacement (geographical and/or psychological), in quest of unique experiences while seeking satisfaction and leisure'.[3]

This definition adds a new and interesting dimension to tourism which is that of psychological movement on top of the already widely considered geographical movement. This hints at the liminal qualities of tourism. Recent literature on tourism has highlighted the temporary escapist nature of tourism.[4] A tourist experience is, therefore, not only about seeking physical distance from the home, but also to escape from social structures, pressures and expectations. This, however, has been something that has largely been ignored in previous definitions of tourism.

On the other hand, this definition is problematic due to the significant role given to the division between 'work' and 'leisure'. The terms 'escaping' and 'leisure' suggest a compartmentalised lifestyle with a clear line between 'work' and 'leisure'. Poria, Butler and Airey strongly argue against this view on leisure and work and the relationship between the two. They believe that we have moved on from the 'modern industrial age'. The boundaries between work and leisure having now been shaken, with both being able to overlap.[5] Moreover, Ghanem himself believes that with the rise of mobility, 'individuals are being able to work from wherever they want thus being able to stay at a destination for more than a year while still feeling as tourists'.[6] With this statement the author himself acknowledges the potential blurring of the line between work and leisure but does not do so in his own definition.

Therefore, for our definition, the term recreation has been used instead of leisure for the purpose of clarity. Despite the possibility of re-defining leisure by, for example, using Stebbins' more inclusive definition in which leisure is seen as 'an uncoerced, positive activity that, using their abilities and resources, people both want to do and can do at either a personally satisfying or a deeper fulfilling level', the word itself carries a more limiting conceptualisation in most people's heads.[7] Therefore, this study will, to avoid confusion, rather use the word recreation instead of leisure. Recreation is here

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Organization, A United Nations Specialized Agency (UNWTO), https://www.unwto.org/glossary-tourism-terms [last accessed 11.03.2021, 15:46]; B.R. Hazari and P.M. Sgro, 'Tourism and Trade', in B.R. Hazari and P.M. Sgro (Ed.), *Tourism, Trade and National Welfare (Contributions to Economic Analysis, Vol. 265)* (Bingley: Emerald Group Publishing Limited, 2004), p. 2; John K. Walton, *Britannica*, https://www.britannica.com/topic/tourism [last accessed 11.03.2021, 15:59]. These definitions are limited due to only dealing with the supply side of tourism, being too broad or general, excluding domestic travel, or defining it as a pleasurable experience.

[3] Joey Ghanem, 'Conceptualizing "the Tourist": A critical review of UNWTO definition', *Master Thesis at Universitat de Girona*, p. 37.

[4] See Jafar Jafari 'Tourism models: The sociocultural aspects', *Tourism Management*, Vol. 8 (1987), pp. 151-159; Bob McKercher and Sau-Lai Lui, 'Becoming a Tourist', *International Journal of Tourism Research*, Vol. 16 (2014), pp. 399-406.

[5] Yaniv Poria, Richard Butler and David Airey, 'Revisiting Mieczkowski's conceptualization of tourism', *Tourism Geographies*, Vol. 5 (2003), p. 28.

[6] Ghanem, 'Conceptualizing "the Tourist": A critical review of UNWTO definition', p. 35.

[7] Lee Davidson and Robert A. Stebbins, *Serious Leisure and Nature: Sustainable Consumption in the Outdoors* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), p. 7.

taken in the broadest sense, thus not meaning '(a way of) enjoying yourself when you are not working' but meaning 'something done for pleasure or to relax, or such activities generally'.[8]

Lastly, the term satisfaction in our definition is taken to mean 'the act of fulfilling (= achieving) a need or wish' as given in the Cambridge Dictionary, and not as any definition involving 'pleasant feeling' or feeling 'happy'.[9]

Serious Sport Tourism

This term derives from a combination of the terms 'sport tourism' and 'serious leisure'. It was coined by Green and Jones in their article on Serious Leisure, Social Identity and Sport Tourism.[10] Sport Tourism combines the fields of sport and tourism. Hinch and Higham define sport tourism as 'sport-based travel away from the home environment for a limited time, where sport is characterised by unique rule sets, competition related to physical prowess, and playful in nature'.[11] In effect, Sport Tourism refers to any sport-based travel. When it comes to Serious Leisure, Stebbins devised the term to describe leisure activities that are 'sufficiently substantial and interesting in nature for the participant to find a career there acquiring and expressing a combination of its special skills, knowledge, and experience'.[12] It is, in essence, an activity that is repeatedly engaged in over a long period of time. Stebbins' definition for 'leisure' does not include any reference to the differentiation between work and leisure and reads more like the definition for 'recreation'.[13] The term 'leisure', then, is here taken in the same light as 'recreation', and its relation to work is ignored as it is not relevant. In fact, the lack of any correlation between tourism and the division of labour and leisure in this case study will show that too much stress has been made on this point so far.

What is the Medieval Tournament?

Having defined the terms tourism as well as serious sport tourism it is important now to relate them to the Medieval Tournament. The Medieval Tournament was an aristocratic phenomenon centred mainly in northern France. Knights from all over France, the Holy Roman Empire and the British Isles travelled significant distances to participate in them. Basically, it was a sport in which two 'teams' would face each other on an open field and fight each other on horseback. To avoid confusion, Crouch's differentiation between the Tournament and Jousting will be followed. Crouch sees the Tournament as a mass activity with a mock battle involving hundreds or even thousands at the heart of it. The 'mêlée tournament', as Crouch defines it, appeared in the late eleventh century in northern France and went out of fashion in the mid fourteenth century. The Joust, on the other hand, were single combats on horseback in a confined space and grew up alongside the tournament but became

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[8] 'Recreation', in *Cambridge Dictionary*, https://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/english/recreation [last accessed 15.03.2021, 10:34].

[9] 'Satisfaction', in *Cambridge Dictionary*, https://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/english/satisfaction [last accessed 15.03.2021, 10:34].

[10] B. Christine Green and Ian Jones, 'Serious Leisure, Social Identity and Sport Tourism', *Sport in Society*, Vol. 8 (2005), p. 164.

[11] T.D. Hinch and J.E.S. Higham, 'Sport Tourism: a Framework for Research'*, International Journal of Tourism Research*, Vol. 3 (2001), p. 49.

[12] Green and Jones, 'Serious Leisure, Social Identity and Sport Tourism', p. 164.

[13] Davidson and Stebbins, *Serious Leisure and Nature*, p. 7.

increasingly preferred by knights from the thirteenth century onwards.[14] This distinction is significant as it is important to study a consistent phenomenon and not compare to very different activities.

The connection with serious sport tourism might not be immediately obvious, but the Medieval Tournament formed part of a larger circuit in which knights would travel around northern France for months or years on end participating in Tournaments. Many knights would end up developing a career as tourneyers. Serious sport tourism, therefore, will frame this study since it allows for the study of the Medieval Tournament as a long-term, continuous recreational activity and its impact on identity development.[15]

Literature Review

Tournament in History

The Medieval Tournament has long caught the attention of historians. As early as 1974, Hardy conceived the Medieval Tournament as 'a functional sport of the Upper Class'. He believed the early Tournament to be unregulated, not a spectacle, and as having little in the way of romantic chivalry attached to it. He argues that in due time it developed a circus-like atmosphere where women played a prominent role. He also believed the later tournament to be a means for the elite to maintain their sense of chivalrous worth.[16] This alludes to the role later tournaments played in a knight's identity.

In his article on 'the accidental sports tourist', McClelland briefly mentions the tournament and acknowledges the role of the spectators in later tournaments. He does, however, have the same bleak outlook on the early tournament as does Hardy. He does not consider those present in early tournaments as spectators and believes them to be simply friends and family.[17]

The most extensive study of the Tournament so far has been carried out by David Crouch. In his thorough analysis of the Tournament, he also sees it as a sport organised by and for aristocrats. However, Crouch goes much further and adds to our understanding of the tournament by digging much deeper into the source material as well as looking at what surrounded the tournament as well. He argues that the Tournament had a huge economic, social, and cultural influence on communities. Not only for the aristocratic community that took part in them, but other communities around the tournament which were perhaps less directly involved. Tournaments drew large crowds and had a significant economic contribution to local communities.[18] He further stresses the importance of the tournament as an important part in the education of young English noblemen. These young knights

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[14] Crouch, *Tournament*, p. 1.

[15] This is possible since the Tournament had all the defining traits of serious sport tourism. Physical travel was involved as knights travelled from all over France, the Holy Roman Empire and the British Isles to participate, there were unique rule sets (capturing and not killing of opponents for example), competition related to prowess, playful nature (balance of teams facing each other, see Crouch, *Tournament*, p. 73.), regularity (in the form of a tournament season, running between Lent and Whitsuntide, see Matthew Strickland, *Henry the Young King* (Yale University Press, 2016), p. 239.), and the need to acquire special skills, knowledge and experience.

[16] See Stephen H. Hardy, 'The Medieval Tournament: A Function of the Upper Class', *Journal of Sport History*, Vol. 1 (1974), pp. 91-105.

[17] John McClelland, 'The accidental sports tourist: travelling and spectating in Medieval and Renaissance Europe', *Journal of Tourism History*, Vol. 5 (2013), pp. 161-171.

[18] Crouch, *Tournament*, pp. 1, 53, 55.

would be equipped with a tutor, a retinue and enough funds and take to a wandering lifestyle in which attendance to tournaments was one of the frequent amusements.[19] Close parallels can be drawn here to the Grand Tour.

Strickland, in his biography of Young King Henry, a notorious tourneyer king, shares many of the same views as does Crouch. Strickland further notes that the tournament quickly became an integral aspect if aristocratic culture and points out the correlation between the holding of tournaments and that of major fairs, again, stressing the economic side to the tournament.[20]

Finally, in an insightful article, Damen examines the effect the tournament had on the public space of Brussels and vice versa. He also stresses the role of towns in the early development of the tournament, believing it was not a coincidence that the epicentre of the early tournament was in the urbanized regions of northern France and Flanders.[21]

Tourism History

In contrast to History Studies, the Medieval Tournament has been completely ignored in the study of tourism history. This is in large part due to the persistent view that tourism history is divided into 'pre-modern' and 'modern' tourism. In his book, 'A History of Modern Tourism', Zuelow maintains that the history of tourism is split between 'pre-modern' and 'modern' tourism, believing travel before the Grand Tour had 'little resembling modern tourists'.[22]

Zuelow does, however, acknowledge two forms of 'pre-modern' tourism that come close to 'modern' tourism: Roman tourism and religious pilgrimages.[23] Still, in his eyes they do not deserve to be grouped within 'modern' tourism. He does not consider Roman tourism modern because it was not a cross-cultural phenomenon and because it did not leave a legitimate offspring after the fall of the Roman Empire. To begin with, he does not specify whether he means the fall of the Western Roman Empire or the Eastern Roman (Byzantine) Empire. It must be remembered that the Roman Empire continued in the east until the fall of Constantinople in 1453. A point Zuelow seems to conveniently forget. Furthermore, relating to the point of lack of cross-cultural interaction, it would be interesting to know what Zuelow considers cross-cultural interaction. There were several different cultures within the Roman Empire, as well as bordering the empire. If the argument to dismiss this is the overarching Roman structure that governed society, then much the same can be said about today's world, with globalisation and commodification having led to a world governed by an overarching capitalist society. On the final point, the lack of legitimate offspring, there is also much to be said. To begin with, it is hard to see how this is an argument. Trends appear and disappear, but this does not mean that they did not happen, and perhaps more importantly, that they did not leave an imprint in society and the future. Moreover, this is a bold statement to make considering the scarce knowledge of tourism

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[19] Crouch, *Tournament*, pp. 7, 41.

[20] Matthew Strickland, *Henry the Young King* (Yale University Press, 2016), pp. 239-255.

[21] Mario Damen, 'The town as a stage? Urban space and tournaments in late medieval Brussels', *Urban History*, Vol. 43 (2016), pp. 47-71.

[22] Eric G.E. Zuelow, *A History of Modern Tourism* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016), pp. 5-10. The links between religious pilgrimages and tourism have long been put forward. In fact religious pilgrimages have been put forward as the origin of 'modern' tourism. See: John M. Theilmann, 'Medieval Pilgrims and the Origins of Tourism', The Journal of Popular Culture, Vol. 20 (1987), p. 95.

[23] Zuelow, *A History of Modern Tourism*, pp. 5-10.

history for this period. Lastly, when it comes to religious pilgrimages, his main point of dismissal is that the primary reason for travel was religion and not consumption or leisure.[24]

Recently, there have been more studies into 'pre-modern' forms of tourism that push towards a reassessment of the current conceptualisation of the history of tourism into 'pre-modern' and 'modern' tourism with the Grand Tour as the cut-off point. As early as 2002, Webb showed that travel in the Middle Ages was about much more than just getting from point A to point B. In her book she studies medieval European pilgrimages and shows many aspects of medieval travel to be similar to those in 'modern' tourism.[25]

Lomine in his study on Roman Tourism argues that not only did tourism exist long before the Grand Tour, but that it also offered everything we would deem to belong to modern tourism.[26]

More recently, Foubert looked at how Romans perceived travel. She shows that travellers did indeed travel in the pursuit of enjoyment. This, she argues, would make them tourists according to the definitions of Koshar and Zuelow. However, she does acknowledge that her sources are coming from the elite, and therefore, it is not clear whether they were the exception. Regardless, this would not make them any less of a tourist than those that went on the Grand Tour at least, they were also the exception rather than the rule.[27]

Serious Sport Tourism

As noted by Green and Jones, serious leisure has been almost completely ignored within the tourism literature. This is a significant limitation in tourism studies so far. This framework allows for the study of the development of longer-term identities from recreational activities. In essence, it allows for the psychological benefits of tourism to not only be temporary but have long-term consequences as well.

Research Question

This study examines participation at the Medieval Tournament through the lens of tourism studies. Specifically, the lenses of liminality, identity, and *communitas* will be used to investigate how the Tournament contributed to the process of creating and consolidating communities by constructing social identities and confirming status for participants. The aim of this research is to deepen our understanding of the cultural and social mechanisms that drive tourism and recreation.

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[24] Zuelow, *A History of Modern Tourism*, pp. 5-10.

[25] See Diana Webb, *Medieval Pilgrimage, c.700-c.1500* (London: Palgrave, 2002).

[26] See Loykie Lomine, 'Tourism in Augustan Society (44BC-AD69)', in *Histories of Tourism. Representation, Identity and Conflict*, edited by John K. Walton (Clevedon, UK: Channel View Publications, 2005), pp. 69-87.

