Text & Image in René d'Anjou's *Livre des tournois*, c. 1460: Constructing Authority and Identity in Fifteenth-Century Court Culture. Presented with a Critical Edition of BnF, ms. français 2695

3 Volumes

Volume I

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This thesis addresses René d'Anjou's *Livre des tournois* as a holistic product of late-medieval court culture. It argues that the work can only be decoded when text and image are considered as inseparable mutually exegetic components. This thesis adopts an interdisciplinary methodology and draws on a diverse range of visual, historical, material and literary sources.

The structure is based on a series of focussed case studies into aspects of the *Livre des tournois* that have been understudied or are in need of reconsideration. Chapter 1 explores the relationship between the work's images and text and the impact on the author's identity as an authority on the subject. Chapter 2 scrutinises the use and depiction of heraldry essential to the construction of a visual narrative within the work. Chapter 3 addresses the heralds' duties and how these roles compare to the precedents found in late-medieval tournament and court culture. Chapter 4 examines René's influences and sources by focussing on the similarities between the form of tournament described and historic precedents related to the combat, location, participants and equipment. Chapter 5 utilises spatial and ritual theories to engage with a series of spectacles surrounding the punishment and review of the tourneyers in relation to group identity. Chapter 6 analyses the codicological, textual and visual evidence from all eight known medieval manuscript copies and demonstrates a revised understanding of the provenance and transmission of the work, before scrutinising the reception of two copies in detail. The conclusion draws together threads of identity, authority and the importance of the book as a product of the culture and circumstances of its production. A series of appendices support this thesis, including a scholarly edition of BnF, ms. fr. 2695, a revised stemma, and comparative tables of the codicological data of all extant manuscript copies.
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Dedication

For my mom.
Acknowledgements

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Author's Declaration

The work submitted in this thesis is the author's own and has not been submitted for examination at this or any other institution or for another award. All sources are acknowledged as references.
The Traité de la forme et devis comme on fait un tournoi is a late fifteenth-century treatise that presents the author's vision for organising and hosting a tournament.\(^1\) The Livre des tournois was written between 1460-1465 by René d'Anjou (1409-1480), Duke of Anjou, Bar, and Lorraine, Count of Piedmont and Provence, and King of Sicily, Jerusalem and Aragon. While René was at one time also believed to be the artist responsible for the work's images, they are now understood to have been completed by his court artist and companion, Barthélemy d'Eyck.\(^2\) The work is dedicated to René's brother, Charles du Maine (1414-1472), Count of Maine, although there is no evidence of any surviving copy owned by him.\(^3\) The text of the work is relatively short and progresses sequentially through the various stages involved in sponsoring a tournament. The work begins with the description of a series of ceremonial rites that are meant to take place prior to the event before changing focus and cataloguing specific pieces of equipment that are vital to the form of tournament being presented. The latter half of the text is devoted to the event itself, presenting various rituals and regulations in detail while seemingly remaining silent on the tournament combat.

Twenty-six remarkable images function harmoniously with the text (figs. 1-26). Every image is presented on a dedicated page devoid of both text and additional decoration, such as illuminated borders or elaborate frames. Sixteen of the images are

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1. Hereafter referred to as, Livre des tournois.

2. The attribution of René as artist is explored in detail in Chapter 1, pages 38-46. All dates have been converted to the new style.

presented as single-page compositions while the remaining ten images stretch across a
double-page spread to create monumental scenes. The image cycle progresses in a manner
which closely follows the text and culminates in a series of grand narrative images. Of the
three known French tournament treatises written between 1459-1470, the Livre des
tournois is the only one that features an image cycle that was conceived and executed as an
integral and exegetic component of the work from its inception.\(^4\) The work's images have
been appreciated for their aesthetic value, descriptive detail and the intimate portrayals
they seem to offer of late medieval courtly society. However, it is the contention of this
dissertation that only via an interdisciplinary approach to the book as a holistic example of a
cultural production can we begin to interpret and understand the complexity and
significance this iconic work has in relation to late-medieval court culture.

There are twelve surviving manuscript copies of the Livre des tournois. Eight of
these were produced within the fifty year period between 1460-1510.\(^5\) The other four were
written during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.\(^6\) As this thesis is rooted in the
interdisciplinary study of the Middle Ages, I have focussed my analysis on the eight copies
produced in the fifteenth and early-sixteenth centuries. The oldest manuscript is now held
in the Bibliothèque nationale de France in Paris, under the shelf mark, ms. français 2695,

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4. The other two treatises are: Antoine de la Sale's Traité des anciens et des nouveaux tournois, written in
1459, and Jacques d'Armagnac's La forme qu'on tenoit des tournoy et assemblées au temps du roy uter
Pandragon et du roy Artus, written 1465-1470. Armagnac's treatise exists in at least twenty known
manuscripts, while Antoine's is known in only two. For the most recent editions and commentaries on these,
see respectively: Sylvie Lefèvre, Antoine de la Sale. La fabrique de l'œuvre et de l'écrivain. Suivi de l'édition
critique du Traité des anciens et des nouveaux tournois (Genève: Librairie Droz, 2006); Lisa Jefferson,
“Tournaments, Heraldry and the Knights of the Round Table: A Fifteenth-Century Armorial with Two
Accompanying Texts,” in Arthurian Literature XIV, ed. James P. Carley, and Felicity Riddy (Woodbridge: D.

5. In order of production these are: BnF, ms. français 2695; PCL, ms. Czart. 3090 IV; HL, MS Typ 131;
BnF, ms. français 2696; BnF, ms. français 2693; BnF, ms. français 2692; RLS, MS E1939.65.1144; and SLB,
Mscr. Dresd. Oc. 58. Hereafter these manuscripts will be referred to by the sigla as established in Table 1.

6. In order of production these are: BnF, ms. français 2694; BnF, ms. Dupuy 288; BnF, ms. français 11362;
Arsenal, ms. 4223. In addition, there are two fragmentary drawings identified as the work of Peter Paul
Rubens. SMB, Kupferstichkabinett, Inv. Nr. 17792; Vienna, Albertina, Inv. Nr. 7792. Otto Pächt, “René
d’Anjou - Studien II,” Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen in Wien 73(1977), 75-76.
hereafter referred to as either P1 or the "source manuscript". It is comprised of one hundred nine paper folios, roughly half of which were inserted as interleaves during a seventeenth-century rebinding. The text was written by an unidentified scribe in a late fifteenth century bâtarde française script and contains numerous redactions, including interlinear insertions, erasures, overwriting, and occasional paragraphs that have been entirely crossed out. The majority of these corrections bear indications that they were completed when the text was initially written. For instance, the ink used to cross out sections of text is likely the same ink that was used to write the text. Although the majority of corrections were completed by the original scribe, there are some that were done by a different redactor. While there has been some speculation that these corrections may be editorial changes undertaken by René, this is far from certain as the script does not match any known sample of René's handwriting. I address these redactions in more detail in Chapter 6, wherein I raise the possibility of a lost source or base text.

Although specific details of the medieval copies are addressed in detail in Chapter 6, there are occasional references made to individual manuscripts throughout this thesis.

Hence, it is important to establish a basic familiarity with the different copies before...
proceeding. The two earliest copies, K and H, were likely produced between 1465-1475. In Chapter 6, I argue that both of these manuscripts were linked to Jacques d'Armagnac (c. 1433-1477), Duke of Nemours, and a nephew by marriage of René's. Of these, K is the earlier manuscript and, based on my analysis of the textual variants and artistic programmes, can now be understood to have served as the exemplar for H. K is on parchment, the earliest known copy and one of four which faithfully reproduces the source manuscript, including a mimetic reproduction of all twenty-six images. In comparison H, also on parchment, features a reduced image cycle numbering twelve images and is bound together with a copy of Jacques d'Armagnac's *Le forme qu'on tenait des tournois du temps du roi Uterpendragon*, and an *Armorial des chevaliers de la Table ronde*, also attributed to Armagnac.

P2, P3, and P4 were all produced in Flanders during the period between 1483-1489. P2 is a paper copy, whereas P3 and P4 are both on parchment. All three, like K, are faithful reproductions of the source manuscript, including the mimetic reproduction of all twenty-six images. In an analysis based entirely on visual elements, Leon Delaissé posited that P3 and P4 were copied from P2. Although Otto Pächt later demonstrated that P3 and P4 were not based on P2, my analysis of the textual variants in

13. See Chapter 6, pages 330-332. Also see: Appendix E, pages 771-777
15. See Chapter 6, page 329.
16. The other three are P2, P3 and P4.
17. See Chapter 6, pages 329-332. Also see: Appendix E, pages 775-777.
18. See Chapter 6, pages 333-337, 346-351. Also see: Appendix E, pages 778-786.
19. See the descriptions in: Appendix E. For P2, pages 778-779 For P3, pages 780-783 For P4, pages 784-786.
these manuscripts suggests that the process of transmission was more complex and possibly involved an intermediate and now lost exemplar. The process of establishing a transmission pattern is complicated by the value contemporary audiences placed on mimetically preserving the visual presentation of René's work. Two examples demonstrate the complexity of this process. At an unspecified point in time the folio in P1 which contains the image showing the presentation of the tournament prize (fig. 26) was folded in on itself, resulting in three diagonal lines across the floor in the lower left side of the image (fig. 27). When viewing the original image the fold is obvious. However, when traced these lines show through and appear to be part of the floor design. Therefore it seems that the artist responsible for this image in P3 was working from a trace of the original image, which had incorporated these folds as part of the image. This artist interpreted this as a small step in the floor tiles, even taking care to depict it in receding perspective (fig. 28). This error is not found in the same image in P2 (fig. 29). P3 was either copied from P1 after P2, and during the intervening period the folio in P1 had been folded in on itself, or the artist of P2 recognised the anomaly for what it was and chose to ignore it. It should also be noted that P4 does not reproduce this error (fig. 30). However, further evidence suggests that it would be wrong to interpret this difference as a sign that P4 was not copied from P3. First of all, the artist of P4 made no attempt to maintain the same pattern to the floor tiles as found in any other manuscript. In fact, the artist responsible for P4 was particularly astute and corrected another unusual, and in this case persistent, error found in the melee image in P1, K, P2 and P3. In one of the vignettes of ritual punishments a lone tourneyer is shown surrounded and being beaten from all sides (fig. 31). A single sword blade from the left is shown striking his helmet. However, a careful observer will note that

22. See Chapter 6, pages 333, 348-351.
24. For more on this ritual, see Chapter 5, pages 294-296.
there is no corresponding tourner who could conceivably be wielding this weapon. This phantom sword is present in every manuscript copy that contains a mimetic reproduction of this image, save P4 (figs. 32, 33 and 34). Upon examining P4, I was able to determine that the original underdrawing for this image included this feature, but that the artist who coloured the image subsequently noticed and corrected the error. Rather than including the phantom blade, he opted to colour the image as if the blade were not there, leaving only a faint outline of the original trace (figs. 35 and 36). Therefore, the artist of P4 was not averse to making corrections to the images while maintaining the overall detailed mimetic reproduction of his source. It is reasonable to surmise that he chose to ignore the odd layout of floor tiles and the step in the awards image in P3 and instead chose to simplify the layout of the floor tiles. In addition, further visual evidence, which I will explore more thoroughly in Chapter 6, strongly suggests that the images in P3 served as the model for P4. For the present, these examples demonstrate the difficulty in establishing the relationship between the different manuscript copies of René's *Livre des tournois*.

The final two manuscripts, G and D, are the most unusual of the medieval copies. Through watermark analysis of the paper in G, I am able to propose a *terminus post quem* of 1490. G contains five image groups which are careful reproduction of the images of tournament equipment found in the source manuscript or one of its close copies. G is the only manuscript that also contains significant changes to the textual content of the work. Phrases, sections and even entire paragraphs have been edited or removed. Despite this

25. See Chapter 6, pages 350-351. Also see Appendix C, pages 719-729 and the description of the images in Appendix D, pages 711-766.

26. Appendix E, pages 787-789

27. I refer to the images in G as image groups, because the layout of the image of the arm harnesses spans two pages, although in all other manuscript copies it is contained on a single page. Furthermore, I have counted those pieces of equipment which are presented together in the source manuscript as a single image. The last catalogue description of this manuscript completed in 1953, put the number of images at twelve. The author of this entry counted each individual piece of equipment as a separate image. As this manuscript was being placed up for auction at the time this description was written, this may have been an attempt to inflate its appeal to potential buyers.
editorial intervention, my analysis of the textual variants indicates that the text in G is most likely based on P4. Finally, manuscript D is a unique case. Attempts to ascertain a date of production for this manuscript based on analysis of the images has only produced a wide range spanning 1495-1520. D is the only manuscript copy of René's *Livre des tournois* that includes the treatise as part of a miscellany. Based on the textual variants in this manuscript I have determined that it was based on P2. D features an expanded image cycle, which has traditionally been dismissed as being of little interest and completely unrelated to the source manuscript or its mimetic copies. This is the first study of René's *Livre des tournois* that makes use of evidence garnered from empirical analyses of the images cycles and textual content of all eight medieval manuscripts. While this dissertation will focus on the relationship between text and image in the source manuscript,

28. See Chapter 6, pages 351-353.

29. D may in fact have been completed in multiple phases. See Chapter 6, page 338.


31. See Chapter 6, pages 336-337.

relevant data from the different copies will be offered at points throughout this dissertation when it directly pertains to a given argument.

René d'Anjou

René was born the second son of Louis II d'Anjou (1377-1417), King of Naples and Duke of Anjou, and his wife Yolande d'Aragon (1384-1442), titular Queen of Aragon, Duchess of Anjou, and Countess of Provence. In 1419 René married Isabella de Lorraine (1400-1453), daughter and heiress of Charles II (1364-1431), Duke of Lorraine. As part of the terms of the marriage treaty, René was placed under the guardianship of Charles II and Louis I (between 1370 and 1375-1430), Duke of Bar. René spent the next ten years at the court of either Louis or his father-in-law, and was later designated as Louis's heir. His two guardians died within a year of each other, leading to René inheriting claims to both territories by 1431. It was at this point that René's life took a dramatic turn. His claim to Lorraine was contested by Antoine de Vaudémont (c. 1400-1458), Count of Vaudémont and Lord of Joinville. In July of 1431 René and Antoine, whose claim was supported by


36. Favier, Le roi René, 29-75; Kekewich, The Good King, 11-12, 27-32; Bertrand Schnerb, Bulgnéville
Philippe le Bon (1396-1467), Duke of Burgundy, met in battle at Bulgnéville. René was defeated, captured and subsequently turned over to Philippe who held him prisoner until 1437.

While he was still a prisoner of the Burgundian duke, René's elder brother Louis III (1403-1434) died, leaving René to inherit the Duchy of Anjou as well as the Counties of Maine and Provence. In addition, the Queen of Naples, Joanna II (1373-1435), had adopted Louis III as her heir in 1423. Louis had spent the intervening ten years recovering the majority of the Kingdom of Naples from his rival claimant Alfonso V (1396-1458), King of Aragon. After Louis' death, Joanna offered to adopt René and designate him as her heir. René's captor viewed this as an opportunity to extort more concessions from his now royal prisoner. Finally in 1437, after agreeing to the marriage of his son and heir, Jean II d'Anjou (1424-1470), to Philippe's niece, Marie de Bourbon (1428-1448), René was released. René made immediate use of his freedom. He visited his territories in turn, setting up a regency in Bar and Lorraine, before setting off to Naples where his wife Isabella had been ably holding Alfonso in check for the previous three years.


arrived in Naples in 1438 and enjoyed some initial success against Alfonso. However, his fortunes were set to change and following the loss of his most able captain René's position was methodically undermined by Alfonso. After Alfonso laid siege to Naples, René was forced to abandon the kingdom in the summer of 1442. Although he never recovered the kingdom, throughout his lifetime René continued to style himself a royal prince.

After his expulsion from Naples, René focussed his attention on a number of diplomatic moves and cultural pursuits. The activities René undertook in the 1440s were critically important in securing his position in the French and wider European political arenas while also establishing his reputation and legacy as a chivalric paragon. By 1445 René had secured what appeared to be two very promising marriages for his daughters. His elder daughter Yolande de Bar (1428-1483) married Ferry II de Vaudémont (1428-1470), the son and heir of René's one-time rival for the Duchy of Lorraine. Meanwhile his younger daughter Marguerite d'Anjou (1430-1482) was betrothed to Henry VI (1421-1471), King of England, most likely sometime in the previous year. René's


41. There continues to be a persistent belief that the event at Nancy was a double wedding, when in fact it was held to celebrate the the marriage of Yolande and Ferry. On the question of when the wedding between Marguerite and Henry took place, see: B. M. Cron, “The Duke of Suffolk, the Angevin Marriage and the Ceding of Maine, 1445,” Journal of Medieval History 20(1994), 79-82; J. J. Bagley, Margaret of Anjou, Queen of England (London: Herbert Jenkins, 1948), 42-43; Kekewich, The Good King, 97-98; Andrew Taylor, “The Time of an Anthology: BL Ms. Royal 15 E. vi and the Commemoration of Chivalric Culture,” in Collections in Context: The Organization of Knowledge and Community in Europe, ed. Karen Fresco, and Anne D. Hedeman (Columbus: The Ohio State University Press, 2011), 120.
fortunes seemed to be on the upswing again. He had managed to secure the inheritance of Lorraine for his heirs while simultaneously receiving recognition of his royal status by joining his progeny to the English royal house. Yolande's marriage was marked by a series of spectacular jousts held in the city of Nancy in the territory of Lorraine during which René conspicuously displayed the magnanimity and spectacle expected from a late-medieval king. For example, during one joust René entered the lists dressed as Godefroy de Bouillon (1060-1100), the first King of Jerusalem and widely regarded as one of the chivalric Nine Worthies.

In fact, the jousts held at Nancy marked the beginning of a concentrated spate of participation in and sponsorship of tournaments by René during the second half of the decade. Later that same year, after departing Nancy, René along with a number of other prominent French nobility participated in another series of jousts held at Châlons. In 1446 René was awarded the tournament prize after his performance in the Emprise de la Gueule du Dragon, held outside of Sazilly. In July of that same year René organised and


hosted the magnificent Pas d'armes de la Joyous Garde at his castle at Saumur. This event, which took place over the course of forty days, was attended by the finest representatives of French nobility drawn from both within René's territories and the wider French kingdom. During each of the twenty-one days of jousts, elaborate processions wound their way from René's residence to the tournament field set out on the plains below his castle. The entire event was laden with Arthurian imagery and elaborately arranged spectacles, including numerous musicians, dwarves, attendants dressed as Saracens, and two of René's lions chained to a pillar placed at the specially prepared jousting field. The extravagance of the event was so great that nearly a decade later René authorised a payment of twelve hundred livres from the salt revenues of Saumur to be put towards the outstanding expenses incurred from the event. This elaborately staged event, along with René's participation at Sazilly, is memorialised in both verse and images in a unique manuscript now held in Saint Petersburg. Although the author of the text remains anonymous and the manuscript is a copy of a lost model, the images are now accepted as being mimetic replicas of originals completed by Barthélemy d'Eyck, the same artist responsible for the

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48. See above, note 45.
Livre des tournois (fig. 37). In 1447 outside of Tours, René attended a formal combat held between an English squire, Jehan Chalons and Louis de Bueil, a French knight. René was not only present as a witness, but he also carried de Bueil's helmet and crest during the knight's processional entry into the lists (fig. 38). The final event René is known to have sponsored was the bucolic Pas d'armes de la Bergère held in 1449 outside of his residence at Tarascon. This event was much smaller in scale than the grand pas d'armes held at Saumur just a few years prior. The event at Tarascon lasted a mere three days and the participants were fewer in number and drawn from René's closest associates. Despite the relative modesty of this event, René's appreciation and awareness of the importance of spectacle and theatre is still apparent in the account written by Louis de Beauveau, the seneschal of Anjou (fig. 39). While most historians have focussed on the event as a symbol of René's retirement from actively hosting and participating in tournaments, the care that went into planning the staged theatre serves as testimony to the continued emphasis René placed on using the spectacle of such events as a means of social

49. Gautier, and Avril, Splendeur de l'enluminure, 244-47.


communication to promote his political agendas, personal status and establish his reputation.  

It was during this period that René also revived the Order of the Crescent. Although he would undertake a significant reform of the order in 1452, René first re-established the order in 1448. This confraternity of knights was almost certainly conceived by René to be a unifying fraternity for the nobility in his disparate territories, a proclamation of his royal prerogative, and a rival to other prominent knightly orders, such as the Burgundian Order of the Golden Fleece. The Order of the Crescent was dedicated to St. Maurice and membership was limited to fifty knights who, after the initial appointments by René, were to be reviewed and approved by the existing members. The order lapsed with René's death in 1480. The earliest surviving copy of the order's statutes is a fifteenth-century manuscript now held in the BnF (fig. 40). Like the tournaments René sponsored in the 1440s, the statutes of the order reflect a similar awareness of the powerful role that spectacle could play in establishing and promoting reputation and status. For instance, they detail the regulations for wearing the order's insignia, a crescent worn under the right arm inscribed with the motto "los en croissant" (fig. 41), roughly translated as "Growing in praise." They also contain a lengthy and detailed section describing the costumes to be


55. BnF, ms. français 25204.

56. SunHee Kim Gertz, Visual power and fame in René d'Anjou, Geoffrey Chaucer, and the Black Prince
worn by the order’s members during different events, including minutiae such as what
colour a member’s hat should be trimmed based on their rank (fig. 42). One provision in
the statutes testifies to René’s desire to build a legacy based on chivalric reputation.
Members were required to report their deeds to the order’s herald so that they could be
written down and recorded for posterity.

The next decade saw a shift in René's focus and priorities. His first wife Isabelle
died in 1453. Roughly a year later, René married Jeanne de Laval (1433-1498), a daughter
of the Count of Laval. After 1454, René's activities were largely devoted to his literary
and artistic pursuits. During this period René not only acted in the role of the princely
patron, but was also intimately involved in the initial conception, planning and even
execution of a number of projects. In fact this interest in the arts began well before 1450.
In the years immediately following the pas d’armes at Saumur, René ordered a series of
frescoes commemorating the event be painted in the castle's great chamber. Although
these frescoes have been lost, and the artist remains unidentified, they testify to René’s
keen awareness of the powerful force visual spectacle could play in memorialising and
establishing one's legacy.

(New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), 43.


60. See above, note 59.
Any account of René's activities during this period must consider the two allegorical works he authored, *Le Mortifiement de vaine plaisance* written in 1455 (fig. 43), and *Le Livre du Cœur d'amours espris* written in 1457 (fig. 44) as well as the later *Livre des tournois*. A fourth work, *Regnault et Janneton* likely written in the period 1454-1461 (fig. 45), has sometimes been attributed to René, although this is far from certain and more recent scholarship has pointed towards Pierre Hurion, who served René as a herald nicknamed Ardent Desir after a character in the *Livre du Cœur*. However, what is perhaps most remarkable about this group of written works is that Barthélemy d'Eyck was the artist responsible for the original images in all four.

Although I will address particular points about Barthélemy's technique and style as well as the working relationship between Barthélemy and René in more detail in Chapter 1,


it is useful at this point to present the range of works that are attributed to him.\textsuperscript{64} In addition to the works already cited, he can be identified as a contributor to a wide range of manuscripts that were part of René's library (fig. 46, 47, 48, 49 and 50). He also may have contributed to the famed Très Riches Heures du duc de Berry (fig. 51).\textsuperscript{65} Although he is perhaps most readily identified by his work with manuscript decoration, his oeuvre was wide-ranging. Remnants of frescoes in René's residence at Tarascon closely resemble Barthélemy's style and records indicate that he was likely in residence during the period they were completed.\textsuperscript{66} He is most likely the artist responsible for a copy of an earlier portrait of René's father, Louis II (fig. 52), which is found embedded in a curious miniature in Les Heures de René d'Anjou (fig. 53).\textsuperscript{67} Barthélemy was responsible for at least three different panel paintings, including the Annunciation at Aix (fig. 54), a fragment now held at the Louvre (fig. 55), the Holy Family at Le Puy (fig. 56), as well as possibly a portrait of an unidentified man (fig. 57). Clearly Barthélemy was not only a prolific artist with a wide-range of talents, but was also highly valued by René, which is a point I will return to in Chapter 1.


\textsuperscript{67} Gautier, and Avril, Splendeur de l’enlumineur, 200-202, 266; Avril, and Reynaud, Les manuscrits à peintures en France, 232-33.
René's patronage and interests extended to a range of artists and authors and into a
number of pursuits.68 Links between René and a number of artists, including Enguerrand
Quarton and Jean Fouquet have been firmly established.69 One of the more certain ones is
Nicolas Froment, who was paid for his work on The Virgin in the Burning Bush in 1476
(fig. 58).70 René also actively supported a number of authors. Antoine de la Sale served
under René and was appointed tutor for René's son Jean II, for whom he wrote La Salade
between 1440-1444 before leaving the Angevin court for that of Louis de Luxembourg
(1418-1475), Count of Saint-Pol in 1448.71 Antoine went on to write a number of
influential works, including Jean de Saintré in 1456, and his own treatise on tournament
forms, Traité des anciens et des nouveaux tournois in 1459, that certainly influenced
René's later composition of the Livre des tournois.72 In addition to the Livre des tournois
and his allegorical works, René is known to have exchanged poetry with Charles, Duke of
Orléans.73 The time René spent in Naples seems to have influenced his interests. He not
only actively supported a number of Italian humanists from Naples, Florence and Venice
during his time in Italy, he continued to correspond with both artists and authors, even

68. For useful summaries, see: Kekewich, The Good King, 155-97; Robin, La cour d’Anjou-Provence;
Lecoy de la Marche, Le roi René, II; Françoise Robin, “Le roi René, amateur d’art et mécène,” in L’Europe

69. Kekewich, The Good King, 170-71; Robin, La cour d’Anjou-Provence, 221-24; Charles Sterling,
Enguerrand Quarton. Le peintre de la Piétà d’Avignon (Paris: Éditions de la Réunion des musées nationaux,
1983); Erik Inglis, Jean Fouquet and the Invention of France: Art and Nation after the Hundred Years War
(New Haven: Yale University Press, 2011); M. Evans, “Jean Fouquet and Italy ‘…buono maestro, maxime a
ritrarre del naturale’,” in Illuminating the Book. Makers and Interpreters. Essays in honour of Janet
Blackhouse, ed. Michelle P. Brown, and Scot McKendrick (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1998),
163-89.

70. Robin, La cour d’Anjou-Provence, 211-12.

71. See the recent monograph by Sylvie Lefèvre, which also contains an edition of Antoine's Traité.
Lefèvre, Antoine de la Sale. For Antoine de la Sale's La Salade, see the edition in: Antoine de la Sale,

72. For Jean de Saintré, see the recent edition and translation by Roberta L. Krueger and Jane H. M. Taylor.
Antoine de la Sale, Jean de Saintré. A Late Medieval Education in Love and Chivalry, trans. Roberta L.

some within Alfonso's court, after returning to France. 74 This interest is reflected in René's manuscript acquisitions, which include works by Cicero, Livy, Seneca, Quintilian and Salust all in Latin, as well as contemporary writers such as Petrus Ursuleus. 75 René was also keenly interested in display and performance. He actively concerned himself with a number of theatrical productions in his later years. 76 The picture that emerges is of a late-medieval prince interested in all manner of arts as a means to project and reinforce his status.

René's final years have been described as a withdrawal from active public life. 77 After his son, Jean II, died in 1470 during a bid to conquer Aragon, René ceased to travel as much as he had in the previous decades. By 1474 he was permanently fixed in his territory of Provence, where he would die in 1480. The last decade of his life saw the erosion of his rights and lands at the hands of the French king, Louis XI (1423-1483). Despite the numerous setbacks René experienced, including his less than stellar performances on the battlefield, René managed to establish a remarkable reputation as a patron and paragon of chivalric virtue. 78 Chastellain referred to him as a "vaillant prince" and a "très-courageux chevalier," who struggled against bad fortune. 79 As a late-medieval


77. Lecoy de la Marche, Le roi René, I, pp. 387-437, II, pp. 474-497; Avril, “Quelques observations,” 74-75; Favier, Le roi René, 517-42.

78. Kekewich's recent biographical analysis of René examines the factors that led to his reputation as well as the moniker of "le bon roi." Kekewich, The Good King.

79. Georges Chastellain, Oeuvres de Georges Chastellain ed. J. Kervyn de Lettenhove, 8 vols. (Brussels:
prince he clearly understood the powerful role spectacle could play in proclaiming his position and securing his legacy. The *Livre des tournois* is part of this legacy. It is an element in René's personal programme aimed at establishing a lasting reputation that would outshine his failures and outlast his life.

**Methodology**

In this section I will demonstrate how my approach to the *Livre des tournois* differs from the way in which scholars have traditionally addressed the work. Specialists approaching the work from within the field of literature have drawn on the work of historians to point out that the form of tournament described by René in the *Livre des tournois* was never put into practice by the author. The conclusion drawn from this line of inquiry has been that the *Livre des tournois* was a type of fantasy or dream vision, a carefully crafted idealistic illusion that was the product of the author's imagination and divorced from reality. In comparison, research undertaken from within the confines of historical methodology has generally approached the work from two avenues of inquiry. The first has focussed on the form of tournament presented in the *Livre des tournois*. Historians focussing on René's biography have drawn attention to the fact that none of the

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Victor Devaux, 1863-8), II, p. 162.


tournaments René is known to have participated in or sponsored resembled what he presented within his treatise. However, a separate line of inquiry by scholars interested in the tournament as a socio-cultural phenomenon of the Middle Ages has recognised similarities between the form of tournament described by René and events practised within urban centres in the Burgundian Low Countries, the Holy Roman Empire and along the Rhine. While these latter efforts have utilised material culture as evidence they have generally approached the work's image cycle as a one-dimensional illustrative component, rather than as part of an exegetic compound relationship between image and text that exists within and defines the book.

Until the 1980s art historians were primarily concerned with identifying the artist responsible for the work's images and establishing which of the known manuscript copies was the oldest and likely served as the basis for the others. Although these studies have recognised the important relationship between text and image within the work, they have tended to form conclusions based on evidence gathered exclusively from the work's image cycle. This has led to some misconceptions regarding the pattern of dissemination for the Livre des tournois that I address in detail in Chapter 6.

Although some of these examples appropriate sources and scholarship from other disciplines to answer lines of inquiry posed from within their own discipline, at best they

82. The historiography of tournament studies took an important step forward with a colloquium held in Göttingen from 29 September-1 October, 1982 at the Max Planck Institute for History (since April 2007 the Max Planck Institute for the Study of Religious and Ethnic Diversity). The papers from this colloquium were subsequently published together in: Josef Fleckenstein, ed. Das ritterliche Turnier im Mittelalter. Beiträge zu einer vergleichenden Formen- und Verhaltensgeschichte des Rittertums (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1985).

can be described as multidisciplinary. These examples have used sources and work drawn from disciplines other than their own and applied this evidence to questions posed from within their own disciplinary method. The historiography of the *Livre des tournois* is thus marred by a distinct lack of interdisciplinary methodology, something which this thesis seeks to correct.

To begin, my research is firmly rooted in an interdisciplinary approach and based on the appreciation of the source manuscript and its seven medieval copies as holistic units. This methodology arises from an understanding that the manuscript copies of the *Livre des tournois* are material products of the late-medieval culture in which they were produced. As such, I understand that each one was created by one or more individuals with intent and purpose, and reflective of the cultural environment in which they were created.  

Given that both the creators and the material results of their efforts did not exist or conceive of their existence within the confines of a single discipline, it is beneficial to raise research questions from within multiple disciplines and then apply sources and investigative methodologies from a range of disciplines, particularly in regards to wider cultural studies.

There have been some attempts to apply such an interdisciplinary approach to the *Livre des tournois*. The analysis and summary completed by François Avril in the introduction to the 1986 edition of the work, as well as the recent inquiries completed by Christian de Mérindol and Christian Freigang have indicated the potential rewards from an interdisciplinary approach on focussed studies of the *Livre des tournois*.  

For example, Mérindol employed an analysis of the visual presentation of the work's two protagonists, the Duke of Brittany and the Duke of Bourbon, contextualised against their

84. Ian Hodder, *Reading the Past: Current Approaches to Interpretation in Archaeology* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 6-10.

specific dynastic and political situation vis-a-vis René to argue that within the work's image cycle there are indications René included a subtly preferential depiction of Bourbon. 86 The provoking, albeit brief, analysis completed by Christian Freigang not only moved beyond questions of attribution, but also demonstrated the potential understanding to be had through an analysis of the relationship between text and image while simultaneously recognising that more work needed to be done on the relationship between the Livre des tournois and the late-medieval tournament. 87

In addition to the specific work carried out on René's Livre des tournois, the last decade has witnessed a surge of interest in manuscript studies that has highlighted the need for an interdisciplinary approach to the medieval manuscript. Recent conferences, exhibitions and focussed studies on individual examples have brought together a range of specialists from different disciplines and have effectively demonstrated the potential rewards to be garnered from such multifaceted investigations. 88 Indeed it seems that now is precisely the time that an interdisciplinary approach can more fully enrich our understanding of the Livre des tournois and its place within late-medieval culture.

To complement this approach, I have undertaken examinations of the known corpus of extant medieval manuscripts of the Livre des tournois. Mine is the first study that

makes use of critical inquiries of transcriptions and codicological investigations together with analyses of the image cycles from all eight manuscripts. The usefulness of such a multi-pronged approach was highlighted by the work of François Avril when he applied his own analysis of the watermarks found in P1 together with an appreciation for specific variants in the image cycles of the different manuscript copies to demonstrate conclusively that P1 was the oldest and most direct source for the later copies. My own work reveals entirely new links between different manuscript copies as well as refining and solidifying relationships that were previously subjective. For instance, manuscript D, which in the past has been largely dismissed as being uninteresting and of little consequence because of its unusual image cycle, can now be understood to have been copied from P2. This in turn raises questions about the pattern of dissemination for the Livre des tournois, which I address more fully in Chapter 6. Finally, my first-hand work with these manuscripts plays a crucial role in reinforcing the need to approach these works as books that would have been read and appreciated by audiences who physically interacted with them. I have carefully considered how to relate the impact of both reading and visually appreciating these manuscripts. To this end, I have attempted to incorporate that appreciation into my overall analysis, how I present images to the reader of this thesis, and my approach to and construction of the appendices which contribute to this thesis. In order to facilitate this I have chosen to present this thesis in three volumes. This arrangement allows the reader to engage with the text, figures and edition of the work simultaneously.

Based on the premise that cultural patterns are best demonstrated through the application of a wide range of sources, I have deliberately sought and applied a unique

range of sources to my analysis. Although this thesis is rooted in the disciplines of history of art and history, when appropriate I have also found it necessary to draw on sources and scholarship from literature, archaeology, sociology and anthropology in addition to more focussed fields such as codicology and material studies. At the heart of my analysis are the eight manuscripts of the *Livre des tournois*. To this I have added studies of chronicles, literary works, and household financial accounts in conjunction with diaries, travel logs and personal letters. I have also consulted a broad range of primary sources that are focussed on the medieval tournament. These include the two other French tournament treatises that were written near the same time as the *Livre des tournois*,\(^{90}\) as well as *Turnierbücher*, a type of memorial compilation of events that was particularly prevalent in the territories of the Holy Roman Empire as well as within urban centres located near the Rhine.\(^{91}\) In conjunction with these I have sought and applied a range of visual and material sources. This includes not only tournament and martial imagery, but also depictions of court scenes, rituals and festivals found in painting, tapestry, manuscript illuminations, and sculpture. Although extant material sources related to medieval tournaments are difficult to verify, when possible and appropriate I offer the reader selected examples. It almost goes without saying that the visual presentation of René's idealised event is crucial to the *Livre des tournois*. With this in mind, I have considered how the spectacle of the event was appreciated and recorded by contemporary audiences. When possible I have consulted manuscript sources in person in preference over printed or electronic editions. When first hand consultation has not been possible I have opted for digital or other reproductions. In instances where I have not been able to consult a primary source I have indicated so within

\(^{90}\) See above, note 4.

\(^{91}\) For more on the tournament companies that produced many of these books, see: Werner Meyer, “Turniergesellschaften: Bemerkungen zur sozialgeschichtlichen Bedeutung der Turniere im Spätmittelalter,” in *Das ritterliche Turnier im Mittelalter: Beiträge zu einer vergleichenden Formen- und Verhaltensgeschichte des Rittertums*, ed. Josef Fleckenstein (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1985), 571-87.
the relevant footnote while still providing the reader with a citation of a secondary or printed source along with the most immediately accessible primary source.

Finally, the majority of studies on the Livre des tournois, as well as René in general, have shown a noticeable preference for French sources. A direct result of this approach is the unintentional minimisation of the rich influence and cultural networks within René’s lands that lay on the border between the kingdom of France and the Holy Roman Empire. I argue that this approach has limited our understanding of the Livre des tournois as a cultural production reflective of the milieu in which it was produced. This thesis seeks to begin correcting this shortcoming by applying a more geographically broad range of sources than has previously been brought to bear on the Livre des tournois.

The thesis addresses the Livre des tournois as a product of late-medieval courtly culture, and is informed by the theoretical structures of semiotics, and iconography and iconology. A synthesised usage of these theoretical approaches fits quite naturally with the interdisciplinary nature of this study into the representation of culture within a specific source, namely a book, and is a particularly fruitful way in which to approach the Livre des tournois. In a broad historical sense both theoretical paradigms are concerned with culturally assigned meanings and their representation through signs in an attempt to understand the social, political and cultural world of the past. Within the discipline of art

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history this manifests most directly as an attempt at understanding or decoding visual media within the context of the culture in which it was produced and received. My iconographic analysis of the Livre des tournois begins at the fundamental level of identifying motifs in text and image and connecting them with examples drawn from other forms of cultural output to arrive at an understanding of the iconology of the representation. In some cases this is deceptively easy as the mutually defining nature of text and image within the work creates semiotic signs that enable the reader to decode both the images and rich textual descriptions. In fact, within the Livre des tournois text and


image unite in an effort to persuade the reader of the veracity of their subject. On the most basic level this functions to define a visual vocabulary built on "interdependent terms in which the value of each term results from the simultaneous presence of the others."94 Take for example the tournament sword (fig. 10).95 While it is defined textually and visually as the icon of a weapon with specific physical properties,96 its assigned cultural significance is refined throughout the work by its relationship to other signs. While the iconic properties of the sword as weapon are reinforced within the visualisation of the tournament melee (fig. 25), it also aids in defining other signs within the image. Thus the protective value of the tournament helmet is emphasised by the visualisation of the sword striking a combatant. The definition of the sword is refined into an indicative symbol of the tournament when it is presented as a key element in the ceremonial rites of challenge and acceptance that initiate the event (figs. 1 and 2). Finally, it is also a symbolic representation of noble status. This final aspect reflects the value of a wider interdisciplinary study. This property is only obliquely hinted at within the Livre des tournois as part of a closing section of text, which alludes to the relative status garnered from participation in different forms of tournaments.97 However, by incorporating the cultural value placed on the sword as an object imbued with noble identity this aspect of the sword within the Livre des tournois becomes more clear. Therefore, while text and image in the Livre des tournois goes a long way to self-defining the various signs needed

97. Appendix A, page 712, lines 10-19. Also see Chapter 5, pages 301-302.
to read and understand the work, it is still important to recognise and consider the book as
an informed work produced within the context of a particular culture.

Structure

When placing a cultural product like a book within a context as large and unwieldy
as the milieu in which it was produced it became necessary to focus on individual aspects
of the culture as reflected in the work. To manage this I have conceived the structure of this
thesis as a series of directed case studies. Each chapter is focussed on a specific aspect of
court culture found within the work that I have determined has been either understudied or
that my interdisciplinary methodology in combination with recent scholarship can shed new
light on. A particular example of this strategy is apparent in Chapter 4. The recent
historiography on tournament studies has brought into question the traditional categories
and specific manifestations of late medieval tournaments as described by historians until
the late 20th century. 98 The prosopographic work of Mario Damien in particular has greatly
influenced my consideration of the range of sources and traditions that likely influenced
René when he conceived the tournament in the Livre des tournois. 99

98. Following the publication of collected papers in: Fleckenstein, Das ritterliche Turnier im Mittelalter.
was Barker's work on the tournament in England: Juliet Barker, The Tournament in England: 1100-1400
(Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1986). Followed by the authoritative collaboration: Barber, and Barker,
Tournemients. Prior to these works, studies had focussed on narrative accounts of events found in
chronicles, such as: Robert Coltman Clephan, The Tournament: Its Periods and Phases (London: Methuen &
Co., Ltd., 1919); F. H Cripps-Day, The History of the Tournament in England and in France (London:
Bernard Quaritch, 1918). More recent work has focussed on inquiries into specific events, forms, periods
and regions. For example, see: Helmut Nickel, “The Tournament: An Historical Sketch,” in The Study of
Chivalry: Resources and Approaches, ed. Howell Chickering, and Thomas H. Seiler (Kalamazoo: Medieval
Institute Publications, 1988), 213-62; Evelyne van den Neste, Tournois, joutes, pas d'armes dans les villes de
Flandre à la fin du Moyen Age (1300-1486) (Paris: École des Chartes, 1996); David Crouch, Tournament
(London: Hambledon and London, 2005); Sébastien Nadot, Le Spectacle des joutes. Sport et courtoisie à la
dissertation has substantively questioned the modern categorisation of events and has instead looked at the
period conceptions of different forms of tournament. Rachael E. Whitbread, “Tournaments, Jousts and

99. For example, see: Mario Damen, “Tournament Culture in the Low Countries and England,” in Contact
and Exchange in Later Medieval Europe: Essays in Honour of Malcolm Vale, ed. Hannah Skoda, Patrick
Lantschner, and R. L. J. Shaw (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2012), 247-65; Mario Damen, “The Town, the Duke,
his Courtiers, and their Tournament. A Spectacle in Brussels, 4-7 May 1439,” in Staging the Court of
(London: Harvey Miller, 2013), 85-95. As well as his recent paper, given at Leeds: Mario Damen,
“Tournaments and Social Status: The Profile of Tourneyers in the Late Medieval Low Countries,” (Paper
In Chapter 1, I explore three key points related to the presentation of text and image, which I argue must form the basis of any examination of René's *Livre des tournois*. The first is the relationship between the author and artist. In this section I demonstrate that an unusually close and particularly fruitful working relationship was vital in creating the unique symbiosis between text and image that exists in the *Livre des tournois*. The second and third points in this chapter are thematically different and instead focus on specific elements regarding the presentation of the *Livre des tournois*. The first explores the relationship between text and image within the work, wherein I demonstrate that text and image are inseparably bound together in mutually defining and supportive roles. In the final section of this chapter I address the nature of the images and the construction of the image cycle.

The work's image cycle contains over sixty precisely rendered individual heraldic devices. Yet of these, only two were known to have been based on historically identifiable coats of arms. René claims to have invented the other heraldic devices in order to better describe the tournament and for his own amusement. Chapter 2 addresses the role of heraldry in the work by exploring the interaction of the invented fictive arms used for the tourneyers against those selected for the tournament captains, which were based on the historically accurate arms of the Dukes of Brittany and Bourbon. In the first section of this chapter I show how René's selection of the Dukes of Bourbon and Brittany for the tournament captains reinforces the importance and status of his vision for their role in the tournament, while simultaneously serving the important role of addressing and engaging René's stated intended audience, the French nobility. I then go on to demonstrate that the selection and representation of these heraldic identities reflects René's expertise in heraldry as well as his astute consideration of the French political climate during the period he

composed the *Livre des tournois*. In the second section of this chapter I explore the purpose behind the construction and use of fictive arms for the identities of the tourneyers. I address such questions as the relevance of symbolism in the heraldic devices, regional influences, and the role of these heraldic identities in the work's visual narrative. Furthermore, I show that the interaction of the historically accurate coats of arms with other invented heraldic devices was a fairly common trope used with great effect for engaging a given work's audience in its narrative. The chapter concludes by addressing the importance placed on demonstrating heraldic expertise in the establishment of noble, chivalric identity. In conclusion, the sum effect of the heraldic programme in the *Livre des tournois* was to declare René's expertise in the noble language of heraldry by not only demonstrating his ability to construct coats of arms according to the rules of blazoning, but also by displaying his expertise in heraldry's social, cultural and political role in late fifteenth-century France.

Chapter 3 examines the role of the herald as described and envisioned in the *Livre des tournois* and compares it with historic examples. By drawing on a diverse array of evidence including accounts of heralds from René's court, heraldic treatises written by heralds in which they outlined their duties and position in late medieval courts, and evidence of the diverse array of duties heralds undertook within historic tournaments this chapter demonstrates that while mindful of the traditional roles heralds played in tournaments and their position within court culture, René was reconceptualising their role to fit his vision for the form of tournament presented in the *Livre des tournois*. This chapter addresses the evidence through three broad categories of traditional heraldic responsibilities, their mastery of protocol and ceremony, their position as record keepers and experts in chivalric deeds of arms, and their expertise in the science of heraldry. I also address the misconception that the *Livre des tournois* was written for heralds and intended as a treatise that outlined their duties relative to the tournament. I argue that René was
more concerned with addressing a noble reader and ensuring that they would not only be able to recognise the value a good herald had in establishing their personal status and honour, but also be able to understand and direct their role at court and within the tournament.

Previously in this introduction I made reference to the attempts by scholars to pinpoint a singular definitive source of inspiration for René's treatise. Scholars have focussed their energies on two possibilities, the tournament treatise written by Antoine de la Sale in 1459 and the series of tournaments which René sponsored and participated in throughout the 1440s. Additionally a third, albeit erroneous, assumption has focussed on a tournament held in Bruges in 1393 which was sponsored by an ancestor of one of the Livre des tournois's later patrons, Louis de Bruges, Lord of Gruuthuse (c. 1422-1492). Chapter 4 addresses the issue of identifying René's sources for the form of tournament described in the Livre des tournois. This chapter approaches the question by engaging with key elements of the tournament, the form of combat, the identity of the participants, the venue for the event and the tournament equipment. By drawing on a more diverse range of sources than has previously been applied to this work and coupling with a holistic interdisciplinary assessment of text and image, I show that René was actively drawing on geographically and socially diverse influences and models, which he actively repurposed to suit his model of a tournament centred on promoting the status of the French nobility.

Chapter 5 demonstrates that the series of rituals described in the text and portrayed in the work's images are reflective of the author's concerns with establishing and defining group identity and status to both an external and internal, or exclusive audience. This chapter draws heavily on the anthropological and sociological foundations of ritual and spectacle established by Clifford Geertz, Jonathan Smith and Émile Durkheim.100 The idea

of the theatre state, first proposed by Geertz in 1980 in his study of the Balinese Negara, has since been adopted by scholars interested in the court culture of Valois Burgundy in order to demonstrate how spectacle and performance were instrumental in the dynasty's attempts to both secure and project power both internally and externally.101 This chapter focusses on a specific microcosm of rituals and ceremonies described by René in the Livre des tournois and captured in the work's images that were concerned with the review, judgement and punishment of the noble tourneyers. By comparing and contrasting this series of rituals against each other as well as historic examples drawn from diverse sources, I demonstrate how René structured the events to reflect his concern for maintaining a strict hierarchy of rank within an exclusive and elite group of nobility, while simultaneously projecting a unified group identity to a non-noble audience. This chapter reinforces key points made in Chapter 4 regarding the range of influences that René drew on when constructing his vision of an ideal tournament and the lengths he went to in order to repurpose customs to better suit this vision.

My examination of all eight extant medieval manuscripts has provided a unique opportunity to reconsider the pattern of transmission and reception for the Livre des tournois in the years immediately following its inception. Chapter 6 is divided into two sections. In the first section, I draw upon the latest scholarship and evidence gathered from my examination of the extant manuscripts to propose a revised stemma codicum for the Livre des tournois. In the second half of the chapter, I focus on a case study of one

particular branch of the *stemma* in order to arrive at an understanding of how contemporary audiences viewed and received René's book.

I have included a number of appendices and tables that contribute to specific arguments made within this thesis and which will be useful to future scholars interested in René's treatise. The first of these is a scholarly edition of the work based on the source manuscript and compared against transcriptions made from the other seven manuscript copies. The second is a *stemma* of the *Livre des tournois* that is based on three elements, my transcriptions of the manuscripts referred to above, an analysis of the image cycles of each manuscript, and my direct codicological observations. I have also included a table of images from all eight manuscripts. Mine is the first study of René's treatise to comprehensively assemble and compare the image cycles from all the extant manuscripts. Although the images in the table are relatively small compared to the manuscript sources, this table nonetheless allows an easy and quick visual comparison between the content and thoroughness of the image cycles from the different manuscripts. Larger images that illustrate specific details used for comparison and analysis are included in the separate volume of figures. This includes a complete set of high resolution colour images of the source manuscript's image cycle. To coincide with the table of images, I have included another table which briefly describes each image found in the source manuscript. I have attempted to draw the reader's attention to the most relevant details of each image while providing a useful summary of each. In addition, I have included a list of variations, between the images in the later copies and those in the source manuscript. This table works closely in conjunction with the previous table of images. Finally, I have included a short catalogue description of all eight medieval manuscripts. These entries contain basic information that can be found in the catalogue descriptions of the relevant archives, with the caveat that mine is updated to reflect both my own and other scholars' recent research.
The use of the word “tournament” within this thesis follows a specific definition. The term itself, from the Middle-French tournoi, is difficult to define in the best of circumstances.\textsuperscript{102} Medieval authors used it to refer to both an entire event, including the challenges, announcement, combat, feasts, dances, awards, as well as a specific form of tournament combat. Often an author might use the term interchangeably within the same document. The same author might also use terms such as emprise, jouste, and faits d’armes in place of tournament. René most often uses the term "tournoy," an alternate spelling, to refer to the entire event, such as when he writes, "Icy apres s'ensuit la forme et maniere comment ung tournoy doibt estre entrepris."\textsuperscript{103} However, he occasionally employs the same term in two other ways. The first is to refer specifically to the combat phase of the event, such as when he writes, "Quant il semblera bon aux juges que le tournoy aura assez dure..."\textsuperscript{104} The second is when he is writes about a specific style of tournament as it was practised in the Low Countries and German and Rhenish territories. While René attempts to be precise when writing about the particular form of tournament found in these regions, such as when he writes "tournoy et bouhordis d'armes," he occasionally opts to simply use "tournoy."\textsuperscript{105} Within this thesis, "tournament" will refer to the event as a complete entity. Any passages which address specific phases within the tournament, such as the combat, challenge, or prize ceremonies will do so using precise terminology. When

\textsuperscript{102}For what follows on terminology, see: Barber, and Barker, Tournaments, 2-4; William Henry Jackson, “Das Turnier in der deutschen Dichtung des Mittelalters,” in Das ritterliche Turnier im Mittelalter: Beiträge zu einer vergleichenden Formen- und Verhaltensgeschichte des Rittertums, ed. Josef Fleckenstein (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1985), 257; Neste, Tournois, joutes, pas d’armes, 50-54; Whitbread, “Tournaments, Jousts and Duels,” 41-75.

\textsuperscript{103}Appendix A, page 476, lines 21-22. "Hereafter follows the form and manner in which a tourney ought to be undertaken." Translation, with some corrections from: Elizabeth Bennett, “King René’s Tournament Book.” (1998): http://www.princeton.edu/~ezb/rene/renehome.html Accessed September, 2015. This access date applies to all citations of this source.

\textsuperscript{104}Appendix A, page 691, lines 1-2. "When it seems to the judges that the tourney has lasted long enough..." Translation, with some corrections from: Bennett, “King René’s Tournament Book.”

\textsuperscript{105}Appendix A. For "tournoy et bouhordis d'armes" see page 504, line 17. An example where René reverts to "tournoy" is found on page 519, line 12. For further discussion on the specific form of tournament René describes within the Livre des tournois, see Chapter 4, pages 197-220.
describing different forms of tournament combat, I have opted for descriptive titles such as "joust" and "behourd." I use the term "melee" to refer to a physical encounter involving numerous combatants rather than a specific form of tournament combat. The terms I have selected are not necessarily reflective of those employed by medieval authors, but instead serve the more immediate purpose of contextualising the different forms referred to throughout this thesis.

Finally, although the structure of this thesis is based around individual case studies, there is a set of common thematic strands that emerges from this approach. The broad concepts of authority and identity are found throughout the work. These themes not only function to bind this thesis together, they are reflective of the holistic construction of text and image within the Livre des tournois and help to define the book's status as an icon of fifteenth-century court culture.

Text and Image in the *Livre des tournois*:

Creating Authorial Identity and Projecting Authority

1.1 Introduction

This chapter will unequivocally demonstrate that text and image in the *Livre des tournois* are so thoroughly intertwined and mutually dependent that it is impossible, and indeed irrelevant, to look at one exclusive of the other. There is no question that the image cycle in René's *Livre des tournois* was a unique creation and played a crucial role in the work's reception. Among the three French tournament treatises produced within the twenty year period surrounding the writing of the *Livre des tournois*, René's is the only example that features an image cycle conceived and executed so as to be an integral and expositive part of the work. When properly decoded the visual language contained within the image cycle reveals the full depth and breadth of expertise that went into crafting the tournament and courtly customs presented in the work. The assertion that decoding the image cycle is possible necessarily implies that there was an initial process of encoding. In fact this is precisely the case for the *Livre des tournois*. Text and image were designed and executed to function as a whole unit within the *Livre des tournois*. The ultimate effect

1. I address the role of the image cycle in the work's reception in Chapter 6.

2. The other two treatises are: Antoine de la Sale's *Traité*, written in 1459, and Jacques d'Armagnac's *La forme qu'on tenoit des tournoys*, completed between 1460-1470. See page 2, note 4 for the complete citations of both works. For more on Antoine de la Sale's treatise, see the analysis and edition in: Lefèvre, *Antoine de la Sale*. On Armagnac's work, see: Jefferson, “Tournaments, Heraldry and the Knights of the Round Table,” 69-157; Edouard Sandoz, “Tourneys in the Arthurian Tradition,” *Speculum* 19, no. 4 (1944), 389-420. Although a number of manuscript copies of Armagnac's work contain an armorial of the Arthurian knights it would be a stretch to characterise this as an expositive image cycle that was integral to the work's content. For further discussion on the inclusion of this armorial, see Chapter 2, pages 129-130, Chapter 3, page 186, and Chapter 6, pages 329-332.

of this process was to blur any distinction between author and artist, thereby effectively positioning René as the sole authorial voice responsible for the whole work.

In order to demonstrate how text and image create authorial identity and thereby position René as the authority on late medieval tournament customs this chapter will address three key points concerning the relationship between text and image within the work.\(^4\) The first section will focus on the identities of both the author and the artist. I will demonstrate that the work's unique image cycle and its relationship to the text was the result of an unusual, and particularly fruitful, collaborative effort between René and Barthélemy d'Eyck. The second section will focus on specific aspects of text and image in order to illustrate the degree to which these elements are mutually entwined and interdependent. In order to accomplish this, I will examine three elements: the language used to introduce and describe the work's images, the visual presentation of text and image, and the use of mutually expansive detail in both elements as a tool to reinforce their interdependent relationship. In the final section, I will analyse the nature of the work's images, including the roles of didactic and narrative imagery in creating a holistic visual programme that worked closely with the text to engage the reader in the visual narrative presentation of René's vision for an ideal tournament. This tripartite examination will reveal that this manuscript series must be considered as whole units.

1.2 Author and Artist

The unique relationship that exists between text and image in the *Livre des tournois* was a direct result of the collaborative working relationship between René and his court artist, Barthélemy d'Eyck. However, the identification of Barthélemy as the artist responsible for the work's images has not always been clear. Prior to, and even well into, the twentieth century there was a widely accepted theory that René was both author and

artist. This grew out of a fairly early mystique surrounding René that historians have identified as starting within the first decade following his death, and which subsequently blossomed into the portrayal of René as the romantic ideal of an aristocratic artist. As early as 1482 Giovanni Santi, the father of Rafael, wrote that René had learned to paint under the tutelage of Jan and Hubert van Eyck. In a letter dated 20 March, 1524, the Italian humanist Pietro Summonte wrote that René was a skilled painter trained in the style of the Flemish masters. A seventeenth-century drawing, now in the BnF, depicts René as king, artist and author (fig. 59). In this curious image, René is shown crowned and wearing robes of state while holding a palette, brush and a mahlstick, a device used by painters to steady the hand that held the brush.

However, earlier evidence datable to the period immediately after René wrote the Livre des tournois suggests that contemporary audiences both viewed the images as integral to the work, and identified René as the author, artist and indeed the sole creative force behind the work. Jacques d'Armagnac, Duke of Nemours (c. 1433-1477), who can be linked to two manuscript copies of the Livre des tournois, not only acknowledged the importance of the work's visual presentation and image cycle when he described it as a "beau traictie," but also tacitly identified René as the sole authorial voice of the treatise, responsible for both text and image, when he described the work as "...faitz et dictez par treshault, trespuissant et tres excellent prince le Roy Regne". Although the prologue

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9. The mahlstick was often depicted as part of a painter's normal equipment in self-portraits and images of artists at work between the sixteenth and nineteenth centuries For images of both artists and scribes at work during the medieval period, see: Inglis, Jean Fouquet and the Invention of France, 19-35.
10. "...made and recited/said by the very high, very powerful, and very excellent prince King René..."
added to two manuscript copies commissioned by Louis de Bruges (1422-1492), Lord of Gruuthuse does not explicitly cite René, it does reference the authority of the work as being contained in its "pourtraictes et figurees."[^11] Clearly, there was an early belief in René's authority on tournament customs that was drawn, at least in part, from the work's image cycle.

The strength and persistency of the belief in René as both the author and artist of the Livre des tournois is further demonstrated by an inscription added to the beginning of P1 sometime in the seventeenth or eighteenth century that reads, "Ce present livre a esté dicté par le Roy Rene de Sicille et painct de sa propre main."[^12] In 1849, Léon de Laborde gave his support to the belief that René was trained as a painter by Jan van Eyck.[^13] He proposed that this tutelage likely occurred during the period René was held prisoner by the Duke of Burgundy. A few years after this, Jean Renouvier reaffirmed René as the artist responsible for a number of works produced within his court circle while also suggesting that the identities of other artists and illuminators could be established by detailed examinations of the king's household accounts.[^14] Finally in the twentieth century, this theory was taken up by the prominent art historian Otto Pächt, who repeatedly argued in favour of assigning the roles of both author and artist to René.[^15] According to Pächt, the

[^12]: P1, f. iv. "The present book has been dictated by King René of Sicily and painted by his own hand."
belief that René was a skilled artist was so pervasive that it must have been based on truth.\textsuperscript{16} Furthermore, he saw the symbiosis between text and image in René's works as being too close to be anything other than the vision and execution of a single individual.\textsuperscript{17} The persistent identification of René as both author and artist owes a great deal to the extremely close relationship between text and image found in all of his works. However, the fact is that this symmetry is not the product of a single individual, but rather a collaborative effort characterised by an unusual and particularly fruitful relationship between the artist and author.

In 1911, Paul Durrieu proposed that a single artist was responsible for the images in René's \textit{Livre du Cœur}, the \textit{Livre des tournois}, as well as a manuscript of \textit{La Thésèide} owned by René. Based on archival research he tentatively identified this individual as Barthélemy de Clerc or d'Eyck.\textsuperscript{18} This initial proposal kicked off a wave of scholarship that eventually culminated with Charles Sterling's definitive identification of Barthélemy d'Eyck as the artist responsible for the images in the \textit{Livre du Cœur}.\textsuperscript{19} In 1986, François Avril aptly demonstrated, using Sterling and Durrieu's work, that Barthélemy was the artist responsible for the images in the \textit{Livre des tournois}.\textsuperscript{20} This movement was aided by the publication and accessibility of high quality reproductions of the works in question. This allowed scholars, for the first time, to compare a variety of visual sources and identify key

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traits of Barthélemy's style. In addition, scholarship that established Barthélemy's œuvre and elucidated his position within René's court played a crucial role in establishing his identity as the artist responsible for the images within the *Livre des tournois*.

René and Barthélemy's fruitful partnership evolved over the course of a thirty-year working relationship. In fact, René's familiarity with Barthélemy's family stretched back even further than that. Barthélemy's father, Pierre du Billant, was attached to René's court as a valet. In addition, René's household accounts record payments to Pierre for his services as a weaver or embroiderer. The earliest extant work attributed to Barthélemy while under René's patronage is a series of ink drawings completed for a copy of the *Chronique universelle* (c. 1440), of which only a single fragment now remains (fig. 46).

In 1446 Barthélemy was appointed René's *valet de chambre*, and in 1457 his *valet tranchant*.

These were not empty titles or honorary positions, but instead indicate a fair degree of familiarity and trust between René and his valued artist. Art historians have drawn attention to particular stylistic elements present in Barthélemy's work, suggesting

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that he was influenced or possibly even trained by Italian artists.\textsuperscript{26} However, there are no records which definitively state that Barthélemy ever travelled to Italy or worked directly with any Italian artist.\textsuperscript{27} He is not recorded as being present in René's entourage during the latter's attempt to secure the Neapolitan throne between 1438-1442. However, later records indicate that Barthélemy often accompanied his patron following René's expulsion from Naples.\textsuperscript{28} As court painters during this period tended to be localised to a city or region, except when sent on embassies, the fact that René kept Barthélemy near to him suggests a special relationship between the patron and his artist.\textsuperscript{29} The last record of Barthélemy before his death mentions his presence at an inventory carried out at René's residence at Angers in 1471-1472. After this point, there is only a single posthumous mention of this exceptional artist in a letter written by Barthélemy's widow to René sometime between 1475-1480 (fig. 60).\textsuperscript{30} This letter refers to René's desire to obtain specific "pourtraistures" completed by Barthélemy prior to his death. The fact that René took personal interest in obtaining what may well have been the final works completed by his favourite artist and companion, even going so far as to write to Barthélemy's widow to request them, is a reflection of the extraordinary nature of the relationship that existed between the artist and his patron.


\textsuperscript{29} Borchert, “The Mobility of Artists,” 43.

\textsuperscript{30} BnF, NaF ms. 6658, fol. 1. For a description and transcription of this letter, see: Gautier, and Avril, *Splendeur de l’enluminure*, 274-75.
Another remarkable piece of evidence that testifies to the close working relationship these two shared is found in a series of inventories taken at René's residences. An inventory conducted at Tarascon in 1457 records the presence of an apartment immediately adjoining René's in which Barthélemy resided and that contained all the equipment necessary for him to practise his craft.\(^{31}\) A second inventory, taken at René's castle at Angers in 1471 indicates that René had installed Barthélemy in a chamber, again complete with all the equipment necessary for his craft, immediately adjacent to René's private apartments.\(^{32}\) This document also records Barthélemy's presence during the inventory and is the last definitive record of René's favoured artist before his death, which likely happened sometime prior to 1475.\(^{33}\) The significance of a private work and living chamber for an artist located immediately adjacent to and accessible from the patron's private apartments cannot be overstated.\(^{34}\) This indicated an unusual, if not unique, level of trust and familiarity between artist and patron. In addition, these inventories reinforce the picture of a prince who was intimately involved in all aspects of his artists' productions, from the conceptual stage to the finished work. This latter idea is testified to by the presence of numerous, although unfortunately unnamed, manuscripts recorded in the inventories as being in the king's private apartments and in varying degrees of completion.\(^{35}\) The production of manuscripts in René's court was therefore not left solely to external agents and workshops. René's direct involvement in various cultural productions is attested to in numerous records such as those referencing various paintings.

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35. For example, see the inventory conducted at the Castle of Angers in 1471. Lecoy de la Marche, *Extraits des comptes*, 241-99.
completed by Nicolas Froment according to "...le pouvoir et devis que en a fait ledit seigneur roy de Sicile." Clearly René was a patron who was not only very aware of the intricacies of various cultural productions, but actively involved in conceptualising and overseeing their production.

This is nowhere more apparent than in the literary productions written by René and illustrated by Barthélemy. *Le Mortiissement de vaine plaisance* (1455), *Le livre du cœur d'amours espris* (1457), and the *Livre des tournois* (c. 1460) are all accepted as having been written by René. While René is sometimes credited with the authorship of *Regnault et Janneton* (1457-1461), a definitive identification of the author of this poem, as well as the artist of the images in the earliest extant copy, is uncertain. As has been pointed out numerous times, the images included in these works do not simply illustrate the text, but complement and expand on it, vividly and accurately visualising complex themes and bringing to life an intimate understanding of the author's intent. The image cycle in the first two provides details and visualisations that capture and reflect the allegorical method René employed in his writing.