[27] Lien Foubert, 'Men and women tourists' desire to see the world: 'curiosity' and 'a longing to learn' as (self-) fashioning motifs (first-fifth centuries C.E.)', *Journal of Tourism History*, Vol. 10 (2018), pp. 5-20.

The study of pre-modern tourism is relevant for two reasons. First, the non-division between labour and leisure makes it fundamentally different to 'modern' society. As noted by Poria, Butler and Airey we have already moved towards a post-modern world where the lines between labour and leisure are increasingly blurred.[28] This new outlook on tourism, not constrained within this world view in which time is divided between work and leisure will bring new insights on the relationships between social identity, status and sense of belonging and community with that of sport tourism. Secondly, the study of pre-modern tourism will paint a clearer picture of the origins of tourism, as well as specific trends within tourism. This will help us better understand the development of trends and relations within tourism. This will not only aid our understanding of current developments and trends but also perhaps to better predict future ones.

Sources

This research is based on the extensive study of four primary sources to understand not only the workings of the Tournament, but also how it was viewed by contemporaries. These texts can develop our understanding of the role played by the Tournament in the development of young knights.

The four texts are:

- *The History of William Marshal* (Woodbridge, 2016);

- *The History of the Counts of Guines and Lords of Ardres* (Philadelphia, 2001);

- *The Murder, Betrayal, and Slaughter of the Glorious Charles, Count of Flanders* (New Haven, 2013);[29] and

- *Chronicle of Hainaut* [*Chronicon Hanoniense*] (Woodbridge, 2005).

The *History of William Marshal*, written in the 1220s, was a biography of William Marshal's life, commissioned by his son, and written by an anonymous author. It has often been criticised as a source for containing 'exaggerations and distortions', and although Bryant believes these criticisms to be exaggerated themselves, this is of little consequence for this study, since it is not factual historic information that is sought here, but an insight into the ideology, beliefs, and views on the Tournament by those alive at the time.[30] This it does extensively as the biography deals in great length with tournaments.

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[28] Poria, Butler and Airey, 'Revisiting Mieczkowski's conceptualization of tourism', p. 28.

[29] I have chosen not to give their titles in the original language since they did not have one when they were originally composed. These sources only survive in later manuscripts. The titles that we have were given to them later for convenience, but their original authors would not have recognised them under those titles. In the case of *The Murder, Betrayal, and Slaughter of the Glorious Charles, Count of Flanders*, the author did not give it a title since he did not plan on publish it in the end (Galbert of Bruges, *The Murder, Betrayal, and Slaughter of the Glorious Charles, Count of Flanders*, trans. Jeff Rider (London: Yale University Press, 2013), p. 38).

[30] *The History of William Marshal*, trans. Nigel Bryant (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2016), p. 1.

The *History of the Counts of Guines and Lords of Ardres*, written around the turn of the thirteenth century, was written by the chaplain of Ardres, Lambert of Ardres. Originally it was meant as a sort of apology to his lord, Baldwin II of Guines, but upon his death it was dedicated to his son, Arnold of Guines.[31] The *History* is undoubtedly biased towards his lord and his family. However, this is of no consequence in this study since it is not his performance at the Tournament that is relevant, but how the author wrote about it. In this case bias might even add to the analysis as it shows what the expectations and ideals surrounding the Tournament were. This adds to our understanding of the social role tournaments played.

The *Murder, Betrayal, and Slaughter of the Glorious Charles, Count of Flanders* was written around the time of the events it describes c. 1127 and 1128, by Galbert of Bruges. Galbert was probably a member of the clergy in minor orders and a native of Bruges. He was not commissioned to write this text, and as a more marginalised character, his views would have been the most distant from those of the aristocracy.[32]

The *Chronicle of Hainaut* was written around 1196, by Gilbert of Mons. Gilbert was also a cleric and a self-proclaimed 'protégé' of Count Baldwin V of Hainaut. Gilbert was close to Count Baldwin and would have been a witness to many of the events described. This is of particular interest regarding tournaments which he would have witnessed himself.[33] Just as with Lambert of Ardres' work, any potential bias does not compromise the usefulness of this source.

These sources cover a wide geographical area, covering northern France, Flanders, Hainaut and Guines. This covers most of the popular Tournament Circuit. The authors' varied backgrounds also offer a wide perspective. William Marshal's biographer seems to have been a lay man, Galbert of Bruges as a cleric holding a minor position and a marginalised character offers quite a neutral account, whilst the last two authors are clerics writing for a lay audience, representing a mix of views, both lay and clerical. This allows for views from both the clergy, who were critical of these activities, and the knights who took part in these activities. Lastly, their narrow timespan, all dealing with the tournaments in the twelfth century, offers consistency. They offer a snapshot overview of the Tournament during a relatively short period of time, avoiding unfair comparisons.

Methodology

This study relies on the application of a conceptual framework derived from tourism studies to the four medieval texts mentioned above documenting tournament experiences to open up a new field of research, that being of medieval non-religious tourism. Specifically, the lenses of liminality, identity and *communitas* will be used to look at the tournament from a new and different angle. The

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[31] Lambert of Ardres, *The History of the Counts of Guines and Lords of Ardres*, trans. Leah Shopkow (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2001), pp. 1-3.

[32] Galbert of Bruges, *The Murder, Betrayal, and Slaughter of the Glorious Charles, Count of Flanders*, trans. Jeff Rider (London: Yale University Press, 2013), p. 1-4, 15-21.

[33] Gilbert of Mons, *Chronicle of Hainaut*, trans. Laura Napran (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2005), pp. xxvii-xxxvii.

focus will be on participants and not spectators since the sources give ample information on participants but non on spectators.

The first chapter will use the latest liminality theoretical framework as proposed by Wu, Li, Wood, Senaux and Dai, as a base to build our research on.[34] They identify six stages within a rite of passage: *Anticipation*, *Emancipation*, *Animation*, *Enhancement*, *Sequela*, and *Reconciliation*. The findings from the primary sources will be filtered through this framework to understand the role liminality played at the Tournament. This is a useful framework as it allows for the study of the transition from day-to-day life into a liminal experience. Through these stages this transition is understood as a process and not a direct, sudden change. On the other hand, the final form of this framework has come into existence after the study of several different, and non-comparable, touristic activities. Therefore, it is to be expected that the Medieval Tournament will not fit perfectly within this framework. This will, however, add further to the development of a completer and more inclusive framework that caters to more forms of tourism.

The second chapter looks at the role the Tournament had on identity. It relies on the sport-related identity development theoretical framework originally developed by Levie and Moreland and expanded by Stebbins.[35] This results in a five-stage framework with the following stages: *presocialization*, *recruitment*, *socialization*, *acceptance*, and *decline*. The concept of identity is a complex one, and the nature of the sources as written by a third-party makes it hard to get a glimpse at knight's own self-identity. However, the sources provide ample information on expectations and ideals which inform us about their collective identities.

The third chapter deals with *communitas* and relies on the conceptualisation of *communitas* having three forms: *spontaneous*, *ideological* and *normative*.

This analysis will allow for a more detailed analysis of the tournament and its social implications. In this way this analysis will contribute to filling lacunae in our knowledge and understanding of the broader significance of tourism as well as the Medieval Tournament.

This study will find that the Medieval Tournament should indeed be considered a form of tourism. In accordance with the new definition for tourism proposed here, there was not only a physical displacement from the home, but a psychological displacement as well. The Tournament had liminal qualities. The liminal experience was not limited to within the tournament field, however, and extended beyond it to include the whole circuit or tour surrounding the tournament. This liminality allowed for the development and confirmation of identities related to a young knight's Rite of Passage from boyhood to adulthood. This study also highlighted the strength of Western European Medieval social structures, which permeated into the tournament. This partial survival of day-to-day social structures impeded the true formation of *communitas*, which only appeared sporadically for short periods of time.

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[34] Shaofeng Wu, Yanning Li, Emma H. Wood, Benoît Senaux, and Guanquin Dai, 'Liminality and festivals – Insights from the East', *Annals of Tourism Research*, Vol. 80 (2020), pp. 1-13.

[35] Green and Jones, 'Serious Leisure, Social Identity and Sport Tourism', pp. 164-181.

Chapter 1: Liminality at the Tournament

This chapter will study the liminal nature of the Medieval Tournament. The concept of liminality has its origins in the study of rites of passage by Van Gennep. It was later developed by Turner, who defined it as 'a state or process which is betwixt-and-between the normal, day-to-day cultural and social states and processes'.[1] In relation to tourism it basically means that a liminal space or experience is outside of our 'normal' environment, allowing us to engage in different identities and behaviours that are not possible in day-to-day life. Little research has been done on the process of rites of passage. Van Gennep originally identified three stages within a rite of passage: *separation*, *transition/liminal* stage, and (*re-*)*incorporation*.[2] Jafari later developed this into a five-phase process composed of *Corporation* (recognition of the need to escape), *Emancipation* (psychological and physical separation from home environment), *Animation* (adoption of different identities and behaviours), *Repatriation* (travel back), and *Incorporation* (regaining of 'normal' identity).[3] More recently, McKercher and Lui replaced the *Emancipation* and *Repatriation* stages with an *Engagement* and a *Disentanglement* stage. *Engagement* was found to start before the journey started and lasting until well into the trip, whilst *Disentanglement* similarly starts before and lasts until after they leave.[4] Finally, Wu, Li, Wood, Senaux and Dai expanded it into a six-phase process comprising *Anticipation*, *Emancipation*, *Animation*, *Enhancement*, *Sequela*, and *Reconciliation*. In this revised model, *Anticipation* represents excitement for the event, *Enhancement* deals with the feelings at the end of the event, during the *Sequela* phase participants still continued with behaviours engaged with at the event, and finally, *Reconciliation* is a return to 'normality' with little long-lasting effects on identity.[5] This last model will form the basis for this chapter, resulting in the theoretical framework that structures this chapter.

This chapter will show that Medieval tourism had liminal qualities. The Medieval Tournament Circuit acted as a 'space' both outside normal day-to-day, as well as within the rite of passage between youth and adulthood. The liminal qualities of the tournament allowed participants to engage in and with different identities and behaviours that were not possible in their 'normal' environments. Moreover, the usefulness of the liminality model as proposed by Wu, Li, Wood, Senaux, and Dai is confirmed. However, the Medieval Tournament also adds to our understanding of liminality in tourism and expands the liminality model due to its serious leisure qualities. Rather than a rite of passage in tourism resembling a springboard in which tourists leap in a one-way, linear fashion 'into the tourism world and then fall back into ordinary life', as suggested by Jafari, it should be seen as a more complex model in which tourists can move easily back and forth between different stages of rites of passage

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[1] Victor Turner, 'Frame, flow and reflection: Ritual and drama as public liminality', *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies*, Vol. 6 (1979), p. 465.

[2] As taken from Shaofeng Wu, Yanning Li, Emma H. Wood, Benoît Senaux, and Guanquin Dai, 'Liminality and festivals – Insights from the East', *Annals of Tourism Research*, Vol. 80 (2020), p. 2.

[3] Jafar Jafari, 'Tourism models: The sociocultural aspects', *Tourism Management*, Vol. 8 (1987), p. 151-9.

[4] Bob McKercher and Sau-Lai Lui, 'Becoming a Tourist', *International Journal of Tourism Research*, Vol. 16 (2015), pp. 399-406.

[5] Wu, Li, Wood, Senaux, and Dai, 'Liminality and festivals – Insights from the East', pp. 1-13.

as they move from one space to another and from one activity to another, all whilst being away from ordinary life.[6] Instead of the event itself acting as a liminal space, the whole journey should be seen as a liminal experience.

The liminal experience begins before the actual event itself. Jafari terms it the *Corporation* stage, whilst Wu, Li, Wood, Senaux and Dai term it the *Anticipation* stage.[7] This stage can clearly be observed in the source material. In the case of the Medieval Tournament, it might be the most clearly identifiable stage of rites of passage. The term '*Anticipation*' seems to be an accurate one, with excitement being the prevalent feeling amongst tourneyers before they left to participate. *The History of William Marshal* reports how:

> 'It was now that word spread far and wide that a tournament was to be held in a fortnights's time between Sainte-Jamme-sur-Sarthe and Valennes, and everyone was astir, busily preparing and equipping for the event.'[8]

When news broke out that a tournament was to be held this caused excitement and made those interested in attending eager to prepare to leave and attend the tournament. A further example is given when Young Henry was finally allowed to leave his father's court and arrived at that of the Count of Flanders:

> 'They now heard word that a great tournament was to be held between Gournay and Ressons: it was the subject of much excitement. The Young King was thrilled by the news, and said that if he could only get hold of arms and horses he'd be glad to go.'[9]

Here clearly the excitement was immediate, even before any thoughts were given to preparations. In fact, the excitement was aroused even before they knew whether they would be able to attend at all. The idea of attending was already exciting and thrilling, regardless of whether they could actually attend or not.

An earlier scene in *The History of William Marshal* further illustrates this point. Word arrived that another tournament was to be held. Yet, the Chamberlain, to who's cohort William Marshal belonged to at that time, did not go. Despite this, we are told that 'the Marshal made ready, keener than ever'. This was even though those around him warned him that he would not make it in time. This did not deter the Marshal who attended anyway, riding nonstop, arriving just in time.[10] This shows the extent of the excitement caused by the Tournament. People like William Marshal were willing to ride day-and-night to get to participate in tournaments. In fact, there are many examples where William Marshal went alone to attend a tournament when his lord did not.

Furthermore, the fact that word was sent far and wide announcing the tournament suggests that there was a 'market' for it. Those who attended would be able to leave for the tournament at a moment's notice. This might suggest that these people were waiting for it, anticipating a tournament being called out. Moreover, since many of those that attended tournaments were on a tournament tour, and since tournaments were not planned with a lot of time beforehand, with about a fortnight's

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[6] Jafari, 'Tourism models: The sociocultural aspects', pp. 151-9.
[7] Jafari, 'Tourism models: The sociocultural aspects', p. 152; Wu, Li, Wood, Senaux, and Dai, 'Liminality and festivals – Insights from the East', p. 5.
[8] The History of William Marshal, trans. Nigel Bryant (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2016), p. 40.
[9] *The History of William Marshal*, trans. Nigel Bryant, p. 53.
[10] *The History of William Marshal*, trans. Nigel Bryant, p. 42.

notice being the norm as noted by Crouch, it seems like people anticipated tournaments and looked forward to them before they were even announced.[11] In fact, there was a tournament season, running from Lent to Whitsuntide, which could have contributed to the anticipation.[12] Some tournaments were, however, announced with more than just a fortnight's notice. As seen in *The History of William Marshal*, 'word spread fast, and soon everyone was talking about a tournament to be held three weeks later at Pleurs, featuring the most illustrious lords.'[13] This seems to be more in line with that observed at modern Chinese music festivals where anticipation begins one month before attendance.[14] In fact there is evidence that suggests that anticipation and preparation for tournaments could start long before that as seen in a contract between Osbert of Arden and Thurkill Fundu, in which it was stipulated that Thurkill received a small estate for which in return he would accompany and carry Osbert's lances whilst travelling to tournaments.[15] This shows that the *Anticipation* stage could last quite a long time even in Medieval times as people eagerly waited for the announcement of a tournament. This excitement, as seen at the tournament of Pleurs, was not exclusively individual, but was also a collective excitement. Participants talked about the tournament before the actual event with other tourneyers, generating more excitement.

The Marshal's biography brings a further point to light. In a scene where Young Henry asks his father to let him leave his court, we not only learn that anticipation for the tournament could start significantly before one had actually been announced, but that the *Anticipation* stage is not solely about the event to be attended. In this scene, albeit it being understood that the young knights would leave England to tourney in France, which they eventually did, the focus of the conversation between father and son did not revolve around the tournament. Despite having spent a 'pleasant time' in England, 'involved in no business but jousting, tourneying and hunting', 'this wasn't to the Young King's liking – far from it; his companions, too, found it deeply frustrating – they wanted to be travelling, not staying put'.[16] Much the same activities would have been undertaken, yet they still felt the urge to leave. The focus is, therefore, not on tourneying, but tourneying in France. The physical distance from the ordinary seems to have been an important requisite. Despite engaging in the same, or at least similar, activities back in England, the young knights longed to go to France. This behaviour is similarly seen amongst people who attend dance music events. As shown by Jaimangal-Jones, Pritchard and Morgan, physical distance can have a significant effect on the feeling of liminality. Travelling to more distant events is more exciting as it is somewhere new and different. As they put it, 'a journey can heighten the enjoyment of a dance event as it increases the build-up and excitement'. What is more, this distance from familiar surroundings 'often impacts on an individual's self-consciousness and conformity to social role', creating a stronger liminal experience.[17]

This need for physical distance from familiar surroundings is related to the need to 'escape'. Contrary to Wu, Li, Wood, Senaux and Dai's focus away from Jafari's recognition of the need to escape in his *Corporation* phase, and more towards the expectation and preparation for the experience, this case seems to shift the focus back on the need to escape as proposed by Jafari. This seems to be an

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[11] David Crouch, *Tournament* (London: Hambledon and London, 2005), p. 32.

[12] Matthew Strickland, *Henry the Young King* (Yale University Press, 2016), p. 239.

[13] *The History of William Marshal*, trans. Nigel Bryant, p. 57.

[14] Wu, Li, Wood, Senaux, and Dai, 'Liminality and festivals – Insights from the East', p. 5.

[15] Crouch, *Tournament*, p. 47.

[16] *The History of William Marshal*, trans. Nigel Bryant, p. 52.

[17] Dewi Jaimangal-Jones, Annette Pritchard and Nigel Morgan, 'Going the distance: locating journey, liminality and rites of passage in dance music experiences', Leisure Studies, Vol. 29 (2010), pp. 253-268.

important factor that should not so easily be overlooked.[18] The focus in this scene is on leaving England, not going somewhere specific. In fact, the young knights were 'unamused at being stuck like this in England', finding it 'tiresome'.[19] It was only after they left England and arrived in Flanders that they heard of the great tournament that was to be held between Gournay and Ressons for which they were unprepared for as they had no horses or arms. This suggests that first came the need to escape, and then came the anticipation for the tournament. A subdivision of the *Anticipation* phase into the subphases where there is first an *anticipation to leave*, caused by push factors, and then there is *anticipation to attend an event*, caused by pull factors seems to be at play here.

The *Anticipation* stage is followed by the journey to the tournament. Commonly coined as the *Emancipation* stage, this is the stage when the travellers are on the way to the event and are away from home, both physically and mentally. Again, the scene between Young Henry and his father is helpful here. The author offers an explanation for the need to leave despite partaking in much the same activities by arguing that, 'they wanted to be travelling, not staying put. Let's be honest: being sedentary is shameful to the young'.[20] Travelling in itself was an exciting prospect they longed for. For them, the fact that they were travelling and not at home under the control of the king, is what made the experience worth it. It is not only the tournaments themselves that have a liminal effect, but the travelling itself also has a liminal effect. Just the fact that they are on the move and not under the direct control and observation of the king gives them the freedom they desire. The freedom to behave and identify as young, martial knights.

The Medieval Tournament brings a further point to our attention. This step is seemingly further complicated due to the nature of the Tournament Circuit. Many participants would tour from tournament to tournament for long periods of time, perhaps even taking years on the road. This they called '*li long sejour*'.[21] As noted by the Marshal' biography, 'for a year and a half the Young King and his retinue, fiercely ambitious to perform great deeds, went from tourney to tourney'.[22] In *The History of the Counts of Guines and Lords of Ardres* we also learn how Arnold II of Guines 'for almost the next two years, he travelled around many provinces and regions participating in tournaments' after he was knighted.[23] Therefore, this step was not always part of the experience. If the tourneyers travelled from one tournament to another, there would have been no emancipation from the 'normal' environment as this would already have taken place earlier.

Furthermore, from the source material there is little evidence for the sub-phases identified by Jafari in his model: '*separation*' and '*declaration*'.[24] These refer to the roles played by spatial 'markers' and 'touristic' items to emphasise the distance from home. The biography of William Marshal only refers to the tourneyers as 'tourneyers' in the context of the tournament. That is to say, this term is only used to describe them once they are physically at the tournament. This could imply that the tournament field itself was a spatial 'marker'. However, they always remained knights. The sources offer too little information about this aspect of the tournament and, therefore, it would be unwise to

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[18] Wu, Li, Wood, Senaux, and Dai, 'Liminality and festivals – Insights from the East', p. 5; Jafari, 'Tourism models: The sociocultural aspects', p. 152.

[19] *The History of William Marshal*, trans. Nigel Bryant, p. 52.

[20] *The History of William Marshal*, trans. Nigel Bryant, p. 52.

[21] Crouch, *Tournament*, p. 40.

[22] *The History of William Marshal*, trans. Nigel Bryant, p. 54.

[23] Lambert of Ardres, *The History of the Counts of Guines and Lords of Ardres*, trans. Leah Shopkow (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2001), p. 124.

[24] Jafari, 'Tourism models: The sociocultural aspects', pp. 152-3.

come to any conclusions based on the evidence, or lack thereof. A further spatial 'marker', however, could have been the stepping onto boats to cross the Channel, for example.

The next stage is the *Animation* phase. This stage takes place once the travellers arrive at the event location. Participants adopt different behaviours and identities from those during their day-to-day life.[25] It seems clear that at some point those that attend tournaments did adopt different behaviours and identities. The sources use the term 'tourneyers' or 'those who attend tournaments' implying that they were a distinct grouping of people with a common identity based on their interest and participation in tournaments. This identity is a narrower identity than that which they held outside the tournament. The identity is now not solely based on their hierarchical status and in relation to others, it is now that of tourneyer, where they compete to be the best tourneyer in the land.

Further evidence can be observed when William Marshal informed the Chamberlain, his lord, that he intended to go back to England to visit relatives, the Chamberlain gave him permission to leave but not before he:

> 'earnestly entreated him to return as soon as he could and not to stay in England, for it was a land suited only to vavasors and men with no ambition; anyone eager to venture forth and test himself and tourney would be sent to Brittany or Normandy – everywhere tournaments were being held – to mix with knightly company: that should be the way of any knight who seeks to enhance his reputation in arms'.[26]

This episode shows the difference between being at home and being on tour, going from tournament to tournament. At home they would not have been able to behave in the manner they wanted to behave, going on adventure, seeking a reputation and renown. The Tournament as a liminal space allows these tourneyers to express themselves as martial youths in search of honour, renown and a reputation. A further example of this is again seen at the scene when the Young King asks his father for permission to leave his court for 'being sedentary is shameful to the young'.[27] Yet again a division is drawn between these 'young' knights and the rest at King Henry's court. They identify as a separate (sub)group with different needs and behaviours who wish to leave to indulge in these 'subcultural' behaviours.

Further behaviours encouraged by the liminal experience of the Tournament Circuit and being away from home is that of forming or reshaping their identities. Those who took to the wandering lifestyle and travelled from tournament to tournament could reshape their identity to become what they wished to be but were not allowed to be back at home. These knights not only wanted to be young, martial knights, but also had social and hierarchical aspirations that were not available to them at home. Back at home they were subordinate to their parents. A clear example of this is Henry the Young King. Crowned by his father in 1170, he was only king in name, with no land, wealth or retinue of his own. The tournament was an opportunity to, albeit only temporarily, create a new identity for himself. At the tournament he was the 'tournament king' or the 'chivalric king' who led his own retinue with nobody around him who outranked him. This behaviour, however, was looked down upon by society by and large back at home. *The History of William Marshal* reports how, when Young Henry

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[25] Wu, Li, Wood, Senaux, and Dai, 'Liminality and festivals – Insights from the East', p. 6.
[26] *The History of William Marshal*, trans. Nigel Bryant, p. 43.
[27] *The History of William Marshal*, trans. Nigel Bryant, p. 52.

started to run out of money his father, the king, 'thought he was being profligate' and that 'his largesse couldn't continue'.[28] Lambert of Ardres also reports how Arnold II of Guines was:

> 'said to have had more knightly companions than his father, and to have made more lavish expenditures than the extent of his possessions demanded, since he persisted in giving larger gifts than his father's advice taught or recommended. Indeed, he gave more than he owned or kept for himself. He went to tournaments wherever he could with those knights he loved with such marvelous affection'.[29]

These examples show some of the behaviours undertaken by those attending tournaments, and more importantly, how those back home viewed these behaviours. Both parents reacted disapprovingly to these behaviours. They expected their children, and anybody else who aspired to anything in their world to be prudent with their money. A further example from the *History of the Counts of Guines and Lords of Ardres* illustrates this point:

> 'Then Eilbod, a man midway between maturity and old age, was pleased by the abundance of his noble offspring. Since he felt himself more and more to be approaching the downward slope into old age, after he had renounced secular amusements and tournaments, he lived in his house at Selnesse and remained near the house and near his family with his household members and was a faithful and prudent administrator and manager in taking care of his business. And therefore, he had no wish to leave his country, when he could put this off or defer it'.[30]

This was a society that expected a man to be prudent with his expenditure and take care of his family and lands. Lambert of Ardres provides a further example. Lambert reports how Arnold the Young:

> 'was said to be munificent, liberal, and a spendthrift when he was outside the country, and when it came to knighthood, he spent almost prodigally whatever the custom and rationale of those tourneying and fighting demanded, nevertheless, when he was in his county he was not so much a miser as financially cautious. Consequently he was said to have a great treasury of both gold and silver'.[31]

These examples show the contrast of how a knight acted at the Tournament and how he was expected to act at home. As a young knight, or wandering youth, in between childhood and adulthood, the Tournament Tour was an opportunity to temporarily break free from their parents' grip and play at being independent adults with all the perks that came with it, but without any of the responsibilities. They indulged in behaviour frowned upon back home and spent lavishly in an attempt to create an identity they could still not achieve as long as their inheritance was still their parents' patrimony.

Moreover, a key aspect of the tournament, and its main attraction, was the violence involved. Despite our current views of Medieval society as a violent one, there were restrictions. Despite their freedom to commit violence there was a price to pay. As argued by Crouch, this violence could lead to traumatisation from memories the warrior could not escape, as well as condemnation from others. Examples such as Geoffrey the Mandeville show that despite willing to commit atrocities during war, these actions distressed the perpetrators and were resented by them.[32] The *Chronicle of Hainaut*, despite being full of references to wars and violence, is equally full of references to attempts at making

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[28] *The History of William Marshal*, trans. Nigel Bryant, p. 48.

[29] Lambert of Ardres, *The History of the Counts of Guines and Lords of Ardres*, pp. 129-30.

[30] Lambert of Ardres, *The History of the Counts of Guines and Lords of Ardres*, p. 137.

[31] Lambert of Ardres, *The History of the Counts of Guines and Lords of Ardres*, p. 169.

[32] Crouch, *Tournament*, p. 154.

peace.[33] The biography of William Marshal, surprisingly, has little if any praise for violence as noted by Crouch, suggesting an uneasiness with violence by the part of the author who himself also took part in tournaments.[34] However, as seen by references to deeds of prowess in the biography of William Marshal, and the celebration of violence in the poems of Bertran de Born, for example, fighting and violence were not only part of a knight's life, but it was something that was sought after.[35] The Tournament, therefore, was a safe space were this fighting and violence could take place without the negatives associated with it outside of the tournament field. One could build a reputation as a martial warrior without having to engage in war. After all this aristocracy was a military aristocracy. So much so that the 'image of the mounted knight became an image of power', as noted by Crouch.[36]

Lastly, different behaviours when socialising would also be expected at the Tournament. There are certain behaviours that are related to their identities as tourneyers. The author of William Marshal's biography believed that 'it's their custom to visit one another in their lodgings in the evening – a good and civilised custom, too: it's a chance to converse and chat and discuss their various affairs'.[37] At another point the author reports how after a tournament, 'before they parted the magnates came and spoke together – rightly so, it seems to me'.[38] The author not only sees this as normal and expected behaviour at the tournament, but also approves of it. The Tournament was an opportunity for young knights with an interest in martial activities to gather and socialise without judgement and pressure exercised by their elders back at home. They would be surrounded by people of their own age-group and similar interests.

The next phase as suggested by Wu, Li, Wood, Senaux and Dai would be the *Enhancement* phase. However, there is little evidence, if not none, for this stage at the Tournament. The sources do not give us even a glimpse into how the tourneyers felt in the final moments of the Tournament or as it ended. What is more, it seems like the Medieval Tournament breaks the mould when it comes to this stage of the model as proposed by Wu, Li, Wood, Senaux and Dai. This might be due to the frequency at which tournaments took place. Tournaments took place frequently, with about one being announced every fortnight. Moreover, the fact that most young knights that attended tournaments did so as a part of a circuit or tour means that the end of a tournament was not a significant point for the participants as they would soon be participating in the next. Attending tournaments and fighting was part of their lifestyle at the time, and most likely did not feel like an end to the activity. However, the omission of any details on this stage can only lead to speculation, and any conclusions drawn would be unfounded.