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36. Lecoy de la Marche, *Extrait des comptes*, 58 no. 173, p. 60-62 no. 176. The original documents can be found in: Paris, AN, P 1334/7, f. 100, le 5 février 1460; and P 1334/9, f. 178, le 3 juillet 1472. Also see: Ferré, “Le roi René peintre?”, 118. Other records from René's household accounts refer to sketches René provided as models for various works. See below, page 49, note 51.


one wherein the artist simply took broad direction from his patron, nor was it one of fascination and familiarity. Nor does it appear to have been a process of submission and correction, whereby the artist would present his patron with a preliminary sketch that might then be approved or changed depending upon the reaction of the patron. It was rather one of collaborative initiative. Artist and author/patron worked together to conceptualise and create a unique symbiosis between text and image. The remainder of this chapter will demonstrate how the integration of text and image in the *Livre des tournois* presents a unified authorial voice that functioned to establish René's identity as a leading authority on tournament customs.

1.3 Text and Image

For centuries the author and artist of the *Livre des tournois* were considered to be a single person due in large part to how the text refers the reader to the images. Neither the visual programme nor the textual content of the *Livre des tournois* exists independently of the other. Nor is the relationship between text and image unidirectional, meaning that one is simply a representation of the other in a simple hierarchical structure. Instead the integration between these two elements is so complete that they are in effect inseparable

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40. Examples of princely patrons who were interested in the work of artists abound. For a useful summary, as well as examination of iconography that developed out of this, see: Inglis, *Jean Fouquet and the Invention of France*, 24-27.

41. For an example of such a case, see: Anne D. Hedeman, “Making the Past Present in Laurent de Premierfait’s Translation of *De Senectute,*” in *Excavating the Medieval Image: Manuscripts, Artists, Audiences; Essays in Honor of Sandra Hindman*, ed. David S. Areford, and Nina A. Rowe (Burlington: Aldershot, 2004), 64. Also see: Inglis, *Jean Fouquet and the Invention of France*, 60-61.

and mutually supportive. They function as interdependent exegetic components that build on each other in a manner that blurs the classic distinction between text and image, and directly impacts the way the audience conceives of the identity of the work's author and how they approach the book. Within the Livre des tournois, this propinquity is demonstrated through three devices. The first is the relationship between the images and the language used in their introductory captions. Secondly, the arrangement of both text and image as elements within the manuscript functions to encourage the reader to engage in a close integrated reading of both elements. Finally, the use of expansive detail in both the text and image cycle emphasises their mutually supportive nature. These devices work together to create the unique relationship between text and image that defines the Livre des tournois. The degree of integration between these elements is so complete that it suggests to the reader that a single individual must have been behind the work's creation, despite the collaborative effort we now understand went into producing it.

1.3.1 The Language of Imagery

There is a pattern in the language chosen for the work's captions, the content of individual images and their place within the development of the work's visual programme. Revealing this pattern is the first step in illustrating the embedded relationship between text and image that defines the Livre des tournois. This section will demonstrate that the vocabulary used in the captions not only emphasised the importance of the visual programme, but also encouraged the work's audience to engage with the images through a type of ontological exercise, in effect guiding the reader in how to interpret individual images. Understanding this relationship will be critically important.

43. I have purposefully chosen to use 'caption' as opposed to 'rubric' to describe these passages because it highlights the visual presentation of the work. Although the passages are written in the traditional red ink used to indicate a rubric, they are intimately connected to the visual presentation and introducing the images as opposed to thematic sections of the manuscript. For more on the captions' physical positioning as part of the layout of text and image, see below pages 53-56. On rubrics, see: Raymond Clemens, and Timothy Graham, Introduction to Manuscript Studies (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2007), 24-25.

44. For a similar study that explores how the text of a work guides the reader in their interpretation of the
later in this chapter when I examine the nature of representation within the development of the work's image cycle.

Every image, save one, is introduced by a unique caption that is not only tailored to the content of the image, but suggests to the reader a method for interpreting the image. These captions are always located on the page preceding the image. The textual content of the captions is fairly formulaic. They provide the reader with a directed summary of the image while avoiding overly descriptive textual details that distract the reader from the visual presentation. However, there is a convention behind the vocabulary used to introduce specific images. This centres on how the terms 'pourtraicté', 'histoire', and 'façon et maniere' were used individually and within different combinations in the captions. To explore this further I will first examine instances of each phrase placed against the context of representative images before turning to look at how the phrasing changes at a key point within the work. This process will demonstrate that each term suggests a particular strategy for reading the caption's accompanying image.

During the fifteenth century the term 'pourtraicté', and its close derivatives, were used to describe a variety of artistic endeavours. Although the most obvious connotation for this term is the modern 'portrait', meaning the visual representation of the likeness or image cycle, see Barbara Altmann's analysis of Christine de Pizan's *Livre du Debat de deux amans*: Barbara K Altmann, “Hearing the Text, Reading the Image: Christine de Pizan’s Livre du Debat de deux amans,” in *Au champ des escriptures. Ille Colloque international sur Christine de Pizan*, ed. Eric Hicks, Diego Gonzalez, and Philippe Simon (Paris: Honoré Champion Éditeur, 2000), 693-708. A number of studies of the *Livre des tournois* have noted that the text often directs the reader to the images, though none have yet explored how the process works. See: Gryse, “Toernooien en Steekspelen,” 87; Freigang, “Le tournoi idéal,” 180. Anne D. Hedeman notices a similar process in other manuscripts, adding that such references empower the images. Anne D. Hedeman, “Advising France through the Example of England: Visual Narrative in the Livre de la prinse et mort du roy Richart (Harl. MS. 1319),” *Electronic British Library Journal* Article 7(2011), 4.

45. The only image which is not introduced by a caption is the review of helmets and crests (fig. 22). For more on this image, see below pages 76-78. For a useful overview of medieval terminology, see: Robert W Scheller, *Exemplum: Model-Book Drawings and the Practice of Artistic Transmission in the Middle Ages (ca. 900 - ca. 1450)* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1995), 9-18.

46. For more on the importance of the layout of text and image within the manuscript, see below pages 53-56.
essence of an individual, its usage during the fifteenth century was far less precise. During this period 'pourtraicte' was often used to refer to preparatory or conceptual drawings, as well as sketches of individual visual elements that could then be combined to form a more complex compositions. The letter sent by Barthélemy's widow to René refers to a request that certain "pourtraistures" completed by Barthélemy prior to his death be returned to René (fig. 60). While the exact subject and content of these "pourtraistures" remain a mystery, Nicole Reynaud has suggested that the reference is almost certainly to a series of preparatory drawings completed by the artist. Recorded within René's accounts are several payments that refer to 'pourtraictes' in terms that suggest these items were preparatory drawings for items as diverse as sculptures, devotional paintings, and coats of arms. The term is even mentioned in the midst of a payment order issued for particular pieces of arms and armour, including a tournament helmet. An inventory conducted at one of René's residences used almost identical terminology to record the presence of what likely was a series of preparatory drawings similar to the Vienna Model Book (fig. 61). Comparable vocabulary was also frequently used to


48. I have opted for the most accessible spelling used in P1, the oldest and likely original manuscript of *Livre des tournois*. For examples of its usage in the *Livre des tournois*, including variant spellings in the later manuscript copies, see: Appendix A, page 480, line 6; page 487, line 2; page 495, line 5; page 500, line 21; page 511, line 14; page 524, line 18; page 532, line 3; page 536, line 4; page 548, line 13; page 552, line 1; page 556, line 3; page 560, line 4; and page 572, line 1. On the use of the term in contemporary descriptions of artistic endeavours, see: Lecoy de la Marche, *Extraits des comptes*, 261 note 4; Inglis, *Jean Fouquet and the Invention of France*, 37-67; Frédéric Godefroy, *Dictionnaire de l’ancienne langue française et de tous ses dialectes du IXe au XVe siècle* (1881), VI, pp. 320-321; “Dictionnaire du Moyen Français (1330-1500).” accessed September, 2015, http://www.atilf.fr/dmf/; Campbell, *Renaissance Portraits*, 1-39.

49. BnF, NaF ms. 6658, f. 1.


reference an image produced from direct observation of the subject, whether it be a person *au vif* or an object.\textsuperscript{54} This same terminology was used to describe imagery that possessed a particular mimetic quality that facilitated the viewers identification of the subject and understanding of the image.\textsuperscript{55} Finally, as Stephen Perkinson has shown 'pourtraicte' was used to describe works of art, especially visionary images, that were considered to be exceptional, even divinely inspired creations.\textsuperscript{56} The term therefore implied a diverse and nuanced set of meanings, including the quality of the image, its use as a type of detailed preparatory visual study, and its ability to convey the essence of its subject.

In the *Livre des tournois*, the use of 'pourtraicte' is almost exclusively limited to the work's captions.\textsuperscript{57} Of the three instances the term appears within the main body of text, all are in direct reference to either a specific image, such as the passage describing the assembly of the houtr, or the portrayal of a particular object within one of the images, such as the inclusion of the judges' banners within the poster of the king of arms (fig. 20).\textsuperscript{58} The third occurrence, in the description of the image of the two dukes armed and mounted as if at the tournament, is an exceptional case that I will return to near the end of this chapter.\textsuperscript{59}

Within the captions, 'pourtraicte' functions as a descriptive introductory term that guides


\textsuperscript{55} Campbell, *Renaissance Portraits*, 11-12.


\textsuperscript{57} Campbell argues that there are detectable patterns in how the terms are used. See Campbell, *Renaissance Portraits*, 1.

\textsuperscript{58} Appendix A, page 548, line 9; page 604, line 23.

\textsuperscript{59} Appendix A, page 500, line 14. Also see pages 80-84.
the reader in their interpretation of two different groups of images. The first group is
comprised of the initial five single page images that illustrate the series of ceremonies that
should take place prior to the tournament (figs. 1-5). The second group consists of the nine
images that show the various pieces of equipment René described as being necessary for
the tournament (figs. 6-14). In nearly every occurrence within both groups, 'pourtraicte' is
paired with some variation of the phrase 'facon et maniere'. For example, the caption that
introduces the image of the tournament sword and mace reads, "Icy apres est pourtraicte la
facon et la maniere de l'espee et de la masse."60

Like 'pourtraicte', 'facon et maniere' carries certain connotations that are directly
relevant to reading the images in the *Livre des tournois*. This terminology, either
singly or in conjunction such as found in the *Livre des tournois*, is often found in
reference to contemporary descriptions of images and portraits, including both contracts
and notes on preparatory drawings from the fifteenth century.61 It denotes not only a
naturalistic representation of the subject, but an artistic achievement that captured the
essence of the subject through pictorial emulation.62 The wording of the captions therefore
indicates to the reader a certain duality of purpose behind the images. In fact, the images
in these two groups function as both foundational images that aid the reader in
understanding the rest of the image cycle and as standalone didactic representations that
convey specific qualities of the thing being represented, whether it is a ceremonial rite or a
piece of equipment.

60. Appendix A, page 536, lines 4-5.


In comparison, the use of 'histoire' in the *Livre des tournois* introduces the image as a narrative scene assembled from numerous textual and pictorial elements defined in the initial 'pourtraictes'. These elements may be subjects, objects or specific ceremonial rites that when combined form a complex narrative. For example, in captions such as, "Histoire commant les tournoyeurs se vont batant par troppeaulx," which introduces the melee image, the reader is not directed to engage with any one particular element in the image (fig. 25). Instead they are left to consider the image as a whole assembly that, as the descriptor implies, tells a story. In fact, the consistent use of 'histoire' within the captions of the final eleven images functions as a mnemonic device between text and image linking the images together into a narrative that unfolds over the course of several images.

Near the mid-point of the image cycle there is a discernible change to the language used in the captions wherein the primary descriptive term changes from 'pourtraictes' to 'histoire'. This shift coincides with a change in focus within the main body of the text from detailed accounts of the tournament equipment and initiatory ceremonies to the more elaborate narration of the event itself. Moreover, it is at this same point in the manuscript that there is also a significant shift to the format of the individual images within the image cycle. Prior to this every image is presented as a composition on a single page. After the spot where the captions switch to using 'histoire' nine of the eleven remaining images, such as the melee image introduced above, are physically larger compositions that span a double-page spread (fig. 25). Therefore the change in the textual content of the captions signals to the reader that there is a shift in the nature of the work's images from the elemental 'pourtraictes' that convey accurate and fundamental details to the more elaborate

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63. Appendix A, page 692, lines 11-12. “Histoire showing how the tourneiers fight in teams.” I have opted to leave *histoire* untranslated in this instance as it is a particularly nuanced term that effects the reading of the image. In this case it suggests a story, description and spectacle firmly rooted in the visual presentation. Such a multiplicity of meaning with an emphasis on the visual nature of the *histoire* is further suggested by the lack of any further descriptive text.

64. For more on the shift from single page images to dual page images see below, pages 73-75.
narrative 'histoires'. This confluent shift that exists between text and image is a crucial part of how the work functions as a whole unit, and a point I will return to throughout this chapter.

1.3.2 The Mise-en-page of Text and Image

The arrangement, or layout, of text and image effectively emphasises the presentation and content of the images while simultaneously facilitating the reader's visual engagement with the work. Two qualities of the work's layout contribute to this process. The first is the consistent sequential arrangement of text and image. The arrangement effectively emphasises the images by interjecting a visual break at key moments in the text. The second quality is the spatial arrangement of text and image on the page and within the book. As I will demonstrate, the physical separation of text and image functions to encourage the reader to engage with the images at key moments in the sequence.

Within the *Livre des tournois*, the arrangement of textual content relative to the work's images follows a consistent sequence. This pattern effectively encourages the reader to engage with the images in a manner that, while not prioritising the images at the expense of the text, nonetheless emphasises the image cycle as a vital and inseparable part of the book. The sequence begins with a section of introductory text, followed by a caption, then the corresponding image, after which the reader may be presented with

further relevant information. This final section takes the form of either a scripted speech or further detail that expands on the initial introduction.

However, it is not only the order of these various elements that is important, but also the fact that text and image are never presented together on the same page. This arrangement results in large areas of unused space throughout the work. This is particularly noticeable on folios that feature images that occupy only a portion of the page (fig. 7), or when the text is simply a short passage or caption (fig. 62). This unused, or negative space, asserts the visual presence of the text or image on the page. In fact, the prolific use of blank space reflects the value placed on the overall visual presentation of text and image within the *Livre des tournois*. This presentation is quite different from the cultural norm that prioritised filling empty space in a manuscript with decoration or text, which resulted in the presence of text, image and caption on the same page (fig. 63).66

There is a symmetry between the visual presentation of the text and the images in the *Livre des tournois*. The short assertive passages and captions mirror the uncluttered background of their corresponding images. The caption and image set for the tournament weapons, introduced above, demonstrates this particularly well (figs. 62 and 10). The reader is left to consider the visual ‘façon et maniere’ of the representation in this image free from the burden of distracting or irrelevant visual details. This presentation was particularly valued by later patrons who commissioned copies that maintained the relative layout of text and image found in the source manuscript, despite the more prevalent trend of reworking image cycles and layouts to create a sense of completeness or uniformity that may have been present due to unused, empty space in manuscripts.67


67. The reception of the *Livre des tournois* is highly unusual in this regard. For example, see the studies
With an understanding of the role of the spatial arrangement of the text and image, I return to the effect that the sequence outlined above has on the reader's understanding of the treatise. The sequence begins by providing the reader with enough information to interpret what is shown in the image, before forcing a shift from a textual reading to a visual one and back. In sequences such as the acceptance of the challenge, this switch happens at a precise moment in narrative time, specifically immediately before the king of arms speaks in the ceremonial rite. The pause in the textual narration is forced onto the reader by the paired caption-image sequence that, to emphasise a point made previously, are always found on separate pages. Furthermore, the use of empty space, as described above, aids this process. This first visual break occurs between the conclusion of the initial description and the caption, then again between the caption and the image, and finally on the page with the image and arguably within the image itself (figs. 64 and 2). The image literally and figuratively punctuates the text at a critical point. The pause in the textual narration is precisely captured in the corresponding image. This image, like the others in the initial sequence of five images, is not a narrative image in the sense that it depicts a sequence of linear events in a single composition, it is instead a visualisation of a singular moment. Furthermore, as outlined in the previous section, the text of the caption provides additional guidance for the reader in how to interpret the image. In reference to completed on later editions of Christine de Pizan's works: Hardman, “Windows into the Text,” 50. As a counter argument, Anne-Marie Barbier draws attention to the overwhelmingly similar image cycles that are found in a group of four manuscript copies of Christine de Pizan's Epistre Othea, concluding that the cycle was valued for its iconographic choices and reflects a now lost source. The similarities between the image cycles of the manuscript copies of the Livre des tournois are significantly greater than those described by Barbier. Anne-Marie Barbier, “Le cycle iconographique perdu de l’Epistre Othea de Christine de Pizan. Le cas des manuscrits Beauvais, BM 09 et Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 421,” Cahiers de recherches médiévales et humanistes 16(2008), 284-90.


69. For more on the use of empty space in the construction of the images, see below pages 67-72.


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the current example under consideration the caption reads, "Icy apres pourtraictie la façon
et le maniere comment le roy d'armes presente l'espee au Duc de Bourbon."71 By
depicting the precise moment the tournament sword is presented to the Duke of Bourbon
the image and caption work together to focus the reader's attention on the rite that lies at
the heart of the ritual. The king of arms is shown holding the sword balanced "par la
poincte" as the preceding section of text dictates he should.72

Moreover there is evidence that the author was actively engaged in choosing where
to locate certain captions relative to their images. P1, the source manuscript, contains
some unusual redactions. Entire paragraphs have been crossed out and rewritten.73 In
some cases this has resulted in paragraphs in which the descriptive language is more
consistent with the rest of the manuscript. In others, the paragraph has been relocated,
verbatim, but in a position that is more consistent with the physical arrangement of text and
image in the rest of the manuscript. The fact that there were purposeful interventions in the
layout at the time the manuscript was composed is indicated by the paragraphs being
crossed out in the same ink colour in which they were written. Furthermore, these editorial
changes were universally adopted within the later manuscript copies which were based on
P1. None of the later manuscript copies opts to include the crossed out text. It appears
that not only did the author envision a particular layout of text and image to aid the reading
of his work, but that his audience recognised the value of this layout. The layout of text
and image, in conjunction with textual referents in the captions, therefore functions to
encourage a reading of the image that is focussed on the fundamental qualities of the
ceremony at a precise moment in the narrative.

71. Appendix A, page 487, lines 2-4. "Hereafter is shown the way and manner how the king of arms presents
the sword to the Duke of Bourbon.” Translation with some modification from: Bennett, “King René’s
Tournament Book.”


73. Appendix A, page 532, note 183; page 552, note 265; page 564, note 286; page 615, note 388.
1.3.3 Mutually Supportive Details

Otto Pächt characterised the relationship between the text and images in the *Livre des tournois* as one wherein the images function as the exegesis of the text. Building on this premise and drawing attention to additional details present in the images that are not included in the written passages, François Avril and Christian Freigang described how certain images expand on the text. The relationship is actually more subtle. Details included in both text and image tie the two elements together in a closely knit web of interdependency. Text and image are not simply just accurate replicas of each other. Nor is their relationship unidirectional, meaning one always serves as the expansion of the other. They are instead mutually expansive, each serving as the exegesis of the other. In order to illustrate this relationship, this section will examine how the use of detail functions in two different examples taken from text and image combinations, the first from the tournament equipment and the second a ceremonial narrative. Expansive detail, in conjunction with the other devices already examined, guides the reader to engage with different sections of the work relative to their focus.

The mutually supportive use of detail is most readily apparent in the section of the work that presents the equipment necessary for the particular form of tournament being described. The text provides details for the reader that the images are simply ill suited to convey. For instance, in the passage that follows the image of the tournament weapons, René's written description expands the audience's understanding of the weapons by

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focussing on specific physical properties of the items (fig. 10). In this description René has detailed the length, width and construction of the sword and mace, all of which aid the reader in reaching an understanding of the physical materiality of the visualised items. These textual details do not stand alone, but are instead reinforced by the precise mimetic qualities present in the corresponding image. The sword and mace were drawn by a skilled artist who took care to include details that match the descriptive text. The reader can thus identify the hollowed fuller that runs the length of the blade, the crosspiece that protects the hands, and the braided cord that attaches to the tourneyer's cuirass and is used to keep the weapon from falling to the ground if the individual should lose their grip. All of these details are included in the description that follows the image. However, the image also expands on René's description. For instance the guard consists of both a crosspiece and curved piece of metal that would protect the hand and deflect any blows that should "par cas d'aventure descendroit ou viendroit glissant le long de l'espee jusques sur les doiz." While René indicated the necessity of such a protective device in his textual description he did not include specific information about its construction. The descriptive gaps in either text or image are thus elucidated by expansive details present in the other. By providing additional details, written or visual, text and image function closely together to create a total understanding of the object relative to its purpose.

Although the focus of the textual passages in the sequences describing the initial ceremonial rites is understandably different than that in the section on the equipment, the overall supportive effect between text and image is similar. The most common form of additional information presented via the text in this section are the scripted speeches presented as examples for the ceremonial rites. These speeches are not simply exemplars 76. Appendix A, page 540, lines 1-28. 77. Appendix A, page 540, lines 1-21. 78. Appendix A, page 540, lines 11-13. "...by chance descend or comes sliding down the length of the sword to the fingers." Translation from: Bennett, “King René’s Tournament Book.”
to be copied, they contain embedded information that deepens the reader's understanding of René's tournament by relating crucial additional information not found elsewhere in the text. For example, in the speech wherein the Duke of Brittany charges his king of arms with carrying the challenge to the Duke of Bourbon, the reader learns a number of details not previously found in the text. 79  This speech contains the first occurrence in which René names the form of tournament he envisioned, calling it a "bouhordis." 80  The reader learns other important details as well. For instance, the king of arms is responsible for delivering the tournament sword to the defendant as a symbol of the challenge, and there are to be four judges who will be in charge of arranging the date and location of the event. The inclusion of additional details within the text of a speech is a pattern repeated throughout the Livre des tournois.

As demonstrated above, the images engage with the text of these speeches by presenting a visualisation of the moment, or a punctuation in the narrative sequence, that occurs immediately prior to the speech. Although the images are obviously silent, the reader is given the sense of impending vocalised communication. Figures are shown using familiar visual indications of speech, such as leaning in or gesturing towards one another as if conversing (fig. 65). 81  Another example is included in the text and image sequence outlining the proper etiquette for crying the tournament (fig. 5).

Et premierement, l'ung des poursuivans de la compagnie du roy d'armes, qui plus haute voix aura, doibt crier par troys haultes allenees et troys grandes reposees.
Or ouez, or ouez, or ouez. 82

80. For more on this, see Chapter 4.
82. Appendix A, page 515, lines 7-11. "And first, one of the pursuivants of the company of the king of arms, who has a very loud voice, ought to cry, taking three great breaths and three great pauses. Hear ye, hear ye, hear ye.”  Translation, with some modification, from: Bennett, "King René’s Tournament Book."
The text for this section is particularly detailed in its instruction and directs the pursuivant to take three deep breaths and three great pauses before crying in a loud voice, "Or ouez, or ouez, or ouez." By including a herald shown with his head thrown back and mouth wide open, the artist has presented the reader with a visualisation of the moment that the herald begins his cry. Furthermore, as with the rest of the work, the text of this speech is on a page that is separate from the image. There are also never any banderoles or inscriptions in the image, both of which were relatively common devices used in images to link textual accounts of speeches to images (fig. 66). While text and image are physically separate in the Livre des tournois, they nonetheless function in support of one another. The details in the visualised moment thus encourage the reader to engage with the scene and prepare themselves for the textual rendition of the spoken word. Thus text and image work together to engage the reader in a multi-layered process of communication.

1.3.4 Section Conclusion

Text and image function as inseparable and mutually supportive elements within the Livre des tournois, uniting the work into a cohesive book. The captions direct the reader in how to engage with the work's images as either essential foundational representations that convey key qualities of ceremonies or equipment, or as complex narrative images built from an understanding of the former. At the same time, the layout of both the text and image functions as a type of mirrored visual presentation that links the two elements while preparing the reader for a visual reading of the work. Finally, the use of expansive detail in both elements characterises the mutually supportive relationship between text and image. As shown, these three devices do not function independently of each other. Instead, they illustrate the complexity and interconnected nature of the text and image cycle within the book. This is a product of the unusual and particularly fruitful

collaborative relationship that existed between René and Barthélemy d'Eyck.
Understanding how these pieces fit together has been necessary before examining the
nature of representation within the *Livre des tournois*.

1.4 Nature of Representation

At the heart of the *Livre des tournois*'s visual programme is a unique relationship
between didactic representation and narrative imagery. Like text and image, didactic and
narrative imagery do not exist independently of one another. They are entwined in a
mutually supportive interdependency and together form the visual language that makes the
*Livre des tournois* a unique and intriguing work. This section will examine the work's
didactic and narrative images in turn and demonstrate how they function as an integrated
whole. Although assigning a division between these two types of images is useful for
examining the nature of representations in the work, any such distinction must be fluid as
many of the work's images can easily be interpreted as either or both didactic and
narrative. In fact, the fluidity that is built into certain images is a vital part of how the
work engages the reader into reading the embedded visual narratives. I will examine this
particular point in more detail at the end of this section. Because the visual programme is
such a striking, integral, and yet not fully understood aspect of the *Livre des tournois*,
examining how these categories function as elements within the programme will reveal the
degree of thoroughness and intent that went into creating the image cycle and its role in the
book. Finally, although I will focus on the visual presentation of the work's images, as was
demonstrated previously text and image in the *Livre des tournois* are inseparable and
mutually defining. Therefore I will refer to particular points from the previous section
when they directly support the arguments being presented. This examination will further
demonstrate the close integration that exists between the work's textual and visual content.
1.4.1 Didactic Imagery and Mimetic Representation

Mimetic imagery is commonly defined and understood to be an imitative representation of the real world. While imitative or realistic representation is a critical part of the work's visual programme, the images were conceived and created with the intent of presenting specific properties of their subject rather than presenting hyper realistic images. Mimesis in the Livre des tournois must therefore function in service to the larger didactic intent that lies behind the images. In fact, mimesis is one piece of an artistic process that defines the work's visual vocabulary thereby enabling the reader to decode the work's images. This process is accomplished via the combination of mimetic representation with the artist's construction and use of visual space to focus the viewer's attention on the most vital didactic properties of the representation. These elements function together to create images that directly reinforce and expand on key textual passages. In order to illustrate the complexity of this process I will first examine how Barthélemy's style and technique directly contributed to the mimetic quality of his didactic image constructions. I will then examine how the visual construction of space within the

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images facilitated a reader response aimed at directing attention to the most vital aspects of the images as they relate to the textual descriptions.

The mimetic quality of the work's images is the direct result of Barthélemy's ability to capture precise detail without forgoing a soft naturalism. While the finely rendered and detailed images of the tournament equipment are the most obvious images to consider when addressing the role of didactic representation, the fact is that mimesis in the *Livre des tournois*’s image cycle is not confined solely to the realistic representation of material objects. It extends to representations of individuals, physical actions, and ceremonial rites. Understanding the role of mimetic imagery is therefore vital to understanding how the image cycle is an integral part of conveying the form of tournament René was presenting to his audience. Whether of equipment or courtly ceremonies, the images in the first half of the *Livre des tournois* were created with the intent of presenting focussed visual studies that would encourage the reader to engage in a close reading of specific aspects of the representation relative to the textual content. Such a visual reading not only reinforces the content of the work's textual descriptions, it defines a visual vocabulary that the reader may then use to interpret the work's later narrative images. Although the minute details contained within the work's various images are an important part of Barthélemy's mimetic imagery, his style is not confined by the sharp illusionistic realism often


86. A number of studies of the *Livre des tournois*’s visual programme have addressed the images of equipment as a digression from the rest of the image cycle. See: Freigang, “Le tournoi idéal,” 181; Mérindol, “Le livre des tournois,” 180; Vauvre, “Le livre des tournois,” 338. Others have focussed on the technical aspects of the work at the expense of any narrative function. See: Gryse, “Toernooien en Steekspelen,” 87.
associated with the oil on panel paintings produced by Flemish artists such as Jan van Eyck earlier in the century.\textsuperscript{87} Barthélemy's style, including the imagery in the \textit{Livre des tournois}, is instead the result of the combination of fine detail tempered by a softer presentation.

The technique Barthélemy used for the \textit{Livre des tournois}'s images, namely the application of coloured ink washes over fine line drawings on a paper surface, greatly aided the particular mimetic qualities of the work's images. While some art historians have questioned whether Barthélemy applied the colour washes himself, their application reinforces particular mimetic qualities present within the images in such a way that it suggests that a singular hand was behind both the line drawings and ink washes. First of all, the ink wash allows the line drawings together with all their embedded details to remain visible through the coloured surfaces. At the same time, the ink washes were applied in a manner that they enhance the illusion of dimensionality and materiality present in the images. Although softer than the more luminescent oil paintings or even the tempera on parchment that made up the majority of manuscript illuminations from this period, Barthélemy's ink wash technique nonetheless mimics a reflective quality to the metallic objects while gently lending themselves to the dimensional volume and pliability found in his depictions of softer materials and figures. The image showing the arm harnesses reflects the range of this technique particularly well (fig. 8). The brush work used to apply the wash to the images of the piece of metal armour follows and enhances the contours laid out in the line drawings, while the tonality of the wash varies between tint and shade to further amplify the sense of depth and dimensionality present in the rendering. Meanwhile fine details such as the articulation and hinges in the white harness, or the buckles, straps and braided reinforcement on the boiled leather harness still shine through. Although

when compared against the reflective surface of the armour in Jan van Eyck’s *Madonna of Canon van der Paele* (figs. 67 and 68), the blue wash by Barthélemy on the white harness created a less luminescent mimetic imitation, the viewer is no less inclined to believe the image is an accurate representation of the object.

The finely rendered details in the image showing the assembly of the tournament helmet and crest not only help to imbue the representation with a sense of tangibility, they also convey critical properties of the object's physical construction to the viewer (fig. 6). However, while this image is certainly a detailed study of the object in three stages, it is more than a simple schematic illustration. By depicting three stages of the construction process, the artist not only presented the viewer with a practical visual guide to the assembly of the crest, but also a visible transformation of the object. The slightly skewed profile view together with the same careful shading technique described above lend a substantive dimensionality to the representation that almost lifts the object off the paper and out of the book. The liveliness in this image, if such a term may be applied to a representation of an inanimate object, is reinforced by the final stage of the assembly process, which includes the heraldic mantle flowing naturally behind the helmet. It is as if the assembled helmet and crest was being worn by a combatant on a charging horse, which is exactly how it is shown in the image of the two dukes armed and on horseback (fig. 15), as well as on the tourneyers in the later narrative image of the tournament melee (fig. 25). The helmet and crest are thus defined for the viewer as an object before being introduced as an element within the narrative images. This process is repeated throughout the work's image cycle, and is a point which I will return to when addressing the nature of the narrative images.

Barthélemy's skilful use of detail in combination with his subtle application of tint and shade is also particularly important when considering the composition of his figures and their role in mimetic representation. Whether shown in the midst of movement or in
perfect stillness, there is an easy natural grace to his figures. This is particularly apparent in the early ceremonial court scenes where the action is shown stopped at a precise moment in the narrative, as detailed earlier in this chapter. The figure of the Duke of Brittany in the image showing the initial challenge ceremony offers a useful example to illustrate how this process aids the reader's interpretation of the image (fig. 1). The duke's crossed feet together with the casual placement of his hand on top of one of his legs functions to shift his weight forward as he presents the tournament sword to the king of arms. The duke's focus is met and returned by the outstretched hand and upward gaze of the king of arms who looks expectantly at the seated figure. Like the duke, the king of arms' weight is shifted forward into the centre of the image and the moment of the exchange. In a gesture mirroring the duke, the king of arms' hand rests on his own bent knee, a visible indication of the shift in his centre of gravity as he reaches across his body to accept the offered sword. Detail and naturalism combine to lend a mimetic illusion of grace to the figures that draws the viewer's attention into the centre of the image and the moment of the exchange, at which is found the precisely detailed representation of the tournament sword. The precision given to the representation of the sword in this image reflects that found in the later study of the tournament sword in the section on the tournament equipment (fig. 10). Furthermore, the graceful depiction of the figures stopped in mid-action lends itself to the presentation of the image as a visually paused moment in the narrative. This moment exists immediately prior to the duke's speech, a fact reinforced by the image's precise position in the sequence of text and image as described earlier in this chapter. In addition, the artist's careful attention to detail conveys the expectant look of the king of arms, which serves as a visual indication that he is listening for the

88. See above, note 85.
89. See above, pages 55-56.
90. See above, page 55.
forthcoming speech. The artist's composition of these two key figures thus functions to highlight the importance of the exchange taking place between them while also reinforcing their roles and status relative to each other as described in the textual narrative.

While the didactic quality of Barthélemy's images is rooted in the combination of precise mimetic detail and naturalistic presentation, there is another element to his compositions that directly influences how the reader engages with the images. The visual incongruity between the mimetic precision within the images and the absence of fully realised and realistic backgrounds is striking. Although this is most apparent in the initial sequence of five images that present the initial ceremonial rites that are to take place prior to the tournament, it is a visual theme repeated in nearly every one of the work's twenty-six images. However, rather than detracting from the mimetic quality of the imagery, Barthélemy's deliberate use of empty space heightens specific didactic aspects of the images that directly capture or enhance the textual content of René's treatise. This empty space is the result of the arrangement of pictorial elements within individual images rather than the unused space on the page that exists outside the image that was addressed earlier.  

The former manifests most directly from the absence of backgrounds within the images. While there is some overlap between these two, especially in the images of equipment where the visualised object is presented on an otherwise undecorated page, this section will focus on the construction of space within the images.

In the equipment images this composition fosters a close engagement with the details of physical properties of the objects as they are represented in the images. The comparative emptiness of the space around the images helps to heighten the presence of fine details within the images and thus their mimetic presentation. The lack of borders around the individual items aids this process by leaving the object unbound and thus more

91. See above, page 54.
present and immediate to the reader. Barthélemy's skilful application of coloured ink wash enhances the presence of the visualised object on the page by complementing its dimensionality. Moreover, this section of the Livre des tournois is the only one in which the text is singularly focussed on describing material properties of objects. Thus the object, despite the lack of a visual context is presented as a mimetic image that highlights its physical properties in conjunction with the textual description. In sections where René has surrendered the description of a particular piece of equipment entirely to the image, such as with the gauntlets, the physical details in the image become all the more critical. While the text aids in the reader's understanding of the visualised object, the genius of the work's images is that the reader can still understand the object without further textual elaboration. The images of equipment thus emphasise the physical properties, or the 'facon et maniere' of the objects' 'pourtraictes'.

In comparison to the images of equipment, the early ceremonial scenes take up significantly more space on the page while also being more complex constructions. However, like the images of equipment they were constructed so as to highlight specific didactic details. This process is aided by the presence of undecorated space both within the image and, as previously indicated, on the page. Backgrounds are entirely absent except for the rudimentary inclusion of a floor or ground covering (figs. 3 and 5). This provides a nonintrusive point of reference that establishes the dimensional space while avoiding cluttering the image with details that are not found in the text nor are directly relevant to the narrative. The ceremonial challenge scene once again serves as a useful example (fig. 1). In this example the absence of a background helps to highlight specific elements within the image. The figures of the assembled court are brought forward into the reader's

93. On the use of these terms in the Livre des tournois, see above pages 47-53.
94. See above, page 54.
focus. The courtiers and attendants together with the throne, heraldic trappings and cloth of honour that hangs behind the duke sufficiently define the setting as the court of the Duke of Brittany without complicating the scene or bombarding the reader with irrelevant visual details. Nearly every object included in the composition is described in the text, including the assembled audience, which René clearly states should be present at the ceremony.95 The focussed gazes of the assembled courtiers inwards towards the duke and his king of arms at the centre of the image directs the reader's attention to these two figures and thus draws us into the detail of their exchange. In fact, the entire image is balanced around this exchange. It not only joins the ceremony's two principal figures, it serves as both the visual and textual heart of the ceremony. This focussed reading is directly indicated by the image's caption, "Icy apres est pourtraictie la facon et maniere comme le Duc de Bretaigne, appellant, baille l'espee au roy d'armes pour l'envoyer presenter au Duc de Bourbon, deffendant."96 Textually and visually the focus of the ceremony is the exchange of the sword and its presence as a symbol of the challenge to tournament. The compositional arrangement of this image, and indeed all of the initial ceremonial images, aided by the artist's use of empty space, thus mirrors the focussed nature of both the textual description and directed reading emphasised by the caption text as described earlier in this chapter. The image was therefore constructed as a visualisation of the essence, or the core properties that defined the ceremony. In a further confluence between text and image, the exclusion of a fully realised mimetic setting thus directly aids the conveyance of the 'pourtraicte' and 'facon et maniere' nature of the imaged ceremonial rite.

Among the examples of René and Barthélemy's collaborative efforts the compositional use of space found in the images of the Livre des tournois was unique. The


96. Appendix A, page 480, lines 6-9. "Hereafter is shown the way and manner in which the Duke of Brittany, appellant, gives the sword to the king of arms to go and present it to the Duke of Bourbon, defendant." Translation from: Bennett, "King René’s Tournament Book.”
images that make up the visual programmes of both the Livre du Cœur and the
Mortifiement include detailed backgrounds that anchor the images in imitative or mimetic
settings (figs. 69 and 70). Although Barthélemy's images that are contained in the
anonymous Relation du pas de Saumur bear some resemblance to those from the Livre des
tournois there is still an important fundamental difference between the different image
cycles (fig. 37). Both image cycles were composed of ink washes applied over fine line
drawings on paper medium. The same attention to detail in combination with naturalistic
presentation of subjects is found in both works. However, the images in the Relation
include backgrounds that while ethereal still exist to provide a contextual setting for the
images. The critical difference between the Livre des tournois and these other works is
their genre. While the Relation was written as a verse account of a specific event, the Livre
des tournois was written and visually presented as a treatise.

In fact, looking beyond the limited scope of Barthelemy and René's efforts reveals
that although unusual, imagery that contained prominent amounts of empty or unused
space was certainly not a feature unique to the Livres des tournois. Moreover, if the focus
is limited to illustrated treatises written during the same period as the Livre des tournois
there is a discernible increase in the frequency of works that contain visual arrangements
that make prominent use of empty space. Images of equipment in military treatises were

97. For useful introductions and summaries of both the Livre du Cœur and the Mortifiement, see the entries
in the catalogue of the recent exhibition held at Angers in 2009-2010: Gautier, and Avril, Splendeur de
l'enluminure, 284-286, 300-301, 304-305. For more on the Livre du Cœur, see: Trenkler, Dar Livre du cuer;
Unterkircher, King René's Book of Love; Ferré, “Culture théâtrale,” 126-27; Ferré, “Culture théâtrale,”
184-88; Durrieu, “Notes sur quelques manuscrits français,” 142; Anjou, The Book of the Love-Smitten Heart,
xxi; Freigang, “Le tournoi idéal,” 182-83. Durrieu was the first to propose that the same artist was
responsible for the Livre du cuer, the Livre des tournois, and another of René's manuscripts, a copy of


99. For more on the images in the Relation, see: Bianciotto, “Le pas d’armes de Saumur,” 4; Gautier, and
Avril, Splendeur de l'enluminure, 244-47; Paul Durrieu, “Manuscrits des œuvres littéraires du roi René
(partie 1),” Comptes-rendus des séances de l’Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres 58, no. 2 (1914),
135; Pächt, “René d’Anjou - Studien II,” 38-42, 64-66; Robin, La cour d’Anjou-Provence, 173-74; Reynaud,
“Barthélémy d’Eyck,” 38; Méridol, Les Fêtes de chevalerie.
often featured on pages devoid of other decoration, and with only the minimal intrusion of text (fig. 71). The German *Fechtbücher* and Italian fencing manuals written and illustrated in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries made abundant use of a similar compositional arrangement in their images (figs. 72 and 73). Like Barthélemy's images in the *Livre des tournois*, the images in these works are presented as detailed studies of specific items of equipment or moments in time. They rely on both detail and the naturalistic presentation of figures and like the *Livre des tournois* images were designed to focus the reader's attention on crucial aspects of the representation. The success of such works lay in the artist's ability to depict figures engaged in complex manoeuvres in a manner that accurately reinforced or even expanded on the author's description. However, unlike the images in the *Livre des tournois* explanatory text was often, although not always, included near the image. Any portrayal of backgrounds in these images is highly unusual and when present, like Barthélemy's images in the *Livre des tournois*, is minimally intrusive (fig. 74).

Furthermore, the absence of backgrounds or definitive settings

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creates images, that while precise and detailed, are sufficiently abstract so that the reader can engage with it as a model. The construction of didactic images within treatises thus reflects the precision of the focussed instructional texts. Clearly there was an understood relationship between the genre of a given work, and the compositional arrangement of its images. Thus Barthélemy's compositions do not only function to relate and define key visual elements as related to the text. By conforming to a visual typology associated with the treatise genre the nature of the images in the *Livre des tournois* help to position the work as an authoritative treatise and thereby reinforce René's authorial assertion of expertise.

The mimetic qualities of the work's images work in conjunction with the compositional arrangement to convey the didactic aspects of the representation. In the case of the tournament equipment, this centres on the physical properties of the objects. In the ceremonial images this functions by centring the viewer's attention on the most important elements of the ceremony, the ones that define subject's identities, relative status and points of ceremonial etiquette. The construction of space and arrangement of visual elements thus aids a reading of the images that is focussed on the mimetic nature of the representation with the ultimate goal of relating the most critical fundamental properties of the representation. These didactic images thus help to position the works as an authoritative treatise. Furthermore, while they only form a part of the image cycle, the reader's understanding of the narrative images that dominate the second half of the work is reliant on the didactic images.

1.4.2 The Visual Narrative

Beginning with the image of the two dukes mounted and armed as it at the tournament (fig. 15) there is a fundamental shift in the nature of the work's imagery from presenting the type of didactic foundational images described above to engaging the reader in more elaborate narrative constructions. This narrative sequence develops commensurate...
with the textual description of the event, beginning with the first day of the tournament and concluding with the final image of the prize ceremony (fig. 26). The images in this sequence contain embedded information that not only reinforces René's descriptive text, but also enhances the presentation of his idealised event. However, fully understanding or decoding these images is a process that begins with and relies on the visual vocabulary that is defined within the foundational didactic images described above. This section will demonstrate the importance that the narrative images play in the presentation of René's tournament by first addressing the properties of the images that mark them as being distinct from the work's other examples, including the image format and creation of visual space within the images. I will then examine the narrative sequence in context with the concurrent conceptual shift that takes place in the work's text. What will emerge from this study is an understanding of the thoroughness and complexity of the entire image cycle, as well as further reinforcing the importance of the relationship between text and image that defines the work and establishes René's status as an expert in tournament customs.

The shift to narrative imagery in the Livre des tournois is defined in large part by the shift to the double-page format that dominates the second half of the image cycle. Of the twelve images that form this sequence, ten are double-page constructions. The importance of this format to the work's image cycle cannot be overstated. The change from single-page compositions to the double-page spread is visually striking. The absence of text across these images thrusts the reader into the images. While text and image never share a page in the Livre des tournois, occasional single page images face pages that contain textual passages (fig. 75). The visual break between text and image, as described previously in this chapter, is therefore further heightened with the dual page construction and the resulting absence of any facing page text.103

103. See above, pages 54-56.
Images that spanned a double-page spread were a rare phenomenon in late medieval manuscript illumination. Similar compositions were more often arranged as separate images bound by frames on their respective pages (fig. 76). In other cases where a single image was uninterrupted across an opening it was more commonly limited to only part of the page, and nearly always included at least a minimal amount of text along with the image (fig. 77). Within the corpus of work produced via the collaborative efforts of René and Barthélemy, there is only a single manuscript other than the *Livre des tournois* that contains a double-page image of the latter variety (figs. 78). However, this image is still intruded by inclusion of text and other decorative elements on the pages. The double-page images found in the *Livre des tournois* are therefore an exceedingly rare, if not unique phenomenon. The fact that there are not just one, but ten of these images further indicates their importance to the visual cycle. Their presence emphasises the importance of the visual nature of the work.

This shift to the double-page format occurs at roughly the same point in the manuscript as the textual shift from 'pourtraict' to 'histoire' in the captions. This acts as a textual signal for the reader that the images are more complex narratives. However, this is not the only textual shift that occurs at this point in the manuscript. The focus in the body of the text changes from describing the initial ceremonies and equipment to more elaborate passages concerning the rituals and regulations involved in the event itself. While not every narrative image is punctuated by a lengthy section of text, René's written descriptions in the latter half of the work are considerably more elaborate than those in the first half. The double-page format of the narrative images reflects this textual shift.

104. BL, Egerton ms. 1070, ff. 4v-5r.
105. BL, Add. 12228, ff. 150v-151r.
106. ÖNB, codex Vindobonensis 2617, ff. 18v-19r, 76v-77r.
The double-page format provided the artist with the additional space within which he was able to construct more complex compositions while preserving the detailed precision and naturalism that is a defining characteristic of the images from the first half of the image cycle. Images such as the participants swearing the oaths (fig. 23) contain significantly more details than the early focussed ceremonial images (fig. 1). Despite the increase in the number of subjects in the narrative images, the reader can still readily pick out and identify individuals. The ample space provided by the wide format of the double-page spread allowed Barthélemy to compose complex groups of figures arranged horizontally across the image. In this example the reader can easily discern the parties of the two tournament captains. To the left the Duke of Brittany and his companions mill about inside the list enclosure (fig. 79), while the Duke of Bourbon and his party process inwards towards the enclosure from the right side of the image (fig. 80). Furthermore, the use of a raised perspective for the viewing angle complimented the wide format by allowing Barthélemy a greater dimensional depth in which to arrange the figures without presenting them in a simple crowded receding perspective that is a more frequent occurrence in late medieval manuscript illumination (figs. 81 and 82). Moreover, the image's figures are not simply presented to the viewer in the immediate foreground, such as with the early ceremonial images. Instead they exist within a deep visual field that aids in reading the image by allowing the viewer to rapidly and easily identify individual subjects.108 Even the figures located furthest from the viewpoint of the reader, such as those in the stands, are clear and easily discernible. The area provided by the image format in combination with Barthélemy's skilful arrangement of figures within dimensional space therefore compliments the narrative nature of the image by allowing the viewer to engage the image via an immersive reading experience.

108. On the matter of narrative subjects, see Chapter 2, pages 112-120.
In fact, the specific viewing perspective changes throughout the narrative sequence depending on the content of the image. Despite this changing perspective the construction of these images is such that the reader is consistently viewing the scene from a privileged position. In the processional images the angle of perspective suggests that the viewer is located on the ground at the level of the procession (figs. 17, 19 and 21). The figures are placed immediately in the foreground and the entourages arranged linearly across the horizontal viewing plane to give the effect that they are passing in front of the viewer. The sense is not so much that these are images of processions, but that the viewer is a witness to the procession. In contrast, the artist's construction of the three image sequence depicting the oath swearing, the start of the tournament, and the melee (figs. 23, 24 and 25) presents the scenes to the reader as if they were in an elevated position looking down into the action. This perspective not only aided the artist's creation of a dimensional space, it also privileges the viewer by placing them at the same height as the nobility located in stands on the opposite side of the image. The viewer is therefore not simply an audience member, but a privileged audience member, a companion to the elite nobility that watches the tournament from an elevated view. The images thus address the viewer as a member of the nobility. Given that the work was directly addressed to and owned by members of the nobility, the narrative images were thus created with the work's audience in mind. Therefore, as the text is certainly addressed to a selective and elite audience, so too are the images.

The privileged viewing position accorded to the reader is reinforced by the artist's construction of space within the settings of different narrative images. The images of the review and award ceremony (figs. 22 and 26) are the only images that possess fully rendered backgrounds. This distinction functions as a visual device that addresses the

reader as a privileged member of an exclusive group. In comparison to these two images, every other narrative image is not only set in an exterior space, the backgrounds in all of them are only partially filled in (figs. 17, 19 and 23). Furthermore, the artist's depiction of interior space in the review and awards images is fundamentally different from the interior settings of the initial ceremonial scenes that was addressed earlier (figs. 1, 2 and 3). The fully realised and enclosed interior settings address the viewer as if they were privileged witnesses and members of the nobility granted access to a restricted space and exclusive event. The emphasis on the exclusive nature of these ceremonies is reinforced by their respective textual descriptions, which indicate that both were intended to be restricted to a small, select audience composed of members of the nobility and their immediate retainers. This effect is enhanced in the image of the review ceremony by two additional visual devices. The first is the contrast between the interior space of the review image and the exterior setting of the image which immediately precedes it (fig. 21). In this image the tourneyers are shown processing from an exterior location into the enclosed space where the review will take place. The change in setting is emphasised by the fact that these two images are the only ones which share a folio without any intervening text. In fact, the review ceremony is the only image that is not introduced by a caption. This feature of the layout further heightens the immersive visual reading. The reader simply turns the page and transitions from exterior to interior, or public to private space. The importance of this feature is further suggested by the fact that every manuscript copy that reproduces this set of images also features the layout found in the source manuscript. Secondly, the

110. See above, pages 68-72.
111. For more on the spatial location of various rituals and their intended audiences, see Chapter 5, pages 274-285.
113. Appendix A, pages 618-621.
privileged position of the viewer is enhanced by the artist's choice to depict one of the judges gazing out of the image towards the viewer, breaking the fourth wall and engaging the reader as if they were present at the ceremony (fig. 191). Barthélemy's adept use of space in the narrative not only allowed him to construct more complex and engaging scenes, it also addressed the reader as an elite member of René's intended noble audience.

The work's narrative imagery is also defined by a shift in the compositional nature of the images and their relation to the text. The narrative images are not only more complex visual constructions, the viewer's ability to read and interpret them is enhanced by an understanding of the initial sequence of 'pourtraictes', or foundational didactic images. The narrative images were quite literally constructed from the building block mimetic imagery that dominates the first half of the image cycle. The image of the two dukes armed for the tournament features nearly every piece of tournament equipment from the nine images that precede it (fig. 83). The viewer can pick out the tournament helmet (fig. 6), arm harnesses (fig. 8), gauntlets (fig. 9), weapons (fig. 10), and can detect a slight bulge on the chest of the horses where the padded hourt rests (figs. 11, 12, 13 and 14). The key difference between this image and those that precede it is that the image of the two dukes features the items of equipment in active use. The figures are shown as the caption indicates, "armoyez et timbres ainsi qui seront au tournoy." The equipment, and the reader's understanding of it, becomes a concrete point of reference for the visual language of the narrative images and thus allows the reader to engage with and interpret the work's images.

Furthermore, the process of reading the work's narrative imagery is not built exclusively from an understanding of the material equipment. Ceremonial rites, identities

115.For more on this figure's role in the visual narrative, see Chapter 2, pages 113-115.
116.Appendix A, page 564, lines 2-3. "...armed and with crests as if they were at the tourney."
Translation from: Bennett, "King René's Tournament Book."
of key subjects and their relative hierarchical positions within the well ordered structure of
court society are defined in the early foundational 'pourtraictes'. The identity of the
tournament captains is established in the first two images (figs. 1 and 2) and thereafter
linked inextricably to their coats of arms (fig. 15). The status and position of the king of
arms, heralds and pursuivants, including the hierarchy of their ranks, are defined in the
early ceremonial scenes (figs. 1 and 5) before appearing as subjects in the later narrative
images (fig. 26). The identity, status, and importance of the judges as tournament
specialists is defined and reinforced by the section of text and image outlining their
selection and appointment (figs. 3 and 4) before their frequent appearance in positions of
power and importance in later narrative images (figs. 19, 22, 23, 24, 25 and 26). Even the
identity of the tourneyers is established by the image showing them affixing the
tournament badges to their hats (fig. 5) before they appear again as subjects in the narrative
images (figs. 17). Important points of etiquette are also initially defined in these early
images. For example, the king of arms is to take and present the tournament sword
holding it "par la pointe." This detail is carefully conveyed in both text and image in the
initial sequence (figs. 1 and 2). It is then found again as part of a vignette within the later
melee image (fig. 84), where a herald is shown presenting a sword, holding it by the point,
to the noble ladies. The reader is able to understand the significance of this point of
etiquette as well as the social position and identity of the herald because of the early
foundational images. I will address this particular example in more detail in Chapter 2.\footnote{117}

Reading and interpreting the work's narrative imagery is thus the result of a
complex construction within the image cycle itself as well as the closely integrated
relationship between text and image. The shift to narrative imagery marks an important
transition in the Livre des tournois, a point which is emphasised by the change in size and
complexity of the images. However, the reader's understanding of the narrative images is
also facilitated by the earlier didactic images. Like text and image, narrative and didactic imagery were carefully entwined to present a holistic programme.

1.4.3 Blurred Distinctions and Fluid Images

While these categories have proven useful in this examination of the work's image cycle, the fact remains that there is considerable fluidity between the didactic 'pourtraicts' and narrative 'histoires'. In fact, this fluidity engages the reader via a type of ontological game between the image cycle and text by presenting key images as ambiguous constructions that blur the distinction between object and representation.118 While a similar playfulness is found in other examples of René and Barthélemy's collaborative efforts, none is so complex nor carefully constructed as in the *Livre des tournois*.119 Two examples drawn from the image cycle will demonstrate both how this ambiguity was constructed by the author and artist and its crucial role as a tool used to engage the reader.


The first example is the image of the two dukes armed and mounted as if at the
tourney (fig. 15). This image plays a particularly important role in the development of
the image cycle by signalling the transition between the early didactic, mimetic images and
the later narrative imagery. As indicated above, it is not only the first image in the cycle
that is a double-page spread, this image also contains nearly every piece of tournament
equipment shown in active use. The transition is not only one of image size and
complexity, but of static representation to active motion. The figures and their mounts are
shown to the reader as if they are in the midst of movement. It is a scene of present action.

However, this image also acts as an object that plays an important role in the
tournament rituals. The key to understanding the duality of this image is found in the
description of the ceremony wherein the defendant accepts the challenge to tourney. René
wrote that during this ceremony the defendant is to present the king of arms with two ells
of cloth of gold, or other valuable fabric, on which he should attach a piece of parchment
painted with the two tournament captains armed and on horseback. The king of arms is
to then wear this as a cloak over his lord's heraldic coat of arms while he performs his
ceremonial duties leading up to the tournament. The emphasis on the importance of this
ceremonial object is conveyed by its repeated inclusion in images found throughout the
manuscript (figs. 4, 5, 19 and 20). The layout, orientation, and even heraldry of the two
mounted figures depicted on these pieces of parchment within these images matches their
representation in the dual page image of the two dukes armed and mounted. The overall
effect is to engage the viewer's attention via a type of zoom effect. The image of the two

120. Freigang and Avril both note a similar effect from this image. Anjou, *Le Livre des Tournois*, 11;
Freigang, “*Le tournoi idéal,*” 186.

121. Appendix A, page 499, line 21-page 500, line 4. On the relative value of cloth of gold both socially
and materially, see: Brigitte Buettner, *Boccaccio’s Des cleres et nobles femmes: Systems of Signification
in an Illuminated Manuscript* (Seattle: College art association, 1996), 74; Paul Hills, *Venetian Colour: Marble,
Mosaic, Painting and Glass, 1250-1550* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999), 176-80;
John Gage, *Colour and Culture: Practice and Meaning from Antiquity to Abstraction* (London: Thames
and Hudson, 1993), 129-33.

122. Freigang, “*Le tournoi idéal,*” 182. Freigang also goes on to describe a similar effect within René's *Livre*
dukes is thus presented as though the reader could lift the painted image out of the book and apply it directly to the king of arm's cloak.

The multivalent nature of the image is further reinforced by the textual passages that refer to the image. The caption that corresponds to the image reads, "Icy apres s'ensuit commant les deux ducz de Breaigne et de Bourbon sont a cheval armoyez et timbres ainsiqui seront au tournoy." This is the only caption that does not use the terms, 'pourtraict', 'facon et maniere', or 'hystoire'. Unlike the rest of the image cycle, the caption does not direct the reader to engage with the image as either a narrative or didactic example. Thus the reader is introduced to the image as an ambiguous construction. However, there is another section of text found only in P1. Although this paragraph was originally written as a caption for the same image, it was crossed out by the scribe in favour of the other wording. This crossed out text does contain the phrase 'facon et maniere'. However, the fact that this was crossed out in favour of the caption which does not contain any of the terminology suggests an intentional intervention by the author to use the text as a tool to define the image as an ambiguous construction. Furthermore, every manuscript copy, save one, contains the passage that was not crossed out. The lone exception, the D manuscript, uses a caption unique to it and which refers to the image using "pourtraict hystoire" suggesting a reading of the image as both an object and a narrative. This all suggests that not only did René intend to textually define the image as a multivalent construction, but that the contemporary audience of René's work also understood the multiple roles this image played in the visual programme.

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123. Appendix A, page 564, lines 1-3. "Hereafter follows the two Dukes of Brittany and Bourbon on horseback armed and with crests as if they were at the tourney." Translation from: Bennett, “King René’s Tournament Book.”


Earlier in this chapter it was pointed out that the textual passage wherein René describes the cloak and attached parchment was one of only three instances of the term 'poutraict' occurring outside of the captions. Admittedly the use of the term in this passage is imprecise.

Et quant il sera par devers ceulx, aiant lettres des deux ducs appellant et defendant, avecques ladite piece de drap sur les espaules, ainsi, que dit est, et dessus icellui parchemin atachie ou seront paints lesdits seigneurs a cheval, armoyez et timbres, ainsi que cy apres est pourtrait, leur presentera ses lettres.\textsuperscript{126}

It can be read as referring to one of three possibilities: the image depicting the appointment of the judges that immediately follows the passage (fig. 4), the image of the two dukes (fig. 15), or the portrayal of the parchment with the two dukes painted on and attached to the king of arms' cloak within the different images (figs. 4, 5, 19 and 20). Reading this usage as a reference to the final possibility reinforces an interpretation of the image as object. Like the other instances of 'pourtraict' within the main body of text, this would then be referring to the depiction of a specific object within an image. The incorporation of 'pourtraicts' as foundational elements within narrative images was a tool used by the artist to engage the reader, and in this case directly suggested within the main body of the text. In this remarkable example text and image work together to present the image of the two dukes armed and mounted as a narrative image, an image of a piece of equipment, and even an object itself. The result of the ambiguity built into this image is to entice the reader into engaging with the narrative imagery through a multilayered process involving the presentation and representation of an object. Furthermore, it suggests the complexity of the image cycle and its relationship to the text. While it is now understood that this was the product of a collaborative effort between author and artist, for the reader this does not matter. This image in particular is such a multi-layered construction with multiple

\textsuperscript{126} Appendix A, page 500, line 9-14. "And when he comes before them with the letters from the two dukes appellant and defendant, with the piece of cloth on his shoulders, and attach to it the parchment on which are painted the lords on horseback, armed and with crests, as is shown hereafter, he should present the letters." Translation from: Bennett, "King René's Tournament Book."
meanings embedded within that the reader is given over to the belief that the *Livre des tournois* is the vision of a single creative force, namely René.

The second example of image fluidity is the image of the poster of the king of arms carrying the banners of the four tournament judges (fig. 20). Like the image of the two dukes, the text is ambiguous as to the nature of this image. The caption for this image reads, "Icy est pourtraict l'istoire d'ung herault qui embrace les quatre bannieres des quatre juges diseurs." The image is thus introduced as both a 'pourtraict' and a narrative 'histoire'. While this is not the only instance wherein these terms are used conjointly within a caption, it is nonetheless an infrequent occurrence and particularly relevant to this image. In addition to the caption, René wrote a section of text that provides more detail about the construction and purpose of this object. According to this passage, the tournament's judges are to display a poster on which is painted an image of the king of arms holding aloft the banners of the four judges. This poster should also display the names and titles of the tournament captains as well as those of the four judges in designated spaces above and below the image, respectively. This poster is then to be hung above the entry to the religious house where the judges are lodged and in which the review of helmets and crests will take place. Like the image of the two dukes, the artist has created an image that the reader can easily envision being removed from the manuscript and used as René outlined. The king of arms, identifiable not only by his surcoat, but also the cloth of gold with attached parchment showing the two dukes, is at the centre of the image holding the banners of the four judges. The artist has left space at the top and

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127. Appendix A, page 607, lines 6-7. "Here is shown the herald who holds the four banners of the four judges." Translation from: Bennett, “King René’s Tournament Book.”

128. Other examples include: Appendix A, page 552, line 1; page 556, line 3; page 560, line 4; page 572, line 1; and page 616, line 1. The most significant occurrence is during the section describing the assembly of the hourt. This is likely a reference to the evolving nature of the image sequence while still referring to the fundamental qualities in the individual representations.

129. Appendix A, page 604, line 20-page 607, line 5.
bottom of the image for the names and titles outlined in the text, even dividing the lower section into four equal spaces for the four tournament judges. The dimensions of the poster, three lengths in height by two lengths in width, even match those detailed by René in the text (fig. 85).\textsuperscript{130} The image is a careful and accurate presentation of the object described in the text.

Once again the artist created an image which challenges the reader's assumptions about its nature. Depicted at the corners of the poster are four nails that are shown as if they were stretching and wrinkling the poster. Thus the image is not simply a representation of the poster, but a representation of the poster in use. Not content with this, the artist once again employs the zoom effect used so convincingly with the parchment painted with the image of the two dukes. However, this time he uses it twice over. To begin with the artist has included the parchment painted with the two dukes attached to the cloak of the king of arms pictured in the poster. Secondly, in the image immediately following this one, the artist has included the poster as an object within a larger narrative construction (fig. 21). The poster, now complete with scribbled writing to suggest that the names and titles of the captains and judges have been added, is depicted hanging above the gateway through which the tourneyers process into the review ceremony (fig. 86). The importance of the image of the poster of the king of arms to the image cycle, like the parchment painted with the two dukes, is its nebulous nature. Its ambiguity entices the reader to engage with the image cycle, while simultaneously signalling the interconnected nature of the work's didactic and narrative imagery. Understanding the role of these images is only possible because of the collaborative relationship that exists between the work's text and image.

\textsuperscript{130}In addition, the list enclosure matches the ratio laid out by René in the text (fig. 16). Appendix A, page 571, lines 1-11.
The extent of the ontological fluidity that exists between didactic and narrative imagery, representant and representation, in the *Livre des tournois* is a unique feature among René and Barthélemy's collaborative efforts. It signals the complexity of the work's image cycle and the amount of collaborative effort that went into producing it. However, its main function was to engage the reader and immerse them within the image cycle. The success of this scheme is evidenced by a set of manuscript copies of the *Livre des tournois* produced under the auspices of Louis de Bruges in the 1480s. As will be demonstrated in Chapter 6, Louis appropriated the ambiguity of the image cycle to proclaim his own status.\(^{131}\)

The complex, interconnected nature of the imagery in the *Livre des tournois* is thus a critical part of the work's presentation. Didactic imagery exists to anchor key foundational concepts into the mind of the reader, defining a type of visual vocabulary that enables immersive readings of the work's more complex images. This vocabulary is built on the reader's comprehension of the nature of specific material objects, narrative subjects, relative status of individuals, and points of etiquette. Moreover, it is a product of, and reinforced through the interaction of text and image within the book. While the immersive nature of the work's narrative imagery is a direct result of the artist's skill and technique, it is also quite literally constructed from elements presented to the reader in the early didactic images. Furthermore, as with the early ceremonial and equipment images, the reader's understanding of the narrative images as such is signalled by the textual content. Finally the occasionally nebulous nature of some of the work's images signals that a complex understanding of intent existed between author and artist. This embedded playfulness between description, image and object is a product of the unique relationship that existed between author and artist.

\(^{131}\) See Chapter 6, pages 353-373.
1.5 Conclusion

The integrated and interdependent nature of text and image in the *Livre des tournois* is so thorough that classic distinctions between author and artist are blurred to the point that they are meaningless to the reader. Moreover, the same can be said of the relationship between text and image within the book. While scholarship has now conclusively demonstrated that the work is the product of a process of collaboration between René and Barthélemy d'Eyeck, this understanding is a recent phenomenon. In fact, the tenacity of the historical belief in René as the work's artist is testimony to how completely integrated the two elements are within the book. Even René's contemporary and one of the earliest owners of the work, Jacques d'Armagnac, accepted and promoted this view of René. Because the nature of text and image in the work is such that René is effectively presented as the sole authorial voice responsible for crafting the *Livre des tournois*, and because the work's image cycle is such a vital part of the work, text and image thus work jointly to position René's claim to expertise and authority on tournament customs.

I will conclude by offering some thoughts into the broader impact raised by the issues presented in this chapter. The holistic integrated presentation of text and image in the *Livre des tournois* raises implications about how we, as modern readers, conceive of the process of manuscript production and the contemporary responses to the image cycle. We must consider the specific mode of production for a given manuscript. The original manuscript copy of the *Livre des tournois* was not the product of a workshop environment whereby a patron might commission a work and delegate the execution to a professional who would in turn coordinate and oversee a team of scribes, artists, binders and so on. René was intimately involved in every stage of production, and worked in collaboration with Barthélemy d'Eyeck.