The next step according to Wu, Li, Wood, Senaux and Dai would be the *Sequela* phase. According to them this is the phase when the participants have physically left and returned to their normal life but still mentally 'live in the festival' and behave accordingly.[39] Yet again, the evidence for this stage is scarce. Evidence for this stage is particularly difficult to deal with due to the nature of the Tournament Circuit where participants would travel from tournament to tournament. The

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[33] See Gilbert of Mons, *Chronicle of Hainaut*, trans. Laura Napran (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2005).

[34] Crouch, *Tournament*, p. 155.

[35] See *The History of William Marshal*, trans. Nigel Bryant; Crouch, *Tournament*, p. 154.

[36] Crouch, *Tournament*, p. 137.

[37] *The History of William Marshal*, trans. Nigel Bryant, p. 72.

[38] *The History of William Marshal*, trans. Nigel Bryant, p. 86.

[39] Wu, Li, Wood, Senaux, and Dai, 'Liminality and festivals – Insights from the East', p. 10.

Tournament Circuit might have lasted up to several years and, therefore, many tournaments might have ended without a return to normality. Therefore, participants might indeed physically leave the tournament site, but, since they were still on tour and would attend another tournament not too long after, still mentally live the tournament lifestyle and behave accordingly. This stage, in the case of the Tournament, might be more of a rest or pause in between the *Enhancement* stage, and a return to the *Anticipation* stage. During this '*Interlude*' phase they might have partaken in other activities yet maintained many of the behaviours and identities related to the Tournament, surrounded by much the same people as well. This is something new that the study of the Tournament has brought to the study of tourism. Wu, Li, Wood, Senaux and Dai's study is limited in that the participants went to the festival exclusively and then immediately seem to have returned to their 'normal' lives. Therefore, an adaptation to the six-stage model is suggested. This would be the inclusion of an *Interlude* stage following the *Enhancement* stage when travelling to several events. This would add to our understanding of rites of passage when more than one event is involved since tourist experiences are frequently made up of several different experiences.

Moreover, in the case of the tournament this is also further complicated due to many of the identity and behaviours indulged in at the tournament being similar to those in their home environments. As seen by the scene in which Young Henry asks his father permission to leave his court, these tourneyers would partake in similar activities at home. It is the degree of the feeling of freedom that changed the most.

The last phase is the *Reconciliation* phase. This is the moment the tourist is back 'home' in their 'normal' environment. The aforementioned example of Eilbod's retirement from the Tournament gives us an insight into this stage. Once Eilbod abandons the tournament he was expected to (re-)take up his responsibilities and duties as a knight, lord and family-man. This scene shows that there were certain expectations that Eilbod had to conform to. He was expected to be near his family and to manage and administer his land and people. This story shows what the author's views were on how a lord should act. They should not wish to leave their country. Moreover, it contrasts this expected behaviour with that undertaken by him as a youth where he left his country and attended tournaments. It seems like their travels as youths through the Tournament Circuit was an 'accepted' escape from this lifestyle whilst they were still young.

However, as noted, these were the views of the author and what he expected from someone like Eilbod. Therefore, it is difficult to get access to the way the lords themselves felt once they returned from the Tournament Circuit. This scene implies that Eilbod seamlessly (re-)adapted to this expected lifestyle. This might not have been as easy as the author makes it seem. Unfortunately, the biography of William Marshal, written by someone who would have partaken in tournaments and lived the lifestyle, does not elaborate on this stage of the Tournament Circuit either.

However, what is clear is that even after the tournaments were finished, stories would be told about these tournaments. *The History of William Marshal* tells of a story of how William Marshal lost one of his captives during a tournament, and reports how at the end, 'they left the town then, but the story of this caper was often told thereafter'.[40] What is more, the fact that these texts give such importance to the tournaments shows how stories of the Tournament were told time and again even after those that participated returned home. In fact, the biography of William Marshal is written by such a tourneyer who both experienced some of these stories and heard them told by those around

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[40] *The History of William Marshal*, trans. Nigel Bryant, p. 57.

him. Even after these knights returned home, they would frequent their memories of these experiences. They re-lived these events in memory. This is something that is also seen in modern pilgrimage tourism as shown by Lois González and Lopez. They point out the need for liminality not only before (in the form of anticipation) and during, but also after the pilgrimage. In this study the authors found that narrative works by the tourists are an expression of their desire to relive liminality 'in order to continue enjoying these emotions and feelings'.[41] The Tournament seems to encourage similar behaviour as shown by literary texts such as the Marshal' biography, where significant detail is given about the 'feats' undertaken at the tournament, or poems dealing with the tournament, or even simple oral stories such as the one told about William Marshal in which he lost his captive.

Conclusion

Overall, this chapter in large part confirms the accuracy of the liminality model as proposed by Wu, Li, Wood, Senaux, and Dai. Yet, it also identifies some limitations and adds to our understanding of liminality in tourism by expanding and further developing the liminality model. This case study adds to our understanding of liminality in tourism due to the Tournament's nature as usually belonging to a circuit. Many of those that participated in tournaments went so on tour, going from tournament to tournament. The whole tour can be seen as a rite of passage involving more than one event. This meant that those touring found themselves in different spaces as well as within different stages of rite of passage during their travels, going back and forth between stages depending on where they were and what they were doing. This suggests a much more flexible approach to liminality than the springboard model proposed by Jafari.[42] It should be seen as a more complex model in which tourists can move easily back and forth between different stages of rite of passage as they move from one space to another and from one activity to another, all whilst being away from ordinary life. The focus has been shifted from the role of the event itself as a liminal space to the Tournament Tour as a liminal experience.

Therefore, a new model is proposed for tourism involving more than one event at a time. The first stage remains *Anticipation*, albeit with the addition of the subphases of *anticipation to leave* and *anticipation to attend the event*. This is followed by the *Emancipation*, *Animation*, and *Enhancement* stages. After this, if there is not return to normalcy after leaving the event, there would be an *Interlude* stage, where the participants are no longer part of the event, but do not yet return to their normal environment. Behaviours and identities different to those at home may continue but need not be the same as the ones at the event attended. Following the Interlude stage there would be a return to the *Anticipation* of the event stage. This would be followed by the *Animation*, *Enhancement*, and if there is a return after this, the *Sequela* and *Reconciliation* stages, otherwise the previous cycle would be repeated. The *Anticipation to leave* and *Emancipation* stages would not be expected to be repeated as they are mainly centred on the differences between home and the event which are not relevant then.

Finally, this chapter has also shown that Medieval tourism did indeed have liminal qualities. *Li long sejour* acted as a 'space' both outside normal day-to-day, as well as within the rite of passage between youth and adulthood. The liminal qualities of the Tournament allowed participants to engage in and with different identities and behaviours that were not possible in their 'normal' environments.

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[41] Rubén C. Lois González and Lucrezia Lopez, 'Liminality Wanted. Liminal landscapes and literary spaces: The Way of St. James', *Tourism Geographies*, Vol. 22 (2020), p. 433.

[42] Jafari, 'Tourism models: The sociocultural aspects', pp. 151-9.

Chapter 2: Identity and the Tournament

This chapter will look at the Medieval Tournament through the lens of Identity. Identity is a broad term that is hard to define. As argued by Lawler, identity is 'a social process and not, as Western traditions would have it, a unique and individual possession'.[1] Therefore, Identity in this chapter is taken to be made up of both 'its public manifestations … and the more personal, ambivalent, reflective and reflective sense that people have of who they are'.[2] In this chapter, however, the focus will be mostly on collective identity since it is difficult to get a real sense of how tourneyers truly saw themselves as individuals due to the fact that the sources were not written by themselves.

As seen in the previous chapter, the liminal space of the Tournament allowed participants to adopt new and different temporary identities. The act of being separated from the home environment allowed tourneyers to play around with different identities to those imposed by their elders. However, the Tournament's role in relation to identity does not stop there, with participation allowing the shaping, reshaping and maintaining of long-term identities. This chapter will show the significant role the Tournament played in the development of knightly identities for aristocratic youths during their rites of passage from boyhood into adulthood. The Tournament's liminal qualities were what allowed this development to take place as pressures from society and conflicts within the identities themselves were significantly minimised at the Tournament. However, there was a limit to the development of these new identities as some of the social structures from day-to-day life filtered into the Tournament.

The temporary nature of some of the identities developed at the Tournament, afforded by the liminal nature of the Tournament, have been discussed in the first chapter. Young Henry is the perfect example for this, as going on the Tournament Circuit, away from his father, allowed him to reshape his identity as a king. Young Henry had been crowned co-king with his father in 1170, but had no land of his own, meaning he was only king in name. The Tournament Circuit allowed him to forge a reputation and enhance his name and status to that of Tourneying King and leader of men. The Marshal's biographer tells us how Young Henry loved the life of touring from tournament to tournament, as 'he travelled a lot and spent a lot, too, wanting to conduct this lofty venture in a manner befitting a king, the son of a king'.[3] It allowed him to express his status as king despite not having any land to his name. At the Tournament Young Henry was 'king' in his own right, he was the person at the top of the hierarchy. In fact, the Tournament allowed the Young King to not only create an identity as a king but helped him in building a name for himself and earn a reputation as a fine fighter and great leader and be free of the large shadow cast over him by that of his father, great King Henry II. According to the biography of William Marshal, 'for a long while thus the Young King roved the lands, exceeding all in Christendom in valour, courtesy and largesse, surpassing all princes on earth in perfect honour and loyalty, his standing such that wherever he went his reputation outshone everyone's'.[4] Whilst at the Tournament Circuit Young Henry was the top dog, but once back home, he

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[1] Stephanie Lawler, *Identity: Sociological Perspectives* (2nd Edition) (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2014), p. 2.
[2] Lawler, *Identity*, p. 7.
[3] *The History of William Marshal*, trans. Nigel Bryant (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2016), p. 48.
[4] *Ibid.*, p. 65.

went back to being the son of the King. The Tournament's liminality allowed Young Henry to 'play' with the identity of king.

In the end, so successful was the Young King in creating a worthy knightly identity that he eventually became 'a focus of discontent for those barons who did not get on with the elder Henry', and in 1173 he precipitated a serious rebellion against his father.[5] This brings a further point to light, which is the longer-term benefits of the identity developed at the Tournament. Despite it being the liminal nature of the Tournament that made it possible for this identity change, this identity could be preserved beyond the Tournament and have long-lasting effects. Not only could Young Henry express his identity as king temporarily at the Tournament, far away from his father's shadow, but it allowed him to prove himself as a future king.

The Medieval Tournament, therefore, not only had short-term effects on identities but also long-term ones. The Tournament, for one, was closely related to the rite of passage between adolescence and adulthood for the young knights that partook in these martial exercises. Participants at the Tournament were usually young, male aristocrats on their way into adulthood. Going on the Tournament Circuit was closely related to the dubbing of knighthood, with many knights leaving for the circuit shortly after being dubbed. The Marshal started attending tournaments shortly after being knighted. Baldwin, son of Count Baldwin of Hainaut, was knighted in 1168 during the vigil of Easter, and on the second day after the eighth day of Easter he tourneyed at Maestricht, and then sought tournaments everywhere.[6] Arnold, son of Count Baldwin of Guines likewise left for the Tournament Circuit right after being knighted, spending the next two years travelling and participating in tournaments.[7]

The Medieval Tournament, much like the Grand Tour, was seen as a necessary part of a young aristocrat's education, a sort of rite of passage, during their transition from young adolescence into full adulthood. As noted by Crouch, 'travel to France for the tournament was apparently long regarded as an important part of the education of every young English nobleman'.[8] Much the same would have applied for noblemen across the French-speaking world. Crouch goes further to state that 'on coming to adulthood the wealthy heir to a great estate would be equipped with a tutor, a retinue and ample funds, and take to a wandering life in which attendance at tournaments was one of the frequent amusements'.[9] Young Henry, when he set off for the Tournament Circuit had William Marshal assigned as his tutor and guardian by his father, King Henry, and 'thanks to his guidance and instruction the Young King grew in honour, nobility and esteem'.[10] Arnold, the son of Count Baldwin of Guines, took Arnold of Cayeux as his tutor and 'advisor in tournaments' upon the advice of his father and that of Count Philip of Flanders.[11] Much like the Grand Tour allowed young aristocrats to acquire cultural capital, the tournament allowed young knights to acquire military experience.

Many similarities can also be observed with the Gap-Year, for example. Backpacking has been seen as an independent rite of passage to young adulthood where adolescents 'seek to free

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[5] David Crouch, *Tournament* (London: Hambledon and London, 2005), p. 23.

[6] Gilbert of Mons, *Chronicle of Hainaut*, trans. Laura Napran (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2005), pp. 55-7.

[7] Lambert of Ardres, *The History of the Counts of Guines and Lords of Ardres*, trans. Leah Shopkow (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2001), p. 124.

[8] Crouch, *Tournament*, p. 41.

[9] *Ibid.*, p. 7.

[10] *The History of William Marshal*, trans. Nigel Bryant, p. 47.

[11] Lambert of Ardres, *The History of the Counts of Guines and Lords of Ardres*, p. 125.

themselves from the authority of adults and to achieve autonomy, freedom, and independence'.[12] Perhaps, more relevant, however, is that this kind of travel can be a transformative experience where young tourists accumulate 'cultural capital in order to assert a new middle-class identity'.[13] The assertion of class identity also played a role at the Tournament.

The French-speaking aristocracy sought to be associated with the Tournament Circuit. This association with the Tournament emphasised and confirmed the participant's status and identity as a member of the martial aristocracy. This was done through both exclusion and active participation. The Tournament actively excluded members from other classes. For example, by excluding archers, not only did they allow young knights to show their skill and valour with minimised risks, but also excluded those that were not members of the knightly, noble aristocracy.[14] It was exclusively geared towards the aristocratic knightly class. It was, therefore, a rite of passage from boyhood to adulthood for young knights through which their status could be confirmed.