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132. For a thorough description of this process, see: McKendrick, “Reviving the Past,” 61-66.
with the artist responsible for crafting the images. This is testified to not only by the extraordinary relationship between text and image found within the work, but also archival evidence that places artist and author in adjoining rooms complete with all the tools necessary to execute their project. There is even what appears to be a record of an early manuscript copy of the *Livre des tournois* in an inventory of one of René's residences. This "grant volume ouquel est le commencement d'un tournoy" was recorded as being present within one of the chambers René had set up for Barthélemy. Furthermore, the location and description of this item in the inventory suggests that it was perhaps an unbound exemplar used for copies, or even perhaps an ongoing project. While René was not the only patron/author to directly oversee the production and decoration of their work, what is striking is the degree to which he was involved. This suggests that the entirety of the *Livre des tournois* was created with a driving intent. We must therefore reconsider how we approach the image cycle. It was not merely an illustrative or decorative element. Nor did it simply enhance the textual account of customs and rituals. Instead it was created as an integral piece, closely bound to the text and vital to establishing both René's identity as the preeminent authority on tournament customs and the *Livre des tournois*'s identity as the embodiment of that authority.

2.

Heraldry:

The Interaction of Imagination and Reality

2.1 Introduction

The portrayal of heraldry in the *Livre des tournois* is indispensable to the work's visual narrative and a vital element in the book's presentation of René as the principal authority on late-medieval tournament customs. This latter process is accomplished via a carefully constructed visual heraldic programme that positions René as an expert in the field. In this chapter I will examine the role heraldry plays in the *Livre des tournois* by first situating it within the context of late medieval tournament culture. I will demonstrate that the emphasis on heraldic display within the work is reflective of cultural expectations before turning to examine specific aspects of the heraldic programme within the *Livre des tournois*. The work's heraldic programme is comprised of two distinct elements. The first is the historically accurate coats of arms used for the Dukes of Brittany and Bourbon and their position in the work as the two sponsors and captains of the tournament. The second is the set of over fifty unique and wholly imagined coats of arms ostensibly invented by René solely for the *Livre des tournois*. However, it is important to note that these two elements do not exist independently of one another. René's heraldic expertise, and in turn his position as an authority on the tournament, is established not only through the presence of these individual elements, but additionally by how they interact with each other within the work's image cycle to engage the reader in a visual narrative that aids in the presentation of detailed and often complex tournament rituals. This chapter will conclude by examining this process of interaction between the real and invented heraldry in the *Livre des tournois*. 
Despite the prominence of heraldic devices within the visual cycle of the *Livre des tournois*, there have been few attempts to understand how heraldry functions within the work and in turn how this reflects both René's intention and wider themes in chivalric culture.¹ Scholars have traditionally used heraldry to support the argument that René's treatise was a fanciful flight of the author's imagination, concluding that the tournament René described was not grounded in reality but rather represented an escape from a world where chivalric culture was in decline.² This argument has been built around two principles. The first is René's reputed passion for employing heraldry as a means of symbolic expression.³ This manifested in René's use of heraldic symbolism in his other literary works, most notably within *Le Livre du Cœur d'amour épris*.⁴ In addition, René actively used heraldry as a symbolic tool as part of the pageantry of the tournaments he sponsored and participated in during the mid-1440s.⁵ We will return to each of these topics in more detail further into this chapter. The second basis for this argument is the presence of the numerous coats of arms in the *Livre des tournois* that René claims to have invented specifically for the work. This direction of inquiry has assumed that René must have included similar symbolic signs as part of the image cycle of the *Livre des tournois*. While intriguing, such an approach is problematic for a number of reasons, not the least of which is because it relegates heraldry's visual importance to being a one-dimensional means for expressing symbolism. This chapter will push beyond traditional assumptions

1. The most notable exception to this is the work of Christian de Mérindol. See: Mérindol, “Le livre des tournois,” 93-103. For more on this work see below, pages 100-101.


4. See below, pages 137-140.

about the role of heraldry in late medieval courtly society and will examine the programme within a wider cultural context.

2.1.1 Heraldry and the Tournament

The development and spread of a European heraldic system closely followed the maturation of the medieval tournament. As an individual knight's performance within the tournament setting became an increasingly intrinsic element of his personal renown, the need for an adaptable system oriented toward the visual identification of individuals was quickly and widely adopted. Heraldry was well-suited for just this purpose. It was above all else a visual form of communication. As a visual language of signs and signifiers, it was designed and suited to convey identity.


event as marking the beginning of the relationship between heraldry and the tournament, there was a definite and noticeable increase in the proliferation of heraldic coats of arms that coincided with the growing popularity of the tournament throughout the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.\footnote{Pastoureau, \textit{Traité d’héraldique}, 37; Wagner, \textit{Heralds and Heraldry}, 30; Barber, and Barker, \textit{Tournaments}, 18. One of the earliest accounts linking spectatorship and heraldry together within the tournament setting is found in Geoffrey of Monmouth’s twelfth century fictionalised account of a tournament held at Arthur’s court. See: Geoffrey of Monmouth, \textit{The Historia regum Britanniae} of Geoffrey of Monmouth. I, Bern, Burgerbibliothek, MS. 568 ed. Neil Wright and Julia C. Crick (Cambridge: Brewer, 1985), 112; Geoffrey of Monmouth, \textit{The History of the Kings of Britain} ed. Lewis Thorpe (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1988), 229-30.}

By the time René wrote the \textit{Livre des tournois}, heraldry and the tournament had become inextricably linked. The importance that late-medieval chivalric culture placed on heraldic display within the tournament setting is reflected in the numerous and varied sources that record the spectacle of heraldic display. From chronicle accounts of events to the armorial rolls that recorded the blazons of participants, and even within the fictionalised tournaments described within chivalric romances, most notably those from within the various Arthurian cycles, there was a tacit and universal acknowledgement across late-medieval courtly culture of the importance of heraldic display.\footnote{On heraldry in the Arthurian cycle, see: Michel Pastoureau, \textit{Armoiries et devises des chevaliers de la Table Ronde: étude sur l’imagination emblématique à la fin du Moyen Age} (Quimper, 1982); Pastoureau, \textit{Traité d’héraldique}, 258; Helmut Nickel, “Notes on Arthurian Heraldry: The Retroactive System in the “Armagnac” Armorial,” \textit{Quondam et Futuras} 3, no. 3 (1993), 1-23; Jefferson, “Tournaments, Heraldry and the Knights of the Round Table,” 69-157; Florence Bouchet, “Rhétorique de l’héraldique dans le roman arthurien tardif. Le Meliador de Froissart et le Livre du Cuer d’Amours Espris de René d’Anjou,” \textit{Romania} 116, no. 1 (1998), 239-55; Torsten Hiltmann, “Information et tradition textuelle: Les tournois et leur traitement dans les manuels des hérauts d’armes au XV\textsuperscript{e} siècle,” in \textit{Information et société en occident à la fin du Moyen Âge: Actes du colloque international tenu à l’Université du Québec à Montréal et l’Université d’Ottawa (9-11 mai 2002)} (Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 2004), 219-31..} However, a series of documents relating to a tournament held in Brussels in 1439 are particularly enlightening and relevant to the current examination.\footnote{Lille, Archives départementales du Nord, Série B 1966 ff. 309-311v. Also see the recent work by Mario Damen containing an analysis of this source. Damen, “The Town, the Duke, his Courtiers, and their Tournament,” 85-95.} These documents record the expenses incurred by Philippe le Bon, Duke of Burgundy, in preparation for the event.

Among the details listing the numerous harnesses, weapons, and even spurs that the duke...
requisitioned to outfit his company, one set of items in particular stands out.\textsuperscript{14} The duke's greatest expenditure was on the acquisition of cloth for the heraldic caparisons, banners and pennons for himself and his retinue.\textsuperscript{15} The expense for these items was so great that prior to the event additional funds in the form of aides were sought from the duke's territories of Hainaut and Flanders.\textsuperscript{16} As the event drew near, the painters refused to complete the various heraldic devices due to lack of payment.\textsuperscript{17} At that point, a message was sent to the receiver-general of all ducal finances, Jean de Visen, to issue payment and ensure that the caparisons, banners, pennons, and other coats of arms were ready for the tournament.\textsuperscript{18} This illustrates a number of points about the importance placed on heraldic display within the tournament setting. First of all, there was great expense that went into preparing the numerous heraldic emblems. The willingness to spend large sums on heraldic display reflects the importance that the contemporary nobility placed on heraldic exhibition. Secondly, the Duke of Burgundy took a personal interest in ensuring the preparation of the heraldic devices for the tournament.\textsuperscript{19} This illustrates that heraldic display was important enough to garner the direct attention of great princes such as Philippe and René. Thirdly, a hierarchy of expenditure is noticeable in the accounts. The most expensive materials were reserved for the duke's personal devices.\textsuperscript{20}


\textsuperscript{15} Damen, “The Town, the Duke, his Courtiers, and their Tournament,” 92.


\textsuperscript{17} Lille, Archives départementales du Nord, Série B 1966 f. 100, cited in: Damen, “The Town, the Duke, his Courtiers, and their Tournament,” 92.


\textsuperscript{19} Heraldry was not solely the provenance of the emerging class of professional heralds. See Chapter 3 for more on this.

\textsuperscript{20} Damen, “The Town, the Duke, his Courtiers, and their Tournament,” 92.
Similar attention to the relative hierarchy of materials is found in the *Livre des tournois*, such as when René describes the materials used for the king of arms' cloak, or what compensation the tournament judges should receive from the captains. Gifts, payments, livery, and largesse recorded in René's accounts lend further evidence to the tacit acknowledgement between status and the relative values of cloth. These accounts show that the various pursuivants, heralds and kings of arms in René's court received recompense based on their relative statuses. The most expensive materials were reserved for the highest ranking heralds and those closest to René. The status of the prince as captain and sponsor was reinforced by this conspicuous expenditure and display. One final point reinforces the importance that Philippe placed on the preparation of the heraldic emblems for this tournament. Hue de Boulogne, a prominent ducal painter whose prior projects included preparing decorations for a feast in 1435, was given the task of completing the various heraldic devices for the tournament. Like the tournament decorations, those for the feast included the display of the guests' heraldic emblems. Clearly within fifteenth-century tournament culture, as well as the wider context of court culture, there was tacit acknowledgement of the role heraldic display had in the presentation of identity and status.

21. Appendix A, page 499, lines 21-23, page 711, lines 16-25. René states that the judges who hold the rank of knight should receive velvet, while those who are squires should receive damask.


23. Méridol, “Rois d’armes,” 626 note 92. For more on the ranks of heralds within both René's court and the *Livre des tournois*, see Chapter 3, pages 147-152.


The series of tournaments that René sponsored and participated in during the 1440s provide further evidence of the interest he took in heraldic display, as well as his expertise in using heraldry as a social and political signifier. During the jousts of Nancy in 1445, held in celebration of the marriage arrangements for his daughters, René conspicuously displayed heraldic symbols that emphasised his royal status and the legitimacy of his house. The arms of both the Kingdom of Jerusalem and the Duchy of Lorraine were prominently displayed as part of René's personal coat of arms, quite likely in an arrangement similar to that painted by Barthélemy d'Eyck between 1442-1443 and found in the Egerton Hours (fig. 49). As the tournament was held in part to celebrate the betrothal of René's daughter, Marguerite, to Henry VI, King of England, the display of the arms of Jerusalem was a clear declaration of René's royal position vis-a-vis his son-in-law and the other royal guests, whereas the arms of Lorraine directly referenced both the succession conflict of the 1430s and the reconciliation concluded with the marriage of René's other daughter, Yolande, to Ferry II de Vaudémont, the son of René's one-time rival for Lorraine. René was clearly conscious of the potential use of heraldic display as a political statement within the tournament setting. The tournament at Nancy also illustrates that René was quite comfortable with employing heraldry to assert specific identity and


30. Mérandol, “Les joutes de Nancy,” 189. One the succession conflict, see: Kekewich, *The Good King*, 27-44; Favier, *Le roi René*, 29-47; Schnerb, *Bulgnéville*. René's stopped incorporating the arms of Lorraine within his device shortly after the death of his first wife, Isabella (1400-1453), Duchess of Lorraine. At this point, their son, Jean II d'Anjou (1424-1470), Duke of Lorraine, also known as Calabre, inherited the title and rights to the territory.
status. I will return to this final point when discussing the roles of the figures of the Dukes of Brittany and Bourbon within the *Livre des tournois*.

In contrast to the tournament held at Nancy, René displays a preference for using heraldry to convey figurative meaning at the other events he participated in and sponsored during the same decade. At the *Emprise de la gueule du dragon*, held outside Chinon in 1446, René wore a black surcoat and carried a black shield decorated with silver tears. Later that same year, at the *Pas d'armes de la Joyeuse garde*, sponsored by René and held outside his castle at Saumur, the tourneyers carried shields and rode horses covered in caparisons that indicated they belonged to one of two teams of combatants, while the only hereditary devices that distinguished one individual from another were the elaborate helmet crests. At the tournament at Nancy René wore and displayed heraldic devices that emphasised his royal status. In comparison, during the event at Saumur René wore the traditional crest of a French prince, a stylised fleur-de-lis, while his mount bore a caparison that did not display René's coat of arms, but rather a decorative scheme identifying René as a member of one of the jousting teams and that may have also been intended to evoke Arthurian references (fig. 37). By displaying the fleur-de-lis crest at this event René emphasised his position as a loyal French prince over his personal royal aspirations.


Finally, at Tarascon in 1449 René sponsored the Pas d'armes de la bergère. Like the event in Saumur three years prior, René took an active role in planning the heraldic display. For this event the participants dressed in a single colour and their helms were decorated only with plumes. They assumed identities influenced by Arthurian legends. These events demonstrate that René was adept at using heraldic display in the tournament setting for a variety of purposes. Moreover they demonstrate that he was willing to adapt the use and display of heraldry to the immediate concerns of a particular event. This point must influence how the heraldic programme of the Livre des tournois is understood. It is not enough to place the heraldry found in the Livre des tournois against a single example.

The fact that the depiction and use of heraldry in the Livre des tournois is entirely visual cannot be overemphasised. While René does elaborate on how heraldic devices should be displayed within the text, he has made no attempt to describe any of the coats of arms found within the image cycle. In fact, textual descriptions such as the presentation of the scroll by the king of arms to the Duke of Bourbon with the coats of arms of the proposed tournament judges (fig. 3), how to display coats of arms outside the inn (fig. 18), the display of banners and pennons on the field (fig. 24), and the proper employment of badges bearing the coats of arms of the tournament judges as a means of identifying the tourneyers (fig. 5), are refined and embellished by the visual programme.


42. Appendix A, page 511, lines 14-19.
For instance, the image of the display of arms outside the inn precisely captures every
textual detail found in the corresponding passage (fig. 18). At the same time additional
details within the image provide further practical information, including the hooks used to
hang the armorial plaques as well as the positioning and relative sizes of the plaques based
on the tourneyers' ranks.

The visualised coats of arms not only provide didactic information, they also form
a crucial part of the visual narrative. Within the text René clearly states that in addition to
their plaques the captains of the tournament are required to display their banners and
pennons from the windows of the inn. They are further required, on their honour, to
display the coats of arms and banners of at least five members of their company. The
status and rank of the Dukes of Brittany and Bourbon as the tournament's captains are
visually emphasised by the prominent location of their plaques within the composition, the
precision with which the artist has replicated the textual details of relative plaque size, and
the display of banners and pennons from the inn's windows (fig. 18). However, it is
precisely at this point that the visual cycle first presents the reader with the coats of arms of
some of the individual tourneyers. These tourneyers are no longer anonymous faces, such
as those riding in the entourage of the image showing the Duke of Brittany making his
entry to the city (fig. 87). From this point they have been granted their own identity within
the narrative. Their newfound identity is re-emphasised in a later image showing the
procession of Brittany's party to the helmet review (fig. 88). In this image the tourneyers
now carry their crests, a detail that reaffirms their individual identities and role as subjects
in the visual narrative.

The use of heraldry in the Livre des tournois therefore fits within cultural norms
while simultaneously forming a vital part of the the work's visual narrative. The following

43. Appendix A, page 588, lines 1-23.
sections will show that it is the interaction between the coats of arms invented by René for the work and the historically accurate coats of arms used to represent the tournament captains that reveals the full extant of the heraldic programme. In order to reach an understanding of this concept, I will first examine the two elements individually before turning to how they function as an integrated whole. It will become apparent that the complete effect of the heraldic programme within the Livre des tournois is greater than the sum of its parts.

2.2 The Representation of Heraldry in the Livre des tournois

At the heart of the heraldic programme of the Livre des tournois lies a crucial interaction between the coats of arms that René claims he invented for the work and the historically-accurate arms of the Dukes of Brittany and Bourbon.

Mais pour mieulx en faire entendre la facon, sera ycy pris par similitude le Duc de Bretaigne pour appellant de l'ung des coustes, et le Duc de Bourbon pour defendant de l'autre. Et pour tous blazons necessaires pour ce present tournoy, ne me aideray que de blazons controuvez a plaisance.44

This passage, found near the beginning of the treatise, is critically important for understanding how the heraldic devices found in the Livre des tournois reflect René's desire to cast himself as an authority on both heraldry and tournament customs. It is here that René first alludes to the interplay between the historically accurate and invented coats of arms. As stated, in order to better explain the tournament customs the Dukes of Brittany and Bourbon are used to represent the captains of the tournament. Their position, rank and status as two of the foremost peers of France would have been readily apparent to René's audience.45 However, I argue that their identity in the Livre des tournois was purposefully constructed so as to be imprecise representations rather than specific named individuals.

44. Appendix A, page 479, line 20-page 480, line 2. "But in order to better explain the custom, here take the Duke of Brittany for the appellant on the one hand, and the Duke of Bourbon for the defendant on the other. And I have used blazons made up for my own amusement for the blazons necessary for this tourney." Translation from: Bennett, "King René's Tournament Book.”

René goes on to state that additional blazons are necessary in order to describe the tournament. He clearly states that for these invented coats of arms will suffice. Finally, by indicating that there is some sort of pleasure or amusement to be found in these invented arms, René acknowledges the presence of the work's visual narrative and heraldry's role within it. It is the presence of both the imagined and accurate coats of arms and their interaction within the visual narrative that reveals René's intent and authority. To better understand how the relationship between these real and invented heraldic devices contribute to the visual programme and ultimately reinforce René's declaration of authority, the following will examine each aspect, the real and imagined, within the wider context of chivalric culture before turning to the interplay between the two.

2.2.1 The Arms of the Dukes of Brittany and Bourbon

The selection and heraldic depiction of the Dukes of Brittany and Bourbon as tournament captains was a carefully considered process designed to draw in the reader by presenting subjects that could be easily engaged with and yet remain indefinite in their specific identities. Christian de Méridol has examined how the heraldic representation of the Dukes of Brittany and Bourbon within the *Livre des tournois* reflects René's political acumen *vis-a-vis* the French political climate in the latter half of the fifteenth century.\(^46\) Three points from his work are directly relevant to the current discussion. The first point is that the heraldic representations of Bourbon and Brittany was carefully constructed so as to convey a sense of equality or fairness, something Méridol posits was vital to chivalric tournament culture.\(^47\) He goes on to argue that despite the overt representation of equality there are subtle indications that Bourbon was shown preferential treatment. Accordingly, this reflected the relatively close relationship between René and the Duke of Bourbon that

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existed at the time René wrote the *Livre des tournois*. By this argument, these figures are meant to represent specific individuals. In addition, citing the work of Philippe Contamine, Mérindol notes that the exclusion of the French king within the *Livre des tournois* reflects a general trend away from French royal sponsorship of tournaments during the late fifteenth century. During this period it was instead the great princely houses and their courts, such as Burgundy, Anjou, Luxembourg and Foix, that sponsored the majority of tournaments in France. Finally, he makes an observation that all of the coats of arms in the *Livre des tournois*, including those belonging to the two dukes, are unbroken.

This final observation of Mérindol's is directly relevant to the present discussion and deserves further investigation. A *brisure*, or breaking, is defined as the alteration of a coat of arms by the addition of new elements. As coats of arms became increasingly hereditary, *brisures* developed as a means to distinguish individuals within the same family. However, there was no single uniform set of regulations, and practices varied significantly between regions. In England, a rigid system using marks of cadency became the accepted form for distinguishing the coats of arms of a family's cadet branches.

51. Royal sponsorship and general enthusiasm for tournaments naturally waxed and waned throughout this period depending on who was on the throne. For an overview of royal sponsorship and interest in tournaments throughout the Middle Ages, see: Barber, and Barker, *Tournaments*, 29-47, 107-137. Also see, Chapter 4, pages 221-233. Charles VII took an active interest in tournaments and planned an event for the ascension of Arthur de Richement to the ducal throne of Brittany.
contrast, east of the Rhine a more mercurial practice developed. In these lands, unlike in England, there was no strict system of cadency. Individuals and families might instead incorporate small alterations to their devices, such as changing the base colour of the field or adding a new charge while attempting to retain the overall feel of the device.\textsuperscript{55} It was also within the German-speaking lands that the heraldic crest first became an inherited part of an individual's coat of arms.\textsuperscript{56} In Flanders and the surrounding territories a slightly different practice evolved. In this region coats of arms were often inherited by cadet branches of a family, sometimes with alterations such as those found in the German-speaking lands, while generally only the male descendant who was first in line would inherit the right to display the family's crest. The practice of marshalling, or dividing the heraldic field into two or more parts each of which is composed of a distinct coat of arms, first appeared in Spain during the thirteenth century before it quickly spread throughout Europe.\textsuperscript{57} Each division could indicate diverse meanings, such as an inheritance, lordship over a territory or political claim.\textsuperscript{58} Although there were ostensibly regulations governing the arrangement of marshalled coats of arms, these regulations were often subordinate to practical expedience.\textsuperscript{59} To complicate matters furthers these traditions would quite often

\textsuperscript{55} Pastoureau, \textit{Traité d’héraldique}, 177-187, 205-208.

\textsuperscript{56} Pastoureau, \textit{Traité d’héraldique}, 177-87. Other records indicate that the right to bear a particular crest already in use by one family member could be granted to another, such as the case of Ekkho von Liechtenberg granting his uncle the right to use his personal crest. Wagner, \textit{Heralds and Heraldry}, 19-20. For Wagner's source, see: Gustav A. Seyler, \textit{Geschichte der Heraldik} (Nürnberg: Bauer und Raspe, 1885), 812.


\textsuperscript{58} Pastoureau, \textit{Traité d’héraldique}, 44, 114-116, 175-177, 246, 250-258.

\textsuperscript{59} For example, the familial arms of the Louis de Bruges's family were reversed to emphasise the family's current territorial focus. See: Jean-Marie van den Eeckhout, “Het wapen van de familie Gruthuyse in de XIVde en de eerste helft van de XVde eeuw. 1. De heren van Gruthuse,” \textit{Heraldicum Disputationes} 17, no. 1 (2012), 17-32; Jean-Marie van den Eeckhout, “Het wapen van de familie Gruthuyse in de XIVde en de eerste helft van de XVde eeuw. 2. Het familiewapen,” \textit{Heraldicum Disputationes} 17, no. 2 (2012), 47-68; Joseph H Van Praet, \textit{Recherches sur Louis de Bruges, seigneur de la Gruthuyse} (Paris: 1831), 52; A. van den Abeele, “Het enigma van de genealogie Gruuthuse - veel vragen en enkele antwoorden,” \textit{Vlaamse Stam} 43(2007), 622; Jos Colpaert, \textit{Avelgem voor 1500} (Kortrijk: Avelgem Gemeentebestuur, 1965), 216-17. For examples of high-ranking nobility marshalling their coats of arms to emphasise political aspirations, see the examples of the Dukes of Burgundy: Gautier, “La bibliothèque du roi René,” 23; Christian de Mérindol, “La politique du duc de Lorraine René II (1473-1508) à l’égard de la seconde maison d’Anjou, de la France et de
overlap as families moved and marriages brought different traditions together. Thus at the
time René was writing the Livre des tournois, the use of brises was both commonplace
and widespread, although regional practices varied considerably.

Understanding that brises were a common occurrence and a vital part of the
visual heraldic language is important because the heraldic identities of the tournament
captains simply do not bear any overt brises. Moreover, only a handful of the invented
arms contain heraldic elements that could possibly be read as brises, such as the
escutcheon gules that forms part of one of the tournament judge's coat of arms (fig. 20).
However, none of the invented arms are similar enough to one another to suggest any kind
of relationship between these fictional characters, with the possibility of one exception that
I will address in more detail in the next section of this chapter. Moreover, there are no
hereditary or territorial claims, or any brazen political displays present in any of the arms.
Until this study none of the fifty-plus invented arms had been linked to actual persons or
families. Moreover, none of the regional modes of indicating lineage and inheritance as
described above can be identified in these blazons. None of the arms are marshalled, none
repeat with minor variations, and there are no marks of cadency. While some of the
charges, such as the double headed eagle and rampant lion might point to political

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60. A small red shield used as an element within the device.
61. See below, pages 117-120.
62. Vaivre, “Le livre des tournois,” 340. In addition to the work done by Vaivre, I have compared
the invented coats of arms found within the Livre des tournois to numerous sources, including letters of
ennoblement and armorials, both in print and using on-line collections, and have found only a single match.
Selected comparisons include: Gelre and Gorrevod Armorials, the Bergshammer collection, and the various
armorials recording the Bruges tournament of 1393. A particularly useful database for civic heraldry is:
challenges of researching heraldry via electronic collections, see: Pastoureau, Traité d’héraldique, 310-14.
For more on the heraldic device which matches a coat of arms granted by René, see below, pages 110-111.
statements or alliances,\textsuperscript{63} it is more likely that they instead indicate regional stylistic influences.\textsuperscript{64} It would be erroneous to interpret every coat of arms with a double-headed eagle as a visible proclamation of loyalty to the Holy Roman Emperor. Even the heraldic devices of the Dukes of Brittany and Bourbon do not contain any definitive indications of inheritance that would identify a real person either living or deceased. In fact if anything can be interpreted from these devices, it is that René has gone out of his way to select and invent heraldic devices that are purposefully noncommittal. The overall effect is significantly different from the myriad of extant occasional rolls that record the participants of tournaments and attendees at events.\textsuperscript{65} Whereas these rolls sought to establish specific identities of both the captains and participants, René used heraldic identity within his imagined tournament to ensure that the subjects remain un-named. This politically ambiguous aspect of the heraldry in the \textit{Livre des tournois}, both real and invented, will be addressed in more detail later in this chapter. Given, as we have seen, that \textit{brisures} were commonly employed within heraldry for the purposes detailed above and concluding that it was also a fairly standard practice across chivalric society, the lack of any such indications of political affiliation is particularly telling.

Because the heraldic devices used for the Dukes of Brittany and Bourbon are unbroken and relatively simple they do not directly reference specific named individuals. René's stated audience, the French nobility, would have easily recognised and found it quite straightforward to engage with both figures as abstract identities representative of their station.\textsuperscript{66} They are excellent examples of the type of prince René insists should host

\begin{footnotes}
\item[64] It is worth re-emphasising the point made by Michel Pastoureau that while historians tend to want to read abstract symbolism into heraldry these inquiries are often fruitless and anachronistic. See below, pages 120-126.
\item[65] Pastoureau, \textit{Traité d’héraldique}, 223-30.
\item[66] Not only does René address the work to his brother; Charles, Count of Maine, he specifically states that he is describing a tournament that he thinks the French nobility should emulate. Appendix A, page 476, lines
\end{footnotes}
such a tournament, powerful and wealthy members of the high nobility. During the early 1460s, the period in which René wrote *Livre des tournois*, these families were relatively neutral figures in the French political landscape. The Hundred Years War had recently ended and the League of Public Weal, which both Bourbon and Brittany would play a significant role in, had not yet been formed. Francis II (1433-1488), who ascended to the ducal throne of Brittany in 1459 enjoyed cordial relations with the the French crown until 1465 and the formation of the League of Public Weal. In the final summation, any attempt to assign a singular specific identity to either figure is pointless. René refuses to name either in the text, referring to them only by their titles.

Although the critically important detail to this discussion is that the coats of arms of the Dukes of Brittany and Bourbon do not bear any *brisures*, it must be acknowledged that specific images do tempt the reader to decode their identity. The inclusion of heraldic collars that resemble those worn by members of the Breton chivalric order, The Order of the Ermine and the Ear of Grain, in both the armorial plaque of the Duke of Brittany on on some of his entourage is one such clue (figs. 87 and 89). However, this order had existed in some form since 1381. Moreover, while the representation of the collar resembles the few contemporary depictions that do survive (figs. 90, 91 and 92), the depictions in the *Livre des tournois* do not include the element of the ermine pendant, which was added to

2-4.

67. See Chapter 4, pages 221-233.


the order in 1447. The collar is simply not a distinct enough feature that can be used to identify a specific member of the ducal family.72

Only a singular detail in one image, the two white dogs acting as supporters in the plaque showing the Duke of Bourbon's arms, comes close to identifying a specific individual (fig. 93). These heraldic supporters were used in the Bourbon arms during the periods prior to 1420 and after 1457.73 In the Livre du Cœur, René makes a specific reference to Louis II (1337-1410), Duke of Bourbon.74 He cites him by name and refers to him heraldically in the passage, "...adestré de deux blans chiens qu'on appelle martelez" (fig. 94).75 The ethereal identity of the duke in the Livre des tournois is contrasted by the unambiguous nature of the reference René uses in the Livre du Cœur. René was obviously willing to use the identities of specific historic figures within his works when it suited his purpose. The fact that he chose to not name or identify individuals in the Livre des tournois indicates that he had a purpose in keeping this and the other details decidedly non-specific. In the end, the heraldic supporters on Bourbon's arms create the same ambiguity that the inclusion of the heraldic collar in the arms of Brittany does.

Finally, the inscriptions on the heraldic plaques that decorate the inns where the tourneyers lodge have been purposefully left obscure.76 The collar is enigmatically the only heraldic emblem in the entire work that is not meticulously rendered by the artist to

74. Anjou, Le Livre des Tournois, 12.
75. ÖNB, codex Vindobonensis 2597, f. 74. BnF, ms. français 24399, f. 83. "... flanked by two white pug-nosed dogs they call 'little hammers.'” For the passage and its translation, see: Anjou, The Book of the Love-Smitten Heart, 162-63.
be precise.\textsuperscript{77} The supporters of the Duke of Bourbon's arms are not specific enough for a definitive identification. The most these visual clues do is to invite the viewer to engage with and closely consider the images. In the end they do not reveal any conclusive identification of specific individuals.

By itself this absence of specific identity is highly unusual. Accurate representations of heraldic symbols belonging to chivalric orders was the norm.\textsuperscript{78} The countless examples of accurate depictions of collars, garters, mottoes, and devices indicates that as status and identity symbols they were highly valued by the chivalric class. It is the non-specific nature of their identity that gives these two figures their power within the \textit{Livre des tournois}. They are recognisable, yet indefinite. They allow the audience to engage with the work without bringing prejudices and preconceptions about specific individuals into play. René has chosen figures whose heraldic identity thus functions to engage his audience and make his work accessible while avoiding the pitfall of directly engaging in the volatile political power plays of late fifteenth century France. As the heraldic trappings that René displayed at Nancy in 1445 clearly illustrate, he was quite capable and willing to use heraldry to engage in political discourse.\textsuperscript{79} If we were to replace the heraldic identity of the two dukes with Charles le Téméraire, Duke of Burgundy and René by including their complex and specific coats of arms into the image cycle, our interpretation of the work would no doubt be vastly different. Mérindol was very astute in praising the political acumen and collaborative efforts of René and his artist, Barthélemy


\textsuperscript{79} See above, page 96.
d'Eyck, in their selection, use and heraldic representation of the Dukes of Brittany and Bourbon. While he was certainly correct in considering the political situation of the Dukes of Brittany and Bourbon vis-a-vis René and France at the time the Livre des tournois was written, ultimately it is the ambiguity of the identity of two dukes that is the most telling and important part of their presence in the Livre des tournois.

The importance that these two figures have to the work is further evidenced by the two manuscripts of the Livre des tournois that contain the most significant deviations from the source. The D manuscript not only features an image sequence that is vastly different from the source manuscript, it also contains important additions. While the artist responsible for D carefully constructed the images to support the text by including heralds wearing the coats of arms of Brittany and Bourbon, he also included other heralds wearing coats of arms belonging to specific territories (fig. 95). For instance, the herald located nearest to the centre of the image in the bottom row of the stands wears a surcoat blazoned gules, a fess argent. This coat of arms has two possible historical links. It was the traditional coat of arms of the counts and city of Leuven. However, it was not widely used after the territory was incorporated into the lands of the Dukes of Brabant in the thirteenth century. It was also the coat of arms used by the Archdukes of Austria. Maximilian I (1459-1519), Holy Roman Emperor displayed it as part of his coat of arms throughout his lifetime and raised its prominence within Flanders, the likely production area of the manuscript, when he married the Burgundian heiress, Marie de Bourgogne (1457-1482) in 1477 (fig. 96). Their son, Philippe le Beau (1478-1506), also used the device as part of his coat of arms. What is important for the current discussion is that the inclusion of other identifiable and historically accurate coats of arms reflects an attempt to make the D

81. A red shield with a broad white or silver horizontal stripe.
82. For more on this coat of arms, see Chapter 6, pages 342-343.
manuscript more accessible for a new patron, one not so centred on French political life as René's initial intended audience.

The G manuscript of the *Livre des tournois* approaches heraldry and identity in a completely different fashion. Nearly every trace of identity, including every representation of heraldry, has been left out by both the scribe and artist who copied this manuscript and its images. In the image showing the construction of the helmet and crest, the artist of G has omitted the final stage of assembly showing the crest of the Duke of Brittany (figs. 6 and 97). Textual references to either the Duke of Brittany or Bourbon have been generalised in an apparent attempt to remove any overt reference to French nobility.83 Unfortunately, outside of the fact that I have demonstrated that G was modelled on P4 after the latter was in the French royal collection and has a *terminus post quem* of 1490, the early provenance of G is still uncertain.84 This makes it nearly impossible to speculate on a context for these changes. In the end, D and G demonstrate two very different reactions to the heraldic identities in the *Livre des tournois*. Although within the two examples the reactions to the author's original use of heraldic identity are polar opposites, both covertly acknowledge the author's original intended reason for the ambiguous identity of the figures of the Dukes of Brittany and Bourbon.

The primary importance of the historically accurate coats of arms is therefore their ambiguity. While the figures of the Dukes of Brittany and Bourbon present René's audience with tangible exemplars, they are carefully presented by the author and artist so as to be indefinite. As captains of René's imagined tournament they fill the roles of representing great princes from established houses of France's highest peerages. René's audience would have certainly been able to identify with these figures and may have even

83. For instance, the scribe of G has changed the passage, "Lors ledit roy d'armes s'en yra devers ledit duc de bourdon deffendant..." to "Lors ledit roy d'armes s'en yra devers ledit prince deffendant...". Italics are my own. For the first passage see: Appendix A, page 484, lines 23-24 or P1, f. 5. For the second, see: G, f. 2.
84. See Chapter 6, pages 351-353.

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thought of specific individuals, yet the ambiguity built into the text and image allowed the reader to remain detached enough to invest themselves in the works' narrative without prejudice. This is all accomplished through the depiction of their heraldic identity. By having selected and used unbroken coats of arms as well as indefinite details, René and his artist have allowed the two dukes to remain anonymous. Later copyists of the *Livre des tournois* approached heraldic identity in different ways. While G sought to abolish any trace, D sought to anchor these identities in a more specific context. 85 All told, these examples reinforce the conclusion that the original intent of the author and artist was to use historically accurate heraldic identities for the tournament captains in a manner which would serve to engage their audience while simultaneously leaving them unburdened by preconceptions tied to specific individuals.

2.2.2 The Invented Arms

The arms invented by René to represent the individual tourneyers fulfil the crucial role of providing subjects for the visual narrative while simultaneously demonstrating René's authority on tournament customs by confirming his expertise in heraldry. The sheer number of heraldic devices invented for the *Livre des tournois* is impressive by itself. There are over fifty unique heraldic identities composed of blazons that consist of either one, or both of a coat of arms and corresponding crest. 86 Of these, I have only identified a single coat of arms recorded as belonging to a historically verifiable individual or family (figs. 98 and 99). 87 Before proceeding, it is necessary to address this example as prior to this study there had been no links found between the invented arms in the *Livre des*

85. For more on the effect of this, see Chapter 6 on the reception of the work.

86. Freigang puts the number of invented arms at twenty-one. He seems to be basing this number on the easily discernible banners displayed outside the inn (fig. 18). Freigang, “Le tournoi idéal,” 181-83. There are actually twenty-two plaques with coats of arms and crests in this image, although only twenty-one banners are clearly visible. In addition, there are nearly forty more examples of unique blazons found in the following images. These are composed of either or both of a coat of arms and crest.

tournois and any known set of arms. The coat of arms that matches the example in the Livre des tournois was granted to Jean de Regina, who served as quartermaster in René's household staff. He was ennobled and granted arms on 27 March, 1464. These details are crucial in how we interpret this data. The first is that Jean was granted these arms rather than having a family set of arms confirmed. This reinforces René's assertion that all of the arms belonging to the tourneiers in the Livre des tournois were invented at the time he wrote the work rather than based on real examples. Secondly the arms were granted in 1464, after the Livre des tournois was written. This supports the previous assertion that the arms in the Livre des tournois were invented for the work. What seems to have happened is that for some, as of yet unexplained reason, René granted a set of arms that he had previously invented to a newly ennobled individual. Although I have not been able to locate any other set of arms that matches a historic example this discovery does open the possibility that more are as of yet undiscovered.

Every example of an invented coat of arms in the Livre des tournois adheres to the most prominent regulations of heraldic construction common in the fifteenth century. Taken together, these factors indicate that an individual or individuals with a fair level of heraldic knowledge and expertise conceived and executed what is in essence an armorial for the tournament René presents in the Livre des tournois. To better understand the importance these invented arms have within this work the following section will examine four themes: disguised symbolism in the coats of arms, the relationship between the invented arms and armorial rolls, whether there are any identifiable regional influences in the arms, and the narrative function of the invented blazons. What will emerge from this

88. This is possibly due to the tarnish that has effected the colours of the device on the letters patent. It is difficult to distinguish the silver/white base from the black charge. The blazon for the coat of arms is: argent, three piles reversed sable, each surmounted by a martlet of the same, a chief azure.

89. Gautier, and Avril, Splendeur de l'enluminure, 255. Also see: Louis Ventre Artefeuil, Histoire héroïque et universelle de la noblesse de Provence, 3 vols. (Avignon: Veuve Girard, 1776-86), II, p. 299.
examination is that the creation and use of these coats of arms within the visual narrative reflect and proclaim a high degree of heraldic expertise by the work's author.

2.2.2.1 Narrative Function

As demonstrated in the previous chapter, the visual narratives contained within the images are crucial for understanding the work and its place within court culture. By acting as a type of narrative tag used to identify particular subjects, the invented arms engage the reader and allow them to follow these individual stories. Because these stories visualise punishments and rewards, and reinforce the cultural importance placed on the projection of identity and status, they are crucial for understanding how the work defines and reinforces chivalric values. At the heart of this is the consistent and accurate depiction of the invented blazons. The blazons are composed of both a coat of arms and helmet crest.

The link between heraldry and identity within narrative literature has a long history. Numerous chivalric romances, such as the Arthurian cycle and Froissart's Méliador, among countless other examples, demonstrate that heraldry played a crucial role in the creation of narrative identities. The earliest examples from Arthurian literature often solely employed repetitive textual descriptions of a subject's heraldic device to establish their identity. Increasingly these works began to incorporate visual depictions of the identifying coats of arms that matched their textual descriptions. By the fifteenth century a fully formed and fairly static armorial of attributed arms for the Arthurian cycle was in

90. See Chapter 1, pages 72-80.


existence. Froissart's pre-Arthurian romance *Méliador* contains over forty attributed coats of arms, some of which were invented by the author exclusively for the work. The link between identity and heraldry is amply demonstrated throughout *Méliador*. For instance, knights are often referred to in the text by their arms rather than their name.

Given that heraldry played an important role in chivalric culture's concern with the visual representation of status and identity, it should be expected that late medieval audiences valued consistent and accurate depictions of heraldic devices.

The use of the invented arms in the *Livre des tournois* reflects the cultural emphasis placed on heraldry's narrative function. The arms of the tournament's judges are consistently rendered throughout the work's images so that their identity and consequently their authority is firmly established. Moreover, the coats of arms of the tourneyers are consistently associated with a particular helmet crest. This allows the audience to follow the story of an individual tourneyer using either his coat of arms or crest. The most dramatic example of this is the narrative of the tourneyer identified by his crest of a basket of red roses. His story is unlocked over the course of two images, the review of the helmets and crests (fig. 22) and the tournament melee (fig. 25). While this narrative is analysed in detail in Chapter 5, it is necessary to introduce here as it directly relates to the narrative function of heraldry.

This tourneyer's story begins during the review of helmets and crests, which is arguably one of the most important ceremonies described and envisioned in the work.

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94. For exceptions, see: Nickel, “Notes on Arthurian Heraldry,” 1-3.
René writes that the tourneyors are to display their helmets and crests in a ceremony during which they submit themselves to the review of their noble peers. René lists a series of offences that any tourneyer may be accused of during this ceremony: lying or breaking a promise, usury, marrying a wife who is a commoner, not being descended exclusively from nobility, and speaking ill of noble ladies. René includes a detailed set of rituals for both the accusation and punishment for what he describes as the most grievous offence, breaking one's oath or committing usury. Any individual accused of these is to first have his helmet cast to ground during the review. If the tournament judges find him guilty of being either a usurer or an oath breaker he is to be publicly punished the next day during the tournament melee: his saddle straps would first be ceremoniously cut after which he would then be lifted from his horse, carried and placed on the list barrier, all while still in his saddle. He must stay in that state for the rest of the tournament.

This narrative is precisely depicted over the course of these two images and is linked by the heraldic identity of the subject. In the first image, the artist has included a helmet that has been cast to the ground, the crest of which is a basket of red roses (fig. 100). In the second image a lone tourneyer is included sitting astride the list barrier while still in his saddle, just as called for in the text (fig. 101). The crest on his helmet is the same basket of red roses. The consistent use of heraldic devices throughout the image cycle allows the reader to follow this particular narrative and understand that this individual is the same oath breaker, or usurer, who was accused in the review ceremony.

Given this figure's prominence and easy recognition it is surprising that he does not appear in more images. However, it is impossible to locate him by either his crest or his

100.Appendix A, pages 628-636. The majority of the ritual is described in the first paragraph, with additional details relevant to the later discussion found throughout the following paragraphs.
coat of arms in any other image within the work. He simply does not exist in any previous or later image as an identified member of either Brittany or Bourbon's entourage. In fact, of all the visualised punishment rituals, which are analysed in detail in Chapter 5, none of the punished individuals can be linked to either Brittany or Bourbon's party. This reflects both the care that has gone into the construction of the visual narrative, as well as René's political acumen and concern with creating a work that did not impugn the honour of anyone actually living. Even though the historically accurate arms used for the Dukes of Bourbon and Brittany did not identify specific individuals there was still the possibility to associate the shame of this fictionalised individual with either house. While the audience can identify this particular tourneyer's shame, he cannot be linked to the team of either duke. Thus there is a barrier between the shame of the imagined tourneyer and the reputations of the two real dynastic houses. He acts as an example for the audience, but does not reflect negatively on the renown of either the Duke of Brittany or the Duke of Bourbon whether imagined or real.

The heraldic identities of the punished and shamed tourneyers reveal one further important aspect of how the visual narrative uses heraldic devices as narrative tags. Unlike the vast majority of examples, this individual's crest does not replicate his coat of arms. His heraldic identity visually separates him from the other tourneyers. Further examination of the crests and coats of arms of the tourneyers reveals that he is not the only figure whose crest and arms do not match. Despite the fact that an overwhelming majority of crests match their owner's coats of arms, which will be discussed in more detail in the section on regional influences below, there are a few important cases where a noticeable difference exists. These differences are critical for the visual narratives. Every instance is part of a specific visual representation of a narrative ritual. The tourneyer being led

103. For the importance of the crests as an identifier in tournament images, see: Cruse, “Costuming the Past,” 51.
through the melee by a herald bears the arms: or, a cross recercelé sable. His crest of a
dog's head holding a bone in its mouth is very different from his coat of arms (fig. 102). A
careful reading of text and image reveals that he is being punished for having married a
woman who is not from the nobility.104 The group of figures involved in the depiction of
the application of the mercy of the ladies contains a number of individuals whose arms and
crests do not match (fig. 103). Standing out in particular from this group is the figure
lowering the veil, the knight or squire of honour. The text indicates that his helmet and
crest should be taken to the stands where the noble ladies will watch the event and there
held aloft by a herald so that all may recognise him.105 While he is helmet-less, which is
itself a rather dramatic break from his coat of arms, even his crest of a muzzled bear head,
located in the stands being held aloft by a herald, does not match the blazon on his heraldic
surcoat, argent, six lions passant combatant gules (fig. 104), in a similar fashion, two
tourneyers leaving the field without their crests stand out from the rest (fig. 105). Once we
know what to look for, the relationship between the variation of an individual's crest and
their coat of arms and that figure's narrative function becomes obvious. These variations
stand out precisely because they are not the normal mode of representing heraldic identity
for the rest of the combatants, characterised by a matched set of crest and coat of arms. To
a contemporary audience, intimately familiar with heraldic tradition and regional styles,
these differences would have stood out like a beacon.106 While it is the consistency of the
repetition of heraldic devices that creates identity and unlocks the visual narratives, it is the
breaks from the normative modes of heraldic construction that draw the viewer's eye to

104. For more on this and the following punishment ritual, see Chapter 5, pages 286, 293-294.
105. Appendix A, page 659, line 24-page 660, line 5.
106. Anne D. Hedeman notes that medieval artists, patrons and audiences would have been able to read
heraldry as "easily as words." Hedeman, "Collecting Images," 107.
engage with the narrative's subjects and thus reveals the extent of René's knowledge of tournament customs. 107

This process of shielding the captains' reputation from the shameful acts of tourneyers is very different from another example found in the melee image. This individual is shown departing the list field, led by his attendant who carries his banner emblazoned with his device, *ermine, in a chief or a double-headed demi-eagle sable* (fig. 106). On closer inspection, the reader will note that this individual is missing his crest, and only the underlying supporting structure remains (fig. 107). The reader is able to interpret what they are shown because of the section in the work that describes and illustrates the method of assembly for a crest (fig. 6). 108 Located above and to the left of the tourneyer is a herald wearing a surcoat with the same blazon. He has removed his hat in a gesture of respect as he reaches towards the stands filled with noble ladies and presents them with a tournament sword (fig. 84). The artist has taken care to depict the herald holding the sword "par la pointe," as he presents it to the assembled ladies. As demonstrated in Chapter 1, the importance of this bit of etiquette is conveyed to the reader in the passages and images that outline the ceremonial challenge and acceptance of the tournament. 109

This narrative is constructed entirely from the presentation of four visual elements (fig. 108). The tourneyer is the main subject. He is identified and linked to his attendants by his coat of arms. His missing crest tells part of the story. The reader can surmise that it was knocked from his helmet during the melee leaving only the underlying supporting

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107. Attributed arms in Froissart's *Méliador* that violate the rules of heraldry function in a similar manner to engage their audience. See: Bouchet, “Rhétorique de l’héraldique,” 248. Cruse also notes that visual differences in heraldic devices are used to help the audience identify members of different factions in complex narrative images found a mid-fourteenth century copy of the *Roman d'Alexandre*. See: Cruse, “Costuming the Past,” 44. Also: Bodleian, MS Bodleian 264.


The presentation of the sword by his herald tells more of the story. While the role of the herald is examined in more detail in the following chapter, for the present discussion it is important to note that the herald reflects the tourneyer's honour by acting on his behalf and following the strict guidelines of courtly etiquette. The herald's expertise in these matters is attested to by the deference he shows to the noble ladies by removing his hat and presenting the sword according to the guidelines laid out in the opening passages of the book. It is crucial to note that this ritual is not described anywhere in the text, and yet it is clearly a narrative built on the reader's understanding of individual visual elements assembled into a whole construction, as introduced in Chapter 1. While the exact interpretation of this ritual remains unclear, the implication is clear that an act of honour, as opposed to punishment or shame, is taking place.

Unlike the shamed tourneyers this individual can be readily identified throughout the image cycle. Furthermore, he is linked to the parties of both Brittany and Bourbon. The reader initially finds his coat of arms and crest on one of the plaques in the image showing the display of arms outside the inns (figs. 18 and 109). His crest can then be found amidst the procession of tourneyers to display their helmets and crests in the review ceremony (figs. 21 and 110), where it appears again (figs. 22 and 111). He appears again, this time identified by his coat of arms displayed on his mount's caparison, in the image showing the tourneyers taking the oath to abide by the rules of the event (figs. 23 and 112). Finally, in the image immediately prior to the melee, he can be spotted once more among the crowds of tourneyers lined up and ready to begin the combat (figs. 24 and 113). Unlike the shamed tourneyers, this individual is clearly identifiable in every image in the cycle that includes any of the tourneyers' coats of arms.

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110. For more on the removal of crests as part of the tournament format, see Chapter 4, pages 216-217.
111. See Chapter 3, pages 152-157.
112. See Chapter 1, pages 72-80.
Furthermore, he is not linked to one, but rather both captains in equal measure. In the display of arms outside the inn, the review of helmets and crests, and the start of the combat he is presented as part of the Duke of Bourbon's team. In comparison, within the images of the procession to the review and the tourneyers swearing their oaths, this individual is presented as part of Brittany's entourage. Additionally, his coat of arms is the only one of the invented arms that bears a significant enough resemblance to one of the two dukes to suggest some type of affiliation. The gold chief decorated with a black double-headed demi-eagle can be interpreted as a break, or *brisure*, from the ermine field which is Brittany's traditional coat of arms. Such an interpretation is suggested to the reader by a visual device found in the melee image. Near the centre of the image, Brittany's pennon is included flying above the centre of the fray where it partially covers another banner (fig. 114). Only the top part of that banner remains visible, showing a pair of black double-headed demi-eagles on a gold field. The effect is a remarkable likeness of the honoured individual's coat of arms. Brittany's pennon is even arranged so as to point across the field to the tourneyer's banner, as if directing the reader/viewer where to look (fig. 115). In an exhaustive search of Breton, and other regional armorials I have not located this coat of arms. So while this individual does appear to be a fictive construct of René's, he is presented to the reader in a manner that shares his honour between the tournament captains. From this example we can conclude that René took care to not project the dishonourable actions of the punished tourneyers onto either noble house, while also going to lengths to associate this honoured tourneyer with both Brittany and Bourbon. René's skills as an expert in heraldry and his political savvy are attested to by the narratives of shame and honour that can be constructed from the heraldic devices found in the *Livre des tournois'*s visual programme.

This final point is subtle and yet extremely important because it underpins the importance of the invented coats of arms. It is the visual narratives which directly testify
to René's expertise on tournament customs, and the visual narratives are only unlocked when the full extent of the invented coats is understood. The heraldic programme speaks not only to René's expertise in heraldry, but also his ability to use heraldry as part of a narrative to illustrate tournament customs.

2.2.2.2 Disguised Symbolism

It is also worth addressing whether there is any disguised symbolic meaning in the invented arms. By the time René wrote the *Livre des tournois*, heraldic treatises were assigning increasingly obscure symbolism to heraldic elements.113 Heralds as respected and renowned as Jean Courtois, Sicily Herald, equated vices and virtues with the various tinctures, divisions and charges that formed the vocabulary of heraldic language.114 Sicily and others even went so far as to relate heraldic elements to precious stones and astrological signs.115 As Michel Pastoureau has noted, this trend coupled with the increasingly complicated heraldic language contributed to the herald becoming an indispensable figure at the noble court.116 Among their other duties, the professional herald was needed for both describing coats of arms and interpreting potentially embedded symbolic meanings.117 Blazons might represent a visual play on words that related to the family name, such as the Leblanc coat of arms that made prominent use of *argent*, or the.

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117. Another role commonly assigned to the herald was having ready knowledge of the identities of individuals and families based on the vast number of arms in existence. For more on this role and René's reaction to this idea, see Chapter 3 on the role of the herald in the *Livre des tournois*. 

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use of *sable* in the arms of the Lenoir family. A particular charge within a coat of arms might indicate a political affiliation or lay claim to status, such as when supporters or those who later claimed descent from Henry the Lion incorporated an heraldic lion into their arms as a visible symbol of allegiance and support. Yet assigning a definitive symbolic interpretation to coats of arms remains problematic. There was simply no universally accepted code of interpretation. Colours could be read in a variety of ways, sometimes with conflicting meanings. For example, yellow is commonly understood to have represented sickness. However, in heraldry yellow represented the metal *or*, and might be interpreted as the virtue of *noblesse*. Even animal charges, which generally embodied less complex and conflicting symbolism, are problematic. An eagle could represent specific affiliation to the Holy Roman Emperor, the Ghibelline party, or more generally could serve as an indication of nobility, power, or authority. A lion might indicate allegiance to the Guelphs, English ancestry, or strength, courage and generosity. Furthermore, by the fifteenth century comparatively few families or individuals were inventing new coats of arms, instead inheriting blazons that could be hundreds of years old. Therefore, assigning any definitive symbolic meaning to family arms in the late middle ages is nearly always an anachronistic exercise.

118. Pastoureau, *Traité d’héraldique*, 114. For another example of a self referential device see the description of the coat of arms used by the Counts of St. Pol in: Ailes, “The Knight, Heraldry and Armour,” 17.
Even seemingly clear-cut heraldic statements invented in the fifteenth century present problems for interpretation. As mentioned earlier, at the Emprise de la gueule du dragon in 1446 René appeared wearing a black surcoat and bearing a black shield dotted with silver tears.\textsuperscript{126} However, neither he nor the anonymous author who recorded the event bothered to explain why he did this or how others interpreted his gesture.\textsuperscript{127} Theories explaining René's costume range from him expressing sorrow for the loss of his son, the refusal of a lady, the recent marriage of his daughter, and mourning the decline of the chivalric ideal, but none is singularly convincing.\textsuperscript{128} Ambiguity may be the point itself. In a culture that loved playful symbolism and dichotic meanings, ambiguity served to engage the audience by inviting them to consider and debate the meaning. For instance, earlier in this chapter I demonstrated how the ambiguous identity of the tournament captains functioned to engage René's readership. Clever witticisms could also be an expression of the individual's erudition in the heraldic language and were particularly valued as part of role-play in tournaments wherein participants disguised themselves by donning symbolic coats of arms.\textsuperscript{129} Nicholas Upton recalls the grant of arms given to an anonymous individual who was ennobled by the Earl of Salisbury. According to Upton, this person was granted a coat of arms featuring three partridges, an animal that Upton reveals was considered to be sexually deviant. This newly-ennobled individual's coat of arms thus made a discreet reference to rumours of his sexual practices.\textsuperscript{130}

\textsuperscript{126}See page 96, note 31.

\textsuperscript{127}The account of the event is found within the manuscript containing the lengthier description of the Pas de la Joyeuse Garde, hosted by René at Saumur later that same year. See: NLR, ms. fr. F. p. XIV, 4.


\textsuperscript{129}Ailes, “The Knight, Heraldry and Armour,” 4.

\textsuperscript{130}Keen, \textit{Chivalry}, 130-31.
The use of heraldic symbolism did thrive in creation of attributed arms for both fictional and historic persons. The systematic invention of attributed arms over the span of the middle ages allowed a fair amount of symbolism to be developed into coats of arms. This practice is best documented in relation to the attributed arms for the Arthurian cycles. Lancelot's blazon thus begins life as a pure white shield, blazoned simply as argent. Later representations incorporate three red bends onto the white field to symbolise that Lancelot possessed the strength of three men. The practice of attributing arms also extended to historic and mythological persons in addition to literary figures. One of the best example of this is found in the heraldic identities created for the Nine Worthies. These nine figures were drawn three each from pagan, Jewish and Christian exemplars and were regarded as embodiments of chivalric ideals. Each of the nine was assigned his own coat of arms. These attributed arms and the virtues associated with their bearers even complicates any symbolic reading of historic coats of arms. For example, René's use of the device of the Kingdom of Jerusalem served as both a specific and overt claim to the kingdom and a more general declaration of his royal status. However these arms were also attributed to Godefrey de Bouillon (1060-1100), the first King of Jerusalem and one of the Nine Worthies. By incorporating this coat of arms into his device René used heraldry to position himself as a direct descendent of one of the paragons of chivalric ideals and thus as a living embodiment of one of the Nine Worthies.

René's reputed interest in and playful use of heraldic symbolism tempts us to look for disguised symbolism in the invented arms of the *Livre des tournois*. His admission of having invented the arms for his own amusement reads as a challenge to his audience to find any disguised meanings. This line of inquiry can be pursued in relation to a specific visual narrative already discussed, that of the shamed tourneyer found sitting astride the list barrier during the tournament melee (fig. 101). Studies of René's other works have argued that René was responding to and even critiquing the *Roman de la Rose*. In terms of its allegorical structure and subject matter the work certainly influenced both René's *Livre du Cœur* and *Le Mortifiement de vaine plaisance*. The first is generally regarded as being modelled on the *Roman de la Rose*, while the latter is seen as a reaction by René against the licentiousness present in the work. Applying these arguments to an analysis of the arms of the shamed knight in the *Livre des tournois* leads to the conclusion that the crest of a basket of red roses could be René's way of referencing the *Roman de la Rose*. The fact that within the visual narrative of the *Livre des tournois* the tourneyer has been punished and shamed can then be interpreted as a critique by the author of morality present in the *Roman de la Rose*.

However, such an interpretation is not without its problems. To begin with, René is abundantly clear in both the *Livre du Cœur* and *Le Mortifiement* when he is employing allegory. He takes care to provide overt references in the text to any use of symbolism, thus providing a guide for the audience to read the images. Thus a helmet is adorned with a mantle made from flowers of loving thoughts, and the black border around the protagonist's shield is described as a border of painful sighs (fig. 116). In contrast, René

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makes absolutely no overt attempt within the *Livre des tournois* to assign allegorical attributes to any of the coats of arms. Secondly, we have to question whether an allegorical reading can be reconciled with the primary narrative function of the heraldic device in question, which in this example is to establish the identity of an individual who has been punished for either breaking his oath or committing usury. While an allegorical or symbolic interpretation does not conflict with the narrative reading in this example, neither does it support it. In the end, any such interpretation is left to the reader, it is simply not a part of the embedded relationship between text and image that is present throughout the work. To paraphrase Michel Pastoureau, we are always curious about the symbolic meaning of a heraldic device and want to identify a definitive singular answer instead of admitting that there was either no significance or that a complex relationship of significances existed.\textsuperscript{136} While it is undeniable that medieval coats of arms were symbolically meaningful to their contemporaries, and in the case of the more elaborate and unusual crests were likely designed with at least a partial intent of conveying meaning, we must recognise that any attempt at reading symbolism into the coats of arms in the *Livre des tournois* is not based on a demonstrated relationship between text and image.\textsuperscript{137} If there was an intent to include an embedded programme of symbolism into the invented coats of arms in the *Livre des tournois*, it remains hidden to our modern sensibilities. Moreover, by acknowledging that the author's primary intention for the invented coats of arms was to create subjects for the narrative, as René himself stated, any potential

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\textsuperscript{136} Pastoureau, *Traité d’héraldique*, 250.

\textsuperscript{137} There continue to be numerous misinterpretations of the images in the *Livre des tournois* based on incomplete understandings of the function of heraldry within the work. Sir Anthony Wagner read the image of the Duke of Bourbon selecting tournament judges as instead being presented with the coats of arms of the tourneyers. Wagner, *Heralds and Heraldry*, 71. Christian Freigang notes the playfulness of some of the helmet crests, but interprets the fact that tourneyers who are initially members of the Duke of Brittany’s entourage are seen fighting on the side of the Duke of Bourbon as an indication of irony within the tournament. However, a careful reading reveals that reassigning tourneyers to different teams was an integral part of the helmet review ceremony. So while tourneyers switching sides is revealed by heraldry serving as narrative tags, the purpose behind this visualisation is infinitely more practical. Freigang, “*Le tournoi idéal,*” 184.
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symbolism must not run contrary to the narrative framework of text and image. In the end, a line of inquiry that prioritises symbolism is useful for provoking detailed observation of the images, but it is ultimately unfulfilling and a distraction from more direct lines of inquiry.

2.2.2.3 Armorial Rolls

Armorial rolls provided an excellent opportunity for the compiler to demonstrate their heraldic knowledge. The assertion that the invented arms in the Livre des tournois serve as a type of armorial for the tournament serves two purposes. The first is that it testifies to René's heraldic expertise. The second is that it fixes René's tournament as a tangible event in the mind of the reader. The occasional rolls commemorating the participants of the 1393 tournament in Bruges that Louis de Bruges incorporated into the copies of the Livre des tournois that he commissioned acted as a testament to the authenticity of the event by fixing it in the minds of the rolls' audience as a factual historic tournament (figs. 117, 118, 119 and 120). The centuries-long confusion that identified the tournament Louis was commemorating as the source of inspiration for René's treatise is evidence for how effective this was. Other forms of armorial rolls not only recorded historically accurate blazons belonging to the participants who were present at an event, but also more general collections of devices. These collections could be based around a specific region or institution. In addition, it was not uncommon for such rolls to record the heraldry of mythological persons and events. The earliest rolls through to the late fifteenth century and beyond often included these attributed arms alongside their historic counterparts. This intermingling of the imaginary and the real, something our modern scientific sensibilities balk at, was quite a commonplace occurrence in the Middle Ages.


139. See Chapter 6, pages 353-363. For the source of the modern assertion that this was the case, see Chapter 4, page 200, note 17.
By acting as a material manifestation of a culturally recognisable sign, heraldry and occasional rolls in particular allowed their medieval audiences to take a cognitive leap and connect with an event and its participants.\textsuperscript{140} In addition they served as a type of testament to their author's authority as both witness to the event and as an expert on heraldic custom.

It is important to note that at no point in the \textit{Livre des tournois} are the heraldic arms presented to the reader in the format of an armorial roll. However, I contend that because the invented arms in the \textit{Livre des tournois} invite its audience to connect with the imagined event, these arms act in a manner that is similar to an occasional roll for René's imagined tournament.

Armorial rolls exist in relatively large numbers throughout European archives, and yet they have been largely under-utilised. Scholars turn to them primarily as sources to verify identity, while amateur heraldic and ancestry enthusiasts catalogue their features and variations and rarely attempt to analyse them within a broader context. Occasional rolls that record tournaments tend to have only a sparse, if any, written description of the event. They instead, like the \textit{Livre des tournois}, focus on the visual presentation of the participants' arms, more often than not including their names as well. Just a few examples among many include the occasional rolls for the tournaments at Stepney (1308), Dunstable (1334), Montendre (1402), and of course Bruges (1393).\textsuperscript{141} More detailed written accounts of tournaments, such as the events at Chauvency (1285) and Saumur (1446), include not only visual depictions of the participants' heraldic devices, but also textual descriptions of

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\textsuperscript{140} Fenske, “Adel und Rittertum,” 76; Pastoureau, \textit{Traité d'héraldique}, 15, 318.

the event.\textsuperscript{142} These descriptions often include the names and written descriptions of the arms of the tourneyers. Even within the works of chroniclers such as Froissart or the chivalric works of Antoine de la Sale, the accurate visual presentation of a given individual's coat of arms played a prominent role in images of deeds of arms from tournaments to battles.\textsuperscript{143} In all of these examples heraldry, tied as it was to an individual's identity and reputation, served as an effective visual means to anchor the tournament in an audience's imagination.\textsuperscript{144}

Armorial rolls featuring attributed arms functioned in a similar manner to those that contained actual coats of arms. Examples such as Conrad Grünenberg's \textit{Wappenbuch} featured the attributed arms of the Nine Worthies, many of the Roman emperors, and Charlemagne's court alongside the arms of members of the contemporary nobility.\textsuperscript{145} However compilations such as Grünenberg's were fairly rare outside of the Holy Roman Empire. In comparison, Arthurian armorials were a relatively common phenomenon throughout Europe. These featured the collected coats of arms of as many figures from the Arthurian cycle as the compiler could gather. These armorials were initially compiled from both written descriptions and visual depictions found in their literary sources.\textsuperscript{146} While the early attributions were somewhat fluid, by the late fifteenth century the canon


\textsuperscript{143}For Froissart's use of heraldry in \textit{Méliador} in comparison to his \textit{Chroniques}, see: Bouchet, “Rhetorique de l’héraldique,” 239-55. For a counter argument to the inherent accuracy of armorial roles, see page 127, note 141 in this chapter.

\textsuperscript{144}Fenske, “Adel und Rittertum,” 125-26.


\textsuperscript{146}Pastoureau, \textit{Traité d’héraldique}, 258-61.
had become fairly well established. As collections, armorial rolls in all their forms demonstrated the knowledge and expertise amassed by their compilers.

One example that is particularly relevant to the discussion of imaginative arms in the Livre des tournois is found as part of the H manuscript. This manuscript not only contains a copy of René's treatise, but also begins with Jacques d'Armagnac's La forme quon tenoit des tournoys et assembles au temps du roy Uterpendragon et du roy Artur (1465-1470). Armagnac's treatise on Arthurian tournaments is followed with an armorial containing one hundred fifty blazons of Arthurian knights (fig. 121), also attributed to Armagnac. Unlike the invented arms in the Livre des tournois, the ascribed Arthurian heraldry featured numerous familial relationships. Despite this difference, in many ways Armagnac's work is similar to René's. Like René, he makes no attempt to describe a single specific tournament, whether historical or fictive. Instead he is interested in describing a form of tournament that he has assembled from numerous examples taken from Arthurian literature. The work is reflective of the mutual influence that Arthurian romance and tournaments had on each other. The inclusion of the Arthurian heraldic canon nods towards Armagnac's reputed heraldic expertise while also serving as a visual reminder of the important link between heraldry and the tournament. Visual depictions of coats of

147. There are, of course, exceptions. For specific examples, see: Nickel, “Notes on Arthurian Heraldry,” 1-3.


149. The establishment of familial signs in Arthurian heraldry was accomplished through an unusual process that worked opposite to heraldic conventions. Arms were first ascribed to the most prominent individual from a family and then carried back to previous generations rather than inherited from an ancestor. For more on this process, see: Nickel, “Notes on Arthurian Heraldry,” 1-3.

150. For the influence that Arthurian romance and tournaments had on each other, see: Jackson, “Das Turnier,” 258, 278. For the incorporation of Arthurian themes in the tournaments René hosted in the 1440s, see: Mérindol, “Les joutes de Nancy,” 189-94.

arms as a testament to a tournament, whether in the form of an historical or invented event, allowed their audience to make an important imaginative leap in order to connect intimately with the event. Heraldry as testamentary evidence of the tournament allowed the historic event to become tangible, and the imagined event to become real in the minds of its audience. Furthermore, Armagnac's inclusion of the Arthurian heraldic canon mimics René's claim to have invented the arms found in the *Livre des tournois*. Both men made it a priority to display their heraldic expertise via the contents of a book. Furthermore, like René, Armagnac used his heraldic expertise as part of an effort to validate his authority on tournament customs. Clearly heraldic expertise was considered an integral part of establishing noble reputation as well as authority on tournament customs.

The works of Antoine de la Sale provide striking and fitting testimony of a contemporary opinion on the importance heraldic knowledge played in chivalric and noble identity. Antoine was in the employ of the René and even served as tutor to his son, Jean II d'Anjou, before leaving his service for that of Jacques de Luxembourg in 1448. Among his contemporaries Antoine was highly regarded for his expertise and authority on these subjects. His reputation and knowledge was earned through experience, both as a member of René's court and his participation in at least two tournaments, the first in

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Brussels in 1409 and the second in Ghent in 1416. Antoine was in fact regarded highly enough by René that he even served as one of seven select judges at René's Pas d'armes de la Joyeuse Garde held at Saumur in 1446.

In his work *Le Petit Jean de Saintré* (1456), Antoine presents the fictionalised chivalric biography of the fourteenth-century knight Jean de Saintré. Among the descriptions of the chivalric deeds of his idealised knight, Antoine devotes a considerable amount of effort not only to display his heraldic knowledge, but also to present his hero as an expert in heraldry. The author accomplishes this by not simply describing coats of arms for his reader, but instead gives the voice of knowledge to his protagonist. For instance when describing the *emprise* that he is about to undertake to Madame des Belles Cousins, Jean is given voice to not only detail the manner of heraldic display, but also the intricacies of his own as well as other blazons. Knowing the laws of heraldry is vital to the chivalric identity of Antoine's ideal knight.

In a similar fashion Clément Prinsault wrote his *Traité héraldique* for Jacques d'Armagnac's young son. This work takes a direct approach to teaching the science and language of heraldry. The first section is concerned with the laws and customs of heraldry, focusing on the proper construction and blazoning of coats of arms. The work then

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157. The work is dedicated to Antoine's student and René's son, Jean II d'Anjou. For the most recent edition and translation of the work, see: La Sale, *Jean de Saintré*, 3.

158. La Sale, *Jean de Saintré*, xvii.


161. Jefferson, “Tournaments, Heraldry and the Knights of the Round Table,” 100-17. Prinsault's treatise exists in a number of fifteenth-century manuscripts. The manuscript used as the base for the edition for the text in Jefferson is now in a private collection. Other notable manuscripts which contain Prinsault's treatise
finishes, much like Armagnac's own treatise on Arthurian tournaments, with a lengthy
armorial.\textsuperscript{162} The fact that there was such an emphasis on including heraldry as part of a
young nobleman's education acknowledges that there was a cultural awareness that the
knowledge of the laws of heraldry was a part of noble and chivalric identity.

The final work that I will address regarding this discussion is Antoine de la Sale's
\textit{Des anciens tournois et faicts d'armes}, finished in 1459 and dedicated to Jean de
Luxembourg.\textsuperscript{163} It almost certainly served as an inspiration for René to write the \textit{Livre des
tournois}.\textsuperscript{164} Aside from the technical details of Antoine's treatise there are two sections
where the author switches his voice and speaks directly about his experience and
observations.\textsuperscript{165} In both of these sections he is concerned with emphasising that the
contemporary nobility must display a knowledge of both the construction and display of
coats of arms. In the first section, Antoine bemoans the state of the contemporary nobility,
fockusing on the inability of noble men and women he has encountered to describe or even
recognise heraldic devices.\textsuperscript{166} However, his most vitriolic disdain is reserved for two
young noblemen whom he met at Nancy in 1445 during the tournament René sponsored.\textsuperscript{167}
According to his account, these young men, eager to enter the tournament, were unable to

\begin{thebibliography}{99}
\bibitem{Jefferson} Jefferson, “Tournaments, Heraldry and the Knights of the Round Table,” 117-27.
\bibitem{Gautier} Gautier, “La bibliothèque du roi René,” 25; Gautier, and Avril, \textit{Splendeur de l'enluminure}, 279; E.
14, no. 7 (1916), 85. For a critical edition of the text along with commentary, see: Lefèvre, \textit{Antoine de la
Sale}, Especially 299-324.
\bibitem{Bianciotto} Bianciotto, “Passion du livre,” 99; Cerquiglini-Toulet, “L’œil et l’esprit,” 10; Gautier, “La bibliothèque
du roi René,” 25; Gautier, and Avril, \textit{Splendeur de l’enluminure}, 60; Vaivre, “Le livre des tournois,” 338;
Anjou, \textit{Le Livre des Tournois}, 8, 10. Also see the section in Lefèvre that compares passages from the two
\bibitem{Lefèvre} Lefèvre, \textit{Antoine de la Sale}, 299-306, 319-324. Similar shifts in voice are found in \textit{Jean de Saintré}. See
the introduction in: La Sale, \textit{Jean de Sainttré}, vii-xxv. Also see: Julia Kristeva, \textit{Le teste du roman. Approche
\bibitem{Lefèvre2} Lefèvre, \textit{Antoine de la Sale}, 299-306.
\bibitem{Lefèvre3} Lefèvre, \textit{Antoine de la Sale}, 264, 319-321. Antoine only describes these men as being from "de
royaume." Presumably by this he means France, but it is unclear. In an attempt to identify these individuals,
I have searched for the arms Antoine described but have not been able to definitively identify them.
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describe their own coats of arms. Antoine can barely contain his disdain for what such an example says about the state of the nobility.

The personal voice of Antoine's recollection of specific events stands out in stark contrast to the more pedantic account of tournament customs in his treatise.\textsuperscript{168} Heraldry, according to Antoine, was not just about projecting reputation and identity. A noble had a responsibility to be fluent in the language of heraldry, to know the arms of his family, his lord, allies, enemies and neighbours.\textsuperscript{169} It was not just an exercise in practicality. Heraldry was quite simply a cornerstone of noble identity, and the nobility had an obligation to know its language and customs.\textsuperscript{170} By demonstrating a thorough knowledge of heraldic customs within the tournament setting in addition to claiming authorship for the devices used in the \textit{Livre des tournois}, René is in essence responding to concerns and viewpoints such as those expressed by Antoine de la Sale. If René's treatise is in part a reaction to Antoine's, then the heraldry within the \textit{Livre des tournois} is a direct response to Antoine's impassioned plea for the nobility to demonstrate their authority on the subject. René was quite simply displaying his heraldic knowledge as part of his attempt to establish his identity as the expert on tournament customs.

\textbf{2.2.2.3 Regional Styles}

The coats of arms invented by René for the \textit{Livre des tournois} reveal that he was heavily influenced by regional modes found predominantly along the Upper Rhine. This confirms the author's own claims of having studied tournament customs from diverse regions while simultaneously serving as evidence for René's knowledge of heraldic traditions from areas other than France.

\textsuperscript{168}See page 131, note 159 in this chapter.
\textsuperscript{169}La Sale, \textit{Jean de Saintré}, xx; Lefèvre, \textit{Antoine de la Sale}, 301-06.
\textsuperscript{170}Lefèvre, \textit{Antoine de la Sale}, 301-06.
The identification of regional styles for heraldic arms has been hampered by nationalistic approaches to the study of heraldry.\(^{171}\) Mutable borders and areas of influence have tended to marginalise frontier regions. Nonetheless certain statistical models utilising vast sampling data have emerged. These models prove useful for placing groups of arms within a regional sphere of influence.\(^{172}\) However, they must be employed with caution. Statistical data is only as strong as its sample size. Small samples are hampered by a higher margin of error and any conclusions based solely on such samples must be considered against other forms of evidence. The invented arms of the *Livre des tournois* offer an intriguing case study to test against these models. While the sample size from the *Livre des tournois* is comparatively small, these invented coats of arms have the advantage of having been conceived and executed in a small window of time by very few people, if not a single individual. In contrast the Arthurian armorials grew and evolved over the span of hundreds of years, across numerous regions and with the input of many individuals.\(^{173}\)

From my comparison of the colours and charges present in the invented arms found within the *Livre des tournois* against the statistical data on regional practices compiled by Michel Pastoureau, I have been able to determine the most likely set of regional practices that directly influenced René's construction of the invented coats of arms. The invented arms in the *Livre des tournois* do not show any statistical indication of being influenced by French, Angevin, Breton or Bourbon arms. When compared against regional statistical models compiled by Michel Pastoureau that catalogue the occurrence of specific colours, charges and combinations thereof, the invented coats of arms found in the *Livre des tournois* indicate that they are heavily influenced by both Rhenish and Flemish models of heraldic construction.\(^{174}\)

\(^{171}\) Pastoureau, *Traité d’héraldique*, 16.


\(^{174}\) The statistical analysis is based on the colours and their combinations along with the principal charges
In addition to regional styles of colour combinations and charges present on coats of arms, distinct regional trends developed in the appearance of the helmet crest. The two areas of influence based on the statistical models of colours and charges identified above, namely along the Rhine and in the region around Flanders, generally followed different trends in the appearance and use of crests as part of an individual's armorial identity. By the fifteenth century the prevailing practice in Flanders and the immediate surrounding regions was for the eldest son to inherit his father's crest.175 Lesser branches of the family would then either adopt their own crest or use a simple representation of a Flemish cap. This could lead to crests that differed greatly in appearance from an individual's coat of arms. As described above, this trend is clearly found in the armorial for the 1393 tournament held in Bruges that forms the prologue for Louis de Bruges's copies of the *Livre des tournois* (figs. 117, 118, 119 and 120). In this example the arms of the family patriarchs are shown with the family crest, while the younger males and those from minor branches are adorned with either Flemish caps or a different crest.

In contrast, a different practice developed along the Upper Rhine and in the Holy Roman Empire. Crest design in these regions favoured the incorporation of elements drawn from an individual's coat of arms.176 Colours, divisions and charges from the coat of arms were all reproduced in the crest. This practice appeared fairly early in the historical development of the region's heraldic mode and was firmly established well before the present in the arms and has been compared to the statistics based on a survey by 12,000 coats of arms published by Michel Pastoureau. See: Pastoureau, *Traité d'héraldique*, 117-119, 134. Jean-Bernard de Vaivre places the location of influence for the invented coats of arms and crests as coming from the region of the Netherlands, specifically between Cologne and Utrecht. His reasoning is based on the similarity in style to the arms found in the Gelre and Gorrevod Armorials as well as the Bergshammer collection. Vaivre, “Le livre des tournois,” 340. While the coats of arms found in these collections certainly feel similar, de Vaivre offers no evidence other than their overall resemblance to Gelre, Gorrevod and Bergshammer. For the Gelre armorial, see: KBR, ms. 15652-56. For the Gorrevod armorial, see: KBR, ms. IV 1301. For the Bergshammer collection, see: Stockholm, Riksarkivet, SE/RA/720085/Z.


fifteenth century. Early examples of blazons following this trend are found in the *Manesse Codex* (fig. 122). This is precisely the style that is overwhelmingly found in invented coats of arms present within the *Livre des tournois*. Some examples are straightforward, such as the arms *or, a mullet pierced azure*, and its corresponding crest of a blue star between two gold horns (fig. 123), and with the arms *or, a bend gyronny argent and gules*, and its corresponding crest of two gold wings with a bend in white and red (fig. 124). Other combinations of coats of arms and crest are more playful, such as: *azure, on a chevron argent an escutcheon gules*, and its crest of a white mermaid with blue fins holding a red shield (fig. 125). One final example: *or, a castle gules*, and its crest: a knight wearing a comparatively antiquated helmet and wielding a sword and shield, the shield emblazoned with the bearer's coat of arms is particularly playful (fig. 126).

Thus when compared against statistical models for both the coats of arms and helmet crests, the evidence indicates that construction of the invented blazons was heavily influenced by regional modes centred along the Upper Rhine. This might seem odd given René's obvious French ties. However, when considered with evidence presented in Chapter 4 on the regional influences of style of tournament René presented in the *Livre des tournois*, it becomes even more certain that René was drawing heavily on tournament traditions found in lands along the Upper Rhine. Despite these observations, there are still questions to be answered concerning the regional influences on the invented coats of arms. It remains unclear whether René was appropriating an as of yet unidentified source for the coats of arms, or if he, possibly with help, invented these entirely new coats of arms for the *Livre des tournois* as he claims to have done. Understanding that René drew...
heavily on Rhenish modes of heraldic construction tacitly points to his knowledge and expertise in not just French heraldic custom, but also diverse regional traditions.

2.3 Heraldry at the Intersection of Imagination and Reality

While it has been enlightening to examine aspects of the invented and historically accurate heraldic devices separately, the fact remains that within the *Livre des tournois* they do not exist independently of each other. Whether imaginative or based on real-world exemplars, these heraldic identities coexist within the book's visual narrative. On the cloth covering the tournament's viewing stands, the arms of the Dukes of Brittany and Bourbon are portrayed together with the imagined coats of arms of the four judges (fig. 127). Twenty plaques bearing the invented arms of the imagined tourneyers are mounted outside the inns alongside heraldic plaques displaying the very real arms of the two dukes (fig. 18). Both the artist and the author are so completely unfazed by such an interaction that aside from René's initial explanation about the origins of the heraldic arms used in the treatise, nothing more is said about it. As unusual as this intermingling of imagination and factual identity may seem, it was a tool René used in another of his works.

In his allegorical romance the *Livre du Cœur*, René makes use of a number of heraldic devices to great effect.180 Early in the work, the protagonist, *Cœur* is armed for his journey by his companion, *Ardent Désir*.181 *Cœur* takes up a shield decorated with a coat of arms consisting of three forget-me-nots bordered by painful sighs.182 As described previously, this is visualised as a shield with a black border (fig. 116). *Ardent Désir*, who

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181. ÖNB, codex Vindobonensis 2597, ff. 3v-4. BnF, ms. français 24399, ff. 2-3. It is worth noting that René also employed a herald nicknamed Ardent Désir. In an attempt to distinguish the two figures I will use italics when referring to the literary character and a normal font when referring to the herald by his nickname.

is identified by his own heraldic badge of flames embroidered around the hem of his gown, also charges Cœur to wear a helm decorated with a mantle made of flowers of loving thoughts. Following the description of Ardent Désir arming Cœur for his adventure, both figures are henceforth readily identifiable in the work's images by their devices. However, in addition to the mantling of flowers that adorns his helmet, Cœur is also shown bearing the distinct helmet crest of a winged heart. This motif is repeated on the caparison that covers Cœur's mount (fig. 128). Despite the prominence of this device in the work's images and René's care in articulating the allegorical symbolism, he never explicitly describes Cœur's crest in the text. The only hint of a textual clue occurs at a singular point near the end of the work. Here René makes an allegorical reference to the instability of love, "la divise du dieu d'Amours, c'est assavoir «a cueurs volages»" Even with the lack of specificity in the text there is no question about who this device identifies.

In addition to Cœur and Ardent Désir, other subjects within the work are also identified by their heraldic devices. When Cœur encounters the knight Soulcy guarding a bridge and blocking his progress, René describes the knight's arms as a black shield with three marigold flowers and a crest of columbine flowers, all symbolic references to sadness and melancholy. The author and artist have carefully matched the textual description and visual depiction of this device (fig. 128). Couroux, another opponent Cœur battles, bears the arms of three thistles with a branch of thorns across it, and the crest of a dragon's head

183 Anjou, The Book of the Love-Smitten Heart, 7. Ardent Désir's gown decoration is only found in the Vienna copy.


breathing fire (fig. 129). In fact, this sort of allegory thinly-veiled as disguised symbolism, rather than any obscure hidden message, is more often the norm. In a fourteenth-century copy of the Roman de Fauvel the vices are assigned easily-understood heraldic symbols that are elucidated in the text, such as black shields of falseness, banners adorned with weeping souls and devils. What stands out immediately from, and is diametrically different than the coats of arms in the Livre des tournois, is that these examples are easily identified as symbolic representations of their allegorical subjects. Moreover when René employs symbolism within heraldic devices he does so through a combination of textual reference and imagery. Although there is no reason to preclude any embedded symbolic reading of the arms in the Livre des tournois, there is quite simply no symbolism that is either clearly defined or alluded to within the work's text.

However, these are not the only heraldic devices René includes in the Livre du Cœur. At one point in his journey, Cœur travels to the Hospital of Love where he and Ardent Désir visit the hospital's cemetery. On their way through the cemetery's gate the work's protagonist and his companion pass under an alabaster archway on which are hung numerous devices of those who have suffered on account of love. The companions stop and silently ponder the scene before them, while Cœur in particular begins to consider the armorial devices carefully in order to see if he recognises any of them. In a lengthy section of text, René recounts the names of the people Cœur recognises along with a description of their coat of arms and a short epitaph to each. Figures are pulled from nearly every


genre of chivalric literature. The heraldic devices of Roman emperors, ancient kings, mythological heroes, Arthurian knights, as well as living and recently deceased nobility contemporary with René exist side-by-side each other in both text and image (fig. 94). However, it is this final group, René's contemporaries, that catches our attention and makes this episode particularly relevant to the discussion of the intermingling of real and invented heraldic devices in the Livre des tournois.

In both the Livre des tournois and the Livre du Cœur, the intermingling of real and invented heraldic devices grounds the narrative in a recognisable visual and descriptive language that was readily recognisable to its audience. Cœur exists in and moves freely through a narrative space anchored by these emblematic identities. In the imagination of the author and reader, Cœur's world interacts freely with René's and vice-versa. The Livre des tournois flips this orientation on its head, though the final effect is the same. Instead of allegorical figures moving through a fictive landscape filled with references to real figures, the two dukes, even the reader, move through René's envisioned tournament, anchored in materiality and populated by invented identities.

René even goes so far as to use heraldry to aid in creating an identity for the setting of the tournament. In the image showing the entry of the Duke of Brittany to the city where the tournament is held a singular coat of arms can be found depicted above the city's gate (fig. 130). Like the details in the plaques bearing the coats of arms of the two dukes, this device is imprecise. Faint marks in the upper and lower portions of the shield indicate that some type of heraldic charge may be present (fig. 131). However, in the final analysis the image is too small and the marks are too imprecise. An extensive search of civic heraldry of Brittany, Bourbon, Anjou, Maine, Flanders, and Burgundy did not reveal a close match. However, the traditional coat of arms belonging to the city of Huningue is remarkably similar (figs. 132 and 133). Given this city's location within the traditional borders of the Duchy of Lorraine near the city of Basel, and its location along the Upper
Rhine, this identification presents an intriguing possibility. Basel hosted a number of tournaments in the fifteenth century that were similar in style to the urban event described by René. However, in the end the fact that René gives the urban space a heraldic identity is what is most crucial. As with the heraldic identity of the two dukes, the city's heraldry helps to ground the narrative while remaining imprecise enough for the audience to avoid preconceived notions. The civic arms identify the city as being important enough to warrant the attention of such an event, which is precisely what René calls for in the text. Once again we see the carefully constructed synergy between text and image with heraldry playing a central role in creating the visual narrative that drives the work.

It does not matter if knights and nobles thought of these figures as real or simply contrived imaginations, for they formed a part of the cultural fabric and landscape of late medieval court culture. Any one of the invented tourneyers in the Livre des tournois or heraldic residents in the cemetery of the Hospital of Love in the Livre du Cœur were no less or more real than any other in terms of the examples they set or the virtues they embodied. If attributing coats of arms to these figures made their stories more accessible to the audience, then so much the better. In a similar fashion the world of Antoine de la Sale's hero, Jean de Saintré, is populated with both invented characters and figures from history such as Jean le Meingre, the famous French knight known as Boucicaut. It is within this tradition that the interaction of invented and real coats of arms in the Livre des tournois should be viewed. They served as signs of virtues and vices, and as visual tags to engage their audience in a narrative that was understood on a personal as well as cultural level. By creating a narrative where these elements interweave seamlessly René is not

191. If anything, the phrasing within the passage that opened this section indicates that René and his contemporaries understood that there was a difference between historic and mythological individuals.
193. La Sale, Jean de Saintré, xv, 94-97, 122-124; Szkilnik, Jean de Saintré, 17-20.
only demonstrating his heraldic expertise, but also his authority on tournament customs. It is after all the heraldry that allows the reader to unlock the narratives contained in the images thereby revealing both the subtlety and extent of the tournament customs they contain.

2.4 Conclusion

This chapter has shown how the individual elements of the historically accurate and invented coats of arms function as a central part of the work’s visual narrative. The selection and depiction of the coats of arms of the Dukes of Brittany and Bourbon as the captains of the tournament testifies to René’s heraldic expertise and political acumen. The figures, represented by their heraldic identity, reinforce the importance and status of the tournament captains. Simultaneously their representation remains imprecise enough for the reader to avoid any direct reference to specific events or individuals, living or deceased. This use of non-specific exemplars is quite different from heraldic records found in occasional rolls, such as the Bruges tournament of 1393, which sought to link identities to a specific event. Thus within the *Livre des tournois*, the heraldic identities of the two dukes function as an important element aimed at engaging the audience. In comparison, the invented coats of arms function in a slightly different, although equally important manner. They serve to define the subjects of the visual narrative and thus allow the audience to unlock the full extent of René’s expertise on tournament customs. At the same time they reveal both a purposeful intent by René to display his knowledge of heraldry, as well as the regional influences which guided his work.

While understanding the specific effects of each of these elements is useful, we must also consider that they do not exist independently of each other, but instead are integrated as part of a comprehensively designed programme. The expertly crafted heraldic programme thus serves to invite the viewer to engage with the work and carefully consider the visual narratives. The care that went into the selection, creation and
intermingling of the historically accurate and invented coats of arms within the image cycle testifies to René's expertise in heraldry and authority on the tournament. By claiming credit for having invented the coats of arms, and indeed having conceived and constructed the entire heraldic programme, René is proclaiming his heraldic expertise in an eminently more practical manner than via a written treatise on the manner of constructing arms or compiling an armorial such as Jacques d'Armagnacs. René has demonstrated a wider base of knowledge. He has not only illustrated his knowledge of how coats of arms are constructed according to the system of blazons, but also how they are displayed within the tournament setting. This viewpoint is more encompassing, more total than a heraldic manual or armorial. It is the viewpoint of a noble and a member of the chivalric class. For René and his contemporaries the visual language of blazon was a noble language steeped in signifiers of identification and status. René has demonstrated that being fluent in this language was a vital part of noble identity. He has also simultaneously established his mastery of the language, reinforced his authorial voice and in turn his authority on heraldry and tournament customs within the *Livre des tournois*. While the individual elements of the heraldic programme deepen our understanding of the author's intent and influence, taken together the presentation of heraldry in the *Livre des tournois* reveals a carefully constructed programme that reinforced René's authorial identity as well as his position as an authority on tournament customs. Heraldry is thus a critical element in the cohesive identity of the *Livre des tournois*. 
3.

The Role of the Herald in the Livre des tournois

3.1 Introduction

As masters of protocol and ceremony, heralds were required to know the proper ceremony for any number of given occasions, act as messengers and diplomats, and to play the very important role of announcers or criers. As experts and record keepers for chivalric deeds of arms, heralds were expected to not only record a range of deeds of arms, but to also act as judges of behaviour and deeds. Finally, as experts in the science of blazon, heralds were expected to know the rules governing the creation and display of arms, as well as to have ready knowledge of a range of heraldic devices, whom they belonged to and additionally those individuals' reputations. The idealism of the tournament described in the Livre des tournois, and the roles of the heralds contained therein, are at times in contrast to René's own practices within both his court and the tournaments he participated in and hosted. The range of duties René assigned to the office of heralds in the Livre des tournois was crafted so as to emphasise their role in upholding and projecting the honour and station of the nobility.

Furthermore, the roles that René assigned to the heralds indicate that while he was certainly influenced by the heraldic treatises that were in circulation in the late fifteenth century, and therefore the heralds' perception of their office and duties, he was in fact not composing a treatise aimed at heralds as his primary audience. Instead, as I will

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1. Les manuscrits à peintures en France, 138; Delaissé, “Les copies flamandes,” 196; Van Praet, Recherches sur Louis de Bruges, 317-18. The persistent idea that the Livre des tournois may have been written as a heraldic manual grew out of the fact that one of the manuscripts commissioned by Louis de Bruges (P3) was, for a time in the seventeenth century, in the possession of Hector le Breton, sieur de la Doineterie, and Montjoie King of Arms. Le Breton left his mark on the work by copying the frontispiece found in P4 and having it inserted in the manuscript in his possession. In addition, a letter from le Breton to his son has been bound into the manuscript. Among other things, this letter describes the work as one pertaining directly to the duties of the ancient office of heralds. For the letter and frontispiece, see: P3, ff. i-
demonstrate, the Livre des tournois presents a vision of the tournament that emphasises the status and identity of the nobility at the expense of the rights and duties traditionally placed under the purview of heralds. While heralds play a prominent role throughout the work, subtle differences between René’s ideal, historic examples and heralds’ own perception of their duties indicate that René was engaging with a broad range of tournament customs and actively reconceptualising how the heralds could best serve the author’s primary concerns. This chapter will show that René was not above modifying traditional customs and roles which were ill-suited to his ideal vision of how such an event ought to be undertaken and what role the herald should play within it. Where he has done so, it is always with an emphasis on promoting the status and class identity of the nobility.

By itself this is what we would expect to find through examining accounts of heralds' roles as described in chronicles or by looking at heralds' perceptions of their office and its relationship to their noble patrons as found in the numerous armorial rolls and heraldic treatises that proliferated in the fifteenth century. However, contextualising the range of duties that are described and visualised in the Livre des tournois reveals that René envisioned a subtly modified role for the heralds in his vision for a new form of tournament. The image cycle not only reinforces the text, but when properly contextualised expands on it to reveal the depth of René's understanding and vision. I will

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demonstrate this by comparing the roles enumerated within the *Livre des tournois* against the historic range of duties equated to heralds, both from within René's court and from a wider European context. In addition, I will use comparisons drawn from the heraldic treatises written by prominent heralds, as well as the contemporary tournament treatises written by Antoine de la Sale (1459) and Jacques d'Armagnac (1465-1470). In order to better illustrate this process I have divided this chapter into three thematically defined sections. Each section is based on a set of duties traditionally assigned to heralds, both in a wider cultural context and more narrowly within the tournament presented by René in the *Livre des tournois*. I begin with the role that heralds played as masters of courtly protocol and ceremony. The second section focusses on their position as recorders and experts in chivalric deeds of arms. Finally, I close the chapter by examining the traditional conception of heralds as experts in blazoning coats of arms, meaning the construction, description and interpretation of heraldic devices.

Before beginning, it is important to define and contextualise some of the terminology used in the *Livre des tournois* to describe heralds and their duties. From the first mention of heralds and throughout the work, René displays a keen awareness of the strict hierarchy within the office and accordingly assigns duties based on a system of degrees of honour. The ranks of heralds are, in descending order, king of arms, herald, and pursuivant. The most prestigious duties or those that involve the highest ranking nobility


4. While these duties are found in nearly every definition of heralds, I have categorised them by prioritising how they are portrayed within the *Livre des tournois* over any traditional definition. For heralds and their duties in general, see: Boudreau, “Messages, rapporteurs, juges et «voir-disant»,” 233; Hiltmann, “Information et tradition textuelle,” 219-31; Boudreau, “Les hérauts d’armes et leurs écrits face à l’histoire,” 452-76; Wagner, *Heralds and Heraldry*; Keen, *Chivalry*, 125-42; Pannier, and Meyer, *Le Débat des hérauts d’armes*.

5. The term 'herald' was used interchangeably to designate both the office and individuals belonging to the middle rank. In the following pages I will mostly use 'heralds' to mean the office at large, what today are known as officers at arms. In instances wherein I refer to the specific rank known as 'heralds' I will make it clear within the context of the reference.
should, according to René, only be performed by the king of arms, while those duties of lesser stature may be performed by heralds or pursuivants.

The awareness and emphasis on heraldic rank within the *Livre des tournois* is completely in line with cultural expectations. In the opening decade of the fifteenth century, Anjou King of Arms, sometimes called Calabre, and possibly identified as Nicolas Villart, composed a short tract.6 In this work, he outlined the duties of officers at arms and at times bemoaned what he saw as the current state of the nobility as reflected by the general decline in the professionalism of other heralds.7 His tract is not only important because of the clear manner by which he describes specific duties that heralds are responsible for, but also because it reflects the underlying core behind the range of heraldic duties, namely that their purpose is to promote the honour and position of the nobility and chivalric class. In his tournament treatise Antoine de la Sale praised Anjou for his knowledge and expertise in deeds of arms and heraldry.8

The section of Anjou's treatise describing the ceremonies and oaths for investing heralds is particularly important for our understanding of heraldic ranks. Anjou describes a strict hierarchy for officers at arms, beginning with pursuivant, moving onto herald, and culminating with king of arms.9 Each stage involves greater responsibility, but also an increase in status. Pursuivants must be able to read and write, a necessary function given the heralds' role as diplomat, messenger and master of protocol and ceremony.10 While the pursuivant takes no oath of office, they are invested by their lord with a shield, or device,

7. This tract is found in: Bodleian, MS Rawlinson C 399, ff. 76-80. Unfortunately I have been unable to examine its contents first-hand. This booklet is most thoroughly described in: Wagner, *Heralds and Heraldry*, 42. Keen also references it in: Keen, *Chivalry*, 137.
with the patron's arms. They are training for a higher office and their position is probationary. If they fail to represent their lord honourably they may be dismissed without prejudice. If they satisfy their lord and represent him well and honourably then they may be invested as heralds. Jean Courtois, Sicily Herald wrote that a pursuivant must serve at least four years and travel extensively before being promoted. Heralds, according to Anjou, must take an oath, but are also given greater responsibility and to reflect their increased status they are given a tabard emblazoned with their lord's arms. The king of arms is the culmination of heraldic ranks. Like the herald, the king of arms takes an oath, has increased responsibilities, and most importantly greatly reflects the honour of his noble patron. Thus Anjou writes that when Charles V (1338-1380), King of France, invested Montjoye King of Arms with his office, the king increased his own honour and reputation. Montjoye reflects and projects the nobility of the king, and according to Anjou so should all officers at arms.

This strict ranking is evident throughout the *Livre des tournois*. For example, René sets out a hierarchy of responsibilities for the proclamation of the tournament. While heralds and pursuivants may announce the event at the courts of lower ranked nobility, the king of arms must personally travel to the courts of the two captains and the king. The greater the prestige of the mission or role, the greater the rank of the herald who undertakes it should be. While pursuivants are charged with watching the melee and shouting the names of the tourneyers they like, the king of arms must deliver the initial challenge and

12. The duties of a pursuivant are outlined on ff. 27r-27v in: BnF, ms. français 387.
subsequently the letters appointing the judges to their positions.17 He oversees the ceremonies and serves as a personal herald to the judges. The king of arms joins the judges in their reserved viewing stand during the tournament (fig. 25).18 His position is reflected by the responsibilities he is entrusted with and materially by the cloth of gold cloak he is invested with (fig. 4).19 These ranks are confirmed visually as well as textually. The pursuivants who accompany the king of arms during the initial challenge are shown wearing badges, presumably similar to those described by Anjou (fig. 2). The heralds in the image cycle are cloaked in tabards, as described by Anjou, albeit shorter than that worn by the king of arms (fig. 5). This visual distinction between the rank of herald and king of arms is interpreted via a close reading of text and image. Nowhere has René specifically stated the relative lengths of the surcoats worn by heralds of different ranks. Yet through a careful reading of text and image in passages such as that concerning the announcement of the event, the reader would know that the king of arms wears a cloth of gold over his, while the lower ranked heralds do not. The detail included in the image provides the rest of the information necessary to interpret this bit of etiquette. The king of arms' surcoat is clearly much longer in the front than those of the heralds. A similar distinction is found in the image showing the ceremonial entry of the tournament judges (fig. 19) The king of arms rides in front of the four judges clothed in both his long surcoat and cloth of gold cloak. He follows four pursuivants who, according to the text, are to be dressed in surcoats emblazoned with the devices of the four judges.20 Once again the shorter surcoats are clearly distinguishable from the one worn by the king of arms. The *Livre des tournois* emphasises the importance of the heralds' ranks both visually and textually. Consequently,

17. Appendix A. Compare page 508, lines 4-5 and page 680, lines 5-8 with page 479, lines 13-18 and page 500, lines 4-20.


the structure and responsibilities of the heralds' duties reflects the honour of the tournament and the nobility as a whole.

René similarly emphasised the heralds' roles and how to honour them appropriately within his own court and chivalric events. Pierre Hurion, who served René as a herald nicknamed Ardent Désir, was highly valued and rewarded by his patron. His nickname is a direct reference to a central character in another of René's works, *Le Livre du Cœur d'amour épris* (1457). Hurion came from a family of lawyers and was himself educated. The inventory carried out at René's castle of Angers in 1471 records a little treatise on parchment given to René by Ardent Désir. Within René's household accounts he was often referred to as "our pursuivant." Furthermore, René set up a strict hierarchy of ranks for the heralds of the Order of the Crescent. At the apex was Macé de Houssay, called: Los King of Arms. His nickname is referential to the order's motto, "los en croissant," a likely reference to his role in recording the deeds of the order's members. He was charged with administering the ceremonies of the order and organising the lower ranking officers at arms to ensure their duties were carried out. Below him was Croissant

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22. ÖNB, codex Vindobonensis 2597, f. 3. BnF, ms. français 24399, f. 2.
Pursuant.  Croissant was regularly tasked with delivering messages for the order. Both were well rewarded for their services, including gifts of cloth in addition to their regular payments. Clearly René was aware of the relationship between a well structured and rewarded group of heralds and the resultant honour and prestige this would have for him. It is no surprise then that the duties René has outlined for the heralds in the Livre des tournois are carefully informed with the ultimate purpose of reflecting and upholding the honour of the tournament and its noble participants.

3.2 Masters of Protocol and Ceremony

3.2.1 Mastery of Protocol and Ceremonial Etiquette

One of the key responsibilities of the medieval herald was to acquire expertise in a wide range of courtly protocol and etiquette and then to apply this knowledge to direct and perform within a variety of ceremonies. René's vision is in line with the rich cultural traditions that stressed this aspect of the heralds' duties. The early itinerant heralds, like their late-medieval successors, were prized for their knowledge and experience in protocol and ceremony gleaned from their travels and visits to foreign courts. Although links between heralds and tournaments stretch as far back as the twelfth century, the earliest records of heralds presiding over tournament ceremonies date from the fourteenth century. They were responsible not only for knowing how to compose challenges and the chapitres that outlined the rules of the engagement, but also for possessing intimate

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31. Keen, Chivalry, 139.
32. Wagner, Heralds and Heraldry, 34-37; Keen, Chivalry, 136.
34. Chapitres were a series of clauses that formed the challenge. They outlined specific details of the
knowledge of the complex rituals surrounding the challenge, acceptance and even combat. 35

For example, in 1445 the famed Burgundian paragon of chivalry, Jacques de Lalaing, sought the advice of the prominent herald Jean Le Fevre de Saint-Remy, who served as Toison d'Or King of Arms, on composing and sending a challenge to Jean de Boniface, an Aragonese knight. 36 Heralds played prominent roles in the ceremonies of Flemish urban jousts and tournaments held throughout the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. 37 Their position within these events is captured in one of the four images which together serve to record a tournament held in Bruges in 1393 (figs. 134 and 135). 38 This image, which forms part of the prologue to two manuscript copies of the Livre des tournois (P3 and P4), depicts the heralds for the two teams in the act of announcing what was likely either the start of the combat or the names and titles of the captains and tourneyers. 39

The heralds' role as masters of ceremony and protocol was such an ingrained part of their identity that it even appears within other genres of chivalric literature. In a

challenge, including when and where the event would take place, the manner of combat, who may participate, and other regulations. See: Barber, and Barker, Tournaments, 125-37; Whitbread, “Tournaments, Jousts and Duels,” 32-33.

38. Also see: Appendix C, page 721; and Appendix D, pages 764-765.
39. This image and its role in the prologue is addressed in more detail in Chapter 6, pages 355-363.
formalised combat described in Jean de Saintré (1456), Antoine de la Sale's fictional biography of the French knight of the same name, Brunswick Herald is tasked with assisting a visiting Polish knight, the Seigneur de Loisselach, who does not speak French. The herald is not only given the task of translating the challenge for the knight, but also of advising him on the regulations of the joust and guiding him through the customs of the courtly ceremonies afterwards. In this narrative, Brunswick exemplifies his mastery of protocol and ceremony, the purpose of which is to ensure that Loisselach is not dishonoured or shamed for acting against what for him would be foreign conventions. Brunswick therefore upholds the honour and position of the nobility. Antoine further acknowledged the heralds' authority on etiquette and protocol within his own treatise on tournament customs. He clearly stated that much of what learned and recorded came from speaking with kings of arms. He even singled out Calabria, King of Arms of Anjou as a particularly noteworthy exemplar. Heralds' knowledge of ceremonial customs ensured that the aristocratic participants projected the nobility of their rank by acting in accordance with the rules of the event and the customs of courtly protocol.

This concern for expertise is also reflected in the numerous treatises written and collected by heralds. The overwhelming majority of these tracts contain details on ceremonies and examples of speeches, including the proper forms of address to be used for nobles from different regions, as well as how to hierarchically classify the nobility by their ranks and titles. Around 1400, Nicholas Villart, Anjou King of Arms, noted a

40. La Sale, Jean de Saintré, 97-98, 107-108; Bogdan Wojciech Brzustowicz, and Katie Stevenson, “Tournaments, Heraldry and Heralds in the Kingdom of Poland in the Late Middle Ages,” in The Herald in Late Medieval Europe, ed. Katie Stevenson (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2009), 158.

41. Lefèvre, Antoine de la Sale, 302.

42. Lefèvre, Antoine de la Sale, 302. Also commonly referred to as Anjou King of Arms and nicknamed Calabre. As this form is more commonly used, I will opt for it within the rest of this chapter, unless specifically recalling Antoine de la Sale's account and the form of address he uses.

conversation he had with a member of the Polish clergy. According to Villart, this individual mentioned possessing a book which contained various rites and ordinances, including the ceremony for crowning a king of arms, just the sort of thing a herald would possess. In his authoritative treatise, *Le blason des couleurs en armes, livrées et devises*, Sicily Herald included a sample proclamation for calling a tournament in addition to a more general description of tournaments as found in the old ways of France, as well as a section on tournament armour. A Breton treatise on heralds' duties, known as the *Argentaye Tract*, which is now part of a heterogeneous composite manuscript, drew on a number of earlier treatises and contains practical information on coronation rites and the roles of various court officials in addition to a treatise on warfare, and an armorial containing the coats of arms of the Nine Worthies, the French kings, and the Breton nobility. Antoine de la Sale also acknowledged the debt he owed to heraldic treatises. At the beginning of his tournament treatise, he mentioned that much of what he has included was found in old books written by kings of arms and heralds. Heralds considered possessing knowledge of protocol and ceremonies to be a key requirement of their office.

Within the *Livre des tournois* René portrayed heralds as acting with knowledge of noble customs to ensure the smooth running of the event and most importantly that their actions reflected the honour of the nobility. René's digressions on etiquette included


46. The tract is found in BnF, ms. français 11464. The only visual depictions of coats of arms are found as part of a section describing how to blazon arms (ff. 33v-36v). Otherwise the armorials are all undecorated textual descriptions of the coats of arms. Also see: Michael Jones, “The March of Brittany and its Heralds in the Later Middle Ages,” in *The Herald in Late Medieval Europe*, ed. Katie Stevenson (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2009), 87-89; Alan Manning, *The Argentaye Tract: Edited from Paris, BN, fonds français 11,464* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1983). The tract's date has been determined from specific details within the armorial of the Breton nobility.

minute details, which nearly always focussed on defining the actions and speech of the heralds. For instance, he emphasised in both text and image that the herald must receive and present the sword by the point (figs. 1 and 2).  

The obvious assumption is that presenting a sword to a noble point first would have been considered an act of hostility or dishonour. René emphasised this point in an earlier passage describing the challenge.

Lequel en toute amour et benevolence, et non pas par nul mal talent, vous requiert et querelle de frapper ung tournoy et bouhort d'armes devant dames et damoiselles. Pour laquelle chose et en signiffiance de ce, vous envoye cette espee propre a ce faire.

René was clearly concerned that the gestures and speech of the king of arms were in strict accordance with protocol so as not to convey malice or hostility while also deferring to the dignity of the nobility.

René also alluded to the fact that heralds must exhibit proper decorum and be discreet in their duties.

In this section, René charged the king of arms with secretly ascertaining whether the challenge will be accepted before it is issued. In his treatise on Arthurian tournaments, Jacques d'Armagnac also cautioned the reader about this important bit of etiquette, while similarly providing scripted examples of speeches that the herald should follow. This passage in the Livre des tournois acknowledged the impact that public ceremonies and

49. Appendix A, page 491, lines 6-11. "In all love and friendship, and not out of any ill will, he wishes to hold a tourney and bouhort of arms before ladies and damsels. And to signify this he sends you this sword, which is appropriate for this." Translation from: Bennett, “King René’s Tournament Book.”
50. Appendix A, page 479, lines 7-13. "That the aforesaid prince ought to first send secretly to the prince to whom he wishes to present the sword, to find out whether or not he intends to accept, and in order to arrange the appropriate public ceremonies if he wishes to accept." Translation from: Bennett, “King René’s Tournament Book.”
actions could have on chivalric reputations while simultaneously placing the burden of secrecy, and by default knowledge of and respect for the customs and protocol of courtly culture, on the heraldic messenger.

### 3.2.2 Messengers and Diplomats

As detailed above, René was concerned with relating the proper decorum and etiquette that heralds must possess in order to perform their duties as messengers. Mastery of protocol and courtly etiquette positioned heralds to function as ideal messengers and diplomats within courtly culture. The earliest records of a herald performing as a messenger are found in the twelfth-century works of Wace, which referred specifically to a herald's duties in wartime. There are significant number of records that survive from the mid-fourteenth century that refer to heralds as messengers. The earliest heralds were almost certainly itinerant, and were often identified with minstrels and travelling troubadours. Poems dating from the thirteenth century mention heralds visiting foreign courts, and the household accounts of Edward I record payments made to heralds visiting from the Holy Roman Empire. Yet it is unclear if these visits were in any official capacity or rather the result of individuals travelling in search of employment or largesse. In 1402 Louis, Duke of Orléans, following an *emprise* held at Montendre, sent a formal challenge to the Henry IV, King of England. Over the course of several months numerous exchanges between the two courts took place involving both Champagne and

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Lancaster Kings of Arms as well as several other heralds. Froissart records that heralds acted as messengers prior to the jousts at Smithfield in 1390, delivering letters of conduct to knights who wished to participate in the encounter. 57 The heralds in this exchange of missions not only acted as messengers, but also as diplomats who were actively engaged as intermediaries in the negotiations. Likewise, the kings of arms, heralds and pursuivants for the chivalric orders of the Crescent and the Golden Fleece were also charged with making frequent trips and embassies on behalf of their orders. 58 In his treatise, written in the early part of the century, Anjou King of Arms stated that a herald's duties included serving as a discreet messenger for lovers. 59

Clearly by the fifteenth century there was widespread recognition that heralds were effective messengers. This role required both a knowledge of courtly customs and a fair amount of discretion. It should come as no surprise that Anjou focussed a fair portion of his treatise on these virtues, and insisted that above all else heralds must never betray or slander the nobility. 60 René assigned similar messengerial duties to the heralds within the Livre des tournois. While he made no mention of heralds performing as messenger between lovers as described by Anjou and found within numerous chivalric romances, René was clearly concerned with the ambassadorial aspect of the heraldic messenger.

Examples drawn from the heralds who served in René’s court offer further examples of how fundamental this role was to the heralds' identity. In 1438, during his efforts to secure the Kingdom of Naples, René sent a herald to Alfonso V, his rival to the throne. The herald carried a challenge to settle the succession question via a formal

58. The statutes of the order are found in: BnF, ms. français 25204, ff. 2-26v. Also see: Nadot, Le Spectacle des joutes, 162.
59. Wagner, Heralds and Heraldry, 43.
60. Wagner, Heralds and Heraldry, 42-45.
combat between the two claimants.\textsuperscript{61} Alfonso, in a pragmatic move, declined the challenge and continued his successful campaign against René, eventually expelling him from Naples a few years later.\textsuperscript{62} The household accounts of René reveal many more similar activities. Croissant Pursuivant (active 1451-1473), a prominent herald to the chivalric order of the same name, was regularly tasked with carrying news to the order's members as well as informing them of upcoming meetings.\textsuperscript{63} In addition, he seems to have been held in particularly high esteem by René. He was present during the inventory carried out at René's castle at Angers in 1471 and was later appointed as a personal pursuivant to René and served as his \textit{concierge du château}.\textsuperscript{64} In addition, numerous other pursuivants from René's court are recorded as being compensated for their roles as messengers. Jehan Loudun (active 1469-1478) was frequently used as a messenger.\textsuperscript{65} Cardin Mauger (active 1469-1479) seems to have been held in particularly high esteem and received special renumeration for performing his duties.\textsuperscript{66} Finally, Horry Hachembert (active 1479-1480) served as an important contact between René and the territory of Lorraine, frequently working as both a messenger and ambassador in René's efforts to secure the region during a pivotal period.\textsuperscript{67}

\begin{footnotes}
\item[61] Coutagne, \textit{Le Roi René en son temps}, 43; Nadot, \textit{Le Spectacle des joutes}, 162; Jerónimo Zurita, \textit{Anales de la Corona de Aragon} ed. Ángel Canellas López (Zaragoza: Institución de la Corona de Aragón, 1980), V, pp. 175-176.
\item[62] For René's campaign to secure the Kingdom of Naples, see: Favier, \textit{Le roi René}, 77-106; Kekewich, \textit{The Good King}, 78, 229-246.
\item[63] Mérindol, “Rois d’armes,” 620.
\item[64] This is the same inventory that includes a likely entry describing the source manuscript of the \textit{Livre des tournois}, P1. For the inventory, see: Lecoy de la Marche, \textit{Extraits des comptes}, 239-71; Agnel, \textit{Les Comptes du Roi René}, 217. For Croissant's appointment as René's \textit{concierge du château}, see: Lecoy de la Marche, \textit{Extraits des comptes}, 19 no. 54.
\item[67] Mérindol, “Rois d’armes,” 622.
\end{footnotes}
Two final examples drawn from within René's court stand out as particularly relevant examples as there is evidence that they both served as messengers in addition to being closely linked with two of René's pas d'armes. Jehan de Maslin, who served as Fleur de Pensée Pursuivant (active 1447-1454), was likely either present at the pas d'armes held at Saumur in 1446, or invested in his position shortly thereafter, possibly as a commemorative allusion to the event. However, after this he appears to have been used solely as a messenger. Romarin, another pursuivant, was present at both Saumur in 1446 as well as the Pas de la Bergère held at Tarascon in 1449. He is also recorded as carrying letters and messages to important diplomatic contacts, including the seneschal of Provence, the Archbishop of Tours, and René's sister Marie d'Anjou (1404-1463), Queen of France. It was perfectly normal for a herald to play a role in tournaments as well as more generally as a messenger. Taken together these cases illustrate a range of similar messengerial duties to those described by René within the Livre des tournois.

One of the most important roles assigned to heralds in the Livre des tournois is the delivery of the initial challenge. René's treatise is not the only such work that emphasised this role. In his treatise on Arthurian tournaments, Jacques d'Armagnac described how a herald should, in the company of noble ladies, deliver letters that contain the challenge to the defendant. In contrast, Antoine de la Sale offered a ritual that is more similar to that described by René. The king of arms, or other high ranking herald, should deliver a sword

68. His heraldic nickname, Fleur de Pensée, is a reference to the event.
70. He is recorded as being present at Saumur in the Relation du pas de Saumur tenu en 1446. NLR, ms. fr. F. p. XIV, 4. Lecoy de la Marche, Extraits des comptes, 322-323 no. 731, 326; Mérindol, “Rois d’armes,” 619.
to the defendant as an indication of the challenge. Similarly, in Jean de Saintré, Antoine described heralds presenting tournament challenges while also carrying messages between their noble patrons. Within René's immediate cultural network there was clearly a recognition that heralds delivered the challenges to tourney.

In the Livre des tournois the king of arms also delivers letters of credence to the knights and squires who have been selected to serve as the tournament's judges (fig. 4). In the image which accompanies the description of this ceremony, the king of arms hands the letters to selected judges. It is an act of physical transference, much like the presentation of the tournament sword. The king of arms acting as the proxy of the tournament captains hands the judges their appointed authority. As a messenger delivering the challenge sword or letters of credence, the herald is acting as a direct representative of the nobility. Within the image his bent leg and slightly lower posture, in contrast to the erect stance of the judges, mimics his depiction in the previous image where he is shown presenting the choices for the judges to the Duke of Bourbon and his court (fig. 3). In both of these images, the king of arms is prominently placed and easily identifiable. While there is never any confusion between his social status and those of the nobles, the narrative of each scene pivots on his figure. Visually, textually and culturally the herald's messengerial duties place him in an indispensable position within the chivalric court. These images reinforce the textual descriptions of the duties and virtues of René's ideal herald: a messenger with expertise in protocol, who demonstrates his deference to the position and honour of the captains and judges.

73. Lefèvre, Antoine de la Sale, 307, 322-323.
74. La Sale, Jean de Saintré, 56-57, 59, 103.
75. Appendix A, page 500, lines 6-8.
76. Nadot, Le Spectacle des joutes, 150.
3.2.3 Announcers and Criers

As masters of protocol and ceremony, heralds played a prominent role as criers, or announcers for tournaments and courtly ceremonies. While not every tournament was an internationally grand affair proclaimed widely throughout Europe, there was certainly an element of prestige associated with both travelling great distances to participate in events and hosting tournaments that drew participants from far flung regions. Heralds carried the news of upcoming events and announced these events in an attempt to draw participants.

One of the earliest recorded instance of heralds acting in this capacity is from 1285, when heralds in the service of the Count of Chiny travelled to Montmédy to announce an upcoming tournament to be held at Chauvency. In 1389 messengers were sent out as far away as Poland to declare the upcoming formal combat at St. Inglevert. To draw combatants to the jousts at Smithfield in 1390, heralds were sent across Europe to numerous noble courts and charged with the sole task of proclaiming the event. After a proclamation for the Passo Honroso was read out in the court of Juan II, King of Castile, heralds were sent out several months ahead of the event. Their goal was to draw as many

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knights as possible to the emprise in which the Leonese knight Suero de Quiñones pledged to defend a bridge along the pilgrimage route to Santiago de Compostela against all challengers. Despite the lack of direct evidence of heralds announcing René's pas d'armes held at Saumur in 1446, the complexity, location and relatively large attendance of the event suggests that the initial announcement and challenges were sent out well in advance. However, perhaps the most extreme example is found in the records of the Pas de la Belle Pelerine held at Saint-Omer. For this emprise, held in 1449, Artois King of Arms was sent to France, Brittany and Normandy, Toison d'Or King of Arms was sent to England and Scotland, Namur Herald travelled into Germany, and Chasteaubelin Herald went as far west as Spain, all with the purpose of announcing the event and drawing participants. These examples not only illustrate the widespread cultural typology that heralds were announcers of upcoming events, but that they were also required to be proficient in a variety of languages and different regional courtly protocols. Acting as announcers in an international courtly, chivalric setting required mastery of protocol and ceremonies as well as the skills of a messenger and diplomat.

From an early point in the history of the tournament, heralds announced the combatants at the onset of the tournament and cheered for them during the fighting. Their role as announcers meant that they also were part of the ceremonies. For instance, heralds were not only sent out in advance of the upcoming tournament at Chauvency, but were also present at the event. In his verse account of the tournament, Jacques Bretel wrote that the heralds shouted praise and encouragement for the tourneyers.

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Marshal's reputation for prowess in the tournament seems to have been at least in part attributed to one Henry le Norrois following him and shouting, "God aid the Marshal!" Heralds were also responsible for performing as announcers within elaborately staged theatrical productions that formed a key part of some tournament rituals. During the Pas de l'Arbre d'Or, held in Bruges in 1468 as part of the wedding celebrations of Charles le Téméraire to Margaret of York, a pursuivant wearing the livery of the l'Arbre d'Or performed within the staged drama prior to the event. This pursuivant opened the tournament by delivering and reading a letter from a fictional princess who issued the challenge. In fact, heralds often played roles in such theatrical performances staged during tournaments. During René's pas d'armes held at Saumur in 1446, heralds acted in orchestrated roles during the daily processions from the castle to the lists.

Heralds also fulfilled these functions in the urban centred events and tournaments found mainly in Flanders and along the Rhine during the late fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. As part of the urban jousts that were held on a relatively regular basis, such as the Epinette in Lille and Witte Beer in Bruges, heralds were employed to announce the upcoming event in neighbouring cities in order to draw participants and spectators, as well as cry the different phases of the event within the urban centre once it had begun. In his account of an urban tournament held in Schaffhausen in 1438, the Spanish knight Pero

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88. Descriptions of the event can be found in: BL MS Lansdowne 285, ff. 26-29; RAL, Codex RAR.0035(1.35), ff. 86-121; BnF, ms. français 1436, ff. 140-168; BnF, ms. français 5518, ff. 1-58; BnF, ms. français 16752, ff. 113-145; and Valenciennes, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 776, f. 39. In addition, see: La Marche, *Mémoires*, III, pp. 122-201, IV, pp. 111-144; Andrew Brown, and Graeme Small, *Court and Civic Society in the Burgundian Low Countries c.1420-1530: Selected Sources Translated and Annotated with an Introduction* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2007), 52-85; Clephan, *The Tournament*, 79-80; Annuziata, “Teaching the Pas d’Armes,” 560.


Tafur included the detail that a herald was tasked with carrying the arms of the tourneyers and announcing the upcoming tournament throughout the city.91 These examples illustrate the broad rich historical precedent that René could draw upon when crafting the herald's role as announcer and crier within the *Livre des tournois.*

By the time René wrote the *Livre des tournois* there was a fairly standardised format for heralds to follow when crying a tournament.92 Examples of proclamations, such as that contained in the *Livre des tournois,* were a common core element within the numerous heraldic treatises, as well as miscellanies, compiled during the fifteenth century.93 Sicily includes a similar sample proclamation in his work, *Le blason des couleurs en armes, livrées et devises.*94 Jacques d'Armagnac also includes examples of challenges and responses within his treatise on Arthurian tournaments closely following other exemplars.95 Compilations such as Paston's *Grete Boke,* as well as a heraldic miscellany held by the Royal Armouries, contain written examples of proclamations alongside more elaborate narrative accounts of tournaments.96 René does not depart from the precedent of providing an example of a scripted proclamation in the *Livre des tournois.* In fact, it is part of a set of detailed actions that the king of arms and pursuivants should follow immediately after the judges have accepted their appointments.

Lors ledit roy d'armes doibt remercier lesdits juges diseurs, et en apres leur requerir que comme juges, il leur plaise lui ordonner le jour dudit tournoy, et le lieu aussi, ad ce qu'il le puisse faire crier ainsi qu'il appartient. Et tous les juges diseurs

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95. H, pp. 6-7. For the specific passages within an edition of Jacques d'Armagnac's treatise, see: Jefferson, “Tournaments, Heraldry and the Knights of the Round Table,” 130-31. Jefferson's transcription is based on a manuscript in a private collection. Her foliation is based on: Bodleian, e Museo 78.
doivent aler ensemble en conseil, pour adviser le jour et le lieu affin qui ledit roy d'armes aille commancer a crier ledit tournoy es lieux ou il appartient. C'est assavoir,

Premierement, a la court du seigneur appellant; secondeament, a la court du seigneur defendant; et tiercement, a la court du roy et ailleurs ou il sera advise par lesdits juges diseurs. Et se ledit roy d'armes ne pouvoit ou vouloit aler en personne a la court des autres seigneurs, pour crier ledit tournoy, il pourra envoyer a chascune court ung pursuivant pour le faire. Mais a la court desdit deux seigneurs chiefs du tournoy, et aussi du roy, fault que ledit roy d'armes aille personnellement. 97

Et tout premierement, ledit roy d'armes doibt estre acompaigne de troys ou quatre heraulx et pursuivans, quant il criera ladite feste du tournoy en la forme et maniere que cy apres est hystorie. 98

Et premierement, l'ung des pursuivans de la compagnie du roy d'armes, qui plus haulte voix aura, doibt crier par troys haules allenees et troys grandes reposees.99

Renè finishes by providing a textual example of a herald's proclamation. These passages clearly state that one of the principal duties of the heralds is crying, or announcing, the tournament. Moreover the attention to detail, such as specifying the order in which the king of arms should visit various courts, or insisting that it be the king of arms and not a lower ranking herald who visits the captains and the king, reflects René's overriding concern that the heralds perform their duties in order to uphold and even increase the honour of the nobility.


"Then the king of arms should thank the judges, and ask them, as judges, to choose the day and place of the tourney, so that he can have it cried appropriately. And all the judges ought to come together in council, to choose the day and the place, so that the king of arms can begin to cry the tourney in the places appropriate. That is to say:

First, at the court of the lord appellant; second, at the court of the lord defendant; and third, at the court of the king and anywhere else that the judges advise. And if the king of arms cannot or will not go in person to the courts of other lords, to cry the tourney, he may send a pursuivant to each court to do it. But the king of arms must go personally to the court of the two lords, captains of the tourney, and also to the king.

And first of all, the king of arms should be accompanied by three or four heralds and pursuivants when he cries the festival of the tourney in the form and manner that is described hereafter.

And first, one of the pursuivants of the company of the king of arms, who has a very loud voice, ought to cry, taking three great breaths and three great pauses."

Translation from: Bennett, “King René’s Tournament Book.”
In addition, René charges the heralds with announcing various occasions during the event. These all occur during the evening meals and dances, presumably because the participants will be gathered in one place. The occasions in order of their occurrence are the call to the tourneyers to display their helmets and crests,\(^{100}\) the call for the tourneyers to take the tournament oath,\(^{101}\) the call to tourney, and the announcement identifying whom the noble ladies and judges have chosen as the knight or squire of honour.\(^{102}\) In addition, prior to both the oaths and the melee, the heralds cry through the streets of the city to summon the tourneyers to the oath swearing ceremony and the combat.\(^{103}\) Antoine de la Sale includes a similar list of duties for the heralds' public announcements. In his treatise the heralds are tasked with calling for the tourneyers to display their coats of arms, arm and equip themselves for the tourney, and begin the combat.\(^{104}\) Unlike the urban events, such as that described by Pero Tafur wherein the heralds made general proclamations throughout the urban centre, René chose to direct the heralds' attention and duties within the Livre des tournois solely to informing the tourneyers, and by default the nobility, of the upcoming phases of the tournament. Accounts of heralds within René's court performing a similar range of duties in a tournament setting are found in the anonymous Relation du pas de Saumur tenu 1446 as well as Louis de Beauvau's account of the Pas de la Bergère, held outside Tarascon in 1449. In addition, during the event at Saumur heralds performed the important task of announcing the individual jousters.\(^{105}\) Prior to the Pas de la Bergère,

\(^{100}\)Appendix A, page 611, line 19-page 612, line 13.
\(^{101}\)Appendix A, page 636, line 15-page 639, line 11.
\(^{102}\)Appendix A, page 655, line 19-page 656, line 16. In addition to these instances, René indicates that the king of arms, or herald, should announce the jousts for the next day. However, unlike the previous examples, René does not provide a script or further elaboration on this announcement.
\(^{103}\)Appendix A, page 639, line 15-page 640, line 5; and page 664, lines 11-17.
\(^{104}\)Lefèvre, Antoine de la Sale, 307, 312, 315.
\(^{105}\)Bianciotto, “Passion du livre,” 90; Bianciotto, “Le pas d’armes de Saumur;” 2-4; Gautier, and Avril, Splendeur de l’entluminure, 244-45.
René sent out pursuivants to proclaim the coming event. In particular, Romarin Pursuivant was sent to inform all the knights and ladies within thirty leagues of the event.\textsuperscript{106}

Despite the similarities between René's description of heraldic duties and historic precedent, René noticeably restricts one particular aspect of their role as criers. They are almost entirely stripped of their duty to announce the combatants during the fighting. The only instances in the \textit{Livre des tournois} that resemble this duty are announcing the captains of the teams prior to the combat, announcing the name of the knight or squire of honour as he makes his entry to the lists, and if asked to, providing the names of the tourneyers during the helmet review ceremony.\textsuperscript{107} However, René does specify that pursuivants and minstrels should be stationed between the list barriers and from there should shout the cries of the tourneyers they like,\textsuperscript{108} although he specifically excludes them from being inside the lists when the combat is occurring.

In an important passage, René compares the traditions of Flanders and Brabant with those of Germany and the Rhenish territories.\textsuperscript{109} According to René, heralds in Flanders and Brabant, who were not accustomed to wearing armour nor being in the press of combat, found it difficult to keep up with their masters and dishonoured them by dropping their banners. René offered a simple solution for this problem drawn from Rhenish and German traditions. He assigns this role to persons whom he believes will fulfil these duties better than the heralds, attendants that he calls "beaulx compagnons."\textsuperscript{110} Presumably these are the valets and men-at-arms that René describes earlier in the work.

\textsuperscript{106}. Beauvau, \textit{Le pas d'armes de la bergère}, 40-41, 64; Annuziata, "Teaching the Pas d'Armes," 563; Nadot, \textit{Le Spectacle des joutes}, 155. For a more recent edition of Louis de Beauvau's account, see: Williams, "Pas de la Bergere."

\textsuperscript{107}. Appendix A, page 671, lines 12-24; page 660, lines 6-12; page 628, lines 6-9.

\textsuperscript{108}. For more on this see below, pages: 176-177.

\textsuperscript{109}. Appendix A, page 664, line 24-page 668, line 6.

\textsuperscript{110}. Appendix A, page 667, line 12.
and are pictured lined up behind the tourneyers at the onset of the combat (fig. 24) as well as scattered within the press during the fighting (fig. 25).\footnote{Appendix A, page 675, lines 9-11.} They form part of each tourneyer's retinue. Moreover, René is clear that they should be accustomed to wearing armour and being in the press of combat. Finally, they should not only shout their master's motto and carry their banner, but also shield them if requested. René's concern is therefore not for defending this traditional roles of heralds, but rather for ensuring that the tourneyers' honour is upheld and their status reinforced.