This need for reassurance might seem surprising. One might have expected this brutal warrior caste to have been dominant enough to prevent encroachment from other classes. After all they had control over violence, being the only ones 'at liberty to use their arms as and when they saw fit'.[15] Moreover, Barthélemy has shown that there was limited mobility between the second estate (that of nobility) and the third estate (that of the commoners).[16] However, fears remained. In his work on Masculine identity in the twelfth-century romances of Chrétien of Troyes, Ovens indeed shows that there were fears of encroachment by the third estate and that there was insecurity in their position as members of the martial aristocracy. In Chrétien's work there are episodes in which characters representing the third estate aspire to the privileges of knighthood.[17] This fear was further perpetuated as in the scenes created by Chrétien, and as pointed out by Ovens, the knights could not seek redress 'either because he has a duty to protect the very individual who shames him (…) or because he lacks the masculine strength to retaliate'.[18] Knights seem to have been conscious of the fine line between them and those who belonged to the lower classes. The permeation of this fear into romance literature shows the need for the aristocracy to emphasise and confirm their identities as knights and members of the aristocracy. It was necessary for them to mark themselves out in more ways than just through the use of titles. By actively engaging in an exclusive social event reserved to them they could stress the differences between them and those that did not hold noble status.

However, confirmation of a participant's identity was not solely based on excluding members from other classes. The Tournament allowed participants to prove themselves as knights through their

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[12] Darya Maoz, 'Backpackers' Motivations: The Role of Culture and Nationality', *Annals of Tourism Research*, Vol. 34 (2007), pp. 126, 134.

[13] *Ibid*., p. 126.

[14] Dominique Barthélemy, 'Chivalry in Feudal Society According to French Evidence', in *Knighthood and Society in the High Middle Ages* (Leuven University Press, 2020), eds. David Crouch and Jeroen Deploige, p. 46; Dominique Barthélemy, 'L'Église et les premiers tournois (XIe et XIIe siècles)', in *Chevalerie et christianisme aux XIIe et XIIIe siècles*, eds. Martin Aurell and Catalina Girbea (Presses universitaires de Rennes), p. 139.

[15] Crouch, *Tournament*, p. 153.

[16] Domenique Barthélemy, 'Modern mythologies of medieval chivalry', in *The Medieval World*, eds. Peter Linehan, Janet L. Nelson, and Marios Costambeys, Second Edition (London: Routledge, 2018), p. 252.

[17] Michael Ovens, 'Masculine Identity and the Rustics of Romance in Chrétien's *Erec* and *Yvain*', *Viator*, Vol. 47 (2015), pp. 45-66.

[18] *Ibid*., p. 66.

actions at the tournament field. Before 'chivalry' came to being in the thirteenth century, the ideal of a medieval male was the 'preudomme'. This ideal knight was tough and loyal, confident and amiable, as well as modest, but able to offer independent and sound judgement.[19] Much as with chivalry; prowess, largesse, and piety were highly valued. To be a knight was to hold all three virtues. These virtues were what differentiated the knightly class from the rest. The Tournament was the ideal ground for knights to obtain and show off these virtues to prove that they belonged, and deserved to belong, to the knightly class.

Prowess was one of those key virtues that were associated with knighthood. The Tournament allowed participants to create an identity as a knight by proving themselves through deeds of prowess. This is much like modern sports, where the 'display of physical prowess is an integral part of many sporting activities'.[20] With regards to the Tournament, Kaeuper believes that 'prowess was truly the demi-god in the quasi-religion of chivalric honour; knights were indeed the privileged practitioners of violence in their society'.[21] This also further supports the link put forward between the Tournament and serious sport tourism.

Not only did the Tournament allow participants to perform deeds of Prowess, but it ensured that it would be done in front of an audience and that it would be recorded and spread far and wide. It was a means for young knights to establish a name for themselves and gain renown. The dubbing ceremony was not enough as a rite of passage that allowed for a transition in identity as boy or squire to that of an adult knight. As noted by Barthélemy, in this 'society of civil one-upmanship, much given to glorying in its acts of prowess in combat and dispute, suggest that such prowess counted more than dubbing itself'.[22] Therefore, the Tournament played a crucial role in this rite of passage from boyhood to adulthood, playing a more important role than the official ceremony marking this transition. The transition had to be backed by actions associated with knightly adulthood. This is backed by the sources. When William Marshal first left for the Tournament Circuit he left 'in search of honor and to make his name'.[23] The Marshal was not alone in this sentiment. As noted by his biographer, 'with peace prevailing tournaments now were held throughout the land, attended by any knight who sought renown and had the wherewithal'.[24] In fact, tournaments were 'a fine chance for a knight to prove his prowess and enhance his reputation'.[25] The Marshal was more successful than anyone in carving out this identity for himself. This identification in his case led to a reputation as a successful and powerful martial knight. His biographer reports how the Marshal overhead two other knights praising him which filled his heart with joy, and 'joy and happiness are the due reward and stimulus for aptitude and prowess'.[26] At a further point we learn that 'there was much talk about his deeds from all who witnessed or heard of them. His reputation for prowess and valour was beginning to soar, his status ever rising'.[27] By the end, 'the Marshal enjoyed such a fine career in tournaments and wars that he

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[19] Crouch, *Tournament*, pp. 149-50.
[20] Tom Hinch and James Higham, 'Sport, Tourism and Authenticity', *European Sport Management Quarterly*, Vol. 5 (2006), p. 248.
[21] Richard W. Kaeuper, *Chivalry in medieval Europe* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), p. 130.
[22] Barthélemy, 'Chivalry in Feudal Society According to French Evidence', p. 43.
[23] *The History of William Marshal*, trans. Nigel Bryant, p. 35.
[24] *Ibid.,* p. 39.
[25] *Ibid.,* p. 42.
[26] *Ibid.,* p. 43.
[27] *Ibid.,* p. 62.

was the envy of many'.[28] It was his performance at the Tournament that made him a worthy knight, not his dubbing. The Tournament played a crucial role in the obtaining of a knightly identity.

This is also visible in Lambert of Ardres' work. The idea of obtaining honour and earning renown through the exercise of prowess was widespread. After being knighted, Arnold, lord of Ardres and Colvida, son of Count Baldwin of Guines, for example:

> 'preferred to go into exile in other places for the love of tournaments and for glory than to spend time in leisure in his homeland without warlike entertainments. He did this principally so that he could live gloriously and attain secular honor. With such great skill, Arnold thus became the hero and glory of the name of Guines and came very much to the notice and into the mind of Countess Ida of Boulogne'.[29]

This passage confirms the desire for building a name for oneself. The dubbing ceremony was not enough to make someone into a worthy knight. This had to be earned, and in the case Arnold his performances even caught the eye of Countess Ida of Boulogne.

This identity as a martial knight was clearly very important to these young knights. This can be seen by the repeated references to this aspect of their identity in the source material. Despite most of the sources being written by religious authors, this aspect of their subjects' identity is repeatedly praised. On Baldwin, count of Guines, Lambert of Ardres writes that 'he was most eloquent in worldly wisdom and was, for his size, second to none in knighthood in the whole breadth of Flanders, so that he might rightly be said to be no degenerate heir of his father'.[30] Likewise, Arnold the Young, lord of Ardres, was said to have been 'as much more well known and notable throughout all the province of France as he was more glorious and outstanding in knighthood than all the knights living in the whole of Guines'.[31] In relation to the tournament, we are told that Charles the Good, count of Flanders, trained in tournament to 'perform deeds of secular knighthood'.[32] The activities undertaken at the tournament are deeply associated with their identities as knights as seen by the close association between them in the mind of the authors.

One further important element to a *preudomme*'s identity was Largesse. This is a theme that is repeated time and again in the sources. In fact, the biographer of William Marshal believed that 'it is in the house of Largesse that Nobility is nurtured'.[33] The Medieval Tournament facilitated the obtaining of this element of a knight's identity. This was possible due to the liminal space of the tournament. This was not possible at home, as seen by the disapproving voices of King Henry II of England towards his son Young Henry's spending, and that of Count Baldwin of Guines of that of his son, Arnold.[34] However, the Tournament was not only a liminal space away from home but was also a space with the means to provide for such a lifestyle. The capture of horses and the earning of ransoms as spoils at the mêlée made it possible for participants to distribute these to their friends and followers

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[28] *The History of William Marshal*, trans. Nigel Bryant, p. 43.

[29] Lambert of Ardres, *The History of the Counts of Guines and Lords of Ardres*, trans. Leah Shopkow (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2001), pp. 125-6.

[30] Lambert of Ardres, *The History of the Counts of Guines and Lords of Ardres*, p. 110.

[31] *Ibid.*, p. 166.

[32] Galbert of Bruges, *The Murder, Betrayal, and Slaughter of the Glorious Charles, Count of Flanders*, trans. Jeff Rider (London: Yale University Press, 2013), p. 74.

[33] *The History of William Marshal*, trans. Nigel Bryant, p. 80.

[34] Seen in Chapter 1, pp. 16-7; The History of William Marshal, trans. Nigel Bryant (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2016), p. 48; Lambert of Ardres, *The History of the Counts of Guines and Lords of Ardres*, pp. 129-30.

and earn a reputation associated with Largesse. Largesse was a key element of chivalrous knighthood. William Marshal found this out the hard way after his first battle, when his superiors asked for a share of the spoils. The Marshal had been too busy fighting and did not have any spoils by the end of the fight. For this he was embarrassed and made fun of.[35] He would soon learn from his mistakes, earn plenty of spoils, distribute them amongst his followers, and become known for his generosity. So generous was he that 'all who came to serve him were more than satisfied'.[36]

However, despite the opportunities afforded by the Tournament, the earnings did not always cover the costs. William Marshal's biographer reported how 'wherever he went, the Young King was so free and lavish with his spending that, when he came to leave, he struggled to settle his dues! At the end of his stay they'd come flocking, all those he owed for horses, clothing, food'.[37] Much the same is said by Lambert of Ardres, of Baldwin, lord of Ardres, who 'was entangled in much business and was forced to pay very many debts to very many people' in large part 'due to debts he had contracted in fighting before he was promoted to the honor of the dominion of Ardres'.[38] Tourneying was a costly sport, and the fact that participants went into debt in order to continue this image of Largesse shows how important it was to their identity.

The Tournament, therefore, was a means to obtain an identity as a *preudomme*. To be associated with deeds of Prowess and Largesse. For the biographer of William Marshal, attendance at a tournament at Eu was 'obligatory for any knight with chivalrous ambition'.[39] Interestingly, as noted by Barthélemy, this idealised form of 'Chivalry' that these knights aspired to and identified with, not only differed from real life, but was seen and represented as an ideal in decay. As he notes, 'many a knight would declare, long before Edmund Burke, that "the age of chivalry is gone".'[40] The biography of William Marshal reports how 'the Young King's example of prowess and valour had inspired everyone to uphold chivalry, which now is very nearly dead – there's too much competition from hawking and hunting and tame, formal jousts!'[41] At another point he wrote that 'now the lords have fettered Chivalry once more: overcome by Sloth, in thrall to Avarice, they've shut Largesse away out of sight!'[42]

Since it was an ideal, becoming a true *preudomme* was unattainable. Many of the ideals that made the *preudomme* clashed in practice. The Tournament played a significant role in this respect. The liminal aspect of the Tournament circuit allowed for some of these conflicts to be temporarily eradicated. The identity associated with the Medieval Tournament is very specifically geared towards the military aspect of knighthood. This, however, is but one identity of many that was associated with a knight. Under 'normal' circumstances focusing on just this element of a knight's identity would have meant neglect of other elements of their identity and resulting criticism. For one, these nobles were not only warriors, but also lords. They had lands, vassals and/or families to take care of. There is ample criticism in the sources about this aspect of the knight's identity. The sources criticise those knights that focus too much on violence and not enough on their duties to those around them. Lambert of Ardres wrote of Rainier of Boulogne that 'although he was most vigorous in his knighthood, this most

[35] *The History of William Marshal*, trans. Nigel Bryant, p. 39.
[36] *Ibid.,* p. 47.
[37] *Ibid.,* p. 81.
[38] Lambert of Ardres, *The History of the Counts of Guines and Lords of Ardres*, p. 176.
[39] *The History of William Marshal*, trans. Nigel Bryant, p. 60.
[40] Barthélemy, 'Chivalry in Feudal Society According to French Evidence', p. 30.
[41] *The History of William Marshal*, trans. Nigel Bryant, p. 72.
[42] *Ibid.,* p. 55.

evil of counts inflicted these things and other similar intolerable damages and injuries upon his subjects and people'.[43] William Clito was said that 'none of the things he possessed in life remain with him after death, except praise for his knighthood. He was indeed said to have been good at knighthood'.[44] This was because he was a 'tyrant and destroyer and exactor of every evil'.[45] So despite excelling in knighthood, William Clito was a bad lord. The Tournament, however, allowed participants to enter a world sheltered from the 'real' world, where duties and responsibilities associated with lordship disappeared, and they could concentrate on their identity as a martial knight. Once back in the 'real' world, they had responsibilities and duties they had to fulfil. This was due to the Tournament's liminal qualities and its association with the rite of passage from boyhood into adulthood. The physical and psychological distance from home, as well as their youth made it possible for them to focus on this side to a knight's identity at the expense of others.

However, it must also be noted that this criticism of knightly violence was not absolute. That violence was a fact of life for knights was widely accepted. From Orderic Vitalis we hear in 1124, Waleran II of Meulan severed the feet of some of his peasants as punishment for the taking of wood from his forests during a siege. The main criticism here, however, was that Waleran did so during the penitential season of Lent.[46] We must be careful to note that despite violence being widespread in medieval society, it was not necessarily conscienceless violence as shown by Crouch.[47]

One ideal related to knighthood that was not catered for at the Tournament, however, was that of piety. Religion played a huge role in the lives of these nobles. Therefore, they also adopted a pious identity. The Tournament would seem in direct contrast with such an identity due to its violent nature. In fact, tournaments were 'banned' by the Church from 1130 onwards. Yet, the knights do not seem to have seen such a contradiction. We are told that Eustace the Old of Fiennes:

> 'built a conventual church in the honor of the blessed Virgin Mary in Beaulieu, as penance for his soul those of his predecessors and successors, and especially for the salvation and redemption of the soul of a certain knight, the lord of Ponche-Estruval in Ponthieu, whom Eustace had killed in a tournament'.[48]

Moreover, William Marshal went on pilgrimage to the shrine of the Three Kings at Cologne after a tournament held between Ressons and Gournay.[49] Count Arnold of Guines also 'bequeathed his war weapons, his horse, his dogs, his birds, and whatever secular amusements he had to Saint-Ingelvert' on his deathbed.[50] Being a martial knight was not to the exclusion of being a pious one as well. In the eyes of these knights their worldly, secular lifestyle was not completely in contrast with a spiritual one. What is more, as noted by Barthélemy, despite the ban on tournaments by the Church, there was one aspect to the ban that has been overlooked. The dying knight was allowed penance and viaticum. This, in essence, means that tournaments were pardonable.[51] The Church, despite attempting to curb these knightly activities, recognised they were very much part of a knight's identity and lifestyle. Therefore,

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[43] Lambert of Ardres, *The History of the Counts of Guines and Lords of Ardres*, p. 69.
[44] Galbert of Bruges, *The Murder, Betrayal, and Slaughter of the Glorious Charles, Count of Flanders*, p. 197.
[45] *Ibid.*, p. 197.
[46] Crouch, *Tournament*, p. 153.
[47] *Ibid.*, p. 155.
[48] Lambert of Ardres, *The History of the Counts of Guines and Lords of Ardres*, p. 84.
[49] *The History of William Marshal*, trans. Nigel Bryant, pp. 91-2.
[50] Lambert of Ardres, *The History of the Counts of Guines and Lords of Ardres*, p. 109.
[51] Barthélemy, 'L'Église et les premiers tournois (XIe et XIIe siècles)', pp. 139-148.

despite it appearing as huge contrasting identities that cannot be reconciled, they both very much form part of the knight's identity. The Tournament here acted as a liminal space where a knight's martial identity could be expressed without incurring the wrath of the clergy for attacking innocent peasants during raids in war.