This section has shown that René drew on a diverse and broad set of examples when he crafted the heralds' roles of messenger, diplomat, cryer and expert in courtly ceremony and etiquette. Certainly the majority of the details within the different duties René assigns to the heralds are perfectly in line with cultural expectations. The heralds' expertise in protocol and ceremony and role as messengers are the two clearest examples of this. However, even within these roles, René crafted the duties of the herald to emphasise their importance in reflecting the honour and position of the nobility. In the other duties of announcer and cryer, René was clearly not above adapting these duties to fit more precisely within his overall vision for the role of the herald in the Livre des tournois. In the end, it is apparent that within the context of the heralds' role as masters of protocol and ceremony René was actively engaging with precedents and crafted a role for the herald that reinforced his particular vision for a tournament that reinforced the status of the nobility.

3.3 Record Keepers and Experts in Chivalric Deeds of Arms

3.3.1 Recorders of deeds of arms

Heralds were held in high esteem by their contemporaries not only for their expertise in courtly ceremonies and protocol, but also for their knowledge of chivalric
martial endeavours. This facet of their reputation grew out of two roles they traditionally filled in tournaments as recorders and judges of deeds of arms. In the anonymous *Debat des hérauts de France et d'Angleterre* (1456-1461), Prudence reminds the heralds that it is the duty of their office to record and report on deeds of arms. Anjou King of Arms and Sicily Herald both write of the ancient tradition of princes sending out heralds to record and judge deeds of arms. In addition to these sources, numerous other heraldic manuals call on heralds to undertake these duties regularly, whether through oral or written accounts. Despite the rich precedent, René does not explicitly detail this as one of the tournament heralds' duties. Even an extremely close reading of the *Livre des tournois* reveals only the slightest acknowledgement of what is a culturally accepted core element of the late-medieval heralds' identity. However, as we will see, the image cycle reveals much more about René's vision for the heralds' duties.

Heraldic records manifested in a number of formats, including armorial rolls, tally sheets, longer narrative descriptions of events, and oral transmission. For instance, after a tournament in 1279, heralds spoke admiringly of Jan I, Duke of Brabant's performance.

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The tournament held at Bruges in 1393 is memorialised in a number of occasional rolls, two of which are found in the prologues added to two manuscript copies of the Livre des tournois. Although there are some indications that tally sheets may have been used to track jousting encounters in the fifteenth century, the earliest extant tally sheets, or score cards, can be dated to a tournament held at Westminster in early 1511. Other examples could encompass a number of these features into a single record. Chester Herald recorded the emprise between Lord Scales and Antoine, Grand Bâtard de Bourgogne, held at Smithfield in 1467. He included not only a detailed account of the jousting, but also the text of Scales' challenge, the articles or rules for the joust and the proclamation read out by a herald just prior to the conclusion of the event. In the early sixteenth century, Georg Rüxner sought to compile an authoritative history of German tournaments stretching as far back as the tenth century. Two of René's pas d'armes, held at Saumur in 1446 and Tarascon in 1449 were memorialised in separate manuscripts. The anonymous account of the event at Saumur includes a narrative description of the ceremonies and jousts, along with descriptions of the participants' arms and a series of detailed narrative images, one of which shows a group of heralds in the viewing stands armed with quill and parchment and

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118. P3 and P4 are the earliest examples of this occasional roll. Other examples are: BnF, ms. français 22485, ff. 3-9v; Aix, ms. 1152, f. 346; Bruxelles, AME, ms. 265 (last recorded in 1893 as being transferred to the University of Ghent. In a recent email exchange with the library they were unable to verify the presence of this document in their archives.); Carpentras, Bibliothèque Municipale, ms. 1817, f. 286; BnF, ms. Bourgogne 7810, p. 54; BnF, ms. français, 5483, p. 333-336, 346. Outside of these armorial rolls this event is almost entirely unrecorded. Only a brief mention of it is found in the civic archives: Archives municipales de Duoi, CC 202, f. 289. A copy of this entry can be found in: Neste, Tournois, joutes, pas d'armes, 262.


presumably in the act of recording the day's jousts (fig. 136). Clearly, there was a culturally pervasive acknowledgement linking heralds with the active recording and memorialising of chivalric deeds of arms.

In the prologue to his *Chroniques*, Jean Froissart explicitly cited heralds as one of the principal sources he drew on for his narrative accounts of deeds of arms. Chandos Herald's poetic account of the life of the Black Prince is just one example of the author's debt to heralds' accounts and records. Furthermore, details that Froissart included in his narrative, such as specific descriptions about the courses run between jousters at St. Inglevert, or the blazons of the participants at the same, indicate that he was drawing his account from either a herald who was present at the event or at least had direct knowledge of it, or more likely a heraldic record such as an occasional roll or other similar memorialising device. In comparison to Froissart, Enguerrand de Monstrelet more consistently included the text of challenges and proclamations verbatim within the narrative of his *Chroniques*. Like Froissart, Monstrelet was explicit in stating that his accounts were taken directly from his consultations with heralds. In contrast, heralds such as Jean Le Fevre de Saint-Remy, Toison d'Or King of Arms, who included the statutes of the Golden Fleece along with his accounts of chivalric endeavours, writes from the perspective of having been a direct witness to the event. Le Fevre must have felt that his

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122. NLR, ms. fr. F. p. XIV, 4. For more on this manuscript, see: Gautier, and Avril, *Splendeur de l'enluminure*, 244-45.


readers would regard his position as Toison d’Or King of Arms and first-hand account of
the events as testimony to both his authority and the veracity of the account. In an age
when authors unashamedly reused the work of others without acknowledging their debt,
the fact that chroniclers specifically cited heralds as the source of their knowledge
indicates that heralds and their accounts of deeds of arms were held in high esteem, by
both the chroniclers and their intended audiences.

The cultural identification of heralds as the record keepers and disseminators of
chivalric deeds of arms was so pervasive that they were widely regarded as the primary
means by which chivalric renown, fame and honour were spread. Sicily Herald not only
wrote of the heralds’ ancient duty to record and report, but also reminded his readers that
these efforts would determine the fame and reputation of their noble patrons. In the
*Débat des hérauts*, Prudence not only reminds the heralds of their duty to record, but
stresses that by their efforts, men will be judged and held accountable by the honour of
their deeds of arms. In the early part of the fifteenth century, Johann Holland, a herald
from Bavaria, cautioned that while it was the duty of all heralds to record the deeds of
knights, they were not to memorialise the ill deeds committed by individuals unless those
knights continued to repeat their actions. This is all very self-conscious and practical
advice. After-all, heralds relied on the nobility for their position and welfare. By
contributing to the glory, fame and reputation of their patrons, heralds were in effect

securing their own livelihood.\textsuperscript{132} Quite simply, they were the crucial link between deeds and fame.\textsuperscript{133}

However, this viewpoint of heralds' duties was not reserved solely to officers of arms. Within the statutes governing the Order of the Crescent, which René likely wrote himself, provision was not only made for the appointment of Los King of Arms and other heralds, a series of regulations required members to report their deeds to the order's heralds so that they were recorded for posterity.\textsuperscript{134} The order's motto, "los en croissant," translated as "rising in praise", reflects the self-conscious desire to accomplish and memorialise noteworthy deeds.\textsuperscript{135} It is no surprise that a surviving armorial of the order contains the statutes of the order, descriptions of the order's ceremonies and oaths, and concludes with an armorial containing the coats of arms of the order's thirty-two members (fig. 40).\textsuperscript{136} A similar provision for reporting deeds is found in Jacques d'Armagnac's treatise on Arthurian tournaments. The author notes that after returning from their adventures and quests, the knights of Arthur's court were required to relate their adventures to those in charge of writing them down.\textsuperscript{137} Armagnac has borrowed this provision directly from Boccaccio's account of the creation of the round table.\textsuperscript{138} While this example does not

\textsuperscript{132}Boudreau, “Messagers, rapporteurs, juges et «voir-disant»,” 241.

\textsuperscript{133}On the cultural link between deeds and fame, see: Gertz, Visual power and fame, 26-29.

\textsuperscript{134}Quatrebarbes, Oeuvres Complètes, I, pp. lxxxiv, 51-79; Gertz, Visual power and fame, 43; Mérindol, “Rois d’armes,” 629. The statutes of the order can be found in the surviving armorial: BnF, ms. français 25204, ff. 2-26v.

\textsuperscript{135}For the translation of this motto, see: Gertz, Visual power and fame, 43. Also see: Mérindol, “Rois d’armes,” 618; Bury Palliser, Historic Devices, Badges, and War-cries (London: William Clowes and Sons, 1870), 25-27.

\textsuperscript{136}BnF, ms. français 25204, ff. 41-51v. For a description of the armorial, see: Gautier, and Avril, Splendeur de l’enluminure, 240-41.

\textsuperscript{137}H, MS Typ 131, pp. 25. For the specific passage within an edition of Jacques d'Armagnac's treatise, see: Jefferson, “Tournaments, Heraldry and the Knights of the Round Table,” 143.

\textsuperscript{138}Giovanni Boccaccio, De casibus illustrium virorum: A Facsimile Reproduction of the Paris Edition of 1520 ed. Louis Brewer Hall (Gainesville: Scholars’ Facsimiles and Reprints, 1962), 205; Gertz, Visual power and fame, 42.
specifically mention heralds or officers at arms, it does indicate that there was a widespread understanding of the importance of memorialising deeds. In 1445, Jacques de Lalaing travelled with several heralds, presumably in an exceptionally self-conscious effort to record and memorialise his deeds.\textsuperscript{139} Antoine de la Sale also notes the importance of the heralds in commemorating and disseminating chivalric reputations.\textsuperscript{140} In 1446 Antoine served as one of the judges at René's pas d'armes, the same event recorded in the anonymous manuscript introduced earlier and in which is the image depicting heralds in the act of recording the event (fig. 136).\textsuperscript{141} The identity of heralds as recorders and disseminators of chivalric deeds and reputation was pervasive throughout chivalric society.

Given the widespread cultural acknowledgment of heralds as the recorders of chivalric deeds of arms, together with René's demonstrated understanding of the recording and memorialising function of heralds, it is surprising that there is not a single textual description of heralds performing this role within the \textit{Livre des tournois}. René is certainly concerned about conveying to his audience that the tournament is an occasion where honour and renown can be won and fame spread. As part of a longer speech given by the king of arms to the judges, René has included a number of reasons for holding the tournament, one of which is directly relevant to the current argument. René writes,

\begin{quote}
la chose sorte a effet, et par facon que renommee et bruit par tout puisse aler de maintenir noblesse, et d'acroistre honneur, ad ce que, au plaisir Dieu, chacun gentilhome doresenavant puisse estre desireux de continuer plus souvant l'exercice d'armes.\textsuperscript{142}
\end{quote}

\begin{flushright}
\textsuperscript{139}Beaune, “Le livre des faits,” 1260; Nadot, \textit{Le Spectacle des joutes}, 163.\textsuperscript{140}Lefèvre, \textit{Antoine de la Sale}, 302, 311.\textsuperscript{141}Bianciotto, “Passion du livre,” 99; Lefèvre, \textit{Antoine de la Sale}, 264; La Sale, \textit{Jean de Saintré}, xvi-xvii. Also see stanza 27 in the manuscript that contains the anonymous account: NLR, ms. fr. F. p. XIV, 4.\textsuperscript{142}Appendix A, page 507, lines 16-20. "the tourney will take place in such a way that fame and widespread rumour will go out to sustain nobility and increase honour, so that, if it pleases God, every gentleman will wish from thenceforward to practise the exercise of arms more often." Translation, with some corrections, from: Bennett, “King René’s Tournament Book.”
\end{flushright}
René is acknowledging, and indeed reflecting the ubiquitous cultural belief, that the tournament is an occasion whose purpose is, at least in part, to provide an opportunity for the acquisition and spread of fame and honour, both for the individual and for the chivalric class as a whole.143

At first glance, it may seem that René is minimising or removing this function from the heralds in his idealised tournament. The imagery of the *Livre des tournois*, however, acknowledges the heralds' role as recorders and disseminators of chivalric feats of arms. In fact, heralds are found in every narrative image, save one, the tourneyers' procession to the review of helmets and crests (fig. 21). Moreover, they are visually represented as not only participants in the tournament's ceremonies, but also as observers. This is most readily apparent in the three images depicting the swearing of oaths, the start of the tournament combat, and the tournament melee (figs. 23, 24 and 25). In the first image, heralds wearing the livery of the Dukes of Brittany and Bourbon are not included as part of the processions, but rather as observers (fig. 137). While the king of arms for Bourbon watches passively, the heralds, or possibly pursuivants, wearing Brittany's livery are shown engaging other witnesses in conversation while gesturing towards the procession.144

Heralds in the service of both dukes are found in between the list enclosures of the following two images, reflecting a carefully worded provision René specifies (figs. 138 and 139).145

> Item, et est assavoir que, pendant que lesdis tournoyeurs se combatront, que les heraulx poursuivans seront entre les deux lices, et les trompettes aussi, qui ne sonneront point, mais crieront les cris des tournoyeurs de ceulx qui vouldront.146

143. For more on the tournament rituals as integral to the acquisition and definition of class identity, see Chapter 5.

144. Their rank is indicated by their heraldic tabards which differ in length from those worn by the kings of arms. See above, pages 150. On the use of gestures to indicate conversation and consultation, see Chapter 1, page 59.

145. For more on this provision as it relates to the heralds' status as tournament judges: see below, pages 177-183.

146. Appendix A, page 679, line 26-page 680, line 4. "Item, know that while the tourneyers are fighting, the
This provision is the only textual clue as to the active role heralds take as witnesses to the event. By charging the heralds to cheer those tourneyers that they like, René is acknowledging their expertise in being able to recognise chivalric prowess. Their role is further emphasised by two comparisons. The first is the change in posture and gesture between the heralds in the second and third images. At the start of the tournament they are shown watching passively (fig. 138). In comparison, while the tournament is underway the heralds are shown turned towards towards each other actively engaged in conversation, as indicated by their gestures (fig. 139). In contrast, every other individual pictured between the list enclosures, with the exception of the lone tourneyer passing through, is passively watching the combat (fig. 140). The heralds are therefore depicted as witnesses who are actively engaged in their role. While not textually explicit, the visual presence of the heralds reflects the pervasive understanding of their function as witnesses and recorders of chivalric deeds. Therefore, while it must be acknowledged that there is not a clear textually defined role for heralds as recorders, or even witnesses, of the event, when properly decoded the image cycle enriches the reader's understanding of the heralds' role in the tournament. This example shows that the *Livre des tournois* does acknowledge the widely held cultural identity of heralds as actively engaged witnesses to chivalric events. Not only does this example reinforce the interconnected nature between text and image introduced in Chapter 1, it further demonstrates that René's authority in these matters was not conveyed solely by the text, but rather through the interaction of text and image.

3.3.2 Chivalric Judges

In addition to their position as the registrars and disseminators of chivalric deeds of arms, there is ample evidence that heralds often served as judges at tournaments and other

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pursuivants should be between the two lists, and the trumpeters too, who should not play, but should shout the cries of whichever of the tourneyers the like.” Translation from: Bennett, “King René’s Tournament Book.”

formal combats. This role very likely grew in connection with their reputation for expertise in all manner of chivalric customs and knowledge of feats of arms. While heralds could and did serve as judges within tournaments, it is critical to make a distinction between the roles. Tournament judges were selected and appointed for the duration of an event and charged with a range of duties that could vary between events, although they nearly always included some combination of responsibility for interpreting the rules of combat, determining the winner, and intervening to halt the fight if necessary. While judges were typically selected based on a variety of criteria there was a consistent emphasis on their expertise in deeds of arms and personal reputation, qualities which naturally would have enhanced their authority. Additionally, while heralds were frequently called on to act as judges during tournaments, there was not a definitive tradition that judges had to be drawn from the ranks of heralds.

One of the earliest textual references to heralds acting in the capacity of tournament judges is found within the historical romance *Fouke le Fitz Waryn*, written in the late-thirteenth century. The author recounts that heralds together with *disours* and great lords served as arbiters at a tournament. Froissart records that at Smithfield in 1390, the heralds together with the noble ladies and lords determined the winner of the joust. At a tourney fought between two teams led by the Lords of Jonvelle and Comines and held in Bruges sometime between 1416 and 1430, the noble ladies were

148. The Dictionnaire du Moyen Français (1330-1500) equates *disieur*, *disour*, *disor* and *diseor* and translates the terms to mean an arbiter. “Dictionnaire du Moyen Français.” Accessed September 2015


151. A description of this event is found in RAL, Codex RAR.0035(1.35), ff. 11r-12v, and BL, MS Lansdowne 285, ff. 44r-46v. The former has recently been edited and translated as part of a dissertation completed by Ralph Moffat. Moffat, “The Medieval Tournament.” The latter is known as the Paston *Grete Boke*, a description of which can be found in: Lester, “Sir John Paston’s *Grete Boke*.” Neither source provides a date for the event. Moffat has untangled the identities of a handful of the participants and one of the captains, Jean de la Trémoille (1377-1449). He also established a *terminus ante quem* of 1430 and suggested a 1416 as the earliest possible date for the event. For the identity of captain and the dating, see:
charged with presenting a sword to the French knight whom the judges, king of arms and heralds had determined to have fought the best.\textsuperscript{152} While this event serves as an example of an occasion in which there was a separation between herald and judge, the account does acknowledge that the two worked in consultation to determine the champion. During a formal combat between Henri de!Sasse and Jean de Redremettes in 1458, Toison d'Or King of Arms acted as judge to ensure that the rules of combat were followed and to determine the victor.\textsuperscript{153} In 1467, during the Pas de l'Arbre d'Or, two noblemen together with four officers at arms were given the task of judging the lance breaks to determine the best jouster.\textsuperscript{154} Consulting a table of jousts and combats compiled by Sébastien Nadot reveals that heralds served as judges in over fifty percent of the jousts and pas d'armes that he sampled for which the identity of the judges can be verified.\textsuperscript{155} Perhaps the most relevant example of heralds serving as tournament judges is the event held at Nancy in 1445, which was sponsored by René. The judges for this tournament were selected exclusively from the group of heralds who were in attendance.\textsuperscript{156}

Members of the nobility or courtiers who were held in high esteem commonly served as tournament judges, while the heralds acted in a diminished capacity as their consultants or advisers. Referring to the same table mentioned above reveals that in over three quarters of the events sampled members of the nobility served as judges. In contrast

\textsuperscript{152} Moffat, “The Medieval Tournament,” 62-63. Kervyn de Lettenhove published a transcription of this account based on the text in the Lansdowne manuscript in 1870. J. Kervyn de Lettenhove, “La joute de la Dame Inconnue à Bruxelles. - La joute du sire de Commines et du sire de Jonvelle à Bruges,” Bulletin de la commission royale de l'histoire 11(1870), 473-86. When citing passages drawn from this account I will provide references to both the RAL manuscript and Moffat's edited version. In addition, I will refer to the event by the potential range of dates it may have occurred within, as well as refer to the captains as the Lords of Jonvelle and Commines.


\textsuperscript{155} Nadot, Le Spectacle des joutes, 335-37.

\textsuperscript{156} Nadot, Le Spectacle des joutes, 335.
to the jousts held at Nancy, René chose to enlist only nobles and high ranking courtiers as judges during the Pas d'armes de la Joyeuse garde held outside Saumur in 1446.\textsuperscript{157} At Tours in 1447, it was the King of France acting in his capacity as judge who presided over, and temporarily halted, the combat between Jehan Chalons and Louis de Bueil.\textsuperscript{158} The jousts resumed only after the \textit{chapitres}\textsuperscript{159} that outlined the rules of the engagement had been consulted and the king was satisfied. Philippe le Bon, Duke of Burgundy, acted as judge for an \textit{emprise} between the Castilian knight Juan de Merlo and Pierre de Bauffremont, a Burgundian knight, that was undertaken during the Congress of Arras in 1435.\textsuperscript{160} Despite the protests of the combatants who wished to continue their encounter, Philippe halted the combat and declared that both men had acquitted themselves with honour. Within a manuscript containing a collection of heraldic material a proclamation of jousts held contains a provision that noble ladies would serve as the judges and choose the best jouster.\textsuperscript{161} While heralds were certainly valued for their knowledge and expertise, and served in the capacity of judge, the presence of a noble in the role indicated a certain increase in prestige for the event.

It is this factor which directly reflects René's explicit choice for, and the portrayal of, judges and their role within the \textit{Livre des tournois}. When outlining the selection of candidates for the judges, René writes,

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{157}One of these judges was Antoine de la Sale, who would later write his own tournament treatise. La Sale, \textit{Jean de Saintré}, xvi-xvii; Nadot, \textit{Le Spectacle des joutes}, 336; Bianciotto, “Passion du livre,” 99.
\item \textsuperscript{159}See page 152, note 34 in this chapter.
\item \textsuperscript{161}BnF, ms. français, 5228, ff. 100v-101.
\end{itemize}
René is clear on two things in this passage. First, that the judges are wise and experts in feats of arms. By itself, and given their reputation, this provision would seemingly allow for heralds to serve in this role. However, René is also clear that the judges should be selected exclusively from the nobility. At the time René was writing the *Livre des tournois*, heralds were not members of the nobility. According to René the tournament judges must be barons, knights or squires from established families. The identity of the judges as nobility is reinforced visually in the image showing the king of arms presenting the choices to the Duke of Bourbon's court (fig. 3). In this image the judges are represented by their personal heraldic blazons and are thus visually established as members of the nobility. René's limitation was not without precedent. Antoine de la Sale placed a similar restriction on who should serve as judges within the tournament. He wrote that they were only to be selected from the ranks of knights or valiant lords. Antoine went on to declare that while women can determine the winner of a joust, as seen in the proclamation cited above, they should not decide the outcome of other forms of combat.

René's reasoning for this restriction becomes clear as he clarifies his vision for the role and responsibilities of the tournament judges. They were not simply in charge of selecting a champion or stopping the combat, as the previous examples might suggest. The judges were given responsibility for selecting when and where the tournament will be held. They were charged with verifying the weight and construction of the tournament...
swords and maces, and determining the size of the list enclosure and stands, as well as
arranging for their construction.\textsuperscript{166} They were to find suitable lodgings for both the
tourneyers and themselves, and ensure that a hall is available for the feasts and dances.\textsuperscript{167}
The judges were also responsible for paying the expenses of the king of arms, heralds and
pursuivants.\textsuperscript{168} In sum, they were to have the means, experience and position to see that
the necessary details involved in running the event are carried out in a manner that reflects
the nobility of the occasion.

Moreover, their role carries a certain symbolic responsibility and status. Based on
their knowledge of the prowess of the individual participants René gives the responsibility
of dividing the tourneyers into two equal teams to the judges.\textsuperscript{169} This provision is quite
different from what occurred at a tournament held in Brussels in 1428. At this event it was
the heralds who divided the tourneyers into teams.\textsuperscript{170} According to René's provisions in the
Livre des tournois, when the tourneyers swear to abide by the rules of the tournament, it is
to the judges that they make their oaths (fig. 23).\textsuperscript{171} However, the judges' most important
duties are deciding the guilt or innocence of tourneyers accused of breaking the provisions
René sets out, and selecting the knight or squire of honour. The knight of honour is singled
out as one whom the judges have determined is esteemed above all the other tourneyers
and is thereby invested with the responsibility of administering the mercy of the ladies.\textsuperscript{172}
Although he is excluded from taking part in the combat, his honour has been earned and

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{166}Appendix A, page page 540, lines 23-28; page 571, lines 10-11; page 708, lines 25-26; and page 708
lines 6-7.
\item \textsuperscript{167}Appendix A, page 708, lines 23-24.
\item \textsuperscript{168}Appendix A, page 711, lines 8-15.
\item \textsuperscript{169}Appendix A, page 604, lines 14-19; page 616, lines 1-3; page 636, lines 1-3.
\item \textsuperscript{170}Monstrelet, La chronique, IV, p. 307; Damen, “Tournament Culture,” 255.
\item \textsuperscript{171}Appendix A, page 647, lines 1-5.
\item \textsuperscript{172}Appendix A, page 651, lines 10-15.
\end{itemize}
won through his appointment. His position and nobility are a reflection of the tournament's honour and thus his selection is important enough to reserve for the noble judges. However, it is the former provision, deciding the guilt or innocence of tourneyers, that is the most telling aspect about René's provision that the judges must be drawn from the nobility. The *Livre des tournois* is quite explicit that it is only appropriate that a noble stand in judgement of another noble. For instance, during the helmet review ceremony it is not the place of the herald to publicly denounce any tourneyer with a bad reputation, but only to answer the direct questions put to him by the judges and noble ladies about an individual's identity, with the ultimate decision of guilt or innocence being reserved for the judges. The judges in René's idealised tournament are thus responsible for a wide range of duties all of which are integral to creating an event worthy of remembrance.

When weighed against the historic evidence of heralds serving as judges within tournaments, and particularly considering that René demonstrated different preferences within the various tournaments he sponsored, it must be concluded that René made a purposeful decision to restrict the role to the nobility within the *Livre des tournois*. Thus the regulations regarding who can serve as a judge within the tournament, as described in the *Livre des tournois*, illustrate that while René drew on diverse cultural traditions and his own experience when he crafted the heralds' duties, he adapted these precedents to fit his vision for the *Livre des tournois*. Moreover, we can see that his vision was focussed on promoting the status of the chivalric class. While it would be going too far to state that René broke entirely from tradition, his experience and the rich cultural precedent he had

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174.For more on this, see Chapter 5, pages 264-269.
available to draw from indicate that when writing the *Livre des tournois* he made an informed decision to restrict heralds from serving as tournament judges.

### 3.4 Expertise in the Science of Blazon

The interaction between the invented and historically accurate coats of arms functioned to assert René's position as an expert in heraldry, as well as reinforcing his claims to be an authority on tournament customs. Two principles lay at the heart of this. The first was knowing the rules governing the creation and display of heraldic devices. The second was an offshoot of knowing who the coats of arms belonged to and of being intimately familiar with the relationship between identity, heraldry and reputation. Together these principles constitute expertise in the science of heraldry, or blazon, and form part of the core identity of heralds.¹⁷⁶

As their name suggests heralds were closely identified with the science of heraldry. They were expected to know the widely accepted system of rules that dictated how a coat of arms should be constructed, such as restricting the placement of colour on colour or metal on metal.¹⁷⁷ In addition, they were expected to be able to identify an individual based solely on their coat of arms, while also having ready knowledge of that person's accomplishments and reputation. In many ways this was the culmination of heraldic duties. It required expertise in the system of heraldic construction, knowledge of courtly ceremonies and traditions, and an encyclopaedic accounting of the actions and deeds of arms of numerous knights and nobles.¹⁷⁸

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¹⁷⁸. Keen notes the breadth and depth of knowledge needed by heralds to be considered experts in their field. See: Keen, *Chivalry*, 141.
By claiming authorship of the invented blazons found in the *Livre des tournois*, René minimised any association between the office of heralds and the act of blazoning coats of arms, and instead repackaged it as a virtue of nobility.\(^{179}\) Heralds were traditionally identified with knowing the rules governing the creation and display of coats of arms, or put another way, the science of blazon.\(^{180}\) While a standard set of practices regarding the composition of arms seems to have been in place by the mid-thirteenth century, and the language for describing coats of arms was starting to solidify by the beginning of the fourteenth century, it was not until the middle of the fourteenth century that the earliest treatise dedicated to describing the practice of blazoning arms was written.\(^{181}\) This Anglo-Norman work, known as *De heraudie*, was almost certainly written by a herald and is entirely concerned with describing the proper construction of arms.\(^{182}\) Another early work which dealt in part with blazoning coats of arms was the *De insigniis et armes*, written in the mid-fourteenth century by the Italian jurist, Bartolo da Sassoferrato.\(^{183}\) Although Bartolo's work was more concerned with legal questions arising out of heraldic disputes, such as who had rights to claim a certain blazon, roughly two-thirds of his chapters addressed topics more applicable to the science of blazoning arms, such as details about how various figures and colours ought to be displayed within a coat of arms.\(^{184}\) Bartolo's work was widely influential and parts of it can be found in a number of later works. Honorat Bovet drew heavily on it for his *Arbre des batailles* (1386-1389).

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179. See Chapter 2, pages 99-100, 110-112.


181. These dates are based largely on the appearance and standardisation of coats of arms within armorial rolls, using both textual and visual examples.


Using Bouvet as her source, Christine de Pizan later included parts of Bartolo's work in her *Livre des fais d'armes et de chevalerie* (1410).\textsuperscript{185}

In comparison, the earliest surviving French treatise written by a herald and dedicated to teaching the art of blazon, *Livres des armes et heraulx*, composed around 1400, had little influence and survives in only two manuscripts.\textsuperscript{186} An earlier treatise, *De picturis armorum*, composed sometime in the fourteenth century, is known only through references found in a later work.\textsuperscript{187} It was not until roughly two decades after the *Livres des armes et heraulx* was written that a tract dedicated to the art of blazon found widespread success.\textsuperscript{188} Jehan Courtois, Sicily Herald, composed *Les blason des couleurs en armes, livrées et devises* (1414), a didactic manual devoted largely to describing how to properly blazon coats of arms.\textsuperscript{189} Clément Prinsault's *Traite héraldique*, written in the late fifteenth century and dedicated to Jacques d'Armagnac's young son, was in turn influenced by both Sicily and Bartolo's works.\textsuperscript{190} Another heraldic manual, similar to Prinsault's, the *Devise des armes*, possibly written by Armagnac himself in the late fifteenth century, survives in a manuscript currently held in Paris, which also contains a copy of his tournament treatise.\textsuperscript{191} Similarly, it should be recalled that Armagnac demonstrated his heraldic expertise by including an armorial of the knights of the Round Table at the end of his tournament treatise.\textsuperscript{192} While Antoine de la Sale did not compose a treatise dedicated to

\textsuperscript{185}Taylor, *Chivalry and the Ideals of Knighthood*, 13; Boulton, “The Treatise on Armory,” 95.

\textsuperscript{186}Boulton, “The Treatise on Armory,” 91.

\textsuperscript{187}Boulton, “The Treatise on Armory,” 91.

\textsuperscript{188}Boulton, “The Treatise on Armory,” 93.


\textsuperscript{191}BnF, ms. français 12597. Also see: Blackman, “The Manuscripts and Patronage of Jacques d’Armagnac,” 185.

\textsuperscript{192}See Chapter 2, pages 129-130.
the blazoning of arms, he was clearly interested in both the methodology of heraldry as well as stressing that the nobility should possess a knowledge of heraldry. By the second half of the fifteenth century, treatises on blazoning coats of arms were becoming a much more common feature within noble libraries. A shift had occurred between the time *De picturis armorum* was written and when René, Antoine and Armagnac wrote their works. Acquiring and displaying knowledge of the rules and systems of heraldry had become an integral component of defining one's self as a member of the nobility.

There are numerous historic examples of heralds demonstrating both their knowledge of blazon and their expertise in identifying individuals by their arms. Jacques Bretel recounts that in 1285 during a tournament held at Chauvency, heralds identified the would-be participants by their arms and then announced the combatants as they entered the lists. Froissart tells us that after the Battle of Crécy heralds were sent out to identify the dead. The articles issued by Jacques de Lalaing for the Pas de la Fontaine aux Pleurs stated that participants must prove their nobility either by means of letters patent or through the testimony of a herald. Similar provisions were enacted for the Passo Honroso, wherein the tournament heralds were responsible for greeting and introducing each challenger, as well as first verifying their claim to nobility and right to participate. Finally, a royal act issued in the Kingdom of Poland in the fifteenth century charges heralds to check and verify the coats of arms of participants at every tournament held within the kingdom. These examples illustrate that when crafting the role for the herald

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193. See Chapter 2, pages 129-133.
within the *Livre des tournois*, René was working within an established cultural precedent linking heralds with blazoning and heraldic identity.

Within the *Livre des tournois* the heralds' knowledge of coats of arms is an absolutely vital part of their identity, although René has reduced the breadth of their responsibility. During the review of helmets and crests, the heralds and pursuivants are charged with accompanying the noble ladies and judges in their procession around the cloisters. René writes that the heralds are to tell the ladies the names of the tourneyers based on their knowledge of the tourneyers' helmet crests. A close reading of this passage alludes to the fact that the herald is not allowed to convey any other information about the individual, such as their reputation or any potential misdeeds. It is worth emphasising that according to René, it is only after a guilty verdict has been reached by the noble judges that any tourneyer is allowed to be punished. While the herald must know the names of the tourneyers, René makes no mention of him relaying any other information about the individual. The limited role of the herald in this ceremony is reinforced by the accompanying image (fig. 22). Only a single herald, the king of arms for Brittany, has been included in the image. Furthermore he is not depicted leading the noble ladies around the cloister, or indicating the helmet of an accused tourneyer, but rather in the servile act of retrieving the helmet that has been cast to the ground (fig. 100). In this capacity he is acting under the authority of the judges rather than as a representative of the Duke of Brittany. His role is not to judge, or even to hint at an accusation. The judge staring out of the image and gesturing accusingly to the fallen helmet, as described in Chapter 1, fulfills the role of accuser (fig. 191). While the herald fills a role within the ceremony, he is part of the supporting cast. His limited function within the ceremony coupled with the fact that he does not play the role of an accuser calls to mind the cautions issued by Johann Holland

and Anjou King of Arms, that a herald must never speak ill of the nobility.\textsuperscript{200} Furthermore, as they remind us, the primary function of an officer at arms must be to uphold and increase the honour of the noble class. The manner with which the artist has depicted the herald's actions in this image further reinforces this premise. He is retrieving the helmet from the ground at the direction of the judges (fig. 22). To René, accusation and judgement is a right reserved for the noble peers. The herald, with his expertise in protocol and ceremony, ensures that the ceremony proceeds, but he does not overstep his bounds.

Aside from the helmet review ceremony there are few other occasions described within the \textit{Livre des tournois} that acknowledge the herald's expertise and role in recognising arms. To recall a point made previously in this chapter, the pursuivants should be positioned in the space between the list barriers and from there they should cry the mottoes of the tourneyers they like (fig. 139).\textsuperscript{201} In addition to being able to recognise prowess, this task necessitates an ability to identify individual tourneyers by their coats of arms and crests, as well as knowing each individual's motto. However aside from this occurrence, every other occasion when heralds interact directly with heraldic devices, they do so in a purely supporting manner. At the same time René limits the heralds' traditional role of knowing coats of arms and the reputations of their bearers. For instance, René writes that the tourneyers must display their arms and banners at the inns where they are lodged (fig. 18). The heralds are charged with hanging the plaques and banners for which they will be reimbursed, but they serve no other purpose during this ritual.

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{200} Wiesend, “Die Reime des Ehrenholds,” 120; Boudreau, “Messagers, rapporteurs, juges et «voir-disant»,” 237; Jackson, “Das Turnier,” 289.
\item \textsuperscript{201} See above, page 168.
\end{itemize}
\end{footnotesize}
In comparison, during a tournament held in Schaffhausen in 1438 a herald carried the tourneyers' arms around the city while announcing the combatants. Furthermore, the coinciding image of the display of arms in the D manuscript of the *Livre des tournois* demonstrates a tension between René's description and regional practices (fig. 141). The image from D includes additional details not found in the source image that reflect regional practices similar to what was enacted at Schaffhausen in 1438. In this image two pursuivants are shown in the act of hanging armorial plaques while an assembled group of nobles watch. Two additional heralds, accompanied by trumpeters, are depicted off to one side, but still very much a part of the process. The inclusion of this latter group calls to mind another image which forms part of a later addition to two manuscript copies of the *Livre des tournois*, commissioned by Louis de Bruges (figs. 134 and 135). As described previously, this image depicts the heralds in the process of announcing either the combatants or the captains of the tournament held in Bruges in 1393. It would seem then that the heralds and trumpeters depicted in the image from the D manuscript are in the process of announcing the combatants as their plaques are being mounted, a detail which René does not include in his description nor is found in the source image for this scene (fig. 18). If this is the case, and based on the lack of either textual or visual description of such a ceremony within the *Livre des tournois*, it would reinforce the conclusion that René modified a particular regional custom to suit his vision.

The textual and visual presentation of the ceremony in which the defendant selects the tournament judges demonstrates the limitations René has placed on the heralds' role. Although the king of arms presents the candidates, the assembled nobility is given the responsibility of debating the merits of the potential judges and advising the duke on who should be selected (fig. 3). The image shows the king of arms and his attendant

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pursuivants in the act of presenting a scroll blazoned with the arms of the nominees, a detail that is explicit within the text. However, the noble courtiers and the duke are shown studying it. All three courtiers lean in to inspect the scroll, as one even grasps it as if turning it so he can study it more closely. Meanwhile, the king of arms is occupied with holding the scroll, and the two pursuivants, although present in the ceremony, are not engaged in the debate. One of the pursuivants even appears to be turning away from the court and carrying on a separate conversation with the sergeant at arms. The visual and textual presentation of this ceremony reinforces that the selection of judges is a matter for the nobility. The nobles are expected to know the identities and reputations of the judges based solely on the coats of arms they are presented with. Reputation, whether renown or infamy, is something René felt a noble should know about his or her peers.

René engaged with a range of culturally assigned duties for the herald relating to the expertise of blazoning arms, and knowing who a particular set of arms belonged to. René was not above modifying customs in order to craft a role for the herald that would enhance his intended goal of creating a tournament that would promote the honour and station of the nobility. The limited role that heralds in the *Livre des tournois* have in relation to knowledge of arms and heraldic identity serves to highlight René’s expertise in the art and science of heraldry.203 This emphasises that to René, like Antoine de la Sale and others, the nobility should be proficient and fluent in the language of heraldry. It is no coincidence that uncovering the role of the heraldic programme, as detailed in the previous chapter, requires the knowledge and expertise that René is emphasising his noble readers should possess. The end result is a carefully crafted set of duties for the heralds in the *Livre des tournois* that acknowledges their connection with the science of heraldry, but emphasises the station of the nobility René was addressing.

203 See Chapter 2, pages 129-133.
3.5 Conclusion

René crafted a role for the heralds within the tournament described in the *Livre des tournois* that, while mindful of cultural traditions, reflects his concern for the need to uphold and project the honour of the nobility to the greatest possible extent. When placed against the historical evidence we have examined it is clear that René actively engaged with a rich tradition of heralds' duties within the settings of the noble court and late medieval tournament. Moreover, it is apparent that he drew on, and in some cases modified, culturally understood roles of the heralds' functions within court and tournament culture. The unifying theme of the three broad categories of heralds' responsibilities that we examined, mastery of protocol and ceremony, record keepers and experts in chivalric deeds of arms, and expertise in the science of heraldry, is that the heralds' most essential function is to reflect and uphold the position of the nobility. As we have seen, any nuances that René crafted into the heralds' roles always reflected that overriding principle.

One final example from the *Livre des tournois* will cement this point. While the heralds of Brittany and Bourbon are found throughout the image cycle, there is another particularly significant herald whom I have already introduced in Chapter 1 (fig. 84). This herald is not dressed in the livery of either tournament captain and, as indicated by the coat of arms on his surcoat, is in the service of the crestless tourneyer exiting the field. The herald is depicted in the act of either presenting or receiving a tournament sword from the viewing stand where the assembled noble ladies watch the event. He humbly doffs his cap before the noble ladies, indicating deference to their rank and his familiarity with courtly customs. His expertise with protocol is further confirmed by the manner in which he holds the tournament sword. Like the king of arms presenting the sword to the Duke of Bourbon, this herald holds the sword by its point (fig. 2). Given the prominence of heralds throughout the text and image cycle coupled with the importance placed on their role in upholding and reflecting the nobility, and the fact that this is the only herald in the entire
image cycle who is not in the service of Brittany or Bourbon, indicates to the reader that
this must be a very important ceremony.

While the narrative is confirmed by the heraldic tags linking the tourneyer to the
herald, there is no textual description elaborating on the ritual.\textsuperscript{204} It is possible that the
herald is receiving the sword. Such an interpretation may reference a similar historic ritual
in which a tournament champion was chosen to organise the next event. At the conclusion
of a tournament held in Brussels in 1428, Anthony, Lord of Croy, was presented with a
sword as an indication that he had been chosen to host the next tournament.\textsuperscript{205} Given the
prominent role the tournament sword plays in the initial challenge ceremony in the \textit{Livre
des tournois}, this reads like a plausible explanation of the image. Antoine de la Sale
confirms a similar set of rites in his tournament treatise. According to Antoine, a king of
arms or herald should deliver a sword as an indication of the challenge to tourney.\textsuperscript{206}
However, there is another possible interpretation. The herald may be receiving the sword
from the noble ladies as a prize. A similar prize is described in at least two accounts of
different tournaments. A surviving copy of the \textit{chapitres}\textsuperscript{207} for a tournament held
sometime between 1416 and 1430 in Bruges indicate that after consulting the judges, the
noble ladies were to present a sword to the French knight who had acquitted himself the
best.\textsuperscript{208} At the conclusion of a tournament held in Utrecht in 1441 a sword was presented
as one of the prizes.\textsuperscript{209} Although intriguing this conclusion seems less likely as René goes

\textsuperscript{204} On heraldry as narrative tags, see Chapter 2, pages 112-120.

\textsuperscript{205} Monstrelet, \textit{La chronique}, IV, pp. 306-308; Damen, “The Town, the Duke, his Courtiers, and their
Tournament,” 89; Contamine, “Les tournois en France,” 444. The Croy was an influential family in Valois
Burgundy through much of the mid-fifteenth century until Charles le Téméraire expelled them from his court
in 1465. See: Wim Blockmans, and Walter Prevenier, \textit{The Promised Lands: The Low Countries under
Burgundian Rule, 1369-1530} (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1999), 113; Richard Vaughan,

\textsuperscript{206} Lefèvre, \textit{Antoine de la Sale}, 307.

\textsuperscript{207} See page 152, note 34 in this chapter.

on to describe a separate and intricate ceremony for declaring the tournament champion and awarding a prize that is not a sword, if any credibility is to be given to the image (fig. 26). The remaining possibility is that the herald is presenting the sword to a lady in the stands. Perhaps his knight has won the sword in a hard fought engagement. His battered, crestless helmet testifies to his valour and fortitude. He may be, as René states in his fourth reason for holding a tournament, the young knight who, by doing well, will "...acquerra mercy, grace ou augmentation d'amour de sa tres gente dame et celle maistresse." Behind this tourneyer is another who is being led away by a herald wearing the livery of Brittany. This second tourneyer is conspicuously without a sword (fig. 142). Above him flies the pennon and banner arranged to mimic the former tourneyer's coat of arms. While this narrative is intriguing, it exists only as a visual account. Whatever the exact interpretation, and it remains imprecise, this is clearly a matter of honour. For the purposes of the present discussion this vignette confirms the central role of the herald in projecting the position and honour of his noble patrons. The visual and textual depiction of the herald in the Livre des tournois is definitively built around the premise that their purpose is to project and sustain the honour and station of the nobility.

209. Damen, “Tournaments and Social Status.”

210. Appendix A, page 699, line 23-page 704, line 21. Although René does not describe the prize for the behourd he does go on to describe three different prizes for the jousts that are held the next day. None of these are a weapon of any kind either and closer resemble, in their descriptions, the jewelled prize found in the image. For the descriptions of the prizes awarded for the joust, see: Appendix A, page 704, line 27-page 707, line 6.

211. Appendix A, page 507, lines 10-11. "...acquire mercy, grace or an increase of love from his very gentle lady and mistress." Translation from: Bennett, “King René’s Tournament Book.” A relationship between the acquisition of mercy and the presentation of sword held by the point is further suggested by a miniature and accompanying directions to the artist found in an early fifteenth-century copy of the Grandes Chroniques de France. This miniature depicts the surrender of either Tours or Le Mans to Philippe II (1165-1223), King of France. The artist of this miniature has taken care to follow the instructions and present the surrendering townspeople bareheaded and kneeling before Philippe while holding swords "par les pointes en criant merci." Although the gesture is similar to what is shown in the Livre des tournois, the meaning behind the ritual seems to be slightly different. In the Grand Chroniques image the gesture is intrinsically linked to surrender. In contrast, within the Livre des tournois, the gesture is more directly tied to the "augmentation d'amour" and the acquisition of honour. The described miniature is found in: Valenciennes, Bibliotheque municipale, Ms. 637, f. 237v. I would like to express my gratitude to Anne D. Hedeman for bringing this image to my attention. For a description of the image and manuscript, see: Anne D. Hedeman, The Royal Image: Illustrations of the Grandes Chroniques de France, 1274-1422 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991), 147-49, 264-66.
4.

Tournaments, Customs and Authority

in the Livre des tournois

4.1 Introduction

This chapter will demonstrate that René utilised a broad range of sources drawn from multiple regions when he envisioned and crafted the form of tournament presented in the Livre des tournois. A focussed reading of the work's image cycle coupled with close scrutiny of the textual matter reveals that René was not content to relate any one set of practices drawn verbatim from a single source. Instead he actively engaged with different sources and traditions, as well as his own experience, which he then moulded to his goal of creating and presenting a new form of tournament to his intended audience, the French nobility. Unravelling the complex array of sources and influences that acted upon René has direct implications on our understanding of how the author and his audience conceived of the process of constructing and conveying authority on tournament customs.

Identifying the sources that influenced René’s vision of the ideal tournament in the Livre des tournois has posed a continual problem for scholars. Most analysis has been burdened by modern conceptions of national identity and geopolitical borders. This in turn has created the sense that late medieval chivalric culture was somehow focussed inward to particular regional identities based largely around conceptions of English, French, German, Italian, Spanish, and so on. While regional labels may be useful, they can also be burdensome. Scholarship that has emphasised René’s position as a French prince has sought to identify direct influences and comparisons for the Livre des tournois from three sources: the series of tournaments René sponsored during the 1440s, his allegorical writings, and the tournament treatise written by Antoine de la Sale.1 Research conducted

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1. Anjou, Le Livre des Tournois, 8; Bianciotto, “Passion du livre,” 98; Contamine, “Les tournois en France,” 446; Gautier, “La bibliothèque du roi René,” 25; Lefèvre, Antoine de la Sale, 206, 249-259; Vaivre,
by those who work primarily on Valois Burgundy has ceaselessly portrayed René’s written works, patronage, and sponsorship of events as a type of rivalry, even emulation of the Burgundian court. Meanwhile, German scholarship has brought to light useful links between René’s vision and a series of tournaments held in urban centres of the Holy Roman Empire and along the Rhine during the fifteenth century, while tending to minimise René’s voice. This chapter borrows inspiration from the author's own words and draws on scholarship from each national school, in addition to offering new research and insight, in order to offer a revised theory on the relationship between historic tournaments and the event presented in the Livre des tournois.

Contextualising the work with a broad range of sources, including other tournaments, didactic treatises, literature, and examples from visual and material culture serves two purposes. It demonstrates the breadth of influences that René drew upon, and reinforces the conclusion that the Livre des tournois was not based on a single source, but was carefully considered and crafted from the author's knowledge of diverse traditions, written accounts and the material culture of different forms of tournament. Secondly it hints at a tension at the heart of constructing an identity of authority in late medieval

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4. For the passage I refer to, see below, page 199.
chivalric culture. This tension lay between authority and knowledge based on direct experience and that garnered via books. Rather than explore the entirety of the tournament as a larger event, this chapter will focus on four particular aspects that make up René’s tournament. Any discussion of the tournament inevitably involves questions centred around the clash of arms. Therefore the form of combat will serve as the first part of this examination. The second aspect, closely tied with the first, is the identity and role of the participants, those whom René refers to as the "tournoyeurs". I will then illustrate how René's choice to set the event in an urban centre reflects both specific regional practices and the author's desire to create an event that broadcasts the position and status of the nobility to as wide an audience as possible. I conclude with an examination of the material equipment described and pictured in the *Livre des tournois* as representative of the author's attempt to present regional practices that were unfamiliar to his intended audience. Other aspects that relate to the larger event, such as rituals of punishment and the ceremonial role of heralds, are addressed in other chapters.

4.2 Combat

The most striking part of any medieval tournament was the combat between armoured tourneyers. Some form of martial endeavour lies at the heart of any definition, whether medieval or modern, of the tournament. It identified the tournament as an event distinct from other social rituals, displays and festivities. In addition to regularly noting such details as when and where tournaments occurred and who participated in them, chroniclers often embellished their accounts with details and descriptions that added impact, such as likening events to battles, or describing particular blows. For instance, in a description of an early tournament held in 1168 between the towns of Gournay and

Ressons, the chronicler Gilbert de Mons, author of the *Chronique de Hainaut*, recorded that tempers flared between Philippe I (1143-1191), Count of Flanders and Baudouin V (1150-1195), Count of Hainaut.  

Gilbert described Philippe's attack against the Hainauters as containing such fury that it was if he had purpose to do battle, describing the encounter as, "quasi ad bellum." He went further and included details of a blow delivered by one of Baudouin's knights to Philippe. Gilbert carefully noted that the knight used a technique which produced a powerful lance blow and that Philippe's men crowded around him, fearful that he had been slain.

The particular form of combat that comprised the core of a given tournament was instrumental in how contemporaries might have viewed, described or defined any such event. Forms of combat evolved considerably over the lifespan of the medieval tournament and could vary considerably between contemporaneous events held in different regions. For example, the events held at St. Denis in 1389, St. Inglevert in 1390, and Bruges in 1393, despite having occurred within a relatively short time of each other, featured three very different forms of combat. Furthermore, traditions not only varied

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between different kingdoms, but also within kingdoms, and even at the local level between cities separated by relatively short distances.

René alludes to the wide variation in tournament customs and forms that were prevalent in the late fifteenth century when he writes,

Laquelle forme j'ay prins au plus pres et jouxte de celle qu'on garde es Almaignes et sur le Rîn quant on fait les tournoys, et aussi selon la maniere qu'ilz tiennent en Flandres et en Brabant, et mesmement sur les anciennes facons qu'ilz les souloient aussi faire en France, comme j'ay trouve par escriptures. Desquelles trois facons en ay prins ce qui m'a semble bon, et en ay fait et compile une iije facon de faire, ainsique que pourrez veoir s'il vous plaist, par ce que cy apres s'ensuit.\textsuperscript{11}

This passage is not only important because it is a forthright statement about the author's intent and the sources that influenced him, but also because it demonstrates how René and his contemporaries understood the complex sociocultural forces that went into projecting his position as an authority on tournament customs. René begins by listing the territories and sources he drew on for inspiration. These ranged from "Almaignes" and the territories along the Rhine, to the northern lands of Flanders and Brabant that were, at the time René was writing the \textit{Livre des tournois}, under control of the Valois Dukes of Burgundy.\textsuperscript{12} However, by emphasising that he has created a fourth way of holding a tournament René is conveying to his audience that he considered his influences to be from three separate sources, those of "Almaignes et sur le Rîn," in addition to "Flandres et en Brabant," and finally the "anciennes facons qu'ilz les souloient aussi faire en France." In fact, as I will demonstrate throughout this chapter, this is a very candid and largely accurate statement.

\textsuperscript{11} Appendix A, page 476, lines 12-20. “I have taken this form mostly from that used for organising tourneys in Germany and on the Rhine, but also from the customs that they follow in Flanders and Brabant, and in the same way from the ancient customs that they follow in France, which I have found written down in manuscripts. From these three customs I have taken what seems good to me, and have made and compiled from them a fourth way of holding a tourney, as you will see, if it pleases you, by what follows hereafter.” Translation, with some corrections from: Bennett, “King René’s Tournament Book.”

\textsuperscript{12} Hereafter "Germany" will be used in place of "Almaignes" except in the case of a direct quote from the text. For the series of events that brought the territories of Flanders and Brabant under the control of the Valois Dukes of Burgundy, see: Richard Vaughan, \textit{Valois Burgundy} (London: Allen Lane, 1975), 15-18, 115-118.
Furthermore, this passage demonstrates a tension that lies at the heart of the *Livre des tournois*. René's authority on tournament customs is derived from his knowledge of both written sources and practical experience, yet he chose to project it via a treatise that emphasises the visual nature of the event.

The *Livre des tournois* does not contain any textual description about the specific form of combat that should take place within René's idealised tournament. This has led to two general interpretations of his treatise. The first has been based on comparing the *Livre des tournois* with events that René is known to have hosted and that occurred mostly within his French holdings. This has been supplemented by attempts to identify a single definitive event as René’s inspiration, an approach which has focussed on two manuscript copies of the *Livre des tournois* that were commissioned by Louis de Bruges. Both manuscripts include a prologue, not found in the source manuscript, that describes a tournament held in Bruges in 1393 organised by Louis’s grandfather. These prologues consist of a short introductory text that refers the reader to the four images which record the event (figs. 117-120, 134-135, 143-144). The image cycle for these prologues appropriates the visual language found in the *Livre des tournois* to record the 1393 event. The two manuscripts that contain this addition have fuelled a long standing belief that it was the 1393 tournament in Bruges that served as René’s most immediate inspiration.

A similar line of inquiry that has sought a single definitive textual source as René's influence has focussed on the *Traité des anciens et des nouveaux tournois*, a treatise

14. See Chapter 6, pages 355-363, and Appendix C, page 721; Appendix D, pages 764-765, Appendix E, pages 780, 784. The manuscripts and folios for the prologues are: P4, ff. 2v-7v; P3, ff. B-F.
15. P4, f. 7v; P3, f. B.
17. All scholarship that cites the 1393 tournament as the source for René's *Livre des tournois* can be traced back to: Van de Putte, “Recherches historiques,” 34-36; Van Praet, *Recherches sur Louis de Bruges.*
written by Antoine de la Sale, René's one-time courtier. Antoine wrote his treatise after leaving René's court for that of Louis de Luxembourg, who was at that time firmly ensconced within the Burgundian sphere of influence. Antoine dedicated his treatise to Jacques de Luxembourg, a renowned tourneyer, knight of the Golden Fleece, and a member of Philippe le Bon's inner council. Both Antoine's and René's treatises follow a similar structure in the presentation of their material, focus heavily on the rituals surrounding the initiation of the tournament, and contain similar details such as the renumeration prescribed to heralds for performing their duties. The striking parallels between the two roughly contemporaneous works, combined with Antoine's shift from Angevin to Burgundian patrons, has contributed to scholars interpreting and judging the Livre des tournois from a decidedly franco-centric point of view with a cautious eye towards the influence of the spectacles of Valois Burgundy. Although René was almost certainly influenced by Antoine's treatise, and it may in fact have been one of the "escriptures" he elusively refers to in the passage quoted above, selectively focussing on a single source minimises the range of influences that René used and leads to erroneous conclusions about the intention behind his writing of the Livre des tournois. Furthermore specific details in both treatises that have been cited as proof that René copied passages from Antoine's treatise, such as the renumeration to be paid to the heralds for hanging the tourneyers' plaques, are found in other contemporary accounts of tournaments. To


19. BnF, ms. français 5867, f. 2. An edition of the treatise, including the dedication can be found in : Lefèvre, Antoine de la Sale, 209.

20. For the most recent and useful comparison of passages between René's and Antoine's treatises, see: Lefèvre, Antoine de la Sale, 249-59.


22. RAL, Codex RAR.0035(I.35), ff. 11r-12v. Moffat, “The Medieval Tournament,” 63; Damen,
properly contextualise the *Livre des tournois* it will prove more useful to consider what may have influenced both authors and ask why they wrote their treatises.

The second interpretation of the *Livre des tournois* has been coloured by a general misunderstanding of the work's visual language coupled with the assumption that the primary description of the combat would be found in the work's text. This has led to the erroneous conclusion that René failed to describe the tournament combat. This interpretive path arose from an admittedly dichotomic tendency on the part of René to provide elaborate textual descriptions for the various rituals and ceremonies that make up the event, while remaining textually silent when it came time to describe the combat. Instead of a detailed textual account, René opts to favour the image with a simple caption, “Histoire commant les tourneyers se vont batant par troppeaulx.” As shown in Chapter 1, this caption is meant to encourage the reader to engage with the image as a detailed narrative account the interpretation of which is built on the visual vocabulary defined through the work's embedded relationship between text and image. In fact, the form of tournament combat is described, but almost entirely through visual means. In order to demonstrate this I will contextualise the portrayal of tournament combat in the *Livre des tournois* with chronicles, travel accounts, civic records, *Turnierbücher*, and other treatises on the tournament, all from a wider range of locations than scholars normally apply to this work. This will reveal a more comprehensive understanding of the form of tournament envisioned by René than has hitherto been available, while demonstrating the impact of the image cycle in the presentation of René's expertise and authority on tournament customs.

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Although lacking detailed textual description of the combat, the *Livre des tournois* does provide its readers with a few clues as to the general form of tournament its author was envisioning. As introduced in Chapter 1, found within the text of a speech given by the Duke of Brittany to his king of arms, René describes the tournament as a "bouhordis." The behourd was a form of tournament that appears to have initially developed throughout Europe during the thirteenth century. Some form of the behourd appears in every major Western European kingdom during this period. Although variably spelled as *bohort*, *bohourt*, *bouhourdeïç*, *buhurt*, *buhurd*, *bagodare*, *bagordo*, and by René as *bouhordis*, this form of tournament combat is found in diverse regions including England, France, Germany, Italy, Spain, and even Hungary. The specific form the behourd took within different regions varied as widely as its many spellings. It is most generally characterised by combat between teams of mounted tourneyers. Typically there was not any kind of mounted charge between combatants wielding lances, although there are occasional references to behourds as jousts between individuals who were not wearing armour. These variations seem to be an example of the mutability of tournament terminology and regional


variations, rather than any specified practice relating to the term.\textsuperscript{30} Additionally, the combat typically featured weapons designed to reduce the inherent danger of tournament combat. Swords were rebated or fashioned from whalebone, weighted clubs and maces featured prominently instead of sharpened weapons, and protective equipment specifically designed to minimise the danger from these arms was developed.\textsuperscript{31} As a form of tournament combat focussed on reducing the potential lethality of the event, the behourd may have initially evolved as an attempt to circumvent the church’s prohibition on tournaments.\textsuperscript{32} In fact this may explain a passage found in another contemporary tournament treatise written by Jacques d'Armagnac.\textsuperscript{33} Armagnac refers to a declaration issued by Pope Boniface IX in 1400, in which the pope clarified that tournaments held according to German custom were not prohibited by the Church.\textsuperscript{34} Armagnac goes on to suggest that René's treatise describes a form of tournament to which the church was not hostile.\textsuperscript{35} It is important to note that René does not address either the papal ban or the sanction issued in 1400 for the German form of tournament. Armagnac's statement therefore suggests that René's readers understood and recognised the form of tournament presented in the \textit{Livre des tournois}, as well as being aware of its historical development.\textsuperscript{36}

\textsuperscript{30} Thomas Cantimpré, \textit{Miraculum, et exemplorum memorabilium sui temporis libri duo} (Duaoi: Baltazaris Belleri, 1605), 444-47; Barber, and Barker, \textit{Tournaments}, 165.

\textsuperscript{31} See below, pages 247-248 for the details of the equipment ordered for Edward I’s behourd held at Windsor in 1278.

\textsuperscript{32} Barber, and Barker, \textit{Tournaments}, 164.

\textsuperscript{33} H, p. 21. Also see: Jefferson, “Tournaments, Heraldry and the Knights of the Round Table,” 86, 140-141.

\textsuperscript{34} Sabine Krüger, “Das kirchliche Turnierverbot im Mittelalter,” in \textit{Das ritterliche Turnier im Mittelalter: Beitr{"a}ge zu einer vergleichenden Formen- und Verhaltensgeschichte des Rittertums}, ed. Josef Fleckenstein (G{"o}ttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1985), 422; Lambert von Oberndorff, ed. \textit{Regesten der Pfalzgraffen am Rhein 1214-1508} (Innsbruck: W{"a}gner, 1912), 6, no. 67. Despite the fact that the papal ban on tournaments had been lifted in 1316, the legal situation remained unclear as certain localities continued to enforce the interdict on christian burial for those who died while fighting in a tournament.


\textsuperscript{36} Jacques d'Armagnac can be linked to two manuscript copies of the \textit{Livre des tournois} and was undoubtedly familiar with the contents. See Chapter 6, pages 322-332.
As with much of the terminology used to describe tournaments, the term behourd is difficult to define with any consistent degree of accuracy. At different times and in different locations the use of the term could vary. In addition to the form of behourd mentioned above, which seems to have been a joust in linen armour, the term could refer to displays of horsemanship, festivals, unarmored combat, mounted skirmishes through urban centres, and is even linked to an early form of bull fighting and spear throwing in Spain. In spite of these specific variances, it is overwhelmingly used to describe a form of tournament combat that emphasised a practical imitation of battle. The three features that are the most consistent are the emphasis on horsemanship, skill at arms and the impression that it is intrinsically identified as a form of tournament practised by the nobility. These are all features present in the form envisioned in the Livre des tournois. For the remainder of this chapter, behourd will refer to a form of mounted combat between teams of armoured tourneyers using blunted maces and rebated swords.

The earliest appearance of the term dates to a mid-twelfth century German source, and appears only slightly later in French accounts. In England the behourd is first mentioned in 1226, although the best example of this style of combat from English sources is found roughly fifty years later in the financial records for an event held at Windsor in 1278. By the end of the twelfth century, roughly half a century after the first appearance of the term, references to the behourd can be found as far afield as Spain and Italy. Following closely on the heels of these instances, the behourd appears as a form of combat in Hungary a few years later. Barber and Barker state that during the fourteenth century

37. Barber, and Barker, Tournaments, 164-65.
41. See page 203, note 27 in this chapter.
the term behourd began to be gradually replaced in the German lands by the more generic French word *turnier*. René's occasional use of *tournoy* in place of behourd within the *Livre des tournois* is therefore reflective of a wider textual tradition. At the same time that the term became increasingly scarce, this particular form of tournament combat became more uncommon outside of Germany, Italy and the Low Countries. While the form remained relatively consistent within Flanders, Brabant, the German speaking lands, and along the Rhine, within Italy a particular form of the behourd that emphasised displays of horsemanship and skill with the spear continued to be practised throughout the Middle Ages. Meanwhile in France, this form of tournament, along with the terminology associated with it, gradually fell out of use to be replaced with the individual joust, melee and pas d'armes. René drew his most direct inspiration for the form of combat detailed in the *Livres des tournois* from the regional tradition as practised along the upper Rhine as well as in the Low Countries.

There is no doubt that the tournament René envisioned was similar to the form of behourd practiced in the Low Countries. However, to ascribe a singular or even preeminent influence to these regional customs alone would be erroneous. The tournament most often associated with the *Livre des tournois* is the event held in Bruges in 1393 between the Lords of Gruuthuse and Ghistelles. Aside from the prologues found in the two manuscript copies of the *Livre des tournois* and a series of occasional rolls all produced

42. Barber, and Barker, *Tournaments*, 165.

43. See the Introduction, pages 34-35 for an outline of the terminology used in this thesis.

44. Szabó, “Das Turnier in Italien,” 344-70.

45. For examples of different forms of tournament combat, see page 198, note 10 in this chapter. Also see the Introduction, pages 34-35, notes 102 and 106.

46. Hereafter I will refer to the collective territories of this region as the Low Countries. Although the term has a rich history tied to an evolving geographic region, I follow the usage widely established by scholars writing on the disparate territories united by the Valois Dukes of Burgundy in the fifteenth century. Among others, see: Blockmans, and Prevenier, *The Promised Lands*; Brown, and Small, *Court and civic society*; Prevenier, et al., *The Burgundian Netherlands*; Vaughan, *Valois Burgundy*. 

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well after the *Livre des tournois*, there is only a single archival record that refers to this event as a "behourt."\(^{47}\) This tournament's direct influence on René is therefore tenuous at best.\(^{48}\) Instead, two tournaments held in Brussels in 1428 and 1439, together with a third event held in Bruges sometime between 1416 and 1430, will serve as examples of the form of behourd practised in the Low Countries. While the account of the Bruges tournament does not describe the event as a behourd, records of the event share a number of descriptive similarities in common with the tournament described and visualised in the *Livre des tournois*. For example, the tourneyers were required to first display their arms outside their lodgings two days before judges then divided them into teams during a formal review ceremony.\(^{49}\) The renumeration given to the heralds and kings of arms was also similar to that described in the *Livre des tournois*.\(^{50}\) Even the stipulation that two ropes were to be stretched across the square to divide the tourneyers before the start of the combat is similar to what is shown and described in the *Livre des tournois* (fig. 24).\(^{51}\) However, the provisions that are most relevant to the discussion on the form of combat states that the tourneyers fought in teams and were armed with both rebated swords and batons hanging from their saddles.\(^{52}\) This calls to mind the image of the two dukes armed for the tournament (fig. 15), in which a tournament mace is shown hanging from the breastplate of the Duke of Brittany. Although a narrative describing the combat at Bruges does not survive, the form of weapons used, as well as the detail that the tourneyers

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47. For the occasional rolls, see Chapter 3, page 171, note 118. Van den Neste includes a transcript of the record in: Neste, *Tournois, joutes, pas d’armes*, 262. For the archival record, see: Archives municipales de Duois, CC 202, f. 289.