Having discussed the different identities associated with knighthood and the significant role the Tournament played in developing these identities for young aristocrats, it is time to understand how participants developed an identity related to the Tournament. We have already seen how attendance to a tournament was not necessarily a one-time occurrence. In fact, participants usually travelled from tournament to tournament, with participation at Tournaments resembling that of a career. Baldwin attended tournaments for over twenty years, whilst William Marshal equally spent a long time attending tournaments, enjoying 'such a fine career in tournaments and wars that he was the envy of many'.[52] A long-term career is one of the six defining qualities of Serious Leisure, whilst another one is social identification with the activity. Green and Jones suggest five stages in developing any serious leisure identity. The first stage, *Presocialization*, refers to the acquisition of knowledge about the serious leisure. The second stage, that of *Recruitment* refers to entry into the social world of that leisure activity. The third stage is that of *Socialization* in which knowledge is gained about the roles, norms and values associated with said activity. The last two stages are *Acceptance* and *Decline*. They refer to inclusion into the social world and then the act of leaving it. This framework allows us to understand how identity formation takes place.

The *Presocialization* stage is difficult to get a glimpse into, yet participants would have had to hear about the Tournament first to want to participate in them. Tournaments played a significant role in romance literature, and, therefore, might be one of the ways knights learned about the Tournament when they were young. A further possibility might have been at court. Heralds as well as witnesses and participants would have told stories about tournaments at court and social events. The younger members at court would have been encouraged and motivated to participate in tournaments due to these (often embellished) stories of fighting at tournaments. This suggests that identity development started before attendance to the Tournament, as young children would have heard stories about them and aspired to develop an identity related to the Tournament and adopted certain values early.

The *Recruitment* stage would refer to the moment a knight decides to go to tournaments and starts participating in them. *The History of William Marshal* describes the Marshal's entry into the Tournament. A tournament had been announced and everyone was making themselves ready except for William Marshal. When asked by his lord why this was the case, he explained that he was not in the position to go as he did not have a horse. His lord offered him a horse and urged him to come. Once there, however, he did not have an allotted horse and had to take the horse no one wanted due to it being untamable.[53] William was pushed by his lord to attend with him and provided with the means to do so. Entry into the social world of the Tournament was facilitated by those that already took part in them.

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[52] Crouch, *Tournament*, p. 27; *The History of William Marshal*, trans. Nigel Bryant, p. 43.
[53] *The History of William Marshal*, trans. Nigel Bryant, p. 40.

In the case of the Marshal, he seems to have gone straight into the mêlée as his first experience at a tournament. However, for many, the Vespers might have been their first taste of fighting at a tournament. The Vespers played a key role at this stage. The Vespers refers to fighting on the eve of the tournament, in the late afternoon or early evening the day before the mêlée. As noted by Crouch 'for the younger knight out to gain reputation and employment, it was more important than the tournament itself. It was a magnificent showcase for emerging talent'.[54] The Marshal's biography reports how at one tournament:

> 'when the young among them duly arrived they began the vespers with the utmost vigour. All were eager to prove themselves, which led to so many fine deeds of arms that all those watching declared they were inspired by Chivalry indeed. But I can tell you for sure that the barons and great lords didn't take part in their vespers, though they sent some of their men'.[55]

Those new to the tournament were expected to take part in different activities within the tournament than those that had more experience. There was this need to prove oneself before earning this identification as a *preudomme* and being allowed entrance into the social world of the Tournament. However, in practice this division was not as clear cut, and many older tourneyers still took part in the Vespers, as it was a way to take spoils in the form of horses and ransoms, and to take advantage of those less experienced.[56]

The next stage is that of *Socialization*, which can be observed through the use of tutors and teachers. Those knights assigned as tutors would not only teach their 'pupils' to fight, but also the roles, norms and values associated with both the Tournament as well as those with knighthood and lordship. The importance of this role is highlighted in the case of Arnold, lord of Ardres. Arnold of Cayeux was appointed as his tutor by both his father and Count Philip of Flanders. However, since he could not always be there with young Arnold, he left his nephew as a teacher and instructor in arms in his absence.[57] This highlights how important this role was, and how crucial this stage was for any aspiring tourneyer.

However, due to the Tournament's role in developing long-term identities that had 'real-life' consequences outside *li long sejour*, and that were related to knightly identity in a broader sense, many of the roles, norms and values associated with the Tournament were much the same as those from day-to-day living. This means that participants would have had knowledge about them before they attended. They would, after all, have had to abide by these 'rules' throughout their whole life. In fact, it is possible to see the *Socialization* stage in the context of the Tournament, as not belonging within this model, between *Recruitment* and *Acceptance*, but as being present throughout the whole process and beyond it.

The stage of *Acceptance* is very visible in the sources. The Marshal's biography reports how after Wlliam's first tournaments, his companions 'honoured the Marshal highly now, regarding him with far more respect than they'd shown him before'.[58] William Marshal further 'performed so many feats of arms, in short, that every great lord at the tournament, every count and baron and knight,

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[54] Crouch, *Tournament*, p. 69.
[55] *The History of William Marshal*, trans. Nigel Bryant, p. 66.
[56] Crouch, *Tournament*, p. 70.
[57] Lambert of Ardres, The History of the Counts of Guines and Lords of Ardres, p. 125.
[58] *The History of William Marshal*, trans. Nigel Bryant, p. 41.

yearned to match him'.[59] It was through proving himself as a worthy tourneyer that the Marshal was welcomed into the social world of the Tournament Circuit and that he was recognised as a worthy member of knighthood.

The *Decline* stage refers to the exit from the serious leisure activity. Like most careers the Tournament also had an end point for those involved in it. It must be remembered that participants attended tournaments for long periods of time. Tournaments, therefore, acted as a series of experiences. Once the knights reached a certain age or stage in their life, they usually stopped attending tournaments. Most had other responsibilities they had to undertake which did not afford them the time and resources to keep participating in tournaments. Moreover, as a physically demanding sport, age would have played a significant role as well. The decline stage is not always a clear cut one. Many knights just got embroiled in other activities that stopped them from being able to attend tournaments without it being necessarily a conscious decision. Baldwin of Hainaut continued attending tournaments for quite some time even after he was made count and had other matters to deal with. However, at some point we stop hearing about tournaments in the *Chronicle of Hainaut*. The last tournament Baldwin took part in that we hear of was in 1184. There is no reason given for this sudden stop, but it seems likely that he had other matters to take care of. He would soon be busy fighting his uncle to preserve his inheritance, since the county of Namur had been promised to him, but the birth of a daughter to his uncle complicated the matter further, resulting in military conflict.

The application of the identity development framework has again highlighted the overlap between the roles, norms and values of the Tournament and the general knightly ideal of the *preudomme*. This overlap, at times, was more than simply an overlap but was a complete survival of the roles, norms and values of the *preudomme*. In fact, there were limits to the extent that the identities developed at the Tournament really took hold due to the survival of the social structures from day-to-day life. Despite William Marshal's success in carving an identity for himself as a brave, bold, successful martial knight above all others in prowess and largesse, there was one element of his identity that remained unchanged. The Marshal was a vassal wherever he went, both within the Tournament Circuit and outside of it. One scene particularly illuminates this point. At a tournament between Gournay and Ressons, the Marshal 'left the king and rode after a troop who were trundling off in retreat'. On his return, the Marshal was reprimanded by the Young King for leaving him. It was his duty to be by the Young King's side at all times to ensure his safety.[60] There was a limit as to how much one could reshape their identity, and 'ever since the rebuke he'd had from the king, the Marshal had stayed at his side wherever they went (regardless of personal consequence), ever ready to aid, defend and rescue him'.[61] So, despite the Tournament being an excellent space for the Marshal to carve a new identity for himself, service to his lord still always came first. The hierarchy from day-to-day life penetrated into the Tournament, perpetuating certain identities and roles from the outside world into the world of the Tournament. There was a limit to the liminal qualities of the Tournament as some elements of the day-to-day social structure survived within *li long sejour*.

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[59] *The History of William Marshal*, trans. Nigel Bryant, p. 58.
[60] *Ibid.,* pp. 53-4.
[61] *Ibid.,* p. 54.

Conclusion

Overall, not only did the Tournament provide for a liminal space or experience where participants could indulge in temporary identities away from home, but it was also a means to confirm their identity as members of the aristocracy. Moreover, this identification was not only based on exclusion, by excluding the lower classes, but also through inclusion. This chapter has shown that this identification with the Tournament as well as the martial knightly class was a means to distinguish oneself, as well as the knightly class as a whole, from the other classes through active exclusion. However, there was also inclusive identification with the Tournament and the martial knightly class in the sense that these knights actively sought to identify themselves and be identified as members of this subculture because of the benefits involved in it. The Medieval Tournament played a key role in the development of an identity as a member of the martial knightly class in times of peace. Through the pursuit of feats of prowess and largesse their reputations as martial knights were enhanced which allowed them to be accepted by other members of this class.

The Tournament's liminality played a crucial role in the development of a knightly identity for young aristocrats. The liminal nature of the Medieval Tournament allowed for the temporary cancelling out of those elements of knightly identity that clashed with the martial aspect of it, without causing long-term harm to their identity and without drawing all too many criticisms among those 'purists' from their own class and those of the Church that attempted to curb knightly violence and stressed the other two sides to knightly identity.

On the other hand, this chapter has also shown that there was a limit to the Tournament's liminality. The hierarchical structure from day-to-day partially survived within the Tournament, limiting the extent to which new identities could be forged at the Tournament.

Chapter 3: *Communitas* at the Tournament

This chapter will look at the Medieval Tournament through the lens of *Communitas*. Specifically, this chapter will deal with *communitas* amongst participants and not amongst spectators as most studies have done so far. This will deepen our understanding of the experience of participants in a liminal environment in which some social structures survive.

Communitas is commonly described as a temporary form of social anti-structure during which social structure, age, gender and social class are all cast off.[1] Turner believed there to be three forms of *communitas* within liminality: *spontaneous*, *ideological* and *normative*. *Spontaneous communitas* refers to a temporary state with deep personal interactions. *Ideological communitas* is related to the views and beliefs shared that are not normally expressed. This represents a longer and deeper bonding on shared beliefs. *Normative communitas* refers to the new or different social roles, rules and structures during liminality on a more permanent basis.[2]

It has been shown that rites of passage and liminality can lead to *communitas*. In fact, *communitas* plays a key role in sports and initiations have been used to foster this *communitas*.[3] Therefore, the same would be expected at the Medieval Tournament. As seen in the previous chapters, the Medieval Tournament Circuit acts as a liminal experience which allows participants to ease social relations, acting as an anti-structural experience, and adopt new or modified identities. This allows for the creation of *communitas* amongst the participants. This was indeed the case at the Medieval Tournament, with all three forms being to a more or lesser degree visible. However, as will be shown, the rigid hierarchical and social structure that permeates even into the liminal space of the Tournament, means that all three forms of *communitas* were only present spontaneously for short periods of time.

The Tournament was not exclusively about fighting and gaining renown and a reputation. It was also a social space where knights could bond with like-minded people who shared their interest and passion for the sport of tourneying. However, this chapter will show that *communitas* did not have a strong presence at the Tournament. This is not surprising considering the findings in the previous chapter. The survival of elements of social and hierarchical structures from the day-to-day severely curtails the experience of *communitas*. However, as noted in the previous chapter as well, the survival of social structures was not total. The Tournament did act as a liminal space and, even

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[1] V. Turner and E.I.B. Turner, *Image & pilgrimage in Christian culture* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1978); Leighanne Higgins and Kathy Hamilton, 'Pilgrimage, material objects and spontaneous communitas', *Annals of Tourism Research*, Vol. 81 (2020), p. 1.

[2] V. Turner, *From ritual to theatre: The human seriousness of play* (New York: Performing Arts Journal Publications, 1982); Shaofeng Wu, Yanning Li, Emma H. Wood, Benoît Senaux, Guangquan Dai, 'Liminality and festivals – Insights from the East', *Annals of Tourism Research*, Vol. 80 (2020), p. 3.

[3] Jay Johnson, 'Through the Liminal: A Comparative Analysis of Communitas and Rites of Passage in Sport Hazing and Initiations', The Canadian Journal of Sociology/Cahiers canadiens de sociologie, Vol. 36 (2011), pp. 199-227.

though some elements of social structure remained, they were certainly weakened, allowing for temporary, sporadic bursts of *communitas* at the Tournament.

A key precondition for the development of *communitas* is the easing of social relations and identities at a liminal space. Kemp believes that at Sled Dog Racing, 'outward markers of status are stripped away, allowing people as equals to experience a closeness and fellowship with one another which is often rich in symbolism'.[4] Much the same can be said about the Medieval Tournament. Regardless of status, one had to prove oneself at the Tournament. Once at the Tournament, participants became tourneyers, and ran much the same risks as everybody else. At the Tournament everyone was a target as it would have secured the captor with ransom and an increase in prestige. A scene from *The History of William Marshal* shows us the erosion of social status at the Tournament. At the end of a tournament held at Pleurs a splendid pike was passed around between the great lords present at the tournament, from the duke of Burgundy to the count of Flanders, to the count of Clermont, to the Count Theobald, until the count of Flanders finally proposed to make it into a prize and offer it to the worthiest tourneyer of the day. They then all unanimously agreed that it should go to William Marshal.[5] Despite it originally being passed only amongst the highest-ranking lords present, they all agreed to give it to someone far below their social status, but who was their equal (or in this case perhaps even superior) as a tourneyer. Outside status had been subverted at the tournament, where what counted was membership within the community and performance at the tournament. This shows the presence of *ideological communitas* in which 'social identities were abandoned and inversionary behaviours exhibited'.[6] This form of *communitas* was experienced amongst all participants at the Tournament.

Tourneying was a team sport. Cooperation and collaboration within each team was crucial for success. The biographer of William Marshal noted how Young Henry's retinue was so well trained that, 'wherever they fought, they were convinced that provided they kept together they would put paid to anyone they met and come out on top, with ample spoils to share'.[7] Similarly, on another occasion it was reported how at a tournament, 'both sides [were] giving their all for their companions, striving to strike and capture, defend and rescue'.[8] Some form of unity and cohesion was needed amongst participants of the same team in order to succeed. If this failed, the consequences could be dire. At a tournament between Gournay and Ressons, we learn about how 'the over-confident came off worse: charging as they were with no formation, not keeping together at all, they were quickly routed and sent reeling back, the first to arrive the first to leave'.[9] What is more, the Marshal's biographer advises that 'it's foolish to break ranks too soon'.[10] The offering of advice is an interesting dimension to this source as it shows that the writer was interested in tournaments and perhaps even considered themselves a bit of an expert on the matter. This shows the reach the Tournament had and the interest it garnered from onlookers.

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[4] Sharon F. Kemp, 'Sled Dog Racing: The Celebration of Co-operation in a Competitive Sport', *Ethnology*, Vol. 38 (1999), p. 83.

[5] *The History of William Marshal*, trans. Nigel Bryant (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2016), p. 59.

[6] Wu, Li, Wood, Senaux, and Dai, 'Liminality and festivals – Insights from the East', p. 6.

[7] *The History of William Marshal*, trans. Nigel Bryant (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2016), p. 56.

[8] *Ibid.,* p. 58.

[9] *Ibid.*, p. 53.

[10] *Ibid.,* p. 56.

In order to achieve this cohesion much practice was needed, and hardship and failure had to be endured together. The Marshal's biographer reports how at the beginning the Young King 'from every event he came away battered and bruised; his men were captured and given a sound beating and sent packing. That's how it was; and yet he had an exceptional company, all hungry to excel'.[11] This would most definitely have resulted in *communitas* within the teams. They all went through the same tough ordeal together and persevered, all hungry to improve and do well. They would undoubtedly have bonded over these experiences. What is more, at that point they were all each other's equals, they were all defeated. Regardless of name, status or reputation, a defeat rendered all equal. They lost together. This would have been a form of *spontaneous communitas*. Much as the act of pogoing in a circle pit, stage diving and moshing, the charging, when done well, would have also resulted in an act in which the participants were in sync. Moreover, as noted this state would have begun and ended with the mêlée, as seen in festivals in which it began and ended with the music.[12]

At tournaments longer-term bonds were also formed between participants. The Tournament was not exclusively a competition, but also a social event where participants would interact with other tourneyers. The Marshal's biography reports how 'once helms were off, all the nobles drew aside to talk together, the most eminent of them gathering about the king. They had many matters to discuss, as ever'.[13] On another occasion, the biographer informs us that:

> 'the nobles had taken lodging throughout the town. Now, it's their custom to visit one another in their lodgings in the evening – a good and civilised custom, too: it's a chance to converse and chat and discuss their various affairs'.[14]

At another tournament we hear that 'before they parted the magnates came together and spoke together – rightly so, it seems to me'.[15] Not only do these examples show the social side to the Tournament, but it shows that there was an expectation that it would be so. Not only was it customary to engage in social activities with fellow tourneyers, but the author approved of this. A further example of this community built around the Tournament was when William Marshal decided to go on pilgrimage to the Shrine of the Three Kings in Cologne. William announced that he intended to go on pilgrimage at the end of a tournament. It was then that Jacques d'Avesnes 'cherished his company and offered to go with him'.[16] The Marshal agreed, and Sir Jacques:

> 'escorted the Marshal through his own lands and was a splendid companion – no better knight ever climbed in a saddle, or was more eager for the company of worthy men – and together they made their way most happily, it seems, to the Three Kings'.[17]

This illustrates that close bonds were formed during the tournaments. Not only that, but these bonds persisted beyond the event itself. Sir Jacques was willing to accompany William Marshal outside of the Tournament. This is an example of *normative communitas*. Not only does it confirm the observation by Wu, Li, Wood, Senaux and Dai, that this form of *communitas* was 'maintained through an environment of *love*, *care* and *intimacy*', but it also shows that *normative communitas* persists after

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[11] *The History of William Marshal*, trans. Nigel Bryant, p. 54.
[12] Wu, Li, Wood, Senaux, and Dai, 'Liminality and festivals – Insights from the East', p. 6.
[13] *The History of William Marshal*, trans. Nigel Bryant, p. 62.
[14] *Ibid.,* p. 72.
[15] *Ibid.,* p. 86.
[16] *Ibid.,* pp. 91-2.
[17] *Ibid.,* p. 92.

the Tournament. Much like festivalgoers kept in touch through Midi online groups, tourneyers also maintained relationships formed at tournaments outside of it.[18]

As noted, the Tournament was not exclusively about fighting and gaining renown and a reputation. It was also a social space where knights could bond with like-minded people who shared their interest and passion for the sport of tourneying. An interesting anecdote is reported by the *Chronicle of Hainaut*. In 1182 Count Baldwin of Hainaut got his harness stolen whilst watching a tournament.[19] This is illuminating not because of the incident itself, but because it shows that those that participated in tournaments also spectated at them. Participants wanted to belong and were willing to be present even when they did not take part themselves.

An interesting, yet surprising, scene in *The History of the Counts of Guines and Lords of Ardres* shows how closely knit this community was. Eustace the Old of Fiennes:

> 'built a conventual church in honor of the blessed Virgin Mary in Beaulieu, as penance for his soul and those of his predecessors and successors, and especially for the salvation and redemption of the soul of a certain knight, the lord of Ponche-Estruval in Ponthieu, whom Eustace had killed in a tournament. (He had been expressly ordered to do this on this man's account)'.[20]

Despite this incident at first glance seemingly showing how dangerous a sport tourneying actually was, what this incident actually brings to light is the community that was built around the Tournament. Eustace cared and respected this knight who was an adversary at a tournament enough to worry for his salvation.

In his article on Sled Dog Racing, Kemp notes the fond memories mushers have of previous races which are proof of the fellowship and camaraderie fostered at the tournaments. Mushers reminisce of the 'good old times' when races were not as fast and competitive, when people played mind games with each other and had more fun.[21] Interestingly, much the same can be seen at the Tournament. The biographer of William Marshal reports how 'the life of the knight errant, travelling from the tournament to mighty tournament, has been replaced by tame and regulated jousts'.[22] Here the author is reminiscing of the times when the Tournament was pure and not tainted by formality which limited the liminal experience by structuring the event to conform to societal rules.

However, there were factors surrounding the Tournament that hindered *communitas*. One reason for the limited experience of *communitas* at the tournament was due to the rigid societal structure that permeated into the tournament. This can be observed in the scene where William Marshal earned a splendid pike at Pleurs as a prize for his performance. Despite William receiving the pike in the end, it was originally passed around exclusively amongst an exclusive group made up of dukes and counts. The natural reaction of these lords was to pass the pike exclusively amongst them. This shows the survival of social structures.

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[18] Wu, Li, Wood, Senaux, and Dai, 'Liminality and festivals – Insights from the East', p. 9, 10.

[19] Gilbert of Mons, *Chronicle of Hainaut*, trans. Laura Napran (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2005), p. 80.

[20] Lambert of Ardres, *The History of the Counts of Guines and Lords of Ardres*, trans. Leah Shopkow (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2001), p. 84.

[21] Kemp, 'Sled Dog Racing', p. 90.

[22] *The History of William Marshal*, trans. Nigel Bryant, p. 55.

In fact, when Kemp noted that 'outward markers of status are stripped away' at Sled Dog Racing competitions, he seems to have overlooked the fact that some markers of status undoubtedly also remained when it comes to Sled Dog Racing. It is an expensive and competitive sport in which the quality of the dogs and or gear used can have a significant effect, much the same can be said about the Medieval Tournament. Status and money can give competitors an edge at the race that prevents *communitas* as some participants had an edge over the others, eliminating the possibility to render them all equal. At the Tournament those of higher status would not only have had better equipment but could afford to have foot soldiers by their side to avoid capture if things went south. Count Baldwin of Hainaut, for example, brought footsoldiers with him to a tournament between Gournay and Ressons according to the *Chronicle of Hainaut*.[23]

Moreover, Sallnow has noted how although hierarchy can temporarily be annulled when detaching collective identities from their local domains, this need not necessarily lead to *communitas*, and can lead to a setting where social interactions can take place 'ex novo'.[24] Tensions can remain. This can also be observed at the Tournament, where, despite some social hierarchies being 'annulled' others are retained or (re-)imposed. Retinues attending tournaments still had their retinue leader, usually their lord. Young Henry, for example, was lord over those that tourneyed with him as part of his retinue, and, therefore, was also the (nominal) leader of this group. However, there was also a new hierarchy created based on martial experience and ability at the tournament. In this case, William Marshal serves as an example, who as a landless knight in the Young King's retinue held no hierarchical position above anyone outside the tournament, yet at the tournament he was calling the shots. As the member in Young Henry's retinue with the most experience, he was listened to above all others. From his biographer we learn that 'for a long while now he was the presiding influence over his lord'.[25] Performance at the Tournament afforded the Marshal a new status within his tourneying retinue. What is more, as Young Henry's tutor and guide, William Marshal may even have inverted the roles. His biographer reports how, 'the Marshal – the best possible guide – escorted the Young King to many lands, wherever tournaments were being held, giving him the finest instruction in arms that any youth could have'.[26] This passage gives William an active role implying that at times, with regards to certain things at least, he was in charge. There was a duality in which Young Henry was William's master (lord), whilst at the same time, William was Henry's master (tutor). These roles seem very much conflicting, but it must be noted that William's role as tutor was based on the recognition and acceptance by Young Henry, and once this seized to be the case, William's role diminished accordingly. The balance of power was very much skewed in favour of Young Henry who always had the last say. His hierarchical position outside the tournament survived within the Tournament. This can be observed in the scene where Young Henry reprimanded William for leaving his side during a tournament, after which, William never left his side, for example.[27]

This survival of day-to-day hierarchy is not difficult to explain since, after all, lord-vassal relations persisted even within the tournament. Those within their lord's retinues still owed them allegiance and service at the tournament. Ashworth argues for the 'importance of being separated from what and who trainees already know' for the achievement of *communitas* at outdoor adventure

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[23] Gilbert of Mons, *Chronicle of Hainaut*, p. 57.
[24] M. J. Sallnow, 'Communitas Reconsidered: The Sociology of Andean Pilgrimage', *Man*, Vol. 16 (1981), p. 180.
[25] *The History of William Marshal*, trans. Nigel Bryant, p. 55.
[26] *Ibid.,* p. 48.
[27] See Chapter 2, p. 30; *The History of William Marshal*, trans. Nigel Bryant, pp. 53-4.

activities.[28] As noted in the previous chapter on identity, many elements of a participants identity remained unchanged within the Tournament Circuit, having to conform to their societal duties and responsibilities to their lords. This rigid social structure meant that tourneyers went on the Tournament Circuit with many of the same people as they were surrounded with anyways outside of the circuit, in their day-to-day lives. Despite achieving some temporary freedom from their elders and the Church, the youths that tourneyers went on this circuit with were much the same youths that they interacted with back home. This limits *communitas* as being surrounded by the same people perpetuates the social structures that govern their relationships.

The reason for this was that these knights were dependent on their lords for their livelihood, as the great lords 'sought out and retained the good young knights they knew, and happily provided them with horses, arms and money, or land or a source of healthy revenue'.[29] In order to afford participation at tournaments, most knights depended on the largesse of their lords. These lords were, therefore, companions, leaders and sponsors all at the same time, creating an unfair power dynamic that complicated relations within the liminal space of the tournament, and hindered the fostering of *communitas*. The costs associated with *li long sejour* perpetuated social relations based on power. However, as noted by Thielmann this need not mean that *communitas* was lacking. *Communitas*, according to him, 'can produce an authoritarian leader as the members of the movement experience a need for social rigidity'. In fact, *communitas* is tightly bound to social structure.[30] This, at least, seems to be the case at the Medieval Tournament.

Hierarchical structure, however, was not the only element to survive from 'normal', day-to-day life. Another remnant from the outside world was regional affiliation. Retinues and teams were usually grouped by regional origin or allegiance. These groupings perpetuated divisions and rivalries that also further impeded the expression of *communitas*. The *Chronicle of Hainaut*, for example, is full of incidents of animosity and conflict between the tourneyers of Hainaut and those of Flanders. The *Chronicle* reports how in one incident:

'Because he and his father and their men often experienced hate, rancour and threats from the most powerful count of Flanders and Vermandois and his men, among other tournaments which Baldwin sought, it happened that Count Philip of Flanders and Vermandois invited men of France to come against him at a tournament between Gournay and Ressons. Baldwin heard that the count of Flanders was coming to that tournament in great strength with many men, namely virtuous knights, mounted sergeants and footsoldiers. Although it was the custom in named tournaments for knights of Hainaut to be on the side of the Flemings and men of Vermandois, nevertheless Baldwin, as he had virtuous knights with him, crossed over to the side of the French where there were few men, because of the bitterness which he had against the count of Flanders and his men. He resisted the count of Flanders and his great strength manfully. The count of Flanders was enflamed with tremendous anger and began to attack

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[28] Dianne Ashworth, 'Can communitas explain how young people achieve identity development in outdoor adventure in light of contemporary individualised life?', *Journal of Adventure Education and Outdoor Learning*, Vol. 17 (2017), p. 221.

[29] *The History of William Marshal*, trans. Nigel Bryant, p. 55.

[30] John M. Thielmann, 'Communitas among Fifteenth-Century Pilgrims', *Historical Reflections/Réflections Historiques*, Vol. 11 (1984), p. 255.

the ranks of the men of France and Hainaut with his men, both mounted and on foot, most violently as if for the purpose of battle.'[31]

This not only shows the customary division according to regions, but also shows that the continuation of these groupings perpetuated relations that occurred outside of the tournament and hindered *communitas*.