48. See Chapter 6, pages 353-363.


attacked each other in teams bears a remarkable resemblance to the form of tournament combat textually outlined and visually depicted within the *Livre des tournois*.

The two Brussels events were attended by Philippe le Bon, Duke of Burgundy.\(^{53}\) Both tournaments involved numerous combatants divided into two teams.\(^{54}\) Monstrelet recorded the tournament of 1428 and described a simultaneous clash between dozens of tourneyers on the first day with individual jousts occurring on the following day.\(^{55}\) This sequence of combats, jousts following the day after a form of melee encounter, is the same sequence outlined in the *Livre des tournois*.\(^{56}\) For the tournament in 1439 the evidence that the style of combat is closely related to that in the *Livre des tournois* is even more compelling. Ducal financial records list detailed expenditures relating to the acquisition of equipment for the duke and his household for this event.\(^{57}\) Among the items listed are a dozen *espées a tournoyer* (tournament swords) and eleven *bastons a tournoyer* (tournament batons or maces).\(^{58}\) These are the same type of weapons detailed by René in the *Livre des tournois* (fig. 10). In addition, half a dozen specialty tournament helmets were ordered, quite possibly in the same style envisioned by René (fig. 6). Similar equipment is portrayed in the *Grand Armorial de la Toison d’Or* which was compiled between 1430 and 1461 (fig. 145).\(^{59}\) Taken together, this evidence indicates that a

\(^{53}\) A certain "Monseigneur le duc de bourgoigne banniere" is also recorded among the participants at the tournament held in Bruges described in the previous paragraph. Unfortunately the account does not identify the duke by name, and the uncertain date of the event indicates that it could have been either Philippe le Bon, or his father Jean sans Peur. RAL, Codex RAR.0035(I.35), f. 12r. Moffat, “The Medieval Tournament,” 115.


\(^{56}\) René indicates that tourneyers who wish to joust individually may do so on the day following the behourd. Appendix A, page 704, lines 22-26.

\(^{57}\) Lille, Archives départementales du Nord, Série B 1966 ff. 309-311v. These accounts are described and analysed in: Damen, “The Town, the Duke, his Courtiers, and their Tournament,” 85-95.


\(^{59}\) Arsenal, Ms. 4790.
tradition of tournament combat that utilised equipment similar to that described in the
*Livre des tournois* was both known and actively practised in the region. Finally, two
chroniclers record the tournament and detail the sequence of events.\(^{60}\) According to these
accounts, on the third day of the tournament a "behourde" was held involving 250 *haymes*
(helms), a staggering number of participants.\(^{61}\) These accounts, written by non-noble
witnesses, indicate that this form of tournament combat was common enough to be
familiar across different social classes.

However, it is unclear how René would have been familiar with the customs of the
Low Countries. Although René's initial statement regarding his influences is vague,
referring to knowledge of the "maniere" of practices in Flanders and Brabant, in later
sections of the text he writes about these practices using the voice of someone one who has
witnessed the events firsthand. For instance, in a passage describing which attendants
should accompany the tourneyers into the combat, René remarks that the practice in the
Low Countries is for heralds to carry the banners of the tourneyers in the fight.\(^{62}\) He goes
on to compare this with the custom practised along the Rhine and within the Holy Roman
Empire in which armed attendants carry the banners, and opts in favour of the latter
because heralds are more likely to drop the banners and thereby dishonour the tourneyers.
In another passage describing the manner by which tourneyers in Flanders, Brabant and
Hainaut arm themselves, René not only describes the equipment he detail, he goes on to
state that when fully armed these tourneyers "semble estre plus gros que long," and are so

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60. See: Jean de Stavelot, *Chronique de Jean de Stavelot* ed. A. Borgnet (Brussels: 1861), 433; Olivier Van
Dixmude, *Merkwaerdige gebeurtenissen, vooral in Vlaanderen en Brabant, en ook in de aangrenzende
landstreken, van 1377 tot 1443; letterlyk gevolgd naer het oorspronkelyk onuitgegeven en titelloos
handschrift* ed. Jean-Jacques Lambin (Ypre: Drukkery van Lambin en zoon, 1835), 167.

61. Stavelot places the number of participants at 250 and refers to the event as a “behourde” as well as
mentioning a “monstre” or a showing of the tourneyers' helmets (See Chapter 5 for more on this ritual).
Stavelot, *Chronique de Jean de Stavelot*, 433. Dixmuide places the number of participants at 235, which
matches with two sixteenth century armourial roles. Van Dixmude, *Merkwaerdige gebeurtenissen*, 167;
Damen, “The Town, the Duke, his Courtiers, and their Tournament,” 87, note 20. For the armorial rolls, see
page 222, note 112 in this chapter.

clumsy that they cannot "aider ne tourner leurs chevaux." The tone of these passages suggests that René was not only familiar with the practices in these regions, but had either witnessed them firsthand or received a particularly vivid account.

There have been attempts to link René's captivity in Valois Burgundy to his declaration in the Livre des tournois that he drew on Flemish tournament customs. René's period of imprisonment was between 1431 and 1438, precisely between the two Brussels events, and after the tournament in Bruges. In fact, René was in Italy in the midst of his campaign to secure Naples during the second event in Brussels. Furthermore, while René was a prisoner of the Duke of Burgundy his freedom of movement was severely limited, aside from a period when René was released to attend to business in his territories and during which his son served as security. However, upon René's return to captivity, Philippe confined him to a tower in Dijon and imposed severe restrictions on his movement and communications. The Milanese ambassador, in a rare and brief visit, commented on René's deplorable state. Furthermore, there are no ducal accounts or records that indicate René was in attendance at any such event. Therefore any claims that Philippe kept René in attendance at events similar to the Brussels tournaments simply because René was a noble prisoner are tenuous at best.

There are no definitive indications as to how René would have been familiar with practices specific to the Low Countries, despite his direct references in the text to specific examples. At Angers in 1466 René received and entertained a party of German knights.

63. Appendix A, page 544, lines 30; page 547, line 5. "he seems more wide than tall," and "aid or turn their horses." Translation from: Bennett, "King René's Tournament Book."
67. For this and what follows, see: Kekewich, The Good King, 29; Schnerb, Bulgnéville, 110-11; Lecoy de la Marche, Le roi René, I, pp. 109-112.
and squires. Prior to visiting René these individuals had spent considerable time in the Low Countries during which time they spoke at length with their hosts about different regional traditions. Their accounts of this period contain a particular sense of marvel and wonderment about the different forms of tournament combat they encountered. Although the timing of their visit to René's court falls after the *Livre des tournois* was written, their accounts of comparing tournament customs during their travels suggests that there was an active interest in both acquiring knowledge of a range of practices and verbally exchanging such information. Unfortunately, René did not specify how he was familiar with the regional customs in question. Although there is no evidence that René was in attendance at, or had direct knowledge of the events described above, his claim to have been inspired in part by Flemish and Brabantine tournament customs is nonetheless supported by the similarities between the forms of tournament combat described in the *Livre des tournois* and those practised in the same regions.

However, focussing solely on Flemish examples of tournaments limits our understanding of how widespread similar traditions were, as well as the breadth of examples René drew on for inspiration. There was an extremely active tournament tradition focussed on the behourd throughout the German territories. This activity was especially prominent within cities along the Rhine and within the Duchy of Lorraine during the entirety of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Antoine de la Sale claimed in his treatise that he knew of only two similar events to have happened within the last fifty years. His statement has been widely accepted as a factual account, leading to the

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70. Jackson, “Das Turnier,” 270. Also see the location of the tournaments presented in Rüxner's *Turnierbuch*: Rüxner, *Turnierbuch*, 8-10.

conclusion that the behourd style of tournament was exceedingly rare and nearly obsolete by the time René wrote the *Livre des tournois*. In turn, this has led to historians fixating on Antoine de la Sale as the only reasonable contemporary source for René. However, as we will see this form of tournament was not only practised within the German speaking lands, and especially within urban centres along the Rhine, throughout the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, there was also a reviving interest in the behourd within France.

Ludwig von Eyb’s *Turnierbuch*, first published in 1519, not only reuses accounts of tournaments found within a work dating from the early fifteenth century, but the author also includes information on more recent events. Georg Rüxner in his *Turnierbuch*, first published in 1530, records thirty-six tournaments held in Germany from the tenth to the end of the fifteenth centuries. Although it is now accepted that the first fourteen events in his list are fabricated or highly embellished, the credibility of his descriptions of later tournaments, and especially those in the fifteenth century, has been firmly established. While these sources both post-date the *Livre des tournois*, their accounts of events held around the same period René wrote his treatise are regarded as accurate and provide valuable examples for comparison. Even lists as extensive and detailed as von Eyb’s and Rüxner’s are incomplete. Mario Damen has recently uncovered an account of a

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73. See above page 201, also note 21 on the same page.


tournament held in Utrecht along the upper Rhine in 1441 that resembled the one envisioned by René in the *Livre des tournois*. This event was recorded in the diary of one of its participants, Costen van Halmale. During his travels and ambassadorial missions for the Castilian court in the 1430s, Pero Tafur recorded, in some detail, a tournament held at the town of Schaffhausen on the Upper Rhine in 1438. While Tafur’s account focusses mostly on the rituals surrounding the combat, he does mention tourneyers being beaten with rods. It is reasonable to surmise that these would have been similar to the type of wooden mace René describes (fig. 10), which were ordered for the Brussels tournament in 1439, and which hung from the saddles of the tourneyers during the event between the Lords of Jonvelle and Commines.

Two German tournaments in particular, dating from the end of the fifteenth century, suggest the influence German traditions had on René. The tournaments at Würzburg and Heidelberg held in 1479 and 1481 respectively provide a key component to understanding the structure and sequence of combat for the style of behourd described in the *Livre des tournois*. Although both events occurred after René wrote the *Livre des tournois*, they serve as examples of a tradition that predates René's work. Furthermore it is unlikely that they were influenced by René's treatise as its circulation and reception was focussed in the region of Flanders after 1483. At both of these events, the start of the tournament was signalled by cutting ropes that divided the tournament field in half. This was similar to

77. Damen, “Tournaments and Social Status.”

78. Damen describes Costen van Halmale as a "Goldenknight" or *Ritter vom guldener Sporn* (Knight of the Golden Spur), a non-hereditary knightly order of the Holy Roman Empire whose members were mostly drawn from the urban gentry and were not necessarily members of the nobility.


81. The tournament of 1481 in Heidelberg is recounted in both von Eyb's and Rüxner's *Turnierbücher*. Rüxner records these two events numbered 28 and 30 respectively. Rixner, *Turnierbuch*; Eyb, and Rugen, *Das Turnierbuch des Ludwig von Eyb*, 168-73. When citing events from Rüxner's *Turnierbuch* I have opted to use the standardised format of referring to the event number. A useful guide is found on pp 8-10 of: Rixner, *Turnierbuch*. In addition, see the register of events immediately following the forward on f. i.
what René described in the Livre des tournois, as well as what took place during a
tournament held in Bruges between the Lords of Jonvelle and Commines sometime
between 1416 and 1430.82 The two teams then proceeded to attack each other for a period
of two hours using weighted clubs known locally as kolben.83 At a signal from the judges
the tourneyers then switched from wielding their kolben to instead using their tournament
swords.84 At this point the nature of the combat changed and the goal for the tourneyers
was to knock the crest from their opponents' helmets using their swords.85 This detail was
considered to be such an intrinsic part of the tournament format that it was verified in the
negotiations that led up to the event.86 Although there is no textual description of this
practice in the Livre des tournois, this is exactly what is depicted in the two images
showing the grand melee (figs. 24 and 25). Found within the latter image are two
tourneyers who are shown with their crests knocked from their helmets. The artist has
taken care to show the supporting structure underneath their crests, a detail which the
viewer is familiar with from an earlier image and textual passage that described the
construction of the helmet crests (figs. 6 and 105). In addition, a careful eye can spot other
crests that have been damaged during the combat (figs. 146 and 147). The battered
condition of these examples is confirmed by consulting the cycle's preceding image and
comparing the state of these, or similar crests, prior to the start of the fighting (figs. 148
and 149). In addition, it is worth comparing the state of the crest from the first example
(fig. 146) with an example of a similarly crested helmet now held at the Churburg

82. Appendix A, page 679, lines 13-19. For the account of the Bruges tournament, see: RAL, Codex

83. The german term for René’s masse, has lent itself to the common reference for this style of tournament,


Tournament,” 88; Rixner, Turnierbuch, clxj-clxiiij; Rüxner, Anfang, Ursprung und Herkommen.

Armoury (fig. 150). The battered state of horns in the example from the *Livre des tournois* stands in stark contrast to the erect and symmetrical horns found on the extant piece.

Once aware of this tradition, we are empowered to reevaluate the images of the combatants. The placement of the tourneyers' sword strikes now seems to be more purposeful as they aim at their opponents' crests while defending their own (fig. 151). The fact that every manuscript copy of the *Livre des tournois* that contains mimetic reproductions of these images includes these details suggests that contemporary audiences recognised and understood this combat ritual, and that contemporary patrons valued its depiction as part of the visual narrative of the tournament. This would indicate that not only did René and his artist convey this particular form of combat exclusively through imagery, but that they expected their audience to be able to read these images. The nature of the medieval tournament as a visual spectacle is confirmed by the emphasis placed on the images as a means to convey information. Furthermore, the reception of the work acknowledges that contemporary audiences understood and valued the visual language of the tournament René presented in the *Livre des tournois*.

The strength of the tournament tradition in the region along the Rhine and throughout Lorraine was intrinsically linked to the portrayal of status and nobility. Individuals and families actively memorialised their participation in this form of tournament. In a family record from the fifteenth century, a father proudly recounted the tournaments in which his son had participated. The diary of Costen van Halmale records his family's participation in no fewer than nine tournaments in Flanders, Brabant and

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87. Churburg, inv. no. CH 17.
88. Appendices C and D. Compare image 25 in P1 with the corresponding image in K, P2, P3 and P4
89. O. Freiherr von Stotzingen, ed. *Cronbergsches Diplomatarium* (Wiesbaden: Der Verein, 1907), 217; Barber, and Barker, *Tournaments*, 64.
Utretcht. The Counts von Stadion, a Rhenish family of minor nobility, maintained a proud and active tradition of participation in regional tournaments. They are included among a list of participants in a Turnierbuch dating from 1483 (fig. 152). A tournament helmet that still bears traces of their familial coat of arms is now held at the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York (fig. 153). Additionally, an effigy of Count Hans von Stadion (?-1459), completed by Jörg Syrlin the Younger, in 1489 (fig. 154) memorialises the family's tournament participation by picturing the count armed with a kolben and lying next to a tournament helmet of the type used in the behourd. Clearly the behourd, or kolbenturnier to use the regional name for this form of tournament, was an important and widely recognised form of the tournament practised in Germany and along the Rhine.

What proves the relationship between the images in the Livre des tournois and historic examples of behourd combat is the sequence of the two grand melee images. The orderly composition of the first image shows neat rows of tourneyers lined up and ready to begin the combat (fig. 24). In comparison, the swirling composition of the second image reflects the chaotic nature of the combat, and the details of damaged helmets, ripped caparisons and battered tourneyers reflects the inherent physicality of the event (figs. 25, 146, and 155). However, another detail embedded in the visual narrative reveals the extent to which René's event is based on German and Rhenish precedents. In the first image the tourneyers begin the tournament wielding their tournament clubs (fig. 156). In the second image, every single tourneyer has replaced his club and instead carries the rebated tournament sword (fig. 157). There is even an attendant man-at-arms pictured securely behind his lord, just as called for in René’s text and described in tournament accounts, who carries his lord’s discarded club (fig. 158). The significance of this change in detail

90. Damen, “Tournaments and Social Status.”
between these two images has not been understood until now. René has in fact not remained silent on the nature of the tournament’s combat, but has instead described it in the most vivid way possible, through the use of a sequence of narrative images, which is decoded through the embedded interaction of text and image. The ritual of knocking the tourneyers' crests from their helmets is captured in rather dramatic fashion in an image found in Rüxner's *Turnierbuch* (fig. 159). One of the tournament captains is shown in the midst of cutting his opponent's crest with his sword (fig. 160). The inclusion of this ritual as part of the visual narrative of René's *Livre des tournois*, coupled with the visual and textual accounts of the same, indicates that it was a recognised part of a regional behourd tradition.

Despite the preference found in the Low Countries, Germany and along the Rhine for the behourd, it was not not unheard of, and certainly not completely unfamiliar outside of these areas. An account in the *Beauchamp Pageant* records Richard Beauchamp's (1382-1439) participation in a tournament that bears striking similarities to the traditions described above and in the *Livre des tournois* (fig. 161). Notwithstanding persistent claims to the contrary, two records indicate that the behourd was not entirely unknown in France at this time. A record within the royal household accounts from 1455 mentions a harness of "bouhourt" that was ordered and prepared for Charles VII. In 1458, just a few years after the armour was ordered for Charles VII, the king took an active part in planning

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92. Although Nickel notes that different images in the *Livre des tournois* show different weapons being used, he does not identify a narrative sequence within the images or connect them to a historic practice. Nickel, “The Tournament,” 227.

93. See Chapter 1, pages 72-80.

94. For more on the Beauchampt pageant, see: Alexandra Sinclair, ed. *The Beauchamp Pageant* (Donington: Richard III and Yorkist History Trust in association with Paul Watkins, 2003), 1-24, 95; Barker, and Keen, “The Medieval English Kings,” 226. The manuscript is held by the British Library: BL, Cotton MS Julius E IV, article 6, f. 11v. For a transcription of the text that corresponds with this image, see: Sinclair, *The Beauchamp Pageant*, 95.

a behourd, which was to be held in celebration of the accession of Arthur de Richemont to the ducal throne of Brittany. In preparation for this event payment was issued to one Meri Baudet, a "plumasseur," for twenty-nine "jacques de bougrain blanches et noires", as well as twenty-eight matching plumes in the same colours meant for the helmets of the duke's men "pour combattre ou bouhourdeix." The black and white colour scheme is a direct reference to the heraldic ermine that was the ancestral coat of arms of the Duke of Brittany. In addition payment was issued to Jacquemin Herode for nineteen "corsets et autres harnois, pour armer partie des gens du duc audit bouhourdeix," and to Thomas le Brun for seven brigandines, two arm harnesses and one helmet "pour semblable cause."

From these records, four points stand out. The first is the emphasis on equipment for specific tournament formats. The differentiation in these records between armour by the style of tournament it was intended for is reflected in the emphasis René placed on detailing certain pieces of equipment he deemed necessary for the behourd, and which I will address in more detail at the end of this chapter. The second point is the size of the order placed for the behourd planned for 1458. The number of items ordered, combined with the occasion it was set to mark, indicates that it would have been a relatively large event. Based of the number of "jacques" ordered, the new duke was planning on fielding a company of twenty-nine combatants. In comparison, during the Brussels tournament in 1439, Philippe le Bon took to the field with a company of ten tourneyers, in addition to himself. This suggests that the sponsors of the event planned for 1458 conceived of it as

96. Lefèvre, Antoine de la Sale, 229.
98. Lefèvre, Antoine de la Sale, 229.
100. See below, pages 245-255.
101. Brussels, Archives de la ville, Archives historiques, 3357, ff. 77v-78, cited in: Damen, “The Town, the
a massive event that would have rivalled if not outshone their Burgundian counterparts. Honour and renown were clearly tied to the spectacle of the event. This inference is reinforced by the third point, that is that the organisers placed a great deal of importance on heraldic display, as suggested by the coloured plumes that were ordered for the combatants' helmets. The detail that one fewer set of plumes than "jacques" was ordered possibly indicates that a member of the duke's party, perhaps even the duke himself, would have worn a heraldic crest to distinguish his status. A similar emphasis placed on plumes ordered in heraldic colours is found in a record of payment issued from René's household accounts in 1451.102 Although the record does not state if the plumes were part of a larger order placed in preparation for a tournament, it does indicate that they were ordered in white and purple for the duke's sallade and the chanfrain of his mount.103 Unfortunately, the behourd planned in celebration of Arthur's accession never took place. The event was postponed when the king fell ill and Arthur died later that same year.104 One has to wonder that if the tournament had taken place, were the plumes meant for a form of the ritual ceremony whereby the tourneyers would attempt to cut them from each others' helmets?

The fourth, and final, point is that taken together and considering that the preparations for these behourds were undertaken prior to when René wrote the Livre des tournois, these records suggest that René was not attempting to revive a format, but instead responding to an increasing interest amongst the French nobility in this form of

Duke, his Courtiers, and their Tournament,” 91.


103. The term "sallade" refers to a particular form of helmet that was popular in the fifteenth century. René uses it within the Livre des tournois to refer to the type of helmet that the men-at-arms and foot servants should wear. See: Appendix A, page 667, line 8; page 680, line 22. The "chanfrain" was a piece of armour which covered the head of the mount. René uses the term on a single occasion when describing the form of armour worn in Flanders and Brabant, in which he describes their use of a leather version. Also see: Appendix A, page 547, line 3. Nonetheless, it appears frequently within the image cycle, most notably in the images of the two dukes mounted and armed for the tourney, the start of the melee, and the melee (figs. 15, 24, and 25).

104. Lefèvre, Antoine de la Sale, 229.
tournament. Jacques d'Armagnac's statement in the opening of his treatise, introduced earlier in this chapter, further demonstrates that René's French audience was far more familiar with regional tournament customs and the form of tournament René presented in the *Livre des tournois* than scholars have traditionally assumed. Although we do not definitively know if René was aware of the tournament planned for 1458, it is not unreasonable to think he would have been. The anticipated size of the event and its royal sponsorship suggests that it would have been a magnificent affair, something akin to certain events sponsored by René, such as the tournament held at Nancy in 1445 or the pas d'armes which took place outside Saumur in 1446. Both of these events were grand spectacles and featured elite participants drawn from the highest ranks of the French nobility. Clearly, the behourd was not as unfamiliar in France at the end of the fifteenth century as has been traditionally assumed. René's purpose in directly addressing his work to his brother as well as the French nobility in general then takes on an added immediacy of purpose. He was not attempting to revive a lost form or introduce unknown customs, but instead responding to a wider current interest in this regional variation. As we will see in the following sections, it was not enough that he simply presented an unmodified form of tournament found predominantly in the lands east of France, he engaged with diverse precedents and repackaged customs to suit both his tastes and those of his French audience.

105. See above, page 204.

4.3 Participants

The stipulations René included in the *Livre des tournois* regarding participation in the tournament were crafted to emphasise the event as a vehicle for the promotion and preservation of noble identity. Furthermore, these regulations reinforce the conclusion that René drew on a diverse range of traditions, including customs found throughout the Low Countries, Germany and along the Rhine and tempered these with his own experiences from the spate of events he participated in and sponsored during the 1440s. This section will examine the visual and textual depiction of the participants, focussing on the tourneyers and the captains in the context of their specific roles within the tournament and tested against historic evidence. This will demonstrate that René not only drew upon a rich array of traditions qualified against his own preferences and experiences, but that he also envisioned a hierarchy within the group of participants that reflected the structure of late medieval courtly society and emphasised the role of the highest ranking nobility, those whom René called the great princes.

The regulations in the *Livre des tournois* state very clearly that participation in the combat is restricted to noble men. Moreover, when discussing the tourneyers René consistently opts to refer to them as being knight and squires, repeatedly calling them "noble et douzez chevaliers, honnorez et gentils escuiers."107 Even when making a wider call for participants, including "tous princes, seigneurs, barons" he is still careful to include "chevaliers et escuiers."108 This is tempered by the purposeful inclusion of a caveat that

108.Appendix A, page 515, lines 12-13. René is careful to always refer to chevaliers and escuiers together. This pairing occurs no less than forty-six times in the *Livre des tournois*. From this it is clear that René considered knights and squires to be representatives of the chivalric class. For more on the status of the squire, see: Matthew Bennett, “The Status of the Squire: the Northern Evidence,” in The Ideals and Practice of Medieval Knighthood I: Papers from the First and Second Strawberry Hill Conferences, ed. Christopher Harper-Bill, and Ruth E. Harvey (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1986), 1-11; Crouch, Tournament, 47-49, 144-146; David Crouch, The Image of Aristocracy in Britain, 1000-1300 (London: Routledge, 1992), 164-71; Peter R. Coss, The Origins of the English Gentry (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 216-38;
states a "gentilhomme" who is not noble in all his lines of descent, but is still a virtuous person, may participate but must be subjected to an initiatory ritual during the combat.

The social forces that dictated tournament participation were as complex and varied as the forms of tournament that existed. The prohibition on non-noble participation within tournaments was a fairly widespread custom, one which Barber identifies as originating in France. Statements and restrictions similar to those René included in the Livre des tournois are found in numerous proclamations and regulations issued for a variety of events. These examples are found across tournament forms as well as within different regions. Yet accounts of numerous events, such as are found in occasional rolls and narrative records, indicate that non-noble participation was much more common than the regulations and protestations would by themselves lead us to believe. It was not unheard of for a proclamation to insist on a strict exclusivity, such as reserving the right of participation only to individuals who could prove at least four generations of nobility, only to find that the records of the event indicate that participants included merchants, burghe...
and other non-noble gentry. This complex relationship between custom, regulation and practise exerted a tremendous influence on René, which in turn is evident in how he conceived of and crafted the regulations outlining who could participate in the tournament he described in the *Livre des tournois*.

Every single tournament that René hosted, or is known to have taken part in, was an exclusive event wherein participation as a combatant was strictly limited to noble men. The detailed account of the pas d’armes at Saumur and Sazilly in 1446 records a veritable who’s who of elite participants. The participants at Saumur were divided into two teams, taking the symbolic roles of attacker and defender. René along with members of his household and representatives of the French nobility formed the party of the defenders. Members of this party included prominent figures such as Louis de Luxembourg, Count of Saint-Pol, and René's son-in-law, the notable jouter Ferry II de Vaudémont-Lorraine, who went on to win the prize of the tournament. The party of the attackers consisted of members drawn from the French royal court as well as prominent nobles such as Gaston IV, Count of Foix, and Jean de Bourbon, Count of Clermont. The attackers even boasted Charles VII, King of France as a member of their team. Individual jousters and their mounts were bedecked in matching decorative surcoats and caparisons while each combatant also bore their own highly distinctive and personal heraldic crest. These individualised crests allowed the witnesses to easily identify the combatants and no doubt aided the heralds in recording their individual deeds of arms.

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113. For a summary of the tournaments that René sponsored, as well as specific sources for each, see the introduction to this thesis, pages 11-13.


Louis de Luxembourg, himself a notable tourneyer, participated with distinction in René’s tournament at Nancy in 1445, held in celebration of the marriage of René's daughters. Luxury was held in such high esteem that René’s seneschal of Anjou and Provence, Louis de Beauvau, chose to dedicate his work recounting the pas d'armes held at Tarascon in 1449 to Luxembourg (fig. 39). Even the lesser known event that René held outside the Castello Nuovo in Naples was composed of prominent members of the Neapolitan nobility. The preference for an exclusive event comprised only of noble participants is reflected in the regulations René included in the Livre des tournois. Clearly for René, the events he hosted and the one he envisioned were meant to include only a select group of tourneyers, the nobility.

This policy towards non-noble participation in the tournament was not unique, although René’s strict adherence to it was unusual. His neighbours and rivals, the Valois dukes of Burgundy, sponsored and participated in a number of tournaments throughout the fifteenth century. Two examples, a pair of tournaments held a decade apart in Brussels in 1428 and 1439, and the elaborately staged Banquet du Vœu du Faisan held in the city of Lille in 1454, reveal a more nuanced approach to the question of who could participate in tournaments. The event at Lille was more reminiscent of the type of event René sponsored in the 1440s. It was an event centred on the ducal court, designed to solidify the duke's

118. The importance placed on the crests as a means to identify the participants in the Livre des tournois is reminiscent of their prominence and usefulness in identifying particular combatants from the more than one hundred participants at the event at Saumur. See Chapter 2, pages 113-117 for further discussion on the crests in the Livre des tournois.


120. Anjou, Le Livre des Tournois, 10; Bianciotto, “Passion du livre,” 88-91; Taylor, “«Une gente pastourelle»,” 197-208.

relationships with his nobles as well as to proclaim his status to a European aristocracy, all under the guise of gathering support for a proposed crusade. The combatants who took part in the tournament were drawn exclusively from the most elite members of the Burgundian nobility. In addition, the cost of the event at Lille was covered entirely by the ducal household.

In contrast to Lille, the pair of tournaments held at Brussels were more inclusive events aimed not inward towards the ducal court, but rather towards a broad regional audience. The timing of the two Brussels tournaments suggests that there was a regional dynastic purpose to them. Philippe was named heir to Brabant in 1427, and the first tournament followed in the next year. Although Philippe was subsequently invested as duke by the Estates of Brabant in 1430, his control of the territory was far from certain. It was not until nearly a decade later in 1439, after the myriad of plots to unseat his hold on the territory had been foiled, that the second tournament was held in Brussels. These two events thus framed the acquisition and assimilation of the territory into the burgeoning Burgundian state.

The 1439 tournament was a huge affair, boasting 235 combatants including members of the Burgundian nobility and at least thirty individuals drawn from prominent

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123. See for example the transcriptions of the vows given at the banquet in: Caron, Les Vœux du Faisan, 131-37.

124. On the acquisition of Brabant, see: Vaughan, Philip the Good, 51.

125. Vaughan, Philip the Good, 52.

126. Vaughan, Philip the Good, 54-97.
Brabantine patrician families.\textsuperscript{127} The ducal registers record enormous spending by Philippe on preparations for this event.\textsuperscript{128} The Burgundian duke spent a considerable sum to outfit not only himself, but also members of his court as well as the local nobility and gentry.\textsuperscript{129} In addition, the city of Brussels contributed to the expense of the event and supplied necessities such as the list barriers, viewing stands, and ground cover.\textsuperscript{130} It made sense for the duke and city to share the financial burden because all of the involved parties were benefiting from the event. It was a spectacle that involved a dialogue of power and status between the duke and the prominent and influential families of his territory.\textsuperscript{131} In addition to the influx of money to the city’s coffers provided by the tournament, Brussels and its prominent patricians gained local and regional recognition of their status by being seen to be tied so closely to the duke.\textsuperscript{132} The duke and his court likewise benefited from the inclusive nature of the Brussels event by building close relationships with powerful, prominent, and wealthy Brabantine families. The tournaments at Lille and Brussels

\textsuperscript{127} Damen, “The Town, the Duke, his Courtiers, and their Tournament,” 90; Neste, \textit{Tournois, joutes, pas d’armes}, 308. The two occasional rolls that record the participants are: Brussels, Archives de la ville, Archives historiques, 3357; Ghent, Rijksarchief, Fonds Famille D’Udekem d’Acoz 4498.

\textsuperscript{128} Damen, “The Town, the Duke, his Courtiers, and their Tournament,” 87, 91-94. This event is introduced above, see pages 207-209. For the accounts referred to in Damen's article, see: Lille, Archives départementales du Nord, Série B 1966.


\textsuperscript{130} Damen, “The Town, the Duke, his Courtiers, and their Tournament,” 90. As Damen points out there are no specific city records, but this was the normal practice as exhibited by events in Ghent, Bruges and Lille. Also see: Neste, \textit{Tournois, joutes, pas d’armes}, 69-85; Brown, “Urban Jousts in the Later Middle Ages,” 315-30.


\textsuperscript{132} Damen, “The Town, the Duke, his Courtiers, and their Tournament,” 93-95.
illustrate that Burgundian events involving the duke and his court were adaptable to the needs of the immediate political and social situation. The reasons for the differences between the inclusive nature of the Brussels events and the exclusive nature of the Lille event were their respective purposes and audiences. Lille was concerned with projecting power and status inwards to the ducal court as well as to an elite external audience. In contrast, Brussels was a dialogue between court and city, noble and patrician.

Within the tournaments sponsored by the civic communities and urban based nobility of the Low Countries there was an even more pronounced fluidity between noble and non-noble participation. The prominent cities of Lille and Bruges both held regular civic-sponsored tournaments throughout the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. The urban jousts of the Epinette at Lille and the Witte Beer at Bruges regularly featured a range of participants with diverse backgrounds drawn from the urban gentry as well as the regional and court-centred nobility. Despite the bureaucratic problems that local authorities faced with funding such events on a regular basis, both the Epinette and Witte Beer continued to be a point of civic pride throughout the fifteenth century. During the same period that these civic sponsored tournaments were regular occurrences, the regional nobility would also sponsor their own tournaments and host them within the urban centres. The format of the noble-sponsored events often differed from their civic cousins, featuring a melee or behouord style of combat as opposed to only jousting. Despite these differences,


participation in both the civic and noble sponsored urban events tended to be more inclusive, featuring individuals from the local nobility as well as prominent and wealthy non-noble urban families. The tournament held in the Grote Markt of Bruges in 1393 is just one example of such an event. The Lords of Gruuthuse and Ghistelles, both prominent noble families, sponsored the event, which included participants who were members of prominent patrician families in addition to the local nobility (figs. 117-120).

Within these urban centres, power, status and their representation was established via the interaction of these social groups. The civic tournaments in the Low Countries provided a venue where the urban elite could emulate and mix with the nobility, while simultaneously providing the nobility with a platform to secure their power base and display their status to those who held the reins of, or at least influence over, the local government. The inclusiveness of the combatants who participated in the local events held within the Low Countries reflects the unique dynamic between city and aristocracy that existed in the region.

In comparison to these events, the civic tournaments in Germany and along the Rhine approached tournament participation differently. While the relationship between the urban elite and the aristocracy was just as complex in these territories as it was in the Low Countries, one German city in particular adopted a policy that was more reminiscent of the exclusivity found in René’s events. In the early fifteenth century Nuremberg enacted a series of ordinances designed to restrict the local patriciate from displaying arms and devices in local tournaments while also excluding a specific group of individuals from participating in the same events. Those whom the city targeted were individuals that


136. For more on the social position of the minor nobility in Germany and their role in tournament organisation, see: Gamber, “Ritterspiel und Turnierrüstung,” 518; Barber, and Barker, Tournaments, 49-70; Joachim Bumke, Courtly culture: Literature and Society in the High Middle Ages (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991), 46-52.
Emperor Sigismund had recently knighted. While technically and legally noble, these recently ennobled individuals and families could not claim to be from ancient lines. When the emperor complained to the city officials about the treatment shown to his new knights, the city responded by claiming that they were only attempting to live up to the ancient traditions and honour instilled in the city through the Imperial Majesty. Clearly, the representatives of Nuremberg felt that the city's reputation was bolstered by maintaining a strict exclusivity when it came to participation in its local tournaments, so much so that they were willing to offend the Emperor. This incident reveals an important point in the dynamic between tourneyers and an urban centre. The city was just as concerned with its reputation as were the tourneyers and tournament sponsors.

A similar emphasis on exclusivity is evident in the regulations of the numerous prominent German and Rhenish tournament societies that flourished in the fifteenth century. The Turnierbücher compiled by these societies not only record details on specific events they also often contain copies of the society's statutes. These statutes demonstrate that there was an overwhelming preference for limiting tournament participation to members of the nobility. This exclusivity is echoed in the stipulations René included in the Livre des tournois. In fact, the statutes of the tournament companies are often more precise and restrictive about who may participate than René was in the Livre des tournois. Additionally, the format of tournament favoured by these companies, the behourd described earlier in this chapter, and the details included in various Turnierbücher on the necessary tournament equipment are all very similar to passages

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139. Meyer, “Turniergesellschaften,” 500-12; Barber, and Barker, Tournaments, 8, 62-64; Rühl, “German Tournament Regulations,” 163-82.
141. Meyer, “Turniergesellschaften,” 505; Barber, and Barker, Tournaments, 185-86.
found in the *Livre des tournois*. Furthermore, given the preference of the societies for recording both their regulations and their participation in events within these tournament books it is possible that they may be one of the written sources that René alluded to when listing the regional traditions that influenced his composition of the *Livre des tournois*.142 A German knight and squire who visited the Angevin court in 1466 recorded that René was not only fluent in German, but that he also expressed a fondness for Germans and there were a great number at his court.143 However, any assertion that René drew inspiration directly from a specific *Turnierbuch* produced by one of these societies must be tempered by the lack of supporting evidence that he ever possessed one, such as a record within any of the extant inventories of René's holdings.144 Even with that caution, the confluence of similarities between René's vision for the tournament and its participants as expressed in the *Livre des tournois* and the practices of the German tournament societies, it is apparent that their structure was an enormous influence on René.

René's vision for a new form of tournament differed from the practice of the tournament societies in one significant aspect, the identity of the sponsors. The tournament societies were formed as a way to burden-share the costs and complexity of staging tournaments.145 As tournaments became more elaborate and more costly their production began to fall outside of the means of the lower nobility and urban centred knights. One solution was to turn to a structure which shared the costs between the urban centres and the nobles. This is the model that seems to have been followed most closely in Flanders and Brabant. The examples of the tournaments hosted by the Gruuthuse family in

142. See above, page 199.
Bruges in 1393 and 1470 in addition to those events held in Brussels in 1428 and 1439 reflect this pattern. As a general rule, this compromise seems to have necessitated the nobility allowing select influential and prominent members of the urban patriciate to participate in these events as combatants. In contrast, the German tournament societies found a different solution. By banding together, they lessened the burden on any one individual while maintaining the exclusivity of their events. However, in the long run even this strategy was not altogether successful. Towards the end of the fifteenth century, the numerous societies banded together in an attempt to spread the costs out further. Fewer societies operating independently led to a significant dip in the frequency of tournaments, despite the popularity of such events being on the rise. The increasing demand for tournaments coupled with the rising expense of the events meant that the costs could only be born by the great princely houses. The end result of this slippery slope was limiting the sponsorship of the events to the great princes, those who could call on substantial resources. This is precisely in line with what René has outlined in the Livre des tournois. In the passage, “Qui veut faire ung tournoy, fault que ce soit quelque prince, ou du moins hault baron, ou banneret, lequel doibt faire ainsi que cy apres sera devise,” René has inadvertently foreshadowed that the tournament sponsorship became limited to only the richest princes with the means to host elaborate events.

Throughout the Livre des tournois René repeatedly emphasises the roles he has crafted for these great princes. They are not only responsible for the impetus behind the

146. For the 1470 tournament hosted by Louis de Bruges, see: Brown, “Urban Jousts in the Later Middle Ages,” 321.
150. Appendix A, page 479, lines 2-5. “Whoever wishes to hold a tourney, whether he is a prince, or a less high baron, our a banneret, he ought to do it as is explained hereafter.” Translation from: Bennett, “King René’s Tournament Book.”
tournament, but also for organising the announcement of the event, gathering and leading the tourneyers, and covering the expense of the event. Their importance is not just described in the text, it is also reinforced by the image cycle. The two dukes are singled out and given prominence in the image showing them mounted and armed as if at the tournament, an image which as we have seen is repeated throughout the image cycle as part of the king of arms' ceremonial cloak (figs. 15 and 4). The Duke of Brittany leads his retinue into the city, and again into the cloisters for the review of helmets (figs. 17 and 21). Both dukes hold prominent positions at the head of their companies of tourneyers in the images showing the tournament vows and start of the melee (figs. 23 and 24). If this was not enough, attendants bearing huge pennons, which dwarf the banners of the other combatants, focus the viewer's attention to the symbolic presence of the two dukes within the melee, even if their specific figures are not included amongst the tourneyers (fig. 25). Finally, they are given an exclusive role in the tournament combat. It is, writes René, only a great prince who may beat one of the participants whose lineage has been called into question, and it is through this ritualised beating that the individual becomes accepted into the nobility. Thus these great princes act as leaders of the nobility as well as a means to attain nobility.

There is not a simple answer to identifying the relationship between reality and imagination when investigating the participants of René’s ideal tournament. The inclusion of non-nobles in tournaments was a complex negotiation between the venue and sponsors and could even be influenced by the participants and theme of the event itself. In a society where aristocratic lifestyle was actively emulated by aspirant social classes, imitation and inclusion was the sincerest form of flattery. At the same time, an aristocracy that felt its

152.For a thorough examination of the heraldic identity of the Duke of Brittany and Bourbon as the tournament captains, see Chapter 2, pages 100-110. Also see: Mérindol, “Le livre des tournois,” 177-90.
position threatened by the rising prominence of the urban *nouveau riche* tended to opt for a policy of exclusion. Even this was not always the case, as important relationships could be formed and strengthened by including members of the urban patricians into traditionally exclusive events. While inclusive events were more often carried out in urban centres, where the need for publicly negotiating power relationships was more of a priority, the example of Nuremberg proves the exception to the rule and reminds us that reputation and status were important considerations for cities, patricians, the nobility as well as the great princes.

René’s idealised tournament is not only exclusive in terms of who may fight in the tournament, he also delineates specific precedence within the hierarchy of the nobility. This exclusivity exhibited in the *Livre des tournois* is indicative of René’s own position and experience as a tournament patron, coupled with examples drawn from the urban events of the Low Countries, Germany, and the Rhenish tournament societies. The regulations regarding participation in the tournament dictated in the *Livre des tournois* most certainly stem from an aristocracy that was concerned with guarding its status from a rising class of wealthy and elite urban patriciates. However, the more subtle definitions of status within the hierarchy of combatants also reflect the carefully ordered hierarchies found within fifteenth-century court cultures.154

4.4 Location

The location for the tournament as described and visualised in the *Livre des tournois* borrows heavily from both German and Flemish traditions while still reflecting René’s experience with and preference for exclusive elite events. The tournament

154. Another text that illustrates these carefully ordered hierarchies and the emphasis placed on etiquette is the work of Éléonore de Poitiers, a noblewoman in the household of Isabella of Portugal, Duchess of Burgundy. Éléonore recounts in detail the various hierarchies and precedent found in the Burgundian court. See: Jacques Paviot, “Éléonore de Poitiers, Les États de France (Les Honneurs de la cour),” in *Annuaire-bulletin de la Société de l’Histoire de France, 1996* (Paris: Librairie Honoré Champion, 1998), 75-137.
described by René within the text of the *Livre des tournois* is firmly located in an urban centre. Towards the end of the work René has included a list of attributes that the city should possess so that the tournament may proceed properly and reflect the honour of the occasion. The city should be in a central location so that the tournament will attract more knights and squires to participate.\(^{155}\) It must be affluent enough to possess a great hall suitable for dancing and feasting, and that should provide ample space for the noble ladies to change their clothes.\(^{156}\) This hall should provide all the necessary furniture for the feast as well as having a gallery from which the heralds can make their announcements and the musicians can play.\(^{157}\) In addition, there should be enough inns so that the tourneyers can lodge within the town.\(^{158}\) Ideally there should also be a religious house with a cloister.\(^{159}\) This serves the dual purpose of providing quarters for the judges that are separate from the tourneyers while also providing a location to host the review of helmets and crests (fig. 22). Even strong walls, a classic sign of the size and influence of a city, although not textually described, are clearly a part of the ideal urban location as captured in the images of the entries of the Duke of Brittany and the judges (figs. 17 and 19). Although this creates a fairly vivid picture of the city there is a certain prejudice in the attributes René details. These are all written from the vantage of a noble expecting features, services and provisions from an urban centre without acknowledging the perspective of the city or its residents.

As an example, because the *Livre des tournois* takes places in an urban centre one would reasonably expect the inclusion of an urban audience either in the text or images.

\(^{155}\) Appendix A, page 707, lines 19-22.

\(^{156}\) Appendix A, page 708, lines 8-13.

\(^{157}\) Appendix A, page 708, lines 14-22.


\(^{159}\) Appendix A, page 604, lines 9-14.
Yet despite the broad audience base that was part of the reception of historic urban tournaments, the *Livre des tournois* makes absolutely no acknowledgement of the urban population. There is no mention in the text of a procedure for negotiating with the city to ensure that the means and space for the urban population to view the event is made available. When René writes that the judges should arrange for viewing stands to be constructed he notes only that these stands are for themselves and the ladies, a detail reflected in the corresponding images (figs. 23, 24 and 25).\(^{160}\) Furthermore, there are no crowds of urban viewers shown in any image in the work, a feature which is quite different from other images showing tournaments taking place in urban centres (figs. 159, 162 and 163). These images also feature a dense urban landscape, typical of the view one would expect to find within a city. Despite the urban setting of the tournament in the *Livre des tournois*, the lack of buildings as backdrops to the melee images serves to isolate Rene's urban based event from its inner-city location.

Those images from the cycle of the *Livre des tournois* that show any hint of an urban setting are constructed so that they direct the viewer’s attention to the tourneyers and reinforce their noble identity at the expense of the city's identity. The generic buildings included in the image showing the tourneyers' arms displayed outside of their lodgings create the sense that this could be a street in any city (fig. 18). Simultaneously, the lack of an urban background in this image removes the buildings from any larger context and isolates them from their logical urban environment. However, this is not without effect as removing the context allows, even forces, the viewer to instead consider the coats of arms. Thus the image highlights the nobility of the tourneyers by emphasising the display of their heraldic devices. The two scenes showing the appellant and judges entering the city, as well as the image depicting the appellant’s procession to the cloisters, reinforce that the

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tourneyers are proceeding into an urban centre (figs. 17, 19 and 21). In a clever artistic twist, these three images reverse the compositional arrangement Barthélemy d'Eyck used in the images of the *Relation du pas d'Saumur*, which depict the tourneyers processing away from the gates of the castle thereby defining the rural setting of that tournament (fig. 164). However, unlike the subsequent images from the *Relation du pas d'Saumur*, which further highlight the rural environment (fig. 37), the images in the *Livre des tournois* only take the viewer as far as the city gates. Only a single image, that of the judges’ entry, gives a tantalising glimpse of the city’s interior through the gatehouse (fig. 165). Even then, it only serves to highlight the transition from rural to urban space and clarifies that the judges are entering a city and not a castle or the religious house where they are lodging.

In contrast, the images from the D manuscript of the *Livre des tournois*, which are arguably the most removed from the source images in terms of influence and execution, feature more emphasis on the urban setting than the manuscripts which faithfully reproduce the source’s image cycle. Nearly every image within D's image cycle that is set within an urban landscape features rows of buildings in the background. This unmistakably anchors the event in an urban environment (figs. 95, 141, 166 and 167). Even the image showing the placement of the poster above the gateway to the religious house where the judges are lodging is set in a cityscape (fig. 168). This stands in stark contrast to the similar image from the source manuscript that displays a version of the poster mounted above the gateway, but clearly shows the procession entering from a rather plain, and decidedly un-urban, landscape (fig. 21). The image that depicts the setup of the list barriers and stands not only features a cityscape as its background, but also a peculiar construction of stands that features three separate viewing booths stacked vertically (fig. 95). Other images from D feature details that are present in René’s written description,

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but are lacking in the original image sequence. In two images found in D that are entirely absent from the original image cycle, interior scenes feature a gallery where the heralds and musicians are found as well as a table of plates and other tableware (figs. 169 and 170). The image of the awards ceremony features a similar gallery where musicians are playing, again a feature altogether absent from the image in the source manuscript (fig. 171). While there is still a conspicuous lack of figures other than the tourneyers, their attendants and the noble ladies, the artist of D has softened the strict visual emphasis René placed on the exclusive nature of the event at the expense of representing the urban setting.

Although René located the tournament described in the Livre des tournois in an urban centre, the textual and visual appreciation of the urban setting is at odds with the historic reality of similar events. However, these differences serve a purpose. A careful comparison sheds further light on René's intentions and vision for the tournament described in the Livre des tournois. I have already demonstrated how the events held at Bruges in 1393 and Brussels in 1439 were inclusive events that featured prominent urban citizens as well as members of the nobility. Both events took place in the open spaces of the market squares that lay at the heart of these two cities. In addition, civic accounts record financial and material contributions to both events, even in spite of the Brussels event being largely funded by the enormously wealthy Duke of Burgundy. The precedent of a city subsidising a tournament was not unusual. An urban centre stood to benefit in many ways from hosting such an event. By offering assistance and alleviating the expense for the sponsors the city could hope to attract other potentially lucrative

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162. See above, page 234.
163. See pages 225-228 in this chapter.
events. Brussels' assistance in funding the earlier 1428 tournament may well be part of the reason that the sponsors of the 1439 event chose to locate their larger affair in the same city. In addition to financial supplements, material assistance could take the form of viewing stands, ground cover, and list barriers, which cities like Bruges and Lille kept on hand for their regular civic jousts. The influx of tourneyers, spectators and even the myriad of specialised merchants that supported the event could also benefit the city's coffers with an influx of revenue. The potential to profit from the support services provided to the tournament was exploited even in the earliest events. René shows no consideration towards the potential financial rewards for the city where the tournament is located. Nor is there an appreciation of any mutual support between the city and the noble sponsors and organisers. Although René lists features the city should possess there is not a directive to work with the city or its representatives to secure the necessary materials such as the list barriers, stands or ground cover. Instead he simply assigns the noble judges the task of arranging for these necessities.

A city had more to gain from hosting a tournament than only financial rewards. The chance to define, establish and renew personal relationships between the nobility and the urban elite was a crucial factor in effecting the city's decision to allow a tournament to take place within its walls. The examples of the tournaments held in Brussels in 1428 and 1439 and Bruges in 1393 demonstrate that the inclusion of non-nobles within an ostensibly noble-centred event in a urban venue was not unprecedented. Certainly it must have benefited both the nobility and patricians to secure each other's mutual support and recognition of their status. Monstrelet writes specifically about the feasts and dances that

168. Crouch, Tournament, 55-56.
followed the 1428 tournament in Brussels. These festivities that formed part of the peripheral events within the tournament were a venue where people could meet, discuss issues, build relationships, and conduct business. In short, they were a medieval venue for elite social networking. The limitations placed on who could attend these events bolstered the opportunities for networking by creating an air of familiar intimacy for the attendees of these peripheral festivities. This all served to foster important interactions between different social groups. In comparison to the exclusivity of these events, the more public nature of the tournament combat ensured that status was projected externally to the larger urban population. Although René was certainly concerned with ensuring that certain ceremonies occurred in restricted spaces where access could be actively limited to include only the noble participants and attendees there is simply no acknowledgement in the Livre des tournois for the event as an opportunity for the intermingling of nobility with the urban population. René's tournament, unlike Brussels in 1439 or Bruges in 1393, was not intended to be a venue to establish and build links between patrician and noble. Instead, his was an exclusively noble centred event.

Hosting a tournament in a particular location could also carry a political message. We have already seen how the two tournaments in Brussels marked important phases in the Burgundian acquisition of the territory. The resident population and prominent citizens of an urban centre were an audience ripe for such messages. Alliances, friendships, even treaties were solidified and proclaimed through events such as René’s tournament at Nancy in 1445, which celebrated the marriage of his two daughters, and ended the dynastic dispute over the succession to the Duchy of Lorraine. By hosting the tournament in the

169. Monstrelet, La chronique, IV, pp. 306-308.
170. See above, pages 225-227.
most prestigious city in Lorraine at the heart of the duchy’s power, René amply demonstrated the importance he placed on declaring the political union and resolution of the succession crisis to people of Nancy as well as to the assembled international nobility. It is likely that René also intended to project clear political messages of personal power and political unity during the tournament held in Naples in 1439. While located within the city walls, the event was held on a bluff overlooking the Castello Nuovo, René’s seat of royal authority.172 The implication was that while the city of Naples was the urban heart of the kingdom, it was the aristocratic setting of the Castello Nuovo that was the seat of power. If René was so politically astute and used tournaments such as those held at Nancy and Naples as political statements, why is there no acknowledgement of that potential in the Livre des tournois? The answer lies in the focus and intended purpose of the event René described. The primary purpose of the tournament in the Livre des tournois was to emphasise the identity and unity of the nobility, or as René writes, "la chose sorte a effet, et par facon que renommee et bruit par tout puisse aler de maintenir noblesse, et d'acroistre honneur."173 While this does not preclude the tournament from being a political event, it clearly indicates that René was not crafting the event in the Livre des tournois to carry any overt political message. In fact, by intentionally minimising the political implications of the tournament setting René reinforces a theme first elucidated in Chapter 2 regarding the portrayal of the Dukes of Brittany and Bourbon.174 Both elements, the protagonists and the urban setting, are presented as neutrally as possible, while still remaining intriguing and recognisable enough to engage René's intended reader. Clearly the author was intent on crafting a work that could reach a wide and receptive noble audience.

173.Appendix A, page 507, lines 16-18. “the tourney will take place in such a way that fame and widespread rumor will go out to sustain nobility and increase honor” Translation from: Bennett, “King René’s Tournament Book.”
174.See Chapter 2, pages 100-110.
During the same period that these urban based events were thriving, there
continued to be a strong preference for hosting tournaments in rural settings. The majority
of events that René hosted and participated in during the 1440s were held in rural
locations. The verse account and images that record the pas d’armes at Saumur and Sazilly
in 1446 describe a ritual that consciously staged the event at Saumur on the plains outside
of René’s palace.\textsuperscript{175} The event lasted from June until August that year.\textsuperscript{176} Every day that
jousts were held an elaborate procession including lions, costumed saracens, heralds,
musicians, judges, a dwarf dressed as a moor, maidens, and the jousters who were fighting
that day, left from the castle and made their way to the fields below. When the jousts had
concluded for the day, the procession would return to the castle for feasts and dancing.
The complexity and size of the procession is featured in an image showing René and his
entourage exiting the castle and winding their way to the tournament field (fig. 164). The
rural setting for the combat is emphasised in the image by the orchestrated line of
participants and attendants making their way from the castle walls out onto the plains, and
again in the next image from the cycle, which depicts the combatants in the midst of the
joust (fig. 37). The attendants, maiden, and even the dwarf watch the clash while sitting on
their horses with a mist covered landscape in the background. There are no stands or
buildings full of onlookers. Nor is there an elaborate list field. Instead only a simple
wooden barrier, quite unlike the lists René describes in the \textit{Livre des tournois} (fig. 16),
keeps the horses and combatants from colliding. The misty fortresses in the background
contrast the solid lines of the castle in the cycle's previous image to create a sense that the
activity is far removed from the confines of the castle (figs. 37 and 164). The whole image
cycle is constructed to emphasise the remoteness of the setting for the jousts. At the same

\textsuperscript{175}\textsuperscript{175} NLR, ms. fr. F. p. XIV, 4, ff. 1-9. Also see: Morrison, and Hedeman, \textit{Imagining the Past in France}, 249;
Gautier, and Avril, \textit{Splendeur de l’enluminure}, 244-45.

\textsuperscript{176}\textsuperscript{176} Bianciotto, “Passion du livre,” 88-91; Kekewich, \textit{The Good King}, 113; Favier, \textit{Le roi René}, 139-48;
280; Bianciotto, “Le pas d’armes de Saumur,” 1-16.
time, the event itself must have been visually impressive set as it was in the shadow of one of René’s greatest castles.

This sense of remoteness, of removal from the urban centres, culminated in René’s Pas d'armes de la bergère at Tarascon in 1449.177 The entire affair was burdened by the symbolism of the pastoral setting.178 The theatre of the event revolved around a shepherdess, played by Isabelle de Lenoncourt, a noble lady of Lorraine and relative of Philippe de Lenoncourt, one of René's nobles and a key figure within the tournament.179 The shepherdess was placed in a field, complete with sheep, within which were two shields hung from a tree (fig. 39). One shield was white, for joy, and the other black, for sorrow. Philippe de Lenoncourt and another knight of René's household, Philippe de l'Aigue defended the shields and shepherdess against eighteen attackers.180 In comparison to the events at Saumur, the jousts at Tarascon lasted only three days and featured far fewer encounters. The author of the verse account of Saumur was careful to not only describe the pomp of the event, but also emphasised that the tournament was a martial activity and an important component of training for war.181 In comparison, Tarascon seems to have been conceived with the intent of announcing René's retirement from actively hosting tournaments. The withdrawal of the event to the secluded pastural setting mirrors the withdrawal of the host from his martial life.182 The Pas d'armes de la bergère at Tarascon was the final tournament that René sponsored. Exclusive events like these helped to

177. See page 13, note 51 in the Introduction.
179. Nadot, Le Spectacle des joutes, 90, 100-101,139,336; Kekewich, The Good King, 134; Williams, “Pas de la Bergere,” 491; Barber, and Barker, Tournaments, 116; Beauvau, Le pas d’armes de la bergère, 63, 110.
180. Williams, “Pas de la Bergere,” 491; Beauvau, Le pas d’armes de la bergère, 64, 111.
strengthen bonds between the participants by making each participant a member of an exclusive and limited group. The spectacle and theatre of the event was turned inward, aimed at the participants rather than an external audience. In the examples of the tournaments at Tarascon and Saumur, this conclusion is reinforced by the cultural productions which followed on the heels of both events. Two books, one for each event, and which both exist in only a single copy, were written shortly after each event. Their limited circulation suggests that they were intended as a memorial solely for a few select number of participants. The frescoes René ordered for his castle at Saumur, which are now lost, commemorated the pas d'armes held a few years earlier and were likely intended for a limited and elite audience. The viewers would have been limited to only the elite members of René's circle who had access to the chamber where they were painted. Although they must have been an impressive spectacle, all the more so when viewed in the presence of the man who arranged the event they recorded, the frescoes, like the records of Saumur and Tarascon, and the Livre des tournois, were aimed at a small and carefully selected audience.

The secluded setting of René’s tournaments naturally limited the number of accounts that recorded these events to only a handful. This reflects how the audience of an event was directly affected by the event’s location, and how the audiences of René’s events were vastly different from those of the Flemish and German urban tournaments. Civic records of Regensburg detail expenses borne by the city for a tournament held there in

183. The two manuscripts are: NLR, ms. fr. F. p. XIV, 4; and BnF, ms. français 1974.
1487. Among the expenses is a description of the different stands that were erected for the event. The stands provided four rows of seating, each seat going for the rate of four groschen. The description of these stands calls to mind an image from the D manuscript showing the stacked viewing stands (fig. 95). In addition, the Regensburg accounts detail other locations made available for viewing with the relative cost of each dependent on the exclusivity and location of the seating. Other cities would contract with the owners of the buildings that bordered the public squares where the tournament took place in order to rent out what must have been prime locations for viewing the tournament. An illumination that accompanies the description of a joust held in Paris in 1438 between Sir John Astley and Pierre de Masse shows eager observers climbing the roofs of buildings to catch a glimpse of the event (fig. 163). The location of the tournament in the public squares of these urban centres meant that a wide audience from a broad selection of backgrounds participated as witnesses to the event. As indicated earlier in this section, there is no acknowledgement in the Livre des tournois of an audience other than the nobility and their attendants. Although I will address the question of audience in more detail in the next chapter, it is important to note at this point that René’s decision to locate the tournament in an urban environment would have had a significant impact on the audience. His desire that the event serve as a venue for the widespread increase of the honour and reputation of


189.PML, ms. m. 775, ff. 275v-282v. Copies of the challenge to combat are also found in: London, BL, MS Lansdowne 285, f. 15v; London, The College of Arms, MS L9, ff. 15v-16r. Also see: Barber, and Barker, Tournaments, 128; Cripps-Day, The History of the Tournament, 67-68; Lester, “Sir John Paston’s Grete Boke,” 96-97.
the nobility would have been well served by locating the event in an urban centre, especially when compared to the remote settings of the events at Saumur and Tarascon.

Although the image cycle functions to define the location of René’s idealised event as being held within an urban centre, the lack of inclusive details one might reasonably expect to find within an urban environment minimise the impact the urban setting has on the elite, exclusive nature of the event. Instead the images focus the viewer’s attention on the presence of the assembled nobility and their attendant courts, thereby emphasising the status of both the participants and the event as an elite occasion. While René’s tournament is thus an urban event that was clearly influenced by similar events held in Flanders, Brabant, Germany and along the Rhine, it is also an exclusively noble event. It mirrors René’s own preferences as indicated by the events he sponsored in the 1440s. This merger between different traditions and influences again reflects the important role the image cycle has in confirming both the unique combination of sources and experience that René utilised in describing his idealised tournament in the *Livre des tournois*, and his intent to repackage customs for his intended audience.

4.5 Tournament Equipment

Despite being dismissed as a distraction or deviation from the rest of the *Livre des tournois,* the section detailing the tournament equipment is crucial in revealing both the regional influences that acted upon René and his intent to repackage regional customs into a format for his French audience. In the first section of this chapter I demonstrated how the visual narrative embedded into the work's image cycle revealed that René was attempting to convey a specific form of the behourd style of tournament as practised within urban communities along the Rhine and in the German territories. Demonstrating this conclusion was based on an understanding of properties of specific pieces of the

tournament equipment, namely the tournament sword, mace, and helmet and crest assembly and how those properties translated into the work's visual narrative. This section will return to the topic of the tournament equipment to demonstrate that René was not only drawing primarily on Rhenish and German tournament customs, but that he also considered how best to present those customs to his French audience.

Any examination of the tournament equipment must acknowledge that despite the level of detail present in both the textual descriptions and visualisations of the objects, certain items are either excluded entirely or glossed over. In fact, it is these items that are particularly important for revealing René's intentions. For instance, when describing the armour for the tourneyers' legs René writes,

Le harnoys de jambes est ainsi et de semblable façon comme on le porte en la guerre, sans autre difference, fors que les plus petites gardes sont les meilleures, et les sollerez y sont tres bons contre la poincte des esperons.191

This is one of the only pieces of equipment not included as a separate item within the image cycle. The explanation is simple and offered by René. He expected that his audience would be familiar with the style of leg armour used in war and therefore would not require further detail. This method is repeated in his consideration and description of the saddle, surcoat, and caparison.192 Although introduced to the reader, there are no elaborate descriptions or dedicated and focussed representations of these objects in the image cycle. This is simply because René concluded that an exceptional or unusual form of those pieces of equipment was unnecessary and that his audience would be familiar with the more general forms he refers them to. Where René presented pieces of equipment in the image cycle and described them in the text, it was because he expected them to be

191.Appendix A, page 543, lines 1-5. "The leg harness is in the same style that you wear for war, without any difference, except that the smallest guards are the best, and sollerets are very useful against the points of spurs." Translation from: Bennett, “King René’s Tournament Book.”

192.See, respectively: Appendix A, page 544, line 31-page 546, lines 2, 9-12; page 543, lines 9-12; page 519; lines 13-14.
unfamiliar to his French audience as well as particularly necessary for the form of
tournament presented in the *Livre des tournois*.

In fact, the behourd style of tournament had a long history associated with specific
forms of equipment and regional variations. A tournament held at Windsor in 1278 was
very likely an early form of the behourd. For this event Edward I ordered specialised
equipment for all of the participants.\(^{193}\) Included in this order were *cuir bouilli*\(^{194}\) helmets
and cuirasses for the participants as well as specialty protective gear for the horses. In
addition, swords made from whalebone were the only weapons permitted in the
tournament and were provided to the combatants.\(^{195}\) Another curious item in the order also
identifies this event as a type of behourd. Contained in the record is the description of a
purchase of eight hundred bells used to decorate the armour of the participants. This most
likely reflects a series of civic regulations that developed in response to behourds wherein
tourneyers essentially ran rampant through the urban centres resulting in a number of
fatalities. As a cautionary measure, participants were required to wear bells to better help
the general population hear any approaching tourneyers and thereby afford them an
opportunity to get to safety.\(^{196}\) Within the kingdom of Aragon in the early fourteenth
century a law was issued whereby any knight or squire participating in a behourd with
bells would be cleared of murder if a bystander was accidentally killed during the event.\(^{197}\)

A visual reference to this tradition is found in the *Livre des tournois's* image cycle. In the

\(^{193}\) Samuel Lyons, “Copy of a Roll of Purchases made for the Tournament of Windsor Park, in the sixth year
of King Edward the first, preserved in the Record Office at the Tower. Communicated by Samuel Lysons,
Esq. F.R.S. V.P. in a Letter to Nicholas Carlisle, Esq. Secretary,” *Archaeologia* 17(1814), 297-310; Gamber,

\(^{194}\) Leather that had been boiled in water or wax to strengthen and stiffen it. Barber, and Barker,*
*Tournaments*, 30, 153.

\(^{195}\) Lyons, “Copy of a Roll,” 303.

\(^{196}\) Lyons, “Copy of a Roll,” 302-05; Barber, and Barker, *Tournaments*, 164-65.