This seems to confirm what McKercher and Lui have found. They argue that 'it is rare, though, for individuals to completely let go of their residual culture (…) as pragmatic trip characteristics, coupled with the social norms associated with the travel party, may limit their ability to embrace touristhood completely'.[32] Due to the nature of the Tournament Circuit in which knights usually travel with members of a retinue they belong to outside of the tournament as well, it is difficult to completely let go of hierarchical and national structures and boundaries. What is more, as shown in Thielmann's study of Medieval Pilgrimages, *communitas* rarely is perfect. Thielman in his study of Medieval Pilgrimages noted that the *communitas* experienced then was 'thus a mingling of mental rather than physical identities'.[33] In fact, Medieval pilgrims 'did not submerge their social status'.[34] This was also the case at the Medieval Tournament, where, despite a new identity or status associated with the Tournament being developed in which members could be perceived as equals in a sense, their social status was not totally 'submerged', retaining at least some of this identity during the Tournament.

The competitive element, combined with the economic aspect of the tournament may have been a further factor that hindered *communitas*. William Marshal's biographer tells of the animosity between the Marshal and Sir Matthew de Walincourt. At a tournament, the latter asked William for the return of his horse, which William had taken during the tournament. However, the Marshal was reluctant to do so since at a previous tournament he had received the same treatment from Matthew de Walincourt and did not get his horse back due to his lowly status back then.[35] Economical interest (i.e. keeping the horse) could get in the way of proper conduct. This could cause resentment and antagonism between participants. This would lead to the opposite of *communitas* between them. Conflict would ensue.

Conclusion

Overall, all three forms of *communitas* were present at the Tournament, but only spontaneously for short periods of time. *Spontaneous communitas* is the hardest to get a glimpse of, but from the evidence available, it seems to have been the point where all outside roles, structures and or roles are the least visible and present. These lines are more blurred than ever at this point when knights become simple tourneyers and fight for honour and survival regardless of what their status is or that of their companion or rival. At that moment in time rapport is felt with companions and someone on the opposite team becomes an adversary regardless of who that person is to them or to society. However, there are also limits to this as seen with the unfair power dynamics that carry through into the tournament as well. *Ideological communitas* is also present as seen in the previous

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[31] Gilbert of Mons, *Chronicle of Hainaut*, p. 57.
[32] Bob McKercher and Sau-Lai Lui, 'Becoming a Tourist', *International Journal of Tourism Research*, Vol. 16 (2014), p. 400.
[33] Thielmann, 'Communitas among Fifteenth-Century Pilgrims', p. 269.
[34] *Ibid*., p. 264.
[35] *The History of William Marshal*, trans. Nigel Bryant, p. 62.

chapter, new identities are taken, and those pertaining to 'normal' social structures are weakened. Ideologically, participants aim to break free from the imposed structures and achieve closer connection to the martial element of their ideal of the *preudomme*. *Normative communitas* was also present at the Medieval Tournament despite the rigid hierarchical and social structures that persisted within the Tournament. Moreover, this chapter has shown that not only could social structure be weakened at the Tournament, but that once these were eroded new structures could emerge in their place. Whilst the 'normal' structures that govern day-to-day life might have been weakened at the Tournament, new ones were imposed resulting in an environment where despite the emergence of *communitas*, not everyone was equal. Therefore, as argued by Thielmann, *communitas* is not a 'merging of identities but a liberation from a conformity to general norms'.[36] However, this case study has also shown that many of the new structures that emerged in the liminal space of the Tournament had a foundation in the previous structures that were present outside the liminal space. Perhaps then, rather than 'liberation', a term like 'subversion' or 'undermining' is more appropriate since social structures were temporarily weakened or modified, but not totally erased.

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[36] Thielmann, 'Communitas among Fifteenth-Century Pilgrims', p. 255.

Conclusion

This study has looked at the Medieval Tournament from the perspective of Tourism Studies. Specifically, this study has used the lenses of liminality, identity and *communitas* to study the Tournament more in depth and get new insights into the social mechanisms associated with recreational activities. It has also demonstrated that, in the case of the Tournament, we must understand these recreational activities as being of recurrent and long-term nature: participants could not only tour tournament fields for months or years on end, but they also developed a long-term career as tourneyers. This approach has allowed for a deeper understanding of the Tournament as a social event, which helps explain the value attributed to it in medieval culture. It also offers new opportunities for critical reflection on the theoretical paradigm of tourism studies, that is commonly geared toward short-term recreational activities in the modern period.

Overall, this study has found that the Medieval Tournament was a recreational activity that had liminal qualities. Social structures were temporarily weakened at the Tournament. The long-term nature of *li long sejour* meant that the journey as a whole could be seen as a liminal experience, with participants moving fluidly back and forth between different stages of the rite of passage of touristhood depending on where they were and the activities they took part in.

Moreover, this study has shown that the Medieval Tournament played a major role in identity formation. On top of providing a space for the expression of temporary identities, it also acted as a rite of passage for participants to develop long-term identities in what was a transition from boyhood to adulthood. Participation at the Tournament could confirm aristocratic status and develop a martial identity in safety, both from bodily harm and judgement due to its liminal qualities. This identity development was formed both through exclusion, by keeping certain people out, but also by inclusion. Inclusion into the social world allowed for the recognition by others of one's identity. However, the rigid social structure and hierarchy of Western European Medieval society permeated into the Tournament, limiting the extent to which social structures and norms were actually dismantled at the Tournament field. Many elements of this structure persisted within the Tournament, albeit in a weaker form, whilst others were remade but with the previous structure as a base.

Therefore, the Tournament, rather than breaking down social structures and norms, in fact, perpetuated them. It played a significant role in the formation and confirmation of participants' identities as youthful martial aristocrats. Through the development of these identities, the Tournament consolidated the knightly community and set them apart from the lower classes. However, it was the liminal qualities of the Tournament, which allowed for the temporary, partial weakening of social structures and norms, that allowed for the necessary transition from boyhood into adulthood and the development of the corresponding identities that went with it. The dubbing ceremony that officially marked this transition was not enough since a knight had to prove himself. The Tournament gave young knights this opportunity to develop a reputation and a name for himself away from home, in front of an audience which would spread the word about his deeds of prowess.

This perpetuation of social structures and norms hindered *communitas*, which was only present sporadically at the Tournament. There were short-lived, occasional moments where *communitas* was experienced by the participants.

Limitations

This study does have some limitations, however. The primary sources used for this study carry with them some problems. To begin with, only four primary sources have been used. This has mainly been for the sake of efficiency. Time restraints and the lack of accessibility to sources due to Covid-19 have limited the number of sources that could be used. However, the sources used are still useful and representative of the period. They provide a wide range of voices and perspectives. They cover a wide geographical area, with the British and Norman perspective being covered by the *History of William Marshal*, whilst northern France and Flanders were covered by *The History of the Counts of Guines and Lords of Ardres* (Guines), *The Murder, Betrayal, and Slaughter of the Glorious Charles, Count of Flanders* (Flanders), and *Chronicle of Hainaut* (Hainaut). These sources also represent both lay and ecclesiastical voices. Whilst the latter three were written by members of the clergy, *The History of William Marshal* was written by a layman. The sources written by members of the clergy, however, were made for a lay audience, and therefore, provide both perspectives.

A further limitation of this study is that it has relied on texts in translation. Both due to time constraints and language barriers, the texts used have been versions translated into English. This limits the extent to which textual analysis can be carried, but for the scope of this study, this has not presented any problems. Analysis has been carried out mainly on the content provided by the sources rather than the language used.

Significance and relevance

Despite possible limitations, this study's results are relevant since they have brought new insights that further expands our understanding of the workings of tourism. More specifically it has further developed our understanding of tourism as a rite of passage and a liminal experience, as well as the significant role it can play in identity development. This identity development was key in a young knight's transition from boyhood into adulthood. The official dubbing ceremony that marked this transition was not enough for these young knights as they needed to prove themselves and build an identity for themselves away from the pressures at home. The Tournament Circuit made this possible.

It has further deepened our understanding of the cultural and social mechanisms that drive tourism and recreation. It has shown the importance of psychological and/or physical distance for a person to experience liminality. Liminality is central to a tourist's experience. This study has confirmed this. Tourneyers actively sought out the tournament for its liminal characteristics. There seems to be an innate desire to seek escape from day-to-day life.

What this study has further brought to light is the fact that members of a 'pre-modern' society, before the division between labour and leisure, also sought an escape. Tourism is not an exclusively 'modern' phenomenon with a few scattered exceptions. Wherever there is a social structure and hierarchy, people will want to escape to become someone according to their own wishes and not those of society. In the case of the Tournament, escape seems to have been mainly sought out by these young knights to develop an identity of their own, independent of their family relations, status, or economic position. It allowed them to emancipate themselves from their current positions and build a new or modified identity for themselves.

These findings are relevant as we move towards a post-modern society in which the lines between labour and leisure will once again be blurred. The findings presented here would suggest that even as we move towards a post-modern society where the line between labour and leisure are increasingly faded, the need to escape and the role travel plays in offering a liminal experience will still be relevant.

Furthermore, this study has expanded our knowledge on the history of tourism. Specifically, by looking at the Medieval Tournament, a previously ignored form of 'pre-modern' tourism, we can get a clearer picture of the development of tourism. Present studies on Medieval travel have focused almost exclusively on Religious Pilgrimages. However, Western European Medieval Society was not based solely around religion or spirituality. This study has brought attention to non-religious travel in the Middle Ages and has shown that travel for recreation was present then.

Moreover, this study has also hinted at the close connection between the Medieval Tournament and the Grand Tour. There is still no agreement as to the origins of the Grand Tour. Zuelow sees the origins of the Grand Tour in post-plague, technologically revolutionised fifteenth century England, whilst Chaney, Brennan and Ascari argue for the mid-Tudor period for when the Grand Tour originated. [1] This study proposes perhaps a much older origin for the Grand Tour in the form of the Medieval Tournament. There are many parallels between *li long sejour* and the 'Grand Tour'. Both were tours undertaken by young aristocrats, in which education played a significant role and in which they were accompanied by a tutor. In fact, given the existence of the Tournament, and then that of Jousting, before that of the Grand Tour, suggests that they may be closely related. Moreover, the similar terms given to describe these two travel tours, *li long sejour* ('long tour') and Grand Tour, might make us question why this connection has not been put forward earlier.

Lastly, the potential relationship between the Medieval Tournament and the Grand Tour, as well as further evidence which suggests that the Medieval Tournament could act as a liminal space, might encourage us to question the current conceptualisation of the history of tourism into 'pre-modern' and 'modern' tourism. *Li long sejour* and the Grand Tour are too closely related and too similar for one to be considered 'modern' tourism and the other 'pre-modern'.

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[1] Eric G.E. Zuelow, *A History of Modern Tourism* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016), pp. 17-21; Edward Chaney, *The Evolution of the Grand Tour. Anglo-Italian Cultural Relations since the Renaissance* (London: Frank Cass, 1998), p. xi; Michael Brennan, *The Origins of the Grand Tour: The Travels of Robert Montagu Lord Mandeville (1649-1654) William Hammond (1655-1658) and Banaster Maynard (1660-1663)* (London: The Hakluyt Society, ed. 2004), p. 9; Maurizio Ascari, 'The Rise of the Grand Tour: Higher Education, Transcultural Desire and the Fear of Cultural Hybridisation', *Linguae & Rivista di Lingue e Culture Moderne*, Vol. 14 (2015), p. 11.

Further research

Given the questions raised as to the connection between the Medieval Tournament and the Grand Tour, as well as the questioning of the current conceptualisation of the History of Tourism as split between 'pre-modern' and 'modern' tourism with the Grand Tour as the cut-off point, further research is warranted in this department.

This study, therefore, calls for further study into 'pre-modern' tourism, and perhaps more specifically, into the link between 'pre-modern' and 'modern' tourism through the potential relationship between the Medieval Tournament and the Grand Tour. And, to do so without our current prejudice against pre-industrial societies. These societies were much more sophisticated than we give them credit for, and further study into them, looking for the similarities, rather than the differences, might change our perspective on tourism and the history of tourism, as well as history in general. In order to do so, the notion of tourism being intrinsically tied to the division between leisure and labour needs to be done away with. This study has proposed a definition for tourism that ignores any direct association of tourism with the division of leisure and labour. The findings in this study supports this notion as travel in the Middle Ages, when there was no division between labour and leisure, as shown through the Medieval Tournament, had liminal qualities and was undertaken for recreational purposes and should, therefore, be considered tourism. Therefore, the lenses of liminality, identity and *communitas* as used in this study will be of use to bring new perspectives on 'pre-modern' travel.

One area of research that may help to shed further light on this topic could be the tourism circus surrounding the Medieval Tournament, namely that of medieval spectators. We know that the Tournament was a spectator sport.[2] Moreover, Strickland has noted the correlation between the holding of tournaments and that of major fairs. In fact, both Strickland and Crouch have pointed out the economic industry that surrounded and followed the Tournament.[3] Much research has already been done on spectators in 'modern' tourism and this could help making further comparisons and drawing further parallels between 'modern' and 'pre-modern' tourism to further dispel this arbitrary division.[4]

In conclusion, this study has set the groundwork for further research into non-religious Medieval travel that will hopefully lead to a rethinking of the way the history of tourism is conceptualised. This shift in our understanding of the history of tourism will provide a more extensive understanding of the progress and trends of tourism in these uncertain times. The worldwide hiatus in travel brought by the Covid-19 pandemic has already prompted significant changes in the way people work and travel. Past examples of travel in non-industrialised societies with a lack of division

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[2] David Crouch, *Tournaments* (London: Hambledon and London, 2005), pp. 55-6.

[3] Matthew Strickland, *Henry the Young King* (Yale University Press, 2016), pp. 239-255; David Crouch, *Tournaments* (London: Hambledon and London, 2005), pp. 1, 53, 55.

[4] On 'modern' spectator tourism see: T.D. Hinch ad J.E.S Higham, 'Sport Tourism: a Framework for Research', *International Journal of Tourism Research*, Vol. 3 (2001), pp. 45-58; Christian Derbaix and Alain Decrop, 'Colours and scarves: an ethnographic account of football fans and their paraphernalia', *Leisure Studies*, Vol. 30 (2011), pp. 271-291; Steffen Jahn, T. Bettina Cornwell, Jan Drengner, and Hansjoerg Gaus, 'Temporary communitas and willingness to return to events', *Journal of Business Research*, Vol. 92 (2018), pp. 329-339. For 'pre-modern' spectator tourism see: Allen Guttman, 'Sports Spectators from Antiquity to the Renaissance', *Journal of Sport History*, Vol. 8 (1981), pp. 5-27.

between labour and leisure may play a role in helping us understand how to move forwards with these changes in mind.

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