\(^{197}\) Gunnar Tilander, *Los fueros de Aragón: según el manuscrito 458 de la Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid*
(Lund: Gleerup, 1937), 139.
image of the Duke of Brittany's entrance to the city, a page is shown riding the duke's horse through the gatehouse. 198 Pictured around the neck of the duke's charger is a ring of bells with another set at its tail (fig. 172). This is the only such instance in the entire visual cycle. None of the mounts wear bells in the melee images, nor do any of the mounts belonging to other tourneyers, attendants or judges. Certainly the provision of creating an enclosed list space for the combat helped to contain any rampaging groups of frenzied combatants, and the use of bells became less of a necessity. René further acknowledges, and even encourages this tradition by including a caveat that tourneyers may continue to fight in the streets of the city after the retreat has been sounded and the lists ordered cleared of combatants while also stating that any who remain in the lists will be disqualified from receiving the prize. 199 In fact, a few eager combatants can be seen carrying on outside the lists in the image of the tournament melee (fig. 173). Both text and image therefore reflect the remnants of a tradition that likely had its origins in those early regulations.

However, René was not content with reusing forms of equipment taken verbatim from extant examples, or written sources. The descriptions and representations of the equipment indicates that he considered each based on his first-hand experience and offered suggestions for improving certain items. As established earlier, the image showing the assembly of the tournament helmet and crest is vital to unlocking the visual narrative (fig. 6). It is also an eminently practical image, showing the assembly of the helmet in a precise and revealing sequence. However, when compared to extant examples of tournament helmets used in the behourd (figs. 153, 174 and 175), the helmet in the Livre des tournois appears stylised, something between the material evidence and what is found in
contemporary visual sources (figs. 6, 145 and 176). In a search through museum collections I was unable to identify a tournament helmet that closely matches what is pictured in the *Livre des tournois* that can be dated to before 1500. In a lengthy passage concerning the regional traditions of Brabant, Flanders and Hainaut René describes a form of tournament helmet that reads as if it is more closely related to the extant examples cited above. However, he goes on to criticise these traditions, stating that the tourneyers are unable to control their horses properly and insinuating that this reflects poorly on the station of nobility, noting that the manner he described is "d'assez plus belle et plus seure." This suggests that while René drew inspiration from regional forms, he tempered that with his own experience and insight to accomplish exactly what he states he set out to do, create a new form of tournament. At the same time, the visualisation of newly conceived or reimagined items reinforces the conclusion that René and Barthélemy worked together in a mutually supportive and collaborative effort to visualise René's concept for a new form of tournament.

The description and visualisation of the perforated cuirass reinforces this conclusion (fig. 7). This item is one of the most unusual, although eminently practical, pieces of equipment René envisioned. The perforations would have significantly reduced the weight while not impacting the protection afforded to a tourneyer participating in a behoud in which the primary risk to a combatant was from crushing blows. René acknowledges the danger of this form of combat in a section of text in which he describes


the need for proper padding under the armour to help absorb the force of the strikes. In comparison, wearing a cuirass such as this in the joust would have been a fool's errand. The numerous holes would have provided ample opportunity for the piercing force of a lance to cause serious injury or death to anyone foolish enough to wear such a cuirass. Although this cuirass would have been very practical for the behourd it is unclear if it was ever put into practice. Antoine de la Sale mentions a similar idea in his treatise, although his terminology is less clear than René's. There are no known extant examples of a cuirass resembling what is envisioned in the *Livre des tournois*. The cuirass, like the helmet and crest, demonstrates that René actively engaged with the problem of how to present practical equipment for use in the behourd. Clearly he was not content to simply recycle customs, but sought and presented practical solutions.

However, René was also clearly concerned with how best to present foreign customs to his intended noble French audience. To aid this process René employed a two-fold approach. This first part of this process is found as a fairly lengthy sub-clause inserted into the midst of his introduction to the equipment. René outlined a distinction between the terms used for the crest and mantle in Flanders and Brabant and the terms he used within the *Livre des tournois* and which were more common in France. While he makes comparisons between customs throughout the work, this is the first place where he draws attention to the fact that there are also regional differences in naming conventions. The second part of the process, although closely tied to the first, is the purposeful selection of terminology that emphasised the essence of pieces of equipment in terms of being a reflection of French identity and nobility.

For instance, when describing the forms of weapons used in the tournament René employs the terms espee and masse (fig. 10). While espee is certainly the obvious choice for the tournament sword, it is worth noting that the essence of the sword as a symbol of nobility is emphasised throughout the Livre des tournois. It serves as a symbol of the tournament challenge (figs. 1 and 2). It is presented to the noble ladies as a trophy won during the combat (fig. 84). Furthermore, at the end of the treatise René also touches on the relationship between the form of combat and the importance of the sword as a symbol of nobility. He writes that those who had not previously participated in a tournament such as described in the Livre des tournois must pay for their right to participate in a tournament of swords. René goes on to distinguish between the joust and behourd, stating that those who have jousted before must still pay because the lance is less noble than the sword. A similar stipulation is also found in the records of the tournament held in Bruges between the Lords of Jonvelle and Commines during the first quarter of the fifteenth century. At the conclusion of the tournament in Brussels in 1428 Antoine de Croy was presented with a tournament sword as an indication that he should organise the next event. Tournament swords were also frequently presented as a prize, such as in 1441 at Utrecht and at the event between Jonvelle and Commines.

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207.Appendix A, page 536, lines 4-5.
208.See Chapter 1, pages 55-56, 65-69.
209.See Chapter 1, page 79, and Chapter 2, pages 117-120.
211.RAL, Codex RAR.0035(I.35), ff. 11v-12r. Moffat, “The Medieval Tournament,” 64.
212.Monstrelet, La chronique, 308; Damen, “The Town, the Duke, his Courtiers, and their Tournament,” 89.
213.The specific details of the tournament at Utrecht were recently described by Mario Damen in a paper presented at Leeds in 2015: Damen, “Tournaments and Social Status.” Two occasional rolls which records the participants of the 1393 tournament also indicate that, like the event between the Lords of Jonvelle and Commines, a sword and helmet were awarded as tournament prizes. These are the only accounts of this event that mention these items as prizes and given that they are sixteenth and seventeenth century copies, this detail is more likely a fabrication or confusion. See: Maximiliaan P. J. Martens, ed. Lodewijk van Gruuthuse: mecenas en Europees diplomaat, ca. 1427-1492 (Bruges: Stichting Kunstbork, 1992), 52-53. The second is held in a private collection. See: Clemmensen, “Tournament in Bruges,” 2-3.
However, René’s selection of the term *masse* for the tournament club indicates a similar emphasis on the nobility of the event. The weapon René describes and which is pictured in the image cycle is a wooden club weighted at the striking end by a gradual thickening of the shaft. In comparison, German and Rhenish records of behourds, which had a long-established tradition of using a similar form of club, referred to the weapon as a *kolben*, giving rise to the term *kolbenturnier*.\(^{214}\) The earliest image depicting a *kolben* in use within a tournament setting dates from between 1390 and 1400. This example is a fresco originally from within Lichtenberg castle, and now housed in the Ferdinandeum Museum in Innsbruck (fig. 177). The image depicts a group of mounted combatants armed in the style of the late fourteenth century and wielding a recognisable form of the *kolben*. In an early fifteenth-century copy of the thirteenth-century romance *Wilhelm von Orlens* written by Rudolf von Ems, there are numerous depictions of both tournaments and warfare.\(^{215}\) The armour and, more importantly for this discussion, the weapons differ between the different types of combat being portrayed in this manuscript. The images of jousts are very much dedicated to showing mounted combat with the lance (fig. 178). Knights in battle use a very specific type of sword (fig. 179) that differs from that found in the image showing a tournament (fig. 180). This final image also illustrates the use of tournament swords and *kolben* within the same event.

A similar weapon form is recorded in accounts of events held within the Low Countries, albeit under a different name. At the tournament held in Bruges between the Lords of Commines and Jonvelle, tourneyers hung *batons* and swords from their saddles.\(^{216}\) In preparation for the tournament held in Brussels in 1439, the ducal household ordered a


\(^{215}\) UBH, Cod. Palatinus Germanicus 323.

significant amount of *bastons a tournoyer.*\(^{217}\) While this are no visual records for either of these events, the description and function of these *batons* within the tournament setting indicates that they were a form of weighted club similar to that used in German and Rhenish tournaments as well as described in the *Livre des tournois.*

Although the weapons described in these various regional sources were similar in form, René's choice to refer to the tournament club as a *masse* reveals his emphasis on crafting a tournament that emphasised the honour and nobility of the tourneyers. To begin with it creates an immediate textual distinction between the rods carried by the tourneyers during their oaths to uphold the regulations of the tournament (fig. 23), those carried by the judges as symbols of their office (fig. 19), and the weapons used in the melee (fig. 156). Furthermore, by selecting a term that referred to a well known form of weapon used in warfare René emphasised the martial essence of the event and those who participate in it (fig. 181). While the medieval mace may have resembled a weighted club, it was a weapon of the nobility and required considerable skill and training to use effectively. The association of the term with the weapon form is evidenced by the D artist's interpretation of it (fig. 182). In this image the artist has chosen to represent a more recognisable form of the late-medieval mace. René's selection of the term *masse* to describe the tournament club therefore not only alludes to his attempts to address foreign customs to his French audience, it also emphasises the nobility of the weapon and reflects his desire to create a tournament in which the central concern was the projection of the honour and status of the participants.

One final, and unusual piece of equipment will serve as a conclusion to this section. The *hourt* is pictured in more detail than any other piece of equipment. Four separate images are dedicated to describing its construction and assembly (figs. 11-14). Each stage

\(^{217}\) See page 208, note 58 in this chapter.
builds on the previous one until the final assembled and decorated *hourt* is presented to the reader, immediately after which it is shown in use on the mounts of the Dukes of Bourbon and Brittany (fig. 15). The purpose of the *hourt* is simple. It is meant to protect the tourneyer's mount from any stray blows while also providing an additional layer of protection for the tourneyer's legs.\(^{218}\) It is also an eminently practical piece of equipment for the behourd. It differed from the more customary *peytral*, typically made of metal, that protected the chest of horses in the jousts and warfare.\(^{219}\) The *hourt* would have been lighter and more suited to the crushing blows of the behourd than the piercing strike of a lance. Although the term *hourt* was not an invention of René's, an examination of sources that contain this term reveals that it referred to a type of wooden assembly, most frequently as a scaffold or the viewing stands at a tournament.\(^{220}\) René's choice for the term therefore seems to refer to the interwoven wooden supports that form the underlying structure (fig. 12).

However, this piece of equipment was not without precedent. There is at least one example of a similar object found in a museum collection (figs. 183), the German term for which is *stechsack*.\(^{221}\) An early sixteenth-century woodcut by Hans Burgkmair for a *Turnierbuch* shows a pair of jousters whose mounts have a clear bulge under their caparisons where the *stechsack* would rest (fig. 184).\(^{222}\) While different in the specific

\(^{218}\) Appendix A, page 547, lines 16-24.

\(^{219}\) As Nickel points out the *hourt* was not designed for the joust. Nickel, “The Tournament,” 223. In comparison there are examples of the peytral being used in the behourd (figs. 159 and 162)

\(^{220}\) “Dictionnaire du Moyen Français.” Accessed September 2015

\(^{221}\) A similar item is also recorded in: Wendelin Boeheim, *Handbuch der Waff enkunde: das Waffenwesen in seiner historischen Entwicklung vom Beginn des Mittelalters bis zum Ende des 18. Jahrhunderts* (Leipzig: E. A. Seemann, 1890), 555. KHM, B 14. Also see: Ewart Oakeshott, *European Weapons and Armour: From the Renaissance to the Industrial Revolution* (Guildford: Lutterworth Press, 1980), 263-64. In recent email correspondence with Donald J. La Rocca, Curator for Arms and Armor at MMOA and Dr. Matthias Paffenbichler, Direktor, Hofjagd- und Rüstkammer at KHM, I was able to establish that the example in KHM is a "rare original."

\(^{222}\) This image contradicts the theory that the *stechsack*, also *stechkissen* was not suitable for jousting. A possible explanation may lie with the form of lance the jousters carry in this image. The three point coronal would have helped diminish the piercing effect of the lance and the padded protection afforded by the
method of their construction, these pieces exhibit a similar solution to providing a padded protective element for the tourneyer's mount. Moreover, the artist responsible for the D manuscript of the *Livre des tournois* illustrated a form of René's *hourt* that is strikingly similar to the extant piece (fig. 185). The emphasis in the D sequence is on a padded sack that is larger than what is shown in the source image (fig. 11), and more closely resembles the example of the *stechsack* shown above (fig. 183). Therefore, while René's *hourt* was likely based on the knowledge of similar pieces, he adapted and renamed it to suit his immediate purposes.

The presentation of the *masse*, the pierced *cuirass*, the *hourt*, and even the tournament helmet and crest, demonstrates René's breadth of knowledge and experience while simultaneously emphasising the importance of the equipment in defining the form of tournament. Furthermore by repurposing and renaming specific pieces of equipment René has revealed his intention to adapt foreign customs to be more accessible to his intended noble French audience. Contextualising the tournament equipment with regional modes reinforces the conclusion that René drew heavily on the customs of the Low Countries, Germany and the Rhine. Therefore the section on equipment is anything but a distraction or deviation, it is a critical and entwined part of the *Livre des tournois*, and plays an important role in revealing the influences and authorial intent that went into creating the work.

4.6 Conclusion

The format of tournament envisioned by René in the *Livre des tournois* was a complex conglomeration of sources and influences. Although René drew heavily from German and Rhenish sources, to claim that René was influenced by a singular event, author or regional practice would be misleading and erroneous. By testing René's

*stechsack* was intended to minimise the effect of any collision.
statement wherein he listed his influences against historic examples this chapter has proved
that his influences were as diverse as he stated. René not only drew on the tournament
customs of the Flemish, Brabantine, German and Rhenish territories, he also utilised his
own experiences and preferences to assemble a form of tournament that would appeal to
his identified audience, namely the French nobility. In addition, as opposed to attempting
to introduce a form of tournament that was alien to the French nobility, René was
responding to a burgeoning interest in the behourd. By adapting customs to fit the
perceptions and desires of his audience, René was truly crafting what he termed a "\textit{iiiij}"
\textit{facon}.\textsuperscript{223}

Understanding the complexity of his construction reveals two points. The first of
these is the central role of the images. The carefully constructed images, now understood to
be based on empirical examples, reveal a wealth of information. The details that are
embedded into the images are not frivolous curiosities, but rather depictions of a tangible
reality and identifiable customs. Any lack on our part in understanding the \textit{Livre des
tournois} in its entirety is from the gradual loss of the code that unlocks the visual language.
The examples illustrated in this chapter have revealed that deciphering this language is
rooted in a combination of correctly interpreting the relationship of text and image
contained within the \textit{Livre des tournois} against historic examples of tournaments. In turn,
this reveals that despite drawing largely from German and Flemish customs, René was
most definitely writing a treatise for a noble French audience, who he rightly expected
would be fluent in tournament language, both written and visual.

The second point centres on the manner by which René and his audience perceived
how authority on chivalric matters was constructed and conveyed. The fact that René
wrote this treatise acknowledges the cultural emphasis placed on the conveyance and

\textsuperscript{223}\textsuperscript{223}\textsuperscript{223}\textsuperscript{223}\textsuperscript{223}.Appendix A, page 476, line 19.
acquisition of knowledge via books. Despite his extensive experience participating in and hosting tournaments throughout the 1440s, he chose to supplement his chivalric reputation with a written treatise composed well over a decade after his final tournament at Tarascon. Any consideration of the *Livre des tournois* must acknowledge that René clearly believed that the written word was an important vehicle for conveying his authority, reputation and legacy. It was not enough to demonstrate his expertise through action, his authority and legacy now had to be substantiated through the written declaration and preservation of knowledge. However, this is complicated by the central role the images play in the *Livre des tournois*. If René was influenced by written sources, as it seems he at least partially was, he clearly felt that this was not a sufficient means to communicate authority in this matter. The emphasis on the visual presentation and René’s intimate role in constructing the work’s visual cycle speak to his expertise more thoroughly than has been appreciated. For in the end, the visual presentation of the form of tournament in the *Livre des tournois* acknowledges the power of spectacle and the tournament as a visual cultural production. René’s expertise and authority shines because the format of the *Livre des tournois* allowed text and image to work together. As demonstrated in the series of events he sponsored in the 1440s, René was fluent in the visual language of power, display and status, and the *Livre des tournois* reflects that fluency. Just as the *Livre des tournois* was not constructed from a singular source or singular element, neither was René’s reputation. Text, customs, experience and their visualisation conjointly created authority.
5.

Ritual and Regulation:

The tournament as a Tribunal

and the Spectacle of Punishment

5.1 Introduction

Noble identity was comprised, at least in part, by a collection of practices. These practices, or rituals, that defined this identity are the focus of this chapter. The Livre des tournois is filled with descriptions of rituals that are presented to the reader via a carefully orchestrated relationship between text and image. Together the descriptions and images of rituals are illustrative of René's desire to define and project an identity of the nobility as a self-regulating and well-ordered hierarchical social structure. As shown in the previous chapter, René's claim that, "Desquelles troys facons en ay prins ce qui m'a semble bon, et en ay fait et compile une iiii° facon de faire, ainsi que pourrez veoir, s'il vous plaist, par ce que cy apres s'ensuit," suggests that he purposefully constructed the tournament using an array of customs and rituals drawn from diverse sources with the express intent of creating a new unified programme. Thus the Livre des tournois was partly an attempt to establish a new tradition built out of a cognitive assembly of recognisable customs purposefully restructured for René's noble French audience. The rituals envisioned and described by

1. Catherine Bell, Ritual Theory, Ritual Practice (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992), 185; Catherine Bell, Ritual: Perspectives and Dimensions (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), 25. This concept owes a great deal to the original work and subsequent influence of Émile Durkheim. See: Durkheim, The elementary forms of religious life.

2. Appendix A, page 476, lines 17-20. "From these three customs I have taken what seems good to me, and have made and compiled from them a fourth way of holding a tourney, as you will see, if it pleases you, by what follows hereafter." Translation from: Bennett, “King René’s Tournament Book.”

3. Bell, Ritual Theory, Ritual Practice, 118-24. Also see the work of Clifford Geertz and Jonathan Z. Smith. Especially relevant is his suggestion that rituals not only draw upon pre-existing cultural models, but also, importantly, provide models for defining contemporary culture. Geertz, The Interpretation of Cultures, 93-94; Smith, Imagining Religion, 90-100. Also see the collection of essays in: David Cannadine, and Simon Price, eds. Rituals of Royalty: Power and Ceremonial in Traditional Societies (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993). For another example of this approach applied in an historical context, see: Jesse Hurlbut, “Symbols for Authority: Inaugural Ceremonies for Charles The Bold,” in Staging the Court of
René were constructed in a manner mindful of these intentions and as such are specifically focussed on reinforcing group identity and bonds within the nobility while simultaneously declaring the group's position and status relative to an external audience.

The medieval tournament was always about much more than combat. Courty festivities and rituals were integral features of even the earliest tournaments.\(^4\) While tournaments were themselves elaborate and complex rituals composed of many smaller interdependent ceremonies or ritualisations, a broad sweeping analysis of all potential rituals described by René will not be undertaken in this chapter.\(^5\) In order to provide a more rigorous analysis this chapter will focus on a specific ritual group centred around regulating and defining the identity of the noble tourneyers. Throughout this analysis comparisons will be drawn from other rituals described in the *Livre des tournois*, as well as historic events. This will reveal a thorough understanding of the role ritual played in the construction of noble identity. In addition to offering a diverse array of examples drawn from the larger event, the rituals chosen for this chapter are closely entwined with each other in form and meaning. They are described both textually and visually as either self-contained images or focussed vignettes within larger narrative constructions.\(^6\) Finally, the

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5. The diversity and depth of the historiography of ritual studies is clearly summed up in: Bell, *Ritual: Perspectives and Dimensions*, 27-46. Within the same source, also see p. 18 for more on the idea that focussing on specific examples of ritualisations within a larger ritual allows a more thorough investigation. For a useful summary of the background of ritual studies applied to fifteenth century spectacles, see: Lawrence M. Bryant, “Configurations of the Community in Late Medieval Spectacles: Paris and London During the Dual Monarchy,” in *City and Spectacle in Medieval Europe*, ed. Barbara A. Hanawalt, and Kathryn L. Reyerson (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1994), 4-9.

ritual group chosen for the focus of this chapter represents specific aspects of René's idealised event that have not yet been discussed in detail within this thesis.

Ritual offers a particularly attractive window into the understanding of cultural meanings and the construction of identity. Historians have recently focussed more attention on the rich array of secular rituals from the late medieval period.7 The court of Valois Burgundy has proven to be one of the most lucrative fields for this endeavour, particularly so in regard to the interaction between the region's urban centres and its court centred nobility.8 The plethora and depth of sources including financial records, chronicles, etiquette manuals, and personal correspondence coupled with the abundance, variety and quality of visual sources has contributed to the focus on Burgundy as a prime example of a late medieval theatre state.9 As rich as these sources are, focussing exclusively on the Burgundian examples as a comparative body for the rituals described in the Livre des tournois and enacted at René's court leads to the interpretation of René's endeavours as less glorious imitations.10 To counter this prejudice, I will apply an interdisciplinary methodology to a broad range of sources originating from within Valois

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9. The term 'theatre state' has often been applied to Burgundian ceremony and ritual. The term owes its origin to Clifford Geertz. See: Geertz, Negara. For the terms use in reference to Valois Burgundy, see: Nicholas, “In the Pit,” 271-95. As an example of the influence of Burgundian studies on scholarship, see: Paravicini, “The Court of the Dukes of Burgundy,” 69-102.

Burgundy, René’s lands in France, as well as from territories east of the Rhine in order to reach a more comprehensive understanding of the culture into which these rituals provide a window.

In the following pages, ritual is defined as an action or series of actions that is reflective of an idea or belief, administered, overseen or enacted by a specialist or specialists. A necessary component in unravelling ritual is knowing its audience, for ritual involves a dialogue between the participants and the observers. An act naturally takes on different meanings when performed, and interpretations of meaning could vary wildly between the performer and different audiences. In the case of the Livre des tournois, the issue of audience is further complicated by the simple fact that these rituals were a construct rather than a record of any specific historic event. While any record of an historic event, and thereby its description of witnesses and participants is a construction of its author, as we will see the audience that René acknowledged for his idealised tournament was quite different from the audience that would have witnessed the historic equivalent of his event.

5.1.1 Rituals and Regulating the Nobility

A significant portion of the latter half of the Livre des tournois is dedicated to describing and visualising a series of complex rituals involving the review, judgement, and punishment of the tourneyers. These rituals are more than a process by which recalcitrant members of the nobility are punished, they act as an exercise of authority by the group


13. Bell, Ritual: Perspectives and Dimensions, 72-76.
over its members. These rituals serve to reinforce bonds of identity within the group membership while simultaneously conveying the group's status, a status defined by rights and privileges, to an external audience. This complex process does not stand alone, but is rather a continuation of, and dependent upon the rituals that precede and follow it. This complex of ritualisations includes three distinct yet intertwined ceremonies: the display of helmets and crests, the spectacle of punishment, and the initiation of new members.

Although the central importance of this ritual group is reinforced throughout the Livre des tournois, it is most clearly articulated in an early passage in which René enumerated the reasons for holding a tournament. Of these, the first two are specifically concerned with questions of display.

Et tout premierement, en pourra-on mieulx congnoistre lesquels sont d'ancienne noblesse venuz et extraiz, par le port de leurs armes et levement de timbres.

Secondement, ceulx qui auront contre honneur failly, seront la chastiez tellement que une autreffoiz se garderont de faire chose qu'il soit mal seant a honneur.

The first reason acknowledges that some form of recognition of social status by an external audience is desirable, even necessary, and that the tournament provides an opportunity for

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15. Appendix A, page 504, line 11-page 507, line 20. This text is part of a scripted speech, and serves as a further example of how crucial information was embedded in these speeches. For more on this process, see Chapter 1, pages 58-59.

16. Appendix A, page 504, lines 25-page 507, line 5. "And first, all may know which men are come of ancient nobility, by the way they bear arms and crests.

Second, those who have failed to behave honourably will be chastised so that the next time they will be wary of doing that which is not fitting for honour.

Translation from: Bennett, “King René’s Tournament Book.”
this. Furthermore, by explicitly mentioning both the coats of arms and crests in relationship to display, René reinforces the role that heraldic devices played in asserting status and social identity, while simultaneously reminding the reader of their importance to the work's visual narrative.17

René's second purpose casts the tournament as an opportunity for regulating the behaviour of the tourneyers by bringing to light any behaviour that is deemed to be unfitting to their status as nobility and punishing the offenders so that they "will be wary of doing that which is not fitting for honour."18 The punishments prescribed by René are not solely physical acts, but instead contain a vital social element that is mindful of the impact enacted spectacles could have on reputation. This dual emphasis forms the core of the ritualisations aimed at defining noble identity and regulating the behaviour of the tourneyers. However, before examining this further it is necessary to first understand the important role that the tournament judges fulfil within the tournament's rituals as specialists.

5.1.2 Tournament Specialists

In an early passage of his treatise, René identified the *juges diseurs*,19 hereafter simply referred to as judges, as ritual specialists and invested them with specific responsibilities and powers.20 The judges should be four individuals that have been selected by the sponsors of the tournament based on their reputations for valour, intelligence, organisational aptitude, and other virtues that are reflective of their "nobles

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17. Although René's has used the unspecific term "armes" in this passage, I have read it to mean "coats of arms" rather than weapons. This is based on him having paired it together with another heraldic term, "tymbres." In addition, René refers specifically to exercise of arms using swords as a third reason to hold a tournament in a section of text found immediately after this.

18. Appendix A, page 507, line 5. See above note 16.

19. For the definition of *diseur*, see Chapter 3, page 178, note 148.

20. For more on the importance and role of the specialist in rituals, see: Bell, *Ritual Theory, Ritual Practice*, 133-35.
personnes.” The appellant and defendant of the tournament, through their representative, the king of arms, place the responsibility for overseeing the tournament in the care of these four individuals. Their identity as specialists is emphasised in the image depicting their appointment (fig. 4). Here the king of arms, visually cloaked in the authority of the two sponsors of the tournament, hands official letters of credence to the four judges. These letters together with the declarative act invested the judges with a unique status, responsibility, and the power to review and pass judgement on their peers. It is no coincidence that from this point forward in the image cycle the judges are no longer presented in their mundane clothing. They are instead depicted dressed in scarlet robes and carrying batons to signal their office, visual symbols of their position and authority. Philippe le Bon was depicted in numerous contemporary manuscript illustrations carrying a similar rod as a symbolic designation of his invested authority (figs. 186 and 187). The status and unique set of roles assigned to the judges within the tournament rituals help to define and reinforce noble identity.

There is a rich historical precedent of tournament specialists endowed with responsibilities and empowered to act in capacities similar to what is assigned to the judges


22. For the importance of clothing in defining status and position, see: Wim Blockmans, “The Feeling of Being Oneself,” in Showing Status: Representation of Social Positions in the Late Middle Ages, ed. Wim Blockmans, and Antheun Janse (Turnhout: Brepols, 1999), 13. For the use of clothing in the emulation of noble status, see: Sheila Lindenbaum, “Ceremony and Oligarchy: The London Midsummer Watch,” in City and Spectacle in Medieval Europe, ed. Barbara A. Hanawalt, and Kathryn L. Reyerson (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1994), 177. Particularly relevant is the assumption of long red gowns such as that worn by the judges in the Livre des tournois, to symbolise solemn authority. See note 23 in this chapter.


in the *Livre des tournois*. The tournament ordinances imposed by Richard I in 1194 appointed the Earls of Warenne, Gloucester, and Salisbury to positions wherein they were responsible for the administration of all tournaments in England. The broad powers of oversight and administration of tournaments the earls were invested with foreshadowed the status and duties exemplified in later tournament judges. In the romance *Fulk Fitz-Warin*, written in the first half of the thirteenth century, "judges, heralds and diseurs" are identified as tournament specialists and arbitrators. A fourteenth-century manuscript from the early reign of Edward III refers to dyseurs and disours when discussing the role of judges in the tournament ordinances issued by Edward I. The term is found in another manuscript, possibly compiled in Normandy and dated to the early fifteenth century. Among this manuscript's numerous descriptions of tournament customs that bear striking similarity to those in the *Livre des tournois*, is a reference to tournament judges as "juges diseurs." Finally, an account of the tournament held in Bruges between the Lords of Jonvelle and Commines records that the "deseurs" of this event, the "sire de Robois et le gouverneur de Flandres," fulfilled a number of duties similar to those described by René in the *Livre des tournois*, including dividing the tourneyers into teams, overseeing the running of the event, and awarding the tournament prizes.

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28. London, College of Arms, MS M. 19, f. 133.

29. For a description of the similar phrases found between this manuscript and the *Livre des tournois*, see: Moffat, “The Medieval Tournament,” 64.

30. RAL, Codex RAR.0035(I.35), ff. 11-12v; BL, MS Lansdowne 285, ff. 44-46.
In fact, individuals filling similar positions and responsible for a comparable set of duties played important roles in tournaments throughout Europe. Four judges at a tournament at Valladolid in 1334 in the Kingdom of Castile were forced to interrupt the event when the fighting became too fierce.\textsuperscript{31} Later that evening the judges were consulted for their decision as to who had won the tournament.\textsuperscript{32} Another example, and one which illustrates the differentiated duties between heralds and judges discussed in Chapter 3, is found in the description of the tournament held in Bologna in 1339. During this event judges were given the responsibility of deciding who had scored the best hit with a lance, while a herald was given the task of recording their decision.\textsuperscript{33} The differentiation between the duties and status of the judges and heralds is also evidenced by an image found in the anonymous account of René's Pas d'armes de la Joyeuse garde held outside of Saumur in 1446 (fig. 136).\textsuperscript{34} The four judges of the tournament, the Lord of Tucé, the Lord of Martigué, Antoine de la Sale, and Hardoin Fresneau, are shown in the uppermost portion of the viewing stand overseeing the jousts.\textsuperscript{35} In comparison, the two heralds who sit below them have been depicted holding quills and parchment, a clear visual record of their duty to record and memorialise the combats and event.\textsuperscript{36} An ordinance dated 1361 originating from within Upper Bavaria called for a council of four to oversee the local knights and charged the four to hold an annual court of review to be held during a tournament.\textsuperscript{37}

During a Burgundian formal combat held in Bruges in 1449, the judges were called upon

\textsuperscript{31} Rosell, \textit{Crónicas de los Reyes}, 231-232, 293.
\textsuperscript{32} Barber, and Barker, \textit{Tournaments}, 96; Boulton, \textit{The Knights of the Crown}, 83-84.
\textsuperscript{33} Barber, and Barker, \textit{Tournaments}, 80; Matthaei de Griffonibus, \textit{Matthaei de Griffonibus historicum de rebus Bononiensium Memorial} ed. Ludovico Antonio Muratori, Lodovico Friars and Albano Sorbelli (Roma: Instituto storico italiano per il Medio Evo, 1902), 52.
\textsuperscript{34} NLR, ms. fr. F. p. XIV, 4, f. 10v.
\textsuperscript{35} NLR, ms. fr. F. p. XIV, 4, f. 5v. Also see: Nadot, \textit{Le Spectacle des joutes}, 112.
\textsuperscript{36} See Chapter 3, pages 171-172.
to decide a point of honour between the combatants and thus determine the victor. The fact that references to judges in tournaments are found within sources as diverse as ordinances, chronicles and romances throughout Europe over the lifespan of the tournament indicates two things. The first is the pervasive understanding throughout chivalric society of the need for an arbitrator figure in tournaments, one who was acknowledged for his expertise and invested with the power to rule decisively on various issues arising during the course of the event. The second is that from a fairly early point in the history of the tournament this specialist was responsible for a wide ranging set of duties similar to those described in the *Livre des tournois*.

The special status of the judges and the respect they commanded is evidenced by a long list of examples. In 1434, the famed Castilian knight Don Pero Niño, Count of Buelna was called upon to serve as a judge for the Passo Honoroso. Antoine de la Sale, René's one time courtier and author of his own treatise on tournament customs, was widely considered to be an expert of the laws of arms and chivalric customs and, as indicated above, served as a judge during René's tournament held at Saumur in 1446. In 1447, the King of France presided over a combat between Jehan Chalons and Louis de Bueil. In 1435, Philippe le Bon, Duke of Burgundy acted in his capacity of judge to halt the fight between Pierre de Bauffremont and Juan de Merlo. In 1495, at a tournament held in Worms, the honour of serving as judges was given to the Spanish and Venetian

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38. Two contemporary authors who record the event are: La Marche, *Mémoires*, II, pp. 124-126; Chastellain, *Oeuvres*, 181-86. For a summary, see: Barber, and Barker, *Tournaments*, 130-32.


ambassadors.\textsuperscript{43} From these examples and the respect accorded to their position, rank and expertise, we can conclude that the role of the judge in historic tournaments was associated with the same range of virtues that René insisted they possess.\textsuperscript{44}

This broad range of examples illustrates that the position of the judge as a specialist within the tournament was a universal feature found across medieval Europe throughout the lifespan of the tournament. As tournament regulations became more complex, impartial arbiters became increasingly necessary. Thus the specialist's range of duties evolved from an early administrative role to include review and adjudication. Moreover, there was a status attached to the identity of being a judge. They were ostensibly chosen for their expertise on tournament customs and points of honour, and were expected to represent this status through their actions and decisions. René is very clear that the judges should be chosen because they embody the virtues of renown, intelligence and valour, as well as represent the pinnacle of the nobility.\textsuperscript{45} They were granted powers to not only determine the outcome of the tournament but to also review their peers' actions. Finally, as illustrated in Chapter 3, although heralds would occasionally serve as judges at tournaments, there was a distinction between the two roles, one which René insisted on within the \textit{Livre des tournois}.\textsuperscript{46} While both played critical roles in the different rituals of the tournament, only the judges were imbued with the power to hold the tourneyers accountable for their actions. Revealing the role, position and identity of the judges in the \textit{Livre des tournois} is vital to understanding the rituals of review and judgement that are the focus of the remainder of this chapter.

\textsuperscript{43} Zotz, “Adel, Bürgertum und Turnier,” 459.
\textsuperscript{44} See pages 264-265 in this chapter.
\textsuperscript{45} Appendix A, page 504, lines 19-23.
\textsuperscript{46} See Chapter 3, pages 177-183.
5.2 Display and Review

The review of the tourneyers' helmets and crests is arguably one of the most important ceremonies envisioned by René within the Livre des tournois. It lies at the heart of a series of rituals for regulating the behaviour of the tourneyers, which together through the interaction of publicly enacted and exclusive or restricted ceremonies function to define the group's identity. René enumerated a series of offences that any tourneyer may be accused of during this ceremony. These are lying or breaking a promise, usury, marrying a wife who is a commoner, not being descended exclusively from nobility, and speaking ill of noble ladies. Except for the question of a tourneyer's ancestry, a point that I will examine in detail later in this chapter, these regulations are all aimed at curbing behaviour that would negatively impact the group's reputation. Similar regulations are found in conjunction with a series of tournaments held along the Rhine during the fifteenth century, as well as within the ordinances of the numerous tournament companies that existed around the same region at this time. René's list is by no means unique and


48. Appendix A, page 628, line 24-page 632, line 8. René emphasises the severity of the first two accusations; lying or breaking an oath, and usury. The importance placed on verbal bonds and oaths is perfectly consistent with expectations of the nobility and chivalric class. For another example of the stressed importance of the oath as reflective of nobility, see: Colleen Donnelly, “Aristocratic Veneer and the Substance of Verbal Bonds in “The Weddynge of Sir Gawen and Dame Ragnell” and “Gamelyn”,” Studies in Philology 94, no. 3 (1997), 321-43.

49. On the question of a tourneyer's ancestry, see below pages 299-310.

50. For useful summaries, see: Barber, and Barker, Tournaments, 186-190; Meyer, “Turniergesellschaften.”
regulations imposed on the tournament with the intention of limiting participation or curbing behaviour during the event were certainly not a new phenomenon in the fifteenth century, nor were they a feature exclusive to Rhenish tournament traditions.  

... However, the language and forms found in René's prohibitions seem to have been most directly influenced by Rhenish and German tournament traditions. Based on references to "warlike sports" found in the thirteenth century, a chronicler from Magdeburg who wrote the Schöppenchronik credited the earliest tournaments together with a series of ordinances to the Holy Roman Emperor, Heinrich der Vogler (918-936). In the early fifteenth century, this tradition was taken up in a series of Turnierbücher, which credited the emperor as the sponsor of the first tournament supposedly held in 938. This tradition continued through the fifteenth century and was taken up by Georg Rüxner and Sebastian Münster in the early to mid-sixteenth century when they both separately included it as the earliest tournament in their two influential works. Despite the obvious anachronistic dating, as the emperor had died two years prior to the fictitious event, Rüxner's and Münster's works became the basis for the history of the tournament until well into the nineteenth century. Out of this tradition and linked to this historicised event, a set of ordinances were gradually codified into a series of twelve articles, supposedly agreed to by the emperor and his leading nobles, which detail a number of offences and their

51. Barber, and Barker, Tournaments, 190-91.


54. Georg Rüxner, also known as Georg Rixner, by his own spelling, as well as Jerusalem Herold and kaiserlicher Herold. See: Lotte Kurra, “Georg Rixner, der reichsherold ‘Jerusalem’,” Mitteilungen des Vereins für Geschichte der Stadt Nürnberg 69(1982), 341-44. For Rüxner's work see: Rüxner, Anfang, Ursprung und Herkommen; Rixner, Turnierbuch. For Münster's work see: Sebastian Münster, Cosmographia: Beschreibung aller Lender (Basel: Heinrich Petri, 1544); Sebastian Münster, Cosmographiae Universalis (Basel: Heinrich Petri, 1550); Matthew McLean, The Cosmographia of Sebastian Münster: Describing the World in the Reformation (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007). It is necessary to cite both the 1544 and 1550 editions of Münster's work in order to draw attention to the variations between the texts.

55. Barber, and Barker, Tournaments, 69.
punishments. Four of the twelve articles are particularly relevant to the regulations issued by René.

Whoever, though nobly born, insults or dishonors women or virgins, either with words or acts, he shall be publicly punished in the tournament field.

Whoever, though nobly born, is found to be a breaker of sealed contracts, and of sworn oaths, he shall be declared to be without honor, and shall not be admitted to a tournament; if he appears in spite of this, he shall be punished.

Whoever, though nobly born, would not keep his nobleman's state, and would not be content with the rents and tithes from his fiefs, hereditary or in knight's service, and with the pay obtained as a councillor or knight from his lord, or from other property, but instead would deal in merchant's wise in usury, bank, resale or merchandise, and similar things, which would besmirch his nobility, and also would take the bread out of the mouth of his dependents, if in spite of these things he would come to a tournament to joust, he shall be punished.

Whoever would come to tourney, and is not born a nobleman by his parents, and cannot prove to have four noble ancestors, he cannot justly participate in a tournament... Item, if any nobleman would take in marriage a burgher or peasant women, he and his descendants to the third generation should not be admitted to a tournament. 56

In further support of the previous discussion on the prominent role of judges in the tournament and their expertise on tournament customs, it is worth noting that five of the twelve articles were supposedly written by the judges for this event. 57 The similarity between these four ordinances and those issued by René's is obvious.

Furthermore, the similarities between René's regulations and those issued for actual tournaments held in the German and Rhenish territories reinforce the argument that René drew heavily on traditions from these regions. Similar regulations are found in the ordinances issued for tournaments held in Würzburg in 1479 and Heidelberg in 1481. 58

These include prohibitions against tourneyers who have married non-nobles (unless the

56. Münster, Cosmographiae (1550), 744-46. The translation can be found in: Nickel, “The Tournament,” 251-53. The text that Nickel uses is taken from: Münster, Cosmographia (1544), cccclxxxv-ccclxxxvi. Also see: McLean, The Cosmographia of Sebastian Münster, 286-87. Although the origins of the regulations can be traced back to the thirteenth century, I have opted to use a translation of the sixteenth-century edition because it is both readily accessible and clearer than the German.


marriage brought the knight more than 4000 guilders), men who could not trace their noble ancestry back through four generations (or whose ancestors had not participated in a tournament in the last fifty years), slanderers of women, and more.\textsuperscript{59} Tournament ordinances issued in Heilbronn in 1485 by a committee composed of members of four different tournament companies list 43 separate articles which include variations of the same core regulations issued by René.\textsuperscript{60} Although these three tournaments occurred after René wrote the \textit{Livre des tournois}, they exemplify the widespread regulations that were commonly in place throughout the region in question. The most striking difference between these examples and the \textit{Livre des tournois} is the comparatively low number of restrictions listed by René. However, the fact that there are relatively few ordinances contained in the text of the \textit{Livre des tournois} in no way decreases their importance. The focus is instead shifted to the visualisation of the punishment rituals and thus emphasised the consequences of violating these social codes.

The central ritual that stems from these regulations is a process of peer review. As described by René, the tourneyors display their helmets and crests as part of a ritual wherein they submit themselves to the review of the noble men and women attending the tournament and the adjudication of the noble judges (fig. 22).\textsuperscript{61} The ceremony should take place within a cloister, because as René writes, it is the most suitable location to hold such a ceremony.\textsuperscript{62} Knowledge of the different transgressions and the actions that result if a tourneyor is accused of any of them is vital for understanding the various rituals that may be enacted during the display of helmets and crests. René indicates that the noble ladies present at the tournament are to process around the displayed helmets and crests three or

\textsuperscript{59} Vale, \textit{War and Chivalry}, 96.

\textsuperscript{60} Barker, and Keen, “The Medieval English Kings,” 189.

\textsuperscript{61} Appendix A, page 628, lines 1-18. The majority of the ritual is described in the first paragraph, with additional details relevant to the later discussion found throughout the following paragraphs.

\textsuperscript{62} See below, pages 274-285. Also see: Appendix A, page 604, lines 9-14.
four times while being led by the judges, all in the company of a herald.63 The herald's role is to know and inform the assembled ladies of the name of the tourneyer, although as demonstrated in Chapter 3 René does not charge the herald with imparting any further information about the tourneyers.64 During this procession any lady may touch the crest of a tourneyer to indicate that the individual has spoken ill of the noble ladies.65 The accusation will then be addressed the next day and only on the decision of the judges will the guilty party then be punished during the tournament's melee, with the stated intent of discouraging any future transgressions.66

5.2.1 The Review of the Helmets and Crests

The review ritual described by René is depicted in the accompanying image with both precision and purpose (fig. 22). This image has been misread as depicting a visual narrative of the ritualised accusation of a tourneyer having spoken ill of the noble ladies.67 However as we will see, a careful and accurate reading of text and image reveals a narrative of a much more serious accusation. The noble ladies, in the midst of their procession around the cloisters, are shown watching the unfolding drama (fig. 188). At the centre of the action the king of arms bends down to retrieve a fallen helmet (fig. 100). Meanwhile, nearby tourneyers gesture towards the action as if they are caught in mid conversation (fig. 189). The attendants found just inside the inner wall peer down onto the helmet, while one seems to incline his head in a possible gesture of sympathetic shame for his lord (fig. 190). The severity of the situation is captured by the interrupted action and

64. See Chapter 3, page 188. Also: Appendix A, page 628, lines 6-9.
67. Nickel, “The Tournament,” 236; Lefèvre, Antoine de la Sale, 258. Two of the few correct interpretations of this ritual and its visualisation can be found in: Gautier, and Avril, Splendeur de l'enluminure, 276; Taylor, Chivalry and the Ideals of Knighthood, 79-80.
universal focus of the participants on the unfolding drama. The balance of the composition focusses the viewer's attention to the fallen helmet and crest. By placing the judges in the centre of the image and physically separate from the tourneyers and noble ladies, the artist has reinforced their position and authority as key specialists within the ritual (fig. 191). One judge gestures accusingly towards the fallen helmet with his baton, as if touching it were far beneath his dignity. The convenience of the cloister as an adapted space wherein the ritual takes place is conveyed by the narrative contained within the image (fig. 192). The outer path is perfect for the processional route the noble ladies and judges use, while the inner walls serve as excellent shelves on which the tourneyers' helmets and crests are displayed. Even the inner courtyard serves as a useful space for the tourneyers' attendants. Finally, and perhaps most importantly, the entire space is enclosed. It is a restricted space where access to the ritual could be strictly controlled therefore limiting the potential witnesses to an exclusive group.68

Similar rituals of display and review are found in the descriptions of tournaments held at Würzburg and Heidelberg in 1479 and 1481 respectively. The tourneyers' helmets were displayed in a monastery cloister while their swords were inspected and approved for use in the combat held on the following day.69 During a tournament in Rothenburg in 1348 helmets and crests were put on display for the purpose of dividing the knights into two teams.70 During the tournament between the Lords of Jonvelle and Commines held in Bruges sometime between 1416 and 1430, the tourneyers displayed their banners and helms in the city's square during which the tournament judges divided the tourneyers into

68. See page 270, note 47 in this chapter.
69. Gamber, “Ritterspiel und Turnierprüfung,” 520; Rixner, Turnierbuch; Rüxner, Anfang, Ursprung und Herkommen, clxiiij.
70. Matthias Neuwenburg, “Cronica 1273-1350,” in Fontes rerum germanicarum, ed. Heinricus de Diessenhofen, Alfons Huber, and Johann Friedrich Böhmer (Stuttgart: J. G. Cotta, 1868), 254-55; Barber, and Barker, Tournaments, 58-60.
two teams.71 A similar practice was implemented at the tournament held in Brussels in 1428. Monstrelet records that at this event "wise councillors and heralds" in consultation divided the tourneyers into two teams of roughly similar strength.72 From these examples it seems that a ceremony wherein the teams were divided up was not based on consulting a list of participants, but rather through an enacted ritual involving the display of the tourneyers' coats of arms.73 The division of the tourneyers into teams, by the judges, is a practice that René also indicates should happen during the review.74

However, when comparing these other accounts against the practice suggested in the *Livre des tournois* it is critical to consider the location of the ritual and the audience that would have witnessed the event.75 A close reading of these sources reveals two very different rituals, one aimed at admiration, the other at evaluation and review. Jean de Stavelot in his description of the tournament held at Brussels in 1439 mentions that on the day after the tourneyers arrived, and a day before the "behourde", a "moistre" (sic), or showing, took place.76 The timing of the *monstre* between the arrival of the participants and the combat potentially suggests that it was a ritual similar to the review described in the *Livre des tournois*. However, the author's single word description could also be taken to indicate a more publicly accessible display of arms such as René calls for outside the inn


73. Mario Damen suggests that the judges would have likely consulted a list. Damen, “Tournament Culture,” 255.

74. Appendix A, page 604, lines 14-19. Freigang observes that some tourneyers seem to switch sides and fight for a different captain than they were originally teamed up with, and suggests this is part of the irony of the tournament. Rather, a careful reading of the text together with examples of historic tournaments indicates that this redistribution of tourneyers into teams was perfectly commonplace. Freigang, “Le tournoi idéal,” 184.

75. See page 270, note 47 in this chapter.

76. This is most likely meant to be *monstre*. Stavelot, *Chronique de Jean de Stavelot*, 433; Damen, “The Town, the Duke, his Courtiers, and their Tournament,” 87; Damen, “Tournament Culture,” 256.
where the tourneyers are lodged (fig. 18).\textsuperscript{77} Another account of the same tournament described by Stavelot records that the tourneyers displayed their arms \textit{veijnsteren}, or fenestrated, meaning that they were displayed in the windows of the inns where the tourneyers were lodged.\textsuperscript{78} Unfortunately, the lack of other descriptions of this event or further elaboration from Stavelot forgoes any definitive conclusion other than to say some type of ritualised display involving the tourneyers' arms took place. Other tournaments, such as the urban sponsored jousts of the Epinette in Lille and the Witte Beer in Bruges, featured ritualised displays of the participants' coats of arm in a setting whereby the general population of the town could view them.\textsuperscript{79} The display and review described in the account of the event held in Bruges between the Lords of Commines and Jonvelle clearly indicates that this ritual took place in the city's public square.\textsuperscript{80} It is reasonable to assume that displays enacted within public spaces such as the outside of inns and the town squares would have been readily accessible to and witnessed by a non-noble, non-participant audience. The location of these rituals within a broadly accessible public venue in contrast to the relatively restricted access of the cloister is a point which I will return to below.

Within Georg Rüxner's \textit{Turnierbuch} there are a number of displays described both textually and visually that emphasise the contrast in audiences for different tournament rituals.\textsuperscript{81} In the first image, the placement of the helmets and crests along an urban street clearly implies that this was a public display (fig. 193). The setting of this image is in

\textsuperscript{77} It is worth noting that in this image the relative status of the captains is not only emphasised by the prominent placement and size of the plaques bearing their arms, but is further emphasised by the inclusion of their pennons and banners as compared to just the banners for the other tourneyers.


\textsuperscript{79} Neste, \textit{Tournois, joutes, pas d’armes}, 94.

\textsuperscript{80} See page 276, note 71 in this chapter.

\textsuperscript{81} For instance, see: Rüxner, \textit{Anfang, Ursprung und Herkommen}, f. ijv, f iiiijv, i iijv, l iijv, m vjv, o ij, s vj, v iijv, z iiijv, aa jv, dd ij, gg iij, gg iiij, mm iiij, nn vjv, oo vjv, rr iijv, tt jv, vv vj, I ii vjv, N nn ij, P pp ij, and T tt iiiij.
clear contrast to the next image from the cycle, which depicts a more formal ritual in which the audience was restricted to an exclusive group, similar to the one described by René and envisioned in the *Livre des tournois* (fig. 194). Like the *Livre des tournois*, the progression of a continual visual narrative of the event in Rüxner's *Turnierbuch* is indicated to the viewer by the replication of the same helmets and crests in both images. The intimacy of the second ritual in Rüxner's *Turnierbuch* is conveyed by the closed interior space, a clear contrast to the open street setting of the first image. The repetition of the same images for different events within Rüxner's *Turnierbuch* indicates that the iconography was readily applicable to iterations of similar rituals within different tournaments.

The image of the tournament combat included in Rüxner's *Turnierbuch* raises the possibility that there were two types of public display (fig. 159). Shown mounted on the exterior of one of the buildings surrounding the tournament field are plaques painted with the coats of arm and crests of the tourneyers (fig. 195). This display clearly shares more in common with the public display of arms outside the inns that is depicted in the *Livre des tournois* (fig. 18), or the description of the fenestrated arms at Brussels in 1439, than does the prior image of public display from Rüxner's work (fig 193). Unfortunately, the text of Rüxner's *Turnierbuch* is unclear as to whether the two public displays were different rituals or just different artistic interpretations of the same ritual. However, the interpretation that there was a tradition of multiple forms of public display rituals is reinforced by the description of the tournament held in Bruges between the Lords of Commines and Jonvelle. As already noted, the account of this event records that the judges divided the tourneyers into teams during a showing held in the city's main square. However prior to this ceremony, and much like what René described should occur in the *Livre des tournois*,

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82. See Chapter 2, pages 112-120.
83. See page 276, note 71 in this chapter.
the tourneyers were required to hang their arms in display (fig. 18). The account goes on to record that after the ceremony in which the tourneyers had been divided into teams, they were then required to have their arms rehung, presumably in accordance with whatever team they had been assigned to. The artist of Rüxner's *Turnierbuch* could thus have illustrated a set of rituals that were closer to what took place in Bruges than what René envisioned. Despite the nuanced differences between these events and René's idealised vision, there was clearly an understanding that at least two separate displays took place: the first in a public setting accessible to a wide audience, and the second in a restricted space with a more exclusive and select audience.

The D manuscript of the *Livre des tournois* also emphasises this change in ritual location and audience. As noted in the previous chapter, the images from this manuscript emphasise the urban setting far more than the corresponding images from the other manuscripts. This aids in conveying the different settings of the two rituals. In the first image, the herald is shown in the act of mounting the plaques with the tourneyers' arms on the outside of a building along a public street (fig. 141). Meanwhile the inclusion of spectators suggests that a larger urban audience had access to and witnessed this ritualised display. The contrast in venues and audiences of the two rituals is highlighted by two later images showing the procession to the review and the review itself (figs. 196 and 197). The interior, restricted space along with the elite audience composed of noble ladies and tourneyers in the latter image clearly contrasts with the public venue of the previous image. The image cycle of D, despite being largely independent from the source manuscript's image cycle, demonstrates that there was a clear understanding of two separate rituals held in different venues and accessible to different audiences. The impact that identifying these

84. For this and the next sentence, see: RAL, Codex RAR.0035(I.35), f. 11v. An edition and translation of the text can be found in: Moffat, “The Medieval Tournament,” 114-115, 248.

85. See Chapter 4, pages 236-237.
different audiences has in interpreting the rituals will be addressed at the end of this chapter.

The Castilian knight and diplomat Pero Tafur describes, with fascination and admiration, the rituals enacted at a tournament held in Schaffhausen in 1438. As part of this event, "the elders went apart with certain matrons and took counsel, and enquired whether any nobleman had done ought amiss." Tafur records that the reviewers are concerned "whether any had forced or dishonored matron or maid, or had seized the goods of a minor (child) who had no protector, or had debased himself for greed of money by marrying a woman of low birth, or had otherwise degraded his rank." These transgressions are very similar to those found in René's list as well as the ordinances of the numerous tournament companies from this period. This review is clearly differentiated from the display ritual described by the author and in which a herald carried plaques painted with the arms of the tourneyers from house to house throughout the city. Tafur thus also described two rituals that were very similar to René's. The first was public. It, like the display of arms outside the inn in the Livre des tournois, communicated the individuals' identities as members of an elite social group to a large external audience. The second event was more exclusive. Like the ritual envisioned by René, the process of counsel and review was shielded from the wider population. It was an affair reserved for members of the nobility. The privatisation of the second ritual served to reinforce group bonds within the nobility, while simultaneously declaring to the wider population that the right to pass judgement on the nobility's actions was a prerogative reserved exclusively to their peers, thus establishing and declaring the boundaries of the group's identity.

86. Tafur, and Letts, Pero Tafur, 208.
87. Tafur, and Letts, Pero Tafur, 208.
88. See above, pages 270-273.
89. Tafur, and Letts, Pero Tafur, 208.
As described previously, the review ritual that René envisioned was to be held within the cloisters behind the confined walls of the religious house where the judges should take their lodging. Participation was reserved for an exclusive group comprised of only the tourneyers, their retainers, the judges, and noble ladies. While René did not explicitly prohibit a wider audience as witnesses, there is no acknowledgement in the text that a non-noble audience might or should view the ritual. René's conception of a narrowly defined audience for this ritual is reinforced by the image that depicts the scene (fig. 22). In fact, the image was constructed in such a way that it reflects René's concern for proper decorum in courtly etiquette. The clothing of the tourneyers in this image matches the styles they wear in earlier images (fig. 5), thus creating a visual continuity useful for identifying them and recognising their status.\textsuperscript{90} The interior wall acts not only as a convenient shelf for the helms, but also as a physical barrier separating the nobility from their retainers. The noble ladies are shown ordered by rank with the highest among them leading the procession. Her status is not only conveyed by the fashionable ermine lined dress, high hennin, and thick gold necklace, but definitively confirmed by the young attendant who carries her gown's train (fig. 198). In her account of Burgundian court etiquette, \textit{Les honneurs de la cour} (1484-1491), Aliénor de Poitiers noted that only the highest ranked noble lady at any gathering may have her train carried.\textsuperscript{91} All other ladies of lower rank, even if they were from the highest echelons of the nobility, must carry their own trains. Thus Isabel de Portugal, Duchess of Burgundy, would have her train carried at most events. However, when she was in the presence of another higher ranking noblewoman, such as Charlotte de Savoie, Dauphine of France, the duchess was etiquette-


bound to carry her own train or let it drag on the ground.\textsuperscript{92} This subtle distinction in rank is perfectly captured by the artist. Directly behind the leading noble lady is another who, although similarly dressed, is shown carrying her own train (fig. 199).

A similar emphasis on status based on a hierarchical visual ordering is reflected in the lineup of helmets and crests on the cloister's walls. The banners and crests of the two captains, the Dukes of Brittany and Bourbon, occupy the most prominent positions at two opposing corners of the cloisters.\textsuperscript{93} It is at the point furthest removed from both patrons that the drama of the cast down helmet occurs (fig. 200). The tourneyer whose actions are in question has been placed as far as possible from either captain, as if his shame might reflect on them. This visual device reinforces the point made in Chapter 2 that the identity of the shamed tourneyer cannot be linked to either captain.\textsuperscript{94} Finally, and as demonstrated in Chapter 1, specific visual devices within the image such as the enclosed interior space, the viewing angle and the judge's gaze, all function to address the reader as one of the nobility.\textsuperscript{95} The entire construction of the visual space and arrangement of protagonists in the image thus depicts an exclusive ritual aimed at a small select audience, the nobility, which is the same audience René wrote his treatise for.

A similar awareness of space and its impact on audience is found in an image from \textit{Das Wappenbuch Conrads von Grünenberg, Ritters und Bürgers zu Constanz}, a late fifteenth-century armorial and \textit{Turnierbuch} (fig. 201). This image depicts a \textit{helmschau}, to use the German term for the ritualised display, as taking place within an enclosed space and attended by the tourneyers and noble ladies. Like the \textit{Livre des tournois}, the image from \textit{Das Wappenbuch} emphasises the exclusivity of the review ceremony. The reserved

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{92} Paviot, “Éléonore de Poitiers,” 94-97.
\item \textsuperscript{93} Mérindol, “Le livre des tournois,” 185.
\item \textsuperscript{94} See Chapter 2, pages 114-115.
\item \textsuperscript{95} See Chapter 1, pages 76-78.
\end{itemize}
interior space where the review takes place is emphasised by the lower half of the image, which shows a procession leading towards a stairway that ascends into the cloisters. The procession of tourneyers passes through a gate, moving from the public city street to the more exclusive interior where the review takes place. Although the narrative spatial transition takes place within a single image in Das Wappenbuch, the transition from public to private space for these rituals is also emphasised in the Livre des tournois. The sequential images of the procession to the review and the review depict the tourneyers moving from an exterior scene through a gateway and into the exclusive setting of the cloisters (figs. 21 and 22). The transition between spatial boundaries is emphasised in the Livre des tournois image by a feature of the layout that was introduced in Chapter 1.96

These are the only two images that share a folio.97 The reader thus turns the page from the procession to be immediately shown the review, without any intervening blank pages or text, thus emphasising both the continuation of an unbroken narrative sequence and the shift in spatial setting. As a further testimony to the importance that the arrangement of these images played in the image cycle, this is a feature repeated in every manuscript copy of the Livre des tournois that replicates the entirety of the source manuscript's image cycle.98 The image from Das Wappenbuch shares further similarities with the image of the helmet review from the Livre des tournois, not least of which is a helmet shown cast to the ground and in the process of being picked up by a herald wearing a cloak emblazoned with what appear to be the arms of the tournament captains and judges (fig. 202).99

96. See Chapter 1, pages 76-78.
97. P1, ff. 66v-67, 67v-68.
98. Appendix C, page 727. P2, ff. 36v-37, 37v-38; K, ff. 33v-34, 34v-35; P3, ff. 40v-41, 41v-42; P4, ff. 46v-47, 47v-48. For more on the reception of the Livre des tournois and the replication of the source manuscript's image cycle, see Chapter 6.
99. The other striking difference is the depiction of historically accurate coats of arms for the participants of the tournament related to the helmschau, as opposed to the invented arms of René's review.
The exclusivity of the review ritual is found in nearly every copy of the *Livre des tournois* that contains this image. The two exceptions are in manuscripts commissioned by Louis de Bruges (figs. 203 and 204). While the layout of the images, including the interior physical space of the cloisters and the details of the review ritual have all been maintained, the image has been widened slightly. This extra space allowed the artists to include a new group of spectators at the back left corner of the scene who are not part of the audience in either the source image or the other two manuscripts that replicate the image (figs. 22, 205 and 206). The clothing of this additional group indicates that they belong to a slightly lower social rank than the nobles (figs. 207 and 208). The hats of both the men and women are less ornate, and their robes and gowns are less fashionably cut. This subtle addition of new audience members likely reflects the more inclusive nature of Flemish and Brabantine tournaments. In particular, the tournament sponsored by the patron's grandfather in 1393 was a far less exclusive event than René's ideal. Both local nobility and urban patricians participated as combatants in the event. Like the 1393 tournament, the tournament held in Brussels in 1439 and described in the previous chapter featured a wide array of social statuses among its participants, including urban patricians, local nobility, and members of the higher nobility, including Philippe le Bon, Duke of Burgundy. The subtle differences between this group of replicated images thus reflect a

100.P3, ff. 41v-42; P4, ff. 47v-48.
101. See: Appendix E for the relative sizes of this image in the different manuscripts.
102. P2, ff. 37v-38; K, ff. 34v-35.
103. For the importance of the hat as an indication of status, see: Blockmans, “The Feeling of Being Oneself,” 14; Raymond Van Uytven, “Showing off One’s Rank in the Middle Ages,” in *Showing Status: Representation of Social Positions in the Late Middle Ages*, ed. Wim Blockmans, and Antheun Janse (Turnhout: Brepols, 1999), 29-34.
104. For the relationship between the 1393 tournament in Bruges and the *Livre des tournois*, see Chapter 6, pages 353-363.
105. See Chapter 4, pages 237-238.
crucial nuance between René's ideal and the reality of the ritual at the local level in Flanders and Brabant.

While René has thus acknowledged the usefulness of having two different ritualised displays as part of the tournament, he has structured the ceremonies to reinforce his central concerns of declaring the identity and status of the nobility to an external audience, while reinforcing the bonds of group identity. The public display of the tourneyers' arms outside their inns was a declarative action. The audience was presented with a cohesive, albeit carefully ordered hierarchical, group identity. In contrast, the exclusivity of the review ceremony functioned to reinforce bonds within the group by limiting the process of review and judgement of the noble tourneyers to an elite body composed exclusively of members of their social class. This testifies to the author's efforts in actively assembling and reworking a broad array of traditions to suit his vision of a tournament centred on reinforcing noble identity and exclusivity.

5.3 The Spectacle of Punishment

The second set of ceremonies that form a part of the larger ritual aimed at regulating the tourneyers centres on the punishments for those who have been found guilty of violating René's prohibitions. Unlike the process of review which takes place within the seclusion of the cloister walls, the punishments are meant to be carried out during the tournament combat in the most public venue of the event. The previous chapter revealed how René's acknowledgement of the audience who would have witnessed this portion of the tournament was at odds with the historic reality of events located in a similar urban setting.106 This conflict between ideal and reality was shown to be a reflection of René's personal experience with and preference for elite, exclusive events. However, identifying who would have witnessed the event is crucial for understanding the meaning behind the

106. See Chapter 4, pages 233-245.
enacted punishment rituals. Contextualising the details of these punishment rituals with the cultural value systems of the work's audience reveals that the public enactment of punishment rituals reinforced the bonds of group identity while simultaneously declaring the elite status of the noble tourneyers relative to the non-noble audience of the tournament.

René details a series of punishments for the different infractions detailed earlier in this chapter.\(^{107}\) While each punishment is unique, they nonetheless share an important set of basic features. Because of the specificity of the regulations and the nuances between the different punishments, the different scenarios are worth quoting in full.\(^ {108}\)

\begin{quote}
Laquelle pugnicion pour les deux cas plus griefz et principaulx dessus dits, est telle que cy apres s'ensuit.
\end{quote}

C'est assavoir, que tous autres seigneurs, chevaliers et escuiers du tournoy qui le tiennent, en tournoyant se doivent arrester sur lui, et tant le batre qu'il lui facent dire qu'il donne son cheval, qui vaut autant a dire en substance comme. Je me rens. Et lorsqu'il aura donne son cheval, les autres tournoyeurs doivent faire coupper les sangles de la selle par leurs gens tant a pied que a cheval, et faire porter le mal faiteur a tout sa selle, et le mettre a cheval sur les barres des lices, et la le faire gader en cest estat, tellement qu'il ne se puisse descendre, ne couler a bas jusques a la fin du tournoy. Et doibt estre donne son cheval aux trompettes et menestrelz.

\begin{quote}
La pugnicion de l'autre troisiesme cas, que ceulx qui en sont convaincuz doyevent estre bien batuz, et tellement qu'ilx doyvent donner leurs chevalux comme l'autre dessus-dits. Maix on ne leur doibt point coupper les sangles, ne les mettre a cheval sur les barres des lices, comme pour les autres deux premiers cas. Aineois leur doibt-on oster les resnes de la bride de leurs chevaulx hors des mains et hors du col du cheval, et gecter leurs masses et espes a terre. Puis doivent estre baillez par la bride a ung herault ou poursuivant, apres ce qu'ilz y ont ainsi este donnez, on les doibt batre de rechief et leur coupper les sangles, les mactant a cheval sur la lice, comme davant eset dit des premiers pour renegre de pugnicion.
\end{quote}

\begin{quote}
Le iiije cas est d'ung gentil homme qui dit parolles de dames ou de damoiselles en chargeant leur honneur, sans cause ou raison a part. Et pour pugnicion d'icellui, il doibt estre batu des autres chevaliers et escuiers tournoyans, tant et si longuement qu'il crie mercy aux dames a haulte voix, tellement que chascun l'oye, en promectant que jamais ne lui adviendra d'en mesire ou villainnement parler.\(^ {109}\)
\end{quote}

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107.See pages 270-273 in this chapter.

108.A fifth scenario that is described just before these four, and that is often included written about as a punishment, only applies to one who is not noble in all his lines of descent. It will be addressed in the next section of this chapter.

109.Appendix A, page 632, line 9-page 635, line 26. "The punishment for the two principal serious offences described is as follows."
The three punishments share three features in common. They all involve a physical beating "batre, bien batuz, and batu" at the hands of the other tourneyers, require the offender to yield, and take place during the most public phase of the event on the tournament field located in the town's open plaza.

The brutality of the beating is reinforced through both text and image. In the text, René has imparted a sense of the physical nature of the tournament combat through carefully selected phrasing. He has emphasised that the guilty should be well beaten, "bien batu," so that that they feel it in their shoulders. In addition, the textual descriptions of the armour stress the necessity of adequately protecting one's self for the combat.

Similarly there is a focus on basic safety including prohibiting strikes against anyone who has lost their helm, which René repeats three times, and ensuring that anyone who falls to the ground in the press of combat is shielded and brought to safety. There was a very real danger of being trampled, as the records of a tournament held in Stuttgart in 1484 indicate. When a tourneyer, Georg von Rosenberg, fell from his mount during the

That is to say, that the other lords, knights and squires at the tourney ought to arrest and beat the offender until he agrees to give up his horse, which is the same as saying, "I yield me." And when he has yielded, the other tourneyers should have their people on foot and on horseback cut the girth of his saddle and carry the miscreant on the the saddle and set him on it as if on horseback, and keep him there in that state, so that he cannot get down or sneak away until the end of the tourney. And his horse should be given to the trumpeters or minstrels.

The punishment for the third offence is that the offender ought to be well beaten, until he gives up his horse like the other above. But his girth is not cut nor is he put on horseback on the barriers, as for the first two offences. Instead the reins of his horse are taken from his hands and over the neck of his horse, and his mace and sword are cast to the ground, and he is led by the bridle to a herald or pursuivant who will take him to a corner of the lists, and keep him there until the end of the tourney. And if he tries to escape or flee from the hands of the heralds, he may be beaten again and his girth cut and be put on horseback on the barriers, as above.

In the fourth case, of a gentleman who has spoken ill of the honour of ladies or damsels, without reason. And for punishment he should be beaten by the other knights and squires at the tourney, until he cries in a loud voice to the ladies for mercy, so that everyone can hear him, and promises to never again speak ill or villainously of them.” Translation with some corrections from: Bennett, “King René’s Tournament Book.”

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111.Appendix A, page 544, lines 22-24; page 647, lines 15-18; page 679, lines 1-3. For the provision requiring attendants to shield anyone who has fallen to the ground, see Appendix A, page 680, line 24- page 683, line 4.
112.Entry 31 in: Rixner, Turnierbuch; Gamber, “Ritterspiel und Turnierrüstung,” 522. For the numbering
combat, the chronicler who recorded the event noted that the audience figured Georg to be very lucky that his horse had fallen under him and not the other way around. However, two other tourneyers at the same event were trapped under their horses and were repeatedly kicked and nearly trampled. Their injuries were so severe that there was a genuine concern that they would lose their lives. The danger of being trampled is also captured in images found in a number of manuscripts from the same period as the *Livre des tournois*, most stunningly in a pen and ink illustration from a fifteenth-century Italian manuscript of *La tavola ritonda* (fig. 209). In another acknowledgement of the physicality of the combat, René clearly states that that the tournament swords should be rebated and the maces should not be too heavy, and that both should be checked and certified by the tournament judges. This same concern for ensuring that the tournament weapons were safe was put into practice during the 1479 and 1481 tournaments held in Würzburg and Heidelberg. The rebated swords and weapons were also checked by the judges prior to the tournament held at Bruges between the Lords of Commines and Jonvelle. This all points toward a tacit acknowledgement of the inherent dangers of tournament combat both in the *Livre des tournois* and in historic examples from the same period.

Moreover, the physical nature of the tournament combat is clearly conveyed by the individual images of combatants in the melee image (fig. 25). Tourneyers shown in the act of being beaten or who have just received a beating as part of their punishment are shown hunched over and clutching at their saddles with both hands in an effort to stay mounted.

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113. BNCF, Palatino 556, f. 20. Also spelled, *La tavola rotonda*. This manuscript was based on a fourteenth-century retelling.
116. RAL, Codex RAR.0035(I.35), f. 11v.
However it was not only the guilty who were beaten. The tournament was a physically demanding endeavour as indicated by the image of another individual who is not part of any visibly identifiable punishment ritual, but is shown hunched over and struggling to stay on his mount (fig. 210). When compared to other combatants, many of whom are engaged in giving and receiving blows (fig. 211), the posture of the punished and beaten tourneyers is noticeably slouched. Textual passages describing combatants hunched over or clutching at their saddles in the aftermath of a fight were a common literary tool used to convey the punishing physicality of combat. For example, La tavola ritonda contains numerous descriptions such as, "They lowered their lances and gave each other two such immensely powerful blows that each one was bent over his saddlebow," or how Palamidesso "drawing his sword, gave Tristano such blows on his helmet that he bent him over the saddlebow."\(^\text{118}\) In comparison, weak blows are described as "not enough to move him in his saddle," or "Tristano seemed not even to feel Sir Chieso's blow: he did not even bend over the saddlebow."\(^\text{119}\) Within the Livre des tournois, ripped caparisons and damaged crests serve as visual testimony to the violent nature of tournament combat (figs. 146, 147 and 155). The author of the account of the 1479 tournament in Würzburg described in detail the punishment received by one of the participants, Herr Martin, that arose out of an inheritance dispute.\(^\text{120}\) Vivid and specific descriptions of the blows Martin received to his stomach were described in a manner that was clearly meant to relate the intensity of the punishment. The beating was in fact so excessive that it necessitated an inquiry, during the combat no less, by the victim's

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117. These vignettes are discussed in detail below. See pages 293-296.


119. Shaver, Tristan and the Round Table, 62, 141.

120. Entry 28 in: Rixner, Turnierbuch; Gamber, “Ritterspiel und Turnierrüstung,” 521-22. Also see: Eyb, and Rugen, Das Turnierbuch des Ludwig von Eyb, 296. BSB, Cgm 145, pp. 233-238. For the numbering system in Rüxner's Turnierbuch, see Chapter 4, note 81.
companions as to the cause. Above all else, the links between text and image, and an intimate familiarity with the physicality of the weapons and their very real ability to inflict pain hammers home the brutal nature of tournament combat and the physical aspect of the punishments.

While the beatings initiate the punishments, they do not comprise the entirety of the rituals. The three punishments detailed by René also require that the guilty party surrender by either yielding to the beating or crying for mercy. This is an act of public contrition as well as submission to the authority of the group. In the case of the third offence, that of having spoken ill of the ladies, the act of submitting to their mercy seems to have been enough. René requires no more of the offender, except that he promises to never repeat his misdeeds. The entire ritual emphasises the helplessness of the guilty parties, placed at the mercy of the collective judgement of their peers. Of course, there is the small caveat in René's regulations that even though the tourneyer asks for mercy, only the noble ladies may decide when it is appropriate to actually show the miscreant mercy and direct the knight of honour to cease the beating.

The other two punishments required the individual to sacrifice a material indication of their contrition in order to cease the beating. The visual narrative of the accusation and punishment of the tourneyer accused of being either an oath breaker or usurer was revealed in Chapter 2 (figs. 101 and 192). The infractions this tourneyer was accused of were regarded as much more severe than the other possibilities listed by René. In particular, the gravity of breaking one's oath as a social crime cannot be overstated. It was widely regarded as treason, "because it was a betrayal of knighthood itself." The rituals of

121. See pages 296-297 in this chapter.
122. See below, pages 294-295, and notes 137 and 138.
123. See Chapter 2, pages 113-115.
accusation and punishment for this infraction reflect the severity of the accusation. The tourneyer's helmet should be immediately cast to the ground during the review ceremony, but only after he has been notified of the accusation. The inherent spectacle of this ritual is clearly captured in the review image (fig. 192). The focussed attention of the witnesses on the unfolding accusation reinforces the drama of the moment. The silence of the image and the stillness of the figures seems to capture the astonished hush of the crowd in the moment immediately following the loud crash of the helmet on the ground. Part of this individual's punishment requires him to surrender his horse and weapons before being placed on the list barrier where he must stay for the rest of the tournament. Meanwhile his horse should be given to the trumpeters or minstrels. His punishment is both physical and social. His placement on the list barrier reflects his state, his position as a noble is tentative. He sits on the fence between two social worlds, the active vibrant world of the tournament and the emptiness that exists outside the lists. He is left humiliated and shamed, the material indications of his nobility have been stripped from him while he has been left with his crest and tabard so that the reader and audience may identify and remember him.

This punishment was not merely an invention of René's, but has a diverse historic tradition. Within the account of the tournament held in Würzburg in 1479, mentioned previously, the author tells us that Herr Martin was placed on the list barrier after he was soundly beaten. An early fifteenth-century herald from Bavaria, Johann Holland, stated in a poem that it was not part of his duties to recount the names of tourneyers who were punished with beatings or had been placed on the barrier unless they continued to exhibit

126.For more on the aural aspect of the images see the discussion in Chapter 1 on the position of the images relative to the textual passages of speech. Chapter 1, pages 66-67.
127.Entry 28 in: Rixner, Turnierbuch. Also see: Gamber, “Ritterspiel und Turnierrüstung,” 522; Rühl, “German Tournament Regulations,” 173. For the numbering system in Rüxner's Turnierbuch, see Chapter 4, note 81.
the behaviour that earned them the punishment in the first place.128 In the manuscript *La tavola ritonda*, introduced earlier, the author describes a punishment for a knight who struck a horse during a tournament. The knight was made to either "sit on his saddle on the inner barrier of the tournament field for the ridicule of the crowd," or was "put in a cart and pulled all around the field so that mud and filth would be thrown on his back, and he would be greatly dishonored."129 The latter punishment is captured in an image from an early fifteenth-century Italian manuscript of this romance (fig. 212).130 The spectacle of ridicule and shame was an effective means of punishment for a social group that emphasised its inherent nobility and elevated position relative to other social classes.

The *Livre des tournois* is not the only source that contains a visual indication that placing a tourneyer on the list barrier was a form of social punishment. In an early sixteenth century manuscript edition of *Das Turnierbuch des Ludwig von Eyb*, there are two visual representations of punished individuals sitting on the list barrier, albeit not in their saddles (figs. 213 and 214).131 Three more examples, one from Georg Rüxner's *Turnierbuch* and two from *De arte athletica II* (figs. 215, 216 and 217), produced at roughly the same time as von Eyb's *Turnierbuch*, also contain depictions of individuals mounted in their saddles and placed atop the list barrier.132

One final visual example of this ritual is found in the 1480 edition of Konrad Grünenberg's *Wappenbuch* (fig. 218 and 219).133 Although much closer in date to the *Livre des tournois* than the examples given above, the images in this work seem to be based on a

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129. Shaver, *Tristan and the Round Table*, 5, also see pp. 7-8. For the first quote, see: Nickel, “The Tournament,” 216.
130. BNCF, Palatino 556, f. 125.
131. BSB, Cgm 961, ff. 10 and 14.
132. BSB, Cod. icon 393(2), ff. 139v-140. Rixner, *Turnierbuch*, h jv-hij.
133. BSB, Cgm 145, p. 237.
source independent of the *Livre des tournois*. The style of the list barrier and arrangement of the figures is closer to the images found in von Eyb's *Turnbierbuch* (figs. 213 and 214). In addition, the figure on the barrier has not been shown sitting in his saddle astride the barrier as in the *Livre des tournois*, Rüxner's *Turnierbuch*, and *De arte athletica II* (figs. 101, 215, 216 and 217). His positioning on the barrier, facing inwards to the action, is closer to that found in von Eyb's *Turnierbuch* (figs. 213 and 214). Although the depictions of this ritual may vary slightly between sources, these diverse examples indicate that there was a rich and widespread iconographic tradition for this very humiliating punishment ritual.

The second punishment René describes applies to one who has been found guilty of the lesser offence of marrying below their station. For this breach the individual is required to first surrender his weapons. René has written that both the offender's mace and sword are to be thrown to the ground after which he is then led by a herald, while still mounted, to a corner of the lists. Like the previous offender this one must then sit out the tournament and only watch the proceedings. Unlike the more serious offences or usury or oath breaking, he is not required to surrender his horse, rather only relinquish control of it for the duration of the tournament. However, René does state that if this individual attempts to flee from his humiliating punishment then his guilt is compounded at which point he would then be subjected to the same punishment as the more grievous offence detailed above, including a fresh beating. Although both of these men are to be stripped of key material and visible symbols of their nobility, there is a hierarchy of severity to their crimes that is reflected in the degree of sacrifice they are subjected to. The most severe punishment requires the sacrifice of the tourneyer's mount, arguably the most socially

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significant identifier of the chivalric class as mounted warriors, as well as the greatest financial sacrifice.

Just below the depiction of the shamed warrior who has been placed on the list barrier is a visual example of this second punishment (fig. 102). This tourneyor is shown being led through the mass of combatants. While he is still seated on his horse, his stature is comparatively slumped, a visual indication of both his shame and the physical punishment he has been subjected to. Once again the detail in the image matches the text and confirms the reading of who this individual is. A herald, the only one present in the midst of combat, is shown leading the tourneyer through the battling tourneyers while holding the reigns of the miscreant's horse. While the press of combatants in the list does not allow space in the composition to show the weapons cast to the ground, the image does quite clearly show the tourneyer clutching at his saddle with both hands, and possessing neither his mace nor his sword. The implication is clearly that he has surrendered or lost his weapons. This offender's slumped stature indicates that he has also been “well beaten” prior to yielding to the authority of the collective group.\textsuperscript{136}

The final visual example of ritual punishment is a more complex narrative (fig. 103). Near to the other two, there is a tourneyor surrounded on all sides by other combatants, who with their swords raised are caught in the process of inflicting a severe beating to this miscreant. Slightly above and to the left of this vignette is a figure caught in the act of lowering a lance on which is tied a veil. Unlike every other mounted individual in the melee, he is not wearing a helmet. Meanwhile, in the gallery a group of ladies directs their attention towards and gestures in the direction of the action. Once again this is a clear example of text and image merging into a coherent presentation, as discussed in Chapter 1. René described a complex ceremony by which one tourneyor is selected for the

\textsuperscript{136}See above, pages 287-290.
highest accolade of the tournament and is named the "chevalier ou escuier d'onneur." This individual is charged with carrying a veil tied to the head of a lance. If someone is being too severely beaten for his misdeeds, this honoured individual is directed, by the noble ladies, to lower the veil and touch the helmet of the one receiving the beating. From that point, writes René, the onslaught is to cease and that tourneyor is considered to be under the protection of the noble ladies. It is important to note that a strict reading of the text indicates that this mercy cannot be extended to any combatant, rather “doubtans que en chastiant aucun gentil homme qui par cas de simplesse pourroit avoir mespris, la rigueur de justice ne lui deust estre trop griefve et insupportable” This would then be a visualised example of the third punishment, the one reserved for someone who has spoken ill of the noble ladies.

As with the example of the tourneyer placed astride the list barrier still in his saddle, this narrative is also clearly a part of the image cycles in Rüxner's *Turnierbuch* and the *De arte athletica II* (figs. 220 and 221). While the individual in Rüxner's image struggles to hold his own (he still holds his mace and continues to fight despite being surrounded), the figure in *De arte athletica II* is clearly suffering from the onslaught. He has given up his weapons and is clearly hunched over his saddle barely able to keep his seat. The physical violence of this narrative is particularly striking. Like the image from the *Livre des tournois* the culprit is clearly suffering from the beating. He is bent over and clutching at his reins with both hands while three other tourneyers surround him. While the veil is being lowered it has not yet touched his helm. Unlike the other two punishments depicted in the *Livre des tournois* where the physical violence is clearly implied, but a

137. Appendix A, page 651, line 3-page 656, line 16.

138. Appendix A, page 651, line 22-page 654, line 3. "...fearing that some gentleman who has done ill out of simplicity may be chastised too heavily by the demands of justice..." Translation from: Bennett, “King René's Tournament Book.”

139. For more on the imagery of the hunched over tourneyer and its literary and visual presentation, see above, pages 288-291.
thing of the past, in all three examples this is a scene of present action. The physical nature of the weapons, their contained violence is clearly being unleashed on this one individual. The visceral nature of the violent beating is not just left to be felt by the viewer, it is also indicated to the viewer by the response of the noble ladies, the same ones from the review. Just as their mercy acts as the vehicle by which the knight of honour may grant mercy to the offender, their sympathy acts as a lens to entice the viewer to engage with the narrative.

While the beatings play a central role in the public punishments of the miscreants, every example requires additional sacrifice from the guilty party. Each punishment requires a public act of submission, a visible loss of individual pride and reputation by shaming the miscreant in the most public setting of the tournament. The severity of the first two punishments is reinforced by the additional loss of specific material indications of their nobility. The requirement to surrender mounts and weapons seems to have derived out of the early tourneying tradition of victorious knights claiming ransoms as well as the mounts and armour of defeated knights. Indeed it was this early tradition that enabled tourneyers such as William Marshall to acquire a good part of their fortunes on the tournament circuit. As if to emphasise this point, the later images contained in Rüxner’s *Turnierbuch* and *De arte athletica II* depict the guilty tourneyer not only astride the list

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barrier, but also being ceremoniously stripped of their armour by the attending heralds, an act which must have been exceedingly humiliating (figs. 215 and 217).144

However, punishments were not just about defining ill behaviour and humiliating the guilty party. These rituals were also clearly designed to create a sense of group identity. René wrote that once the punishments were administered, no more was to be said of the offence and the punished was to be accepted back into the community.145 Johann Holland was quite clear that only continued misbehaviour would warrant a permanent shaming and exclusion.146 In his account of the Pas de l'Arbre Charlemagne, held in 1443, Olivier de la Marche described the ritualistic embrace that followed each encounter. The purpose of which was that the combatants would remain "bon amys" or "freres et amys".147 In a similar ceremony at the Pas d'armes de la Pelerine held in Saint-Omer in 1449, the challenger "toucherent ensemble lesditz chevaliers" in a gesture of friendship that concluded the event.148 Georges Chastellain concludes his narration of a feat of arms between Jacques de Lalain and Diego de Gusman with an account of the King of Castille directing the two combatants to embrace and hold no ill will towards each other.

Seigneurs, la volnté du roy est telle, que quelconque chose que ayez eu à faire ensemble, ne ayez nul de vous deux nulle rancune, ni malveillance l'un contre l'autre; mais veut le roy que pardonnez l'un à l'autre, et que dores en avant soyez comme frères et bons amis; car expressément le roy veut et commande qu'ainsy soit, et qu'encore pourra venir le temps que vous deux ensemble, au plaisir de Dieu, vous pourrez trouver pour vous esprouver et faire armes contre deux autres.149

Prohibitions against seeking revenge after the tournament had concluded did not always work and there are numerous instances of individuals being beaten after an event had

144.BSB, Cod. icon 393(2), ff. 139v-140. Rixner, Turnierbuch, h jv-hij.
145.Appendix A, page 632, lines 3-5.
146.See above, page 292, note 128.
147.La Marche, Mémoires, I, pp. 290-335, esp. 305, 331.
148.La Marche, Mémoires, II, p. 135.
149.Chastellain, Oeuvres, VIII, p. 140.
concluded. In 1261 after a tournament held in Lübeck, Borchart Vot, a knight, was murdered by Graf Johannes von Holstein as a reprisal for the former's attack against him during the previous day's behourd. After a tournament between Rudolf von Habsburg and Ludwig II der Strenge, Duke of Bayern in Nuremberg in 1290, the tourneyers ran riot through the city. After an event in 1393, Albrecht I, Duke of Niederbayern, attempted to take revenge on an opponent by hiring mercenaries to kill him. Although the accounts of these latter examples do not indicate if they were reprisals stemming from punishments or merely poor sportsmanship, post tournament violence became such a persistent problem that tournament companies found it necessary to insist that once the tournament had ended no further action could be taken against one who had served out their punishment. Permanent exclusion was clearly intended for only the most extreme, unrepentant cases. In all other instances it was far better to rehabilitate the individual and solidify the group's cohesive identity.

Clearly, breaking the social bonds of the nobility was meant to have very real consequences in terms of both individual reputation and the visible sacrifice of material indications of status. Detailing the rituals of punishment creates limits for, and assigns consequences to unacceptable behaviour which may impinge on the group's reputation. These limits, consequences, and in the end, redemption, in essence serve the purpose of

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153. Josef Fleckenstein, “Das Turnier als höfisches Fest im hochmittelalterlichen Deutschland,” in *Das ritterliche Turnier im Mittelalter: Beiträge zu einer vergleichenden Formen- und Verhaltensgeschichte des Rittertums*, ed. Josef Fleckenstein (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1985), 234. Fleckenstein's insistence that there was a fundamental difference between feuds and tournaments does not always hold up under historic circumstances. While this may have been the ideal, more than a few feuds were fought out at tournaments throughout the middle ages.
defining the membership of the social group.\textsuperscript{154} Those who continued to act outside the boundaries of acceptable behaviour were in very real danger of losing recognition of their status, both socially and materially.

5.4 The Tournament as an Initiation Ritual

One regulation René listed that has not yet been discussed concerns a tourneyer who has been found to be not a noble in all his lines of descent.\textsuperscript{155} While the specific actions this individual is subjected to resemble a punishment, they are in fact a distinct ritual. The punishment rituals can be generally categorised as corrective in their nature, they are meant to admonish individuals and right wrongs.\textsuperscript{156} In contrast, the ritual enacted on these non-noble tourneyers is initiatory. It constitutes a rite of passage whereby the initiated undergoes a transformation in status and is afterwards embraced by their new peers.\textsuperscript{157} While the other regulations are concerned with addressing and correcting the behaviour of individuals and displaying the punishments to an external audience, this example addresses the individual's inherent status and identity and, despite taking place during the same phase as the punishments, is addressed inwards to the collective group of nobility. This serves to reinforce the cohesiveness of group identity within the nobility.

In order to better understand the contrast between the nature of this ritual and the punishments it is necessary to examine the relevant passage in full before placing it in context.

Nota. Que s'il vient aucun au tournoy, qui ne soit point gentil homme de toutes ses lignes, et que de sa personne il soit vertueux, il ne sera point batu de nul pour la premier foiz, \textit{fors seulement des princes et grans seigneurs}, lesquels sans mal lui fiare, se joueront a lui de leurs espees et masses, comme s'ilz le voulsissent batre. \textit{Et a lui sera a toujours mais atribue a ung grant honneur} a lui fait par lesdits

\textsuperscript{154}Bell, \textit{Ritual: Perspectives and Dimensions}, 115-120, 128-135, especially 132.
\textsuperscript{155}Appendix A, page 631, line 15-page 632, line 8.
\textsuperscript{156}Bell, \textit{Ritual Theory, Ritual Practice}, 201-04.
\textsuperscript{157}Bell, \textit{Ritual: Perspectives and Dimensions}, 15, 36-59, 94-102.
princes et grant seigneurs. Et sera signe que par sa grant bonte et vertu, il merite
doresent estre du tournoy, sans que on lui puisse jamais en rien reprouver
son lignaige en lieu d'onneur ou il se trouve, tant ould tournoy que ailleurs. Et la
aussi pourra porter timbre nouvel, ou adjouster a sees armes comme il vouldra,
pour le maintenir ou temps advenir pour lui et ses hors.158

On first consideration the most prominent aspect of this ritual is that like the punishments
examined previously, the victim receives a beating. However, unlike the previous reprisals
that were carried out by the other tourneyers as a collective group, this individual is only
allowed to be struck by "princes et grans seigneurs." The purpose of this beating is
different. It is not redemptive, but transformative. Moreover, while they should beat him,
René adds the caveat that it should not be too extreme. The spectacle of a debilitating
physical punishment enacted for an external audience is not the goal of this ritual. Instead
it serves as an initiation and marks the individual's passage into and acceptance by the
collective nobility.

As a rite of passage, this ritual striking is reminiscent of a particular component of
the knighting ceremony, the colée.159 This was a light blow administered to the newly
created knight by the one conferring knighthood. In the thirteenth century Ordene de
chevalerie it is the final act that confirms the new knight's status.160 In the later middle
ages this act seems to have morphed together with another component of the knighting
ritual, the girding of the sword, and took the form of tapping the receiver about the

158. Appendix A, page 631, line 15-page 632, line 8. "Note. If there comes someone to the tourney who is
not a gentleman in all his lines of descent, but who is a virtuous person, he should not be beaten the first
time, except by princes and great lords, who, without hurting him, should beat him with their swords and
maces, and this should always be considered an honour. And this will be a sign that because of his great
goodness and virtue, he deserves to be at the tourney, and from then on no one may reprove him for his
lineage in any place of honour where he is found, at the tourney or elsewhere. There too he may bear a new
crest, or change his arms if he wishes, and keep them thereafter for himself and his heirs." Translation
from: Bennett, “King René’s Tournament Book.” Italics are my own and added for emphasis.

159. Bumke, Courtly culture, 236-37; Keen, Chivalry, 64-82.

diss., The University of Chicago, (1918), 51, lines 242-254; Ramon Lull, The Order of Chivalry trans. and ed.
F. S. Ellis from the edition published by William Caxton (Barrie: Sovereign Press Canada, 2009), 138; Keith
Busby, ed. ‘Le Roman des Eles’, and the Anonymous: ‘Ordene de Chevalerie’. Two Early Old French
shoulders, head or cheek (sometimes all three) with a naked blade. Similarly to the ritual described by René, it was not intended to injure, only to signify passage from one state to the next. Receiving the colée, like René describes the beating, was considered an honour. Afterwards that individual's status could not be challenged, he had become a member of the exclusive chivalric class.

In addition, there was a certain significance attached to the sword as an identifying symbol linked to both the nobility and the knighting ceremony. Early knighting ceremonies were often described in terms of the aspirant either "taking arms" or being "decorated with arms." In fact, the girding of the new knight with his sword or the delivery of arms unto the individual was a tradition older than the colée, the origins of which predate any notion of knighthood. These ceremonies likely evolved out of a coming of age ritual, itself a type of initiation. While there was no standardised age for this ritual, it nonetheless was widely regarded as an ascent to maturity. In an extreme example found in Rudolf von Ems' Der gute Gerhard, written in the early thirteenth century, the son of the work's protagonist, Guter Gerhard, was not allowed to bed his new wife until after he had been made a knight. Joachim Bumke has demonstrated the variety of expressions used to chronicle knighting ceremonies in German records. Of these, the vast majority refer to the ceremony in terms of either taking arms, such as: "wāfen nemen, wāfen enphālen, wāfen leiten," or more directly in reference to the receiving of the sword, such as: "swert nemen, swert enphālen, swert umbesbinden, swert umbegürten." This phrasing and its

161. Keen, Chivalry, 67; Bumke, Courtly culture, 237-38.
162. Also see Chapter 4, pages 250-251.
165. Bumke, Courtly culture, 233.
emphasis on the sword is reminiscent of a passage found near the end of the *Livre des tournois*. René writes,

Tous les chevaliers et escuiers tournoyeurs qui jamais n'auront tournoye que celle fois la, seront tenus de paier pour leurs heaulmes et bien venue en armes, au roy d'armes, heraulx ou pursuivans, a leur plaisir ou ordonnance des juges. Et neantmoins que autrefois ils l'ainent paie a la joust, se ne s'ensuit-il pas qu'ils ne doivent paier une autrefois pour l'espee. Car la lance ne peut affranchir l'espee. Mais qui auoirt paie son heaulme a l'espee, c'estadire au tournoy, il seroit affranchi de la lance, c'est assavoir de la joust.166

The tournament as described by René thus emphasised the sword as an emblem of the nobility. Paying for the sword, or the right to participate in the tournament form of mounted combat wielding a sword, and not a lance, thus served as a rite of passage whereby an aspiring noble became accepted into the exclusive group identity. The emphasis placed on new nobles paying a helmet to the heralds for the right to fight in the tournament of swords is not an imaginative invention of René's. The account of the tournament between the Lords of Commines and Jonvelle mentioned earlier closes with "Et doibvent aussi lesditz roy d'armes et heraulx les droitz de tous les heaulmes des nouveauux tournoyans etc."167 Like the tournament described in the *Livre des tournois*, this event also featured mounted combat between teams of tourneyers using rebated swords.168

There was thus a precedent for the tournament format described and envisioned by René, as a tournament of swords, to serve as a vehicle for the initiation of new nobility.

One final aspect of the ceremony mentioned above links this ritual to the late medieval knighting ceremony. René's has indicated that only princes and great lords may

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166.Appendix A, page 712, lines 10-19. "All the knights and squires who have never tourneyed before must pay for their helms and their welcome to arms, to the king of arms, heralds or pursuivants, at their pleasure or by the order of the judges. And nevertheless if they have paid before for a joust it does not follow that they do not have to pay again for the sword, for the lance cannot pay for the sword. But whoever has paid for a helm for the sword, that is to say a tourney, will be free of the lance, that is to say the joust." Translation, with some corrections, from: Bennett, “King René’s Tournament Book.”

167.RAL, Codex RAR.0035(I.35), f. 12v. "And the kings of arms and heralds also ought to have the right to all the helms of the new tourneyers etc." Transcription and translation from: Moffat, “The Medieval Tournament,” 250.

168.RAL, Codex RAR.0035(I.35), f. 11v.
perform this initiation. The knighting ceremony had undergone a gradual transformation whereby it became increasingly accepted that to be knighted by a knight with a particularly stellar reputation was considered to be a great honour. René's limitations not only reflect this trend, they also indicate a carefully constructed order of hierarchy within the nobility, notably the same hierarchy that emphasises the role and position of the great princes.

The difference between this ritual and the spectacle of the punishments is further emphasised by the lack of its inclusion in the image cycle. The two great princes, the Dukes of Brittany and Bourbon, who are supposed to enact the ritual are nowhere to be found in the grand melee image (fig. 25). Their pennons and banners are visible, but there is not a single tourneyer wearing a surcoat with either of their arms or helmet with either of their crests (fig. 222). Nor is there any recognisable visual iconography of any part of a knighting ceremony, which has its own rich visual history dating back to at least the early thirteenth century (fig. 223).

In a tradition found in both historic and literary accounts, newly made knights often participated in a tournament immediately after their induction as a type of confirmation of their status. One image found in a fourteenth century copy of Tristan de Léonois shows Galahad fighting in such a tournament after his knighting. The tourneymers are armed with swords and one wields a club that resembles the weighted masse prescribed by René in the Livre des tournois (fig. 224). The absence of this ceremony is remarkable given the fact that, as was shown previously in this chapter, exact visualisations of the other rituals stemming from René's regulations have been carefully


170. BnF, ms français 99, f. 561r. For other examples, see: BL, Ms. Harley 1319, f. 5r; BL, Ms. Cotton Nero D I, f. 3r; ÖNB, codex 3044, f. 144r; London, College of Arms, Ms. Vincent 444, f. 163r.
included within the image. In fact, this further emphasises the difference between
the spectacle of punishment and the rite of initiation.

Furthermore, the initiation is an act of humility as opposed to humiliation. René
is very clear that the initiate should consider the beating he receives an honour, like the
colée. Even though this beating should not be too severe, unlike the punishment rituals
there is no mechanism in place to alleviate the initiatory beating. However once completed
the individual is fully accepted into the community.

Et sera signe que par sa grant bonte et vertu, il merite doresenavant estre du
tournoy, sans ce que on lui puisse jamais en riens reprouver son lignaie en lieu
d'onneur ou il se trouve, tant ould tournoy que ailleurs.171

This initiation forms the final act in the confirmation of ennoblement and the individual's
transformation into the nobility. Like the colée it reminded the individual to be mindful of
the importance that the virtue of humility played in their newly acquired noble identity.

René's concern with limiting participation in the tournament to the nobility is
reflective of a fairly common practice for the time. As early as the fourteenth century there
was a noticeable increase in the number of ordinances limiting participation in tournaments
to the nobility.172 This occurred during the same period there was a rising interest on the
part of the urban bourgeois in emulating the nobility by adopting the visual symbols and
rituals associated with the aristocracy as their own.173 Of course the reality of the situation
was much more complex than a simple unidirectional influence from the top down. For

171.Appendix A, page 632, lines 1-5. "And this will be a sign that because of his great goodness and virtue,
he deserves to be at the tourney, and from then on no one may reprove him for his lineage in any place of
honor where he is found, at the tourney or elsewhere." Translation from: Bennett, “King René’s Tournament
Book.”

172.Barber, and Barker, Tournaments, 69, 185; Annuzziata, “Teaching the Pas d’Armes,” 559. See the
translation of the ordinances allegedly issued by Henry the Fowler in 934, especially number twelve, in:

173.Jean C Wilson, Painting in Bruges at the Close of the Middle Ages: Studies in Society and Visual Culture
(University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1998), 25-30; Prevenier, et al., The Burgundian
Netherlands, 138; Van Uytven, “Showing off One’s Rank,” 27; Antheun Janse, “Marriage and Noble
Lifestyle in Holland in the Late Middle Ages,” in Showing Status: Representation of Social Positions in the
Late Middle Ages, ed. Wim Blockmans, and Antheun Janse (Turnhout: Brepols, 1999), 114.
example, urban confraternities and tournament societies shared similar corporate structures and in some cases the same noble and non-noble membership. Ceremonial entry ceremonies influenced the form of urban processions and vice-versa. Out of this dynamic two generalisations can be made. The first is that urban sponsored events and communities tended to be more inclusive, even actively recruiting members of the nobility as members and participants. On the other side of this phenomenon, as the wealthy urban elite began to acquire the trappings and outward appearance of the nobility, the aristocracy sought ways to differentiate itself through events that declared its status relative to the urban patriciate while simultaneously announcing itself as an exclusive social body.

The tournament was one venue in which these displays of status and social cohesion took place. What likely prompted the emphasis on exclusivity in tournaments was an increase in the number of urban centred events that did not restrict participation to the nobility, but instead openly incorporated wealthy urban elites who could now afford to imitate and participate in these events. These urban sponsored and centred tournaments, such as the Epinette in Lille, or Witte Beer in Bruges, featured the joust as opposed to the melee or behourd form of tournament combat. Prior to the fourteenth century the ability to joust properly had perhaps been the most exclusive definer of noble combat and horsemanship. Before the rise of a wealthy mercantile class the material requirements of

174 Arnade, Realms of Ritual, 65-94.
176 While not focussed on the tournament, the case study of Peter Bladelin illustrates how one specific non-noble family attempted to imitate noble status through the acquisition and display of material indications of status. Wim De Clercq, Jan Dumolyn, and Jelle Haemers, “‘Vivre Noblement’: Material Culture and Elite Identity in Late Medieval Flanders,” The Journal of Interdisciplinary History 38, no. 1 (2007), 1-32. For the intermingling of urban bourgeois and nobility in civic sponsored tournaments, see: Neste, Tournois, joutes, pas d’armes, 140-42.
being able to afford to outfit and train oneself for the joust ensured that this form of the
tournament, and indeed warfare, remained an exclusively noble form. 179

Coinciding with the rise of urban based non-noble tournaments was an expanding
interest in another cultural production traditionally associated with the nobility. Wealthy
mercantile families began to have access to and acquire manuscripts on a scale previously
seen only in the wealthiest noble houses. Of particular interest to the urban elite were the
chivalric romances and Arthurian tales that presented a vivid depiction of the nobility,
while congruously highlighting the role of the tournament, and especially the joust, in
defining noble identity. 180 The increased wealth of the urban patriciate coupled with the
rising cultural awareness of and interest in the joust as a noble identifier, led to the
noticeable increase in the frequency of these events and the participation of non-nobles. 181

This prompted a number of varying responses from the nobility. One was to
increase the extravagance of their events, to essentially outspend their urban imitators and
to do so in the urban centres. Thus events such as the Pas d'armes de l'Abre d'Or,
prominently located in the centre of Bruges, outshone in extravagance anything the urban
societies could hope to replicate. 182 A second response was to host events outside of the

179. A useful summary of the equipment and expense of jousting and the material requirements needed to
host and participate in a joust can be found in: Neste, Tournois, joutes, pas d’armes, 69-85. On the role of
jousting in warfare, see: Vale, War and Chivalry, 63-87; Brown, “Urban Jousts in the Later Middle Ages,”
315-30. On the joust as noble identifier, see: Clercq, Dumolyn, and Haemers, “‘Vivre Noblement’,” 5; Eric
Bousmar, “Jousting at the Court of Burgundy. The ‘Pas d’armes’: Shifts in Scenario, Location, and
Recruitment,” in Staging the Court of Burgundy: Proceedings of the Conference “The Splendour of
Also see: Anglo, The Martial Arts of Renaissance Europe, 227-52; Noel Fallows, Jousting in Medieval and

180. For more on the influence of Arthurian and other chivalric romances on tournament forms, see: Ruth
Huff Cline, “The Influence of Romances on Tournaments of the Middle Ages,” Speculum 20, no. 2 (1945),
204-11; Jefferson, “Tournaments, Heraldry and the Knights of the Round Table,” 69-97; Sandoz, “Tourneys
in the Arthurian Tradition,” 389-420; Neste, Tournois, joutes, pas d’armes, 195; Keen, Chivalry, 200-18;
258.


Davis, Paston Letters and Papers of the Fifteenth Century, Part I (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004),
538-40; Lester, “Sir John Paston’s Grete Boke,” 316-25; John Fenn, Paston Letters: Original letters written
during the reigns of Henry VI, Edward IV, Richard III (London: H. G. Bohn, 1849), 9-10; La Marche,
urban centres and thus limit the audience and participation. Most of the tournaments René sponsored fall into this category, the epitome of which was the Pas d'armes de la bergère at Tarascon in 1449. A third response, and the one that most informs the discussion of the *Livre des tournois*, was to limit the participation of urban based events by imposing increasingly strict regulations on who was allowed to participate. However, it should be borne in mind that this was not the only way that the tournament in the *Livre des tournois* differentiated itself from similar events put on by the urban patriciate. The rituals laid out by René were not only focussed on the nobility, but also required both a degree of familiarity with noble customs and noble participants in order to be properly enacted.

Straightforward, clearly articulated and lengthy sets of restrictions on participation did not alone define an event as exclusively reserved for the nobility. All one needs to do is compare the amount of textual space in the *Livre des tournois* that is devoted to articulating regulations with the amount given to carefully describing rituals. In the *Livre des tournois*, the status earned from participating in courtly and tournament rituals far outweighed any legalistic definition in identifying one as a member of the nobility. Thus, ritual combined with an emphasis on exclusivity is a defining characteristic of René's idealised tournament.

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183. Annuziata, “Teaching the Pas d’Armes,” 562-64; Taylor, “«Une gente pastourelle»,” 197-208.
This third response, limiting participation, begins to appear frequently in the regulations issued by tournament societies for events that took place in the German lands and along the Rhine during the fourteenth century, although it should be noted that this was by no means a custom exclusive to this region.\(^{184}\) There are similar restrictions found in tournament ordinances and announcements throughout Europe at this time. The most popular restriction was limiting participation in tournaments to individuals who could demonstrate that they were at least fourth generation nobility, such as found in the pseudo-historical regulations attributed to Heinrich der Vogler.\(^{185}\) In the tournament image from the anonymous fourteenth-century *Turnierbuch*, a lone tourneyer outside the lists is shown presenting what appears to be the visual representation of some type of patent of nobility to a tournament official (fig. 225). The artist has even included details of what appear to be seals attached to the papers as further testimony to their authenticity.\(^{186}\) In his description of a tournament held at Schaffhausen in 1438, Pero Tafur notes that while any individual may participate in the joust, only nobles were allowed to participate in the behourd.\(^{187}\) Within the *Livre des tournois*, René insists that the tourneyers should be virtuous and noble in all their lines of descent. While this phrasing is more restrictive than insisting on only four generations of nobility, it still indicates that the primary defining characteristic of the nobility as a social group was lineage. René's preference is by no means unique. Similar phrasing is contained in Chastellain's *Chronique de Jacques de Lalaign* (1468-1470). In the record of a declaration of arms issued by the work's subject, the author writes of a "chevalier noble de toutes lignes et sans reproche."\(^{188}\) Despite this emphasis on noble


\(^{186}\) On seals as symbols of authority and authenticity, see: Bedos-Rezak, “Medieval Identity,” 1489-533.


\(^{188}\) Chastellain, *Oeuvres*, 189. A "knight noble in all his blood lines and without reproach." Chastellain is more specific, although perhaps less restrictive, later in the same account when he writes that challengers should be "nobles de quatre lignées et sans reproche" The account is also found in: Georges Chastellain, *Collection des Chroniques nationales Françaises. Chronique de J. de Lalain* ed. J. A. C. Buchon (Paris:
bloodlines, there was certainly quite a bit of intermixing of nobility and patriciate, especially within Flemish events. Olivier van Dixmude notes that despite a similar restriction announced for the tournament held in Brussels in 1439, at least a few individuals who did not meet the strict requirements still managed to participate in the event. Restricting participation in the tournament to the nobility, whether enforced or not, functioned to reinforce a cohesive group identity out of what must be remembered was itself a fairly broad social class composed of individuals of varying status.

By detailing a clear set of rites centred on initiation into the nobility, René is directly addressing an issue he personally faced. Prior to formally handing control of the Duchy of Lorraine to his son in 1453, René was actively involved in the region's governance. Partly as a response to a dramatic decrease in the numbers of nobility in the region René carried out no less than twenty-two acts or confirmations of ennoblement over a relatively short period of time. Nor were René's acts of ennoblement limited to Lorraine. He repeatedly used his royal prerogative, a status which the surviving papers of ennoblement emphasise, to raise trusted councillors and important individuals to the nobility. Carefully rendered coats of arms and fanciful crests reminiscent of those in the *Livre des tournois* are included on each of these acts and reflect René's acknowledged

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189. Van Dixmude, *Merkwaardige gebeurtenissen*, 167. Quoted in: Damen, “Tournament Culture,” 259; Damen, “The Town, the Duke, his Courtiers, and their Tournament,” 87. Damen goes on to note that as many as twenty-six percent of the participants in the 1439 tournament may have been non-nobles.

190. Jackson, “Das Turnier,” 285. Perhaps the most lasting effect of the insistence on noble bloodlines in contemporary writing is the pervasive, yet erroneous, assumption that tournaments were exclusively noble events. For example, see: Meyer, “Turniergesellschaften,” 505.


interest and declared expertise in heraldry (figs. 99, 226, and 227).\textsuperscript{194} Despite the often cited trope of a nobility jealously guarding its exclusive status, René exhibits an understanding of the importance of renewing the institution through the infusion of new members. By including a ritual aimed at the initiation of new nobility within the \textit{Livre des tournois}, even if its visualisation is not included or unclear to our modern understanding, René has acknowledged the importance of introducing new membership into the existing nobility. Moreover, the fact that the confirmation of nobility occurs within the tournament indicates the close relationship between tournament participation and the projection and acknowledgement of chivalric identity. Group identity therefore is not only defined by the negative actions of those who break the boundaries of acceptable behaviour, it is also defined by the positive, inclusive action of admittance. The newly ennobled individual served as a humble exemplar for both the group's membership and the larger public audience of the ritual. At the same time the initiation ritual defined a hierarchy within the group, reserving the rite of admittance for new members to the highest tier of nobility. It should come as no surprise that René reserved the privileges of ennoblement for only the highest princes, such as himself. If anything, René's emphasis on royal prerogative, as found in his acts of ennoblement, should be taken as a slight to his rival, the Duke of Burgundy, who although lacking a royal title, was presumptuous enough to ennable his own supporters.\textsuperscript{195}

5.5 Conclusion

The rituals described and visualised within the \textit{Livre des tournois} defined noble identity to an external audience while simultaneously reinforcing both the nobility's self identity and a hierarchy of status within the group. Because of the emphasis René placed

\textsuperscript{194}See Chapter 2.

on the rituals within the work, the social messages conveyed by the different regulation rituals are worth stressing. The emphasis placed on restricted access and the exclusivity of the audience in the review ceremony is especially striking when contrasted with the more accessible spectacle of the punishment rituals that occur during the most public phase of the tournament in the urban centre. This contrast is somewhat tempered by the admittedly exclusively noble audience that René envisioned within the Livre des tournois. However, as we have seen his vision is in stark contrast to the historic reality of the broad spectrum of social classes who would have witnessed late medieval urban tournaments, especially the more publicly accessible rituals.

The fact that the Livre des tournois acknowledges only a very narrow audience should come as no surprise at this point. Chapter 4 detailed not only how the location of the tournament affected who would witness the event, but also how the historic reality of the audience for urban tournaments was at odds with René's vision. However, what is most striking about the audiences depicted in the Livre des tournois is that they reflect the author's interest and focus and have been carefully constructed with his readership in mind. This is evidenced by the similarity between audiences envisioned in the Livre des tournois and the historic records of those who were present at and witnessed René's tournaments. More importantly, the audiences represented in the Livre des tournois are a reflection of the intended audience of the manuscript. René's set of rituals acknowledged the complex social structure of the nobility while simplifying any external audiences to a mere "other." As was shown, by over simplifying any external urban audiences René's treatise focussed the reader's attention on the various rituals' implications for noble identity. Therefore with this in mind the rituals take on specific meanings directed towards the nobility.

196. See Chapter 4, pages 233-245. Also see: Neste, Tournois, joutes, pas d’armes, 146-48.
197. See Chapter 4, pages 235-236, 239-244.
In the author's imagined and exclusive tournament the rituals are about defining and preserving group identity, while simultaneously establishing a hierarchical structure within the group. Every step of the regulation rituals from initial review to final judgement are conducted by and for the nobility. The process is regulated by noble judges, tournament specialists whose defined duties grant them broad powers of review over the actions of the group's members. The contrast between the historic identity of judges for tournaments and René's vision is particularly striking in this regard. While non-noble heralds could and did participate in historic tournaments in a capacity similar to the judges, René takes great care to exclude them from this role in the *Livre des tournois*. Heralds in the *Livre des tournois* are relegated to the status of specialists who act as agents for the nobility. They deliver the messages, announce the events, and generally ensure that a level of communication occurs between the various participants. This reserves the right of review and judgement exclusively to members of the nobility.

At the same time, the highly structured hierarchy present in the rituals serves to define degrees of status within the group. The highest ranking nobility and the captains of the tournament are given pride of place repeatedly in both the text and images. The judges are held up as exemplars for their virtues and actions, while those who break the social mores of the group are placed in danger of being cast out of the group. The careful structure built into the various processions described and envisioned throughout the work, including the visual order of the noble ladies in the review scene, communicates this concern for defining rank within the group. Therefore the audience for the tournament

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198. There is a very useful table that indicates known judges at a series of tournaments in the mid-fifteenth century in: Nadot, *Le Spectacle des joutes*, 335-37. The author also indicates certain tournaments where heralds filled the capacity of judges.

199. See Chapter 3. Also see: Neste, *Tournois, joutes, pas d’armes*, 118.

200. Processions within the *Livre des tournois* have their own rich visual language that are concerned with defining and displaying an ordered hierarchy within the nobility. On the display of rank and status within processions, see: Blockmans, and Donckers, “Self-Representation of Court and City,” 84, 89, 91-96, 100-106; Brown, “Civic Ritual,” 282, 289, 292-293; Andrew Brown, *Civic Ceremony and Religion in Medieval Bruges c. 1300-1520* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 37-72, 73-99; Brown, “La
as envisioned by René is a conscious construction of a defined social group very much concerned with status and rank.

Given all of that it must also be acknowledged that an historic urban tournament would have naturally had a much broader audience. 201 This is seen in the addition of figures within specific images in the manuscript copies of the *Livre des tournois* commissioned by Louis de Bruges, as well as the D manuscript. The additional figures included in these images acknowledge the more diverse and broad urban audiences who would have witnessed these events. Similar examples are shown in the tournament scenes included in Rüxner's *Turnierbuch* and the *De arte athletica II*, both of which include a throng of non-noble spectators watching the melee. Details in the second example, such as the witnesses watching from the windows of buildings surrounding the square, are confirmed in records of events held in Ghent, Bruges and Lille in which the cities rented space from the buildings' owners to be reserved as what must have been prime viewing spots rivalled only by the stands erected for the nobility. 202

Given the historic reality of audiences for urban tournaments, the relative exclusivity and inclusivity of audiences for the different rituals would take on added

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201. See Chapter 4, pages 233-245.

meaning. The most stark contrast is between the relatively exclusive nature of the review and judgement ceremonies versus the spectacles of punishment which take place during the most public phase of the event, the tournament combat. Group identity and reputation were very real concerns for a nobility actively engaged in defining and defending its status. Private review and judgement served the purpose of creating a sense of brotherhood, by creating a group bond of exclusivity, whereas the spectacle of public punishment and mercy acted to alleviate any potential damage to the reputation of the collective identity. The cohesiveness of these rituals reinforced and declared group identity. The group's status as elite members of society was confirmed by the exclusivity of the rituals that defined their group identity. Exclusive rituals, removed from a more public audience, were aimed at the group's members and reinforced the group bonds of identity. Rituals and displays enacted in a more public forum defined and declared the status of the group to a wider public. As Pero Tafur remarked at the end of his description of the tournament held at Schaffhausen in 1438, "thereby everyone knows who can lay claim to chivalry and high lineage, and those who have been guilty of base deeds may be brought to shame." Tafur's opinion is particularly striking because although he was a noble, he was also an outsider, an observer who was not familiar with the specific tournament customs he witnessed. His observations testify to the impact these rituals had on a wider, more public audience. At the same time, his opinion, as a member of the nobility, reflects the importance placed on both individual honour and collective group reputation.

Transmission and Reception of the *Livre des tournois*

6.1 Introduction

This chapter addresses the transmission and reception of the *Livre des tournois* through a two-fold approach. The first section is an analysis of the textual, visual and codicological properties of the eight extant medieval manuscripts in order to establish a revised *stemma codicum*. The second section is a focussed case study of two manuscript copies of the *Livre des tournois* with the intention of demonstrating how a contemporary owner, patron and audience viewed and received René's work. This latter section will demonstrate how themes presented throughout this dissertation were received, understood and valued by an audience of René's work. Because this chapter makes frequent reference to the manuscripts by their sigla, I have included a copy here for the reader's reference.¹

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Siglum</th>
<th>City</th>
<th>Institution</th>
<th>Manuscript</th>
<th>Date</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>P1</td>
<td>Paris</td>
<td>Bibliothèque nationale de France</td>
<td>ms. français 2695</td>
<td>c. 1460</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K</td>
<td>Krakow</td>
<td>Princes Czartoryski Library</td>
<td>ms. Czart. 3090 IV</td>
<td>1465-1470</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H</td>
<td>Cambridge, MA</td>
<td>Harvard University, Houghton Library</td>
<td>MS Typ 131</td>
<td>1465-1470</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P2</td>
<td>Paris</td>
<td>Bibliothèque nationale de France</td>
<td>ms. français 2696</td>
<td>after 1483</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P3</td>
<td>Paris</td>
<td>Bibliothèque nationale de France</td>
<td>ms. français 2693</td>
<td>1488 or slightly earlier</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P4</td>
<td>Paris</td>
<td>Bibliothèque nationale de France</td>
<td>ms. français 2692</td>
<td>1488-1489</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G</td>
<td>Glasgow</td>
<td>Glasgow Art Gallery and Museum, R. L. Scott Collection</td>
<td>MS E1939.65.1144</td>
<td>after 1490</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D</td>
<td>Dresden</td>
<td>Sächsische Landesbibliothek</td>
<td>Mscr. Dresd. Oc. 58</td>
<td>1495-1510</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

¹ Also see: Appendix C.
6.2 Transmission

The historiography of the transmission of René's *Livre des tournois* has, until recently, been clouded by a lack of interdisciplinary methodology. This section proposes a revised stemma for the work based on evidence gathered from codicological and content analysis of the eight extant medieval manuscripts. I have organised the contents of this section into four groups based on the manuscripts and their relationships to each other. Within each group I have presented evidence gathered from codicological examination, as well as textual and visual analysis with the purpose of establishing the relationships between the different manuscripts.

6.2.1 P1: BnF, ms. français 2695

P1 is both the oldest and most direct source for the known manuscript copies. Until 1986, when François Avril analysed the watermarks identified by Delaissé and established a *terminus post quem* of 1460 (fig. 228), there were active debates about when the work was first written and the order of production for the different manuscripts. Early analyses focussed on the late 1440s as the likely date of production, concluding that the treatise was a self-reflective work written during or shortly after the spate of tournaments René sponsored in that decade. Contemporaneously with Avril's work, scholars began to take more notice of the similarities between passages in René's treatise and the one completed by Antoine de la Sale in 1459, reaching the conclusion that René was reacting to, even

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critiquing Antoine's work. In one of the most influential applications of interdisciplinary methodology to the *Livre des tournois* Avril coupled his analysis of the work's watermarks with the similarities between René's and Antoine's treatise to conclude that the *Livre des tournois* was written c. 1460, while other recent analysis has suggested a *terminus ante quem* of 1465.

The identification of P1 as the source or base copy is reliant on an array of textual and visual evidence. P1 contains a number of redactions that were undertaken either while the manuscript was being written or shortly it was completed. There are four instances in which entire passages have been crossed out using the same colour ink as the text. Additional editorial changes include interlinear insertions, often, although not always, in the same hand that wrote the initial passage. All of the other seven manuscripts replicate the redacted text in P1, and none contain the crossed out sections of text. This indicates that the editorial changes were in place shortly after the text was first written and before the earliest extant copy was made. However, the mimetic replication of the image cycle within five of the eight manuscripts continued to pose a problem for establishing an order of production for the different manuscripts. Delaissé's 1969 study of the image cycles in P1, P2, P3 and P4 offered an important clarification of the process of artistic

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8. Appendix A, page 532, note 183; page 552 note 265; page 564, note 286; and page 615, note 388.

9. Appendix A, page 492, note 53; page 508, notes 103 and 105; page 520, note 138; page 544, note 229; page 547, notes 236 and 240; page 571, notes 287 and 290; page 580, note 306; page 588, note 315; page 595, notes 335 and 336; page 628, note 392; page 631, note 404; page 639, note 459; page 655, note 524; page 672, note 659; page 676, note 692; page 679, note 704; page 691, notes 732, 738, 741 and 742; page 692, notes 744 and 746; page 700, notes 769, 770, 772 and 775; page 704, note 784; page 712, note 852

10. See previous note. In none of the cited instances is a comparative variant found in any other manuscript.
transmission. Using a comparative analysis based on the close study of nuanced changes in form and colour of individual images from each manuscripts, Delaissé proposed a transmission pattern with P1 as the base manuscript. He went on to theorise that P1 served as the model for P2, which in turn served as the model for P3. He concluded P4 was the youngest manuscript and based directly on P3. Although his analysis of P2 was disproved by Otto Pächt in 1977 when he conclusively demonstrated P2 and P3 were not related, my analysis proposes a revised pattern that ends in three different branches for the stemma, confirms relationships between manuscripts that were only speculatively linked or not thought to be related at all, and finally suggests the presence of at least one lost model.

Although the majority of redactions in P1 suggest authorial intervention, there are some unusual textual variants that suggest certain passages were copied from a written source. Page 492, line 19 of the companion edition to this thesis records a section of text that was added in a different hand. The length of this insertion is very close to the length of an entire line of text. This potentially suggests an instance of eyeskip on the part of the scribe of P1, which was then corrected via the insertion. A similar occurrence is found on page 508, line 26, in which a scribe has inserted an interlinear correction that is also roughly the same length as an entire line. P1 also contains a number of corrections that suggest the scribe realised a copying error and immediately rectified their mistake.

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12. Delaissé limited his studies to the "Flemish" manuscripts and only briefly mentioned the D manuscript and did not include the K, H or G manuscripts.
14. See below, pages 333, 348-351.
16. Also see note 53 on the same page of Appendix A.
17. It is unclear if the hand of this second insertion matches that of the first.
18. Some examples of crossed out text and scribal corrections include: Appendix A, page 515, note 120; page 524, note 150; page 636, note 443; page 639, notes 449 and 450; page 672, note 659. Examples of
However, there are two of these anomalies that appear to be another result of eyeskip when copying from an exemplar. On page 588, line 9, and page 635, line 2, the scribe mistakenly copied a word found in the next line which he then corrected. Both of these occurrences can be easily explained by the similar appearances of the preceding words on each line. This type of eyeskip would most likely happen if the scribe was copying from a written exemplar in which the same or a similarly appearing word occurred on lines near each other. This evidence must be tempered by the fact that there is no known example of a manuscript or exemplar that predates P1. These errors could just as easily be the result of copying from lost manuscript or from a tablet or hastily written draft. Moreover they do not challenge the fact that P1 is the oldest extant manuscript and served as the model for all the copies of René’s Livre des tournois currently known to be in existence.

The association of P1 with the House of Luxembourg is well established, although the mode of acquisition is not. The earliest direct evidence of ownership is the erased signature of Marie de Luxembourg (c. 1470-1547), Countess of Saint-Pol (fig. 229). Marie had inherited a great legacy and in all likelihood a great part of her library after the death of her father in 1482. However, it was Marie’s grandfather, Louis who was most likely responsible for acquiring the bulk of the library that Marie inherited. Her known collection includes twenty-five identified manuscripts, all of which include her signature on their final folios (fig. 230). Her collection was diverse and included works on science and interlinear insertions by the scribe include: Appendix A, page 595, notes 335 and 336; page 628, note 392; page 631, note 404; page 639, note 459; and page 655, note 524. For a complete list of both instances see the notes in Appendix A.

19. Also see notes 315 and 316 on the same page.
20. Also see note 422 on the same page.
and philosophy, as well as chronicles and romance. Surprisingly her library seems to have included a relatively small number of religious manuscripts.\textsuperscript{24} Marie's ownership of a copy of the \textit{Livre des tournois}, a work that is concerned with issues of martial masculinity, is unusual.\textsuperscript{25} She is the only woman known to have owned a copy. However, like much of her eclectic collection it seems that this manuscript was inherited.\textsuperscript{26}

How the family came into possession of the manuscript is unclear. If Louis acquired the manuscript, which is far from certain, it would have been during a narrow window of time, 1471-1475. The reason for this is twofold. An entry in an inventory conducted of René's castle at Angers in 1471 recorded the presence of "ung cayez de papier en grant volume, ouquel est le commencement d'un tournay."\textsuperscript{27} This is widely accepted as a reference to P1.\textsuperscript{28} The second reason is Louis' arrest and execution for treason in 1475.\textsuperscript{29} René and Luxembourg certainly shared a fascination with tournament

\textsuperscript{23} Korteweg, “La Collection de livres d’une femme indépendante,” 222.

\textsuperscript{24} Although Korteweg states that no religious manuscripts can be linked to Marie's ownership, Thomas Kren has identified her ex-libris in at least one prayer book that once belonged to Charles le Téméraire. See: Thomas Kren, and Scot McKendrick, eds. \textit{Illuminating the Renaissance: The Triumph of Flemish Manuscript Painting in Europe} (Los Angeles: The J. Paul Getty Museum, 2003), 129-31; Korteweg, “La Collection de livres d’une femme indépendante,” 221.


\textsuperscript{27} Lecoy de la Marche, \textit{Extraits des comptes}, 267. Another record in the same inventory records a sheaf of papers with numerous 'pourtraiz', probably studies, of horses. Lecoy de la Marche, \textit{Extraits des comptes}, 261.

\textsuperscript{28} Anjou, \textit{Le Livre des Tournois}, 11; Avril, “Quelques observations,” 73; Gautier, and Avril, \textit{Splendeur de l’enluminure}, 282.

culture. Louis participated with distinction in a number of events René hosted and was memorialised by Louis de Beauvau in his account of the pas d'armes René hosted at Tarascon in 1449 (fig. 39). René also wrote admiringly of Luxembourg in the Livre du cœur, describing his prowess in the joust. Finally, in 1459 Antoine de la Sale, while under Louis's patronage, wrote his own tournament treatise, within which he referred to René's chivalric endeavours in flattering terms. While there are no records that René ever owned a copy of Antoine's treatise, Sylvia Lefèvre and others have made a compelling case that the Livre des tournois was at least partly influenced by Antoine's work. While it is certainly possible that Louis either ordered or was presented with P1, any such assertion must be tempered against the fact that there is not a single record that proves his ownership.

In fact, there is another, equally plausible, explanation as to how the manuscript came into the family's possession. After René's death in 1480, Louis XI appointed Jan V

30. On the political relationship between Luxembourg and René, see: Lecoy de la Marche, Le roi René, I, pp. 129, 253; Anjou, Le Livre des Tournois, 10; Kekewich, The Good King, 93.


34. See above page 317, notes 5 and 6.
van Gruuthuse, Louis de Bruges's son, as Seneschal of Anjou and captain of René's former
castle at Angers. It is possible that the manuscript recorded in the inventory of 1471 was
still in the castle. In his later years René chose to settle permanently in Provence and does
not appear to have returned to Angers after 1471. The inventory conducted that year may
have been ordered in anticipation of René's retirement in order to provide an accurate
account of his holdings before he settled in Provence. The theory for this mode of
transmission is that Jan V came into possession of the manuscript when he occupied
Angers and then passed the manuscript to his bibliophile father. Louis de Bruges then
ordered at least two copies, P3 and P4, and may have presented P1 either as a gift or loan
to Marie's husband, Jacques de Savoie, who was also Louis's ally against Maximilian I
during the Flemish revolts of the 1480s. The manuscript would have then passed to
Marie after her husband's death in 1485. Although the exact circumstances behind Marie's
acquisition of P1 are uncertain we are still able to conclude that P1 is the oldest manuscript
and served as the most direct model for all later known copies.

6.2.2 The Krakow and Harvard Manuscripts

On the surface, K and H are very different manuscripts. H is considerably smaller
in size, measuring less than half the height and width of K, whereas K is much closer in
size to the source manuscript. K is also one of four manuscript copies which contains a
complete mimetic reproduction of both the textual content and image cycle of the Livre des
tournois source manuscript. In comparison, H contains a number of significant variations
that set it apart from both K and the other manuscripts. Although H contains an accurate
reproduction of the textual content of the source manuscript, in some cases even more so

35. Anjou, Le Livre des Tournois, 10.
37. Gautier, and Avril, Splendeur de l’enluminure, 282; Anjou, Le Livre des Tournois, 11. For more on P3
and P4, see below pages 346-351.
than K, the image cycle was abbreviated from twenty-six images to twelve. However, the images in H were still carefully executed to match the originals. Finally, H is a composite manuscript in which René's *Livre des tournois* is preceded by two works attributed to Jacques d'Armagnac, his tournament treatise and a visual armorial for one hundred fifty Arthurian knights. Despite these differences I am now able to affirm that the manuscripts are related. This section will demonstrate that K served as the most direct model for H and that both manuscripts can now be definitively linked to Jacques d'Armagnac. By linking these manuscripts to Armagnac I am able to reinforce the notion that K and H represent the two earliest extant copies of the *Livre des tournois*. This has direct implications for the current model for the transmission and reception of René's work.

**K: PCL, ms. Czart. 3090 IV**

The association of the K manuscript to Jacques d'Armagnac is based on a number of indirect signs of ownership. Although no single indicator is definitive, the combined evidence makes a compelling case for assigning this manuscript to Armagnac’s circle. In her study of the Duke of Nemours' manuscript patronage, Susan Blackman identified a number of attributes for linking a manuscript to the duke’s collection. She placed these elements into two broad categories. The first is his various heraldic devices, including coats of arms, armourial supporters, and his personal motto. The second category she broadly labels as subscriptions. These include signatures, inscriptions and most

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38. Appendix C.
39. Anjou, *Le Livre des Tournois*, 81. In 2005, Katarzyna Plonka-Balus identified the owner as Jean d'Armagnac, Jacques's son. However, this seems unlikely as the Duke of Nemour's manuscripts were confiscated by Pierre II de Beaujeu after Jacques's arrest, trial and execution in 1475, who, as we will see below, then painted over Armagnac's arms with his own. Plonka-Balus, “The Traité de la forme,” 11.
importantly the duke’s customary tally of folios and images that are inscribed at the end of a significant portion of his manuscripts.

The first indication of the duke’s ownership of the Krakow manuscript is a coat of arms found in the opening initial on f. 1r (fig. 231). Although the paint is badly damaged, the device appears to be that used by Pierre II de Beaujeu (1438-1503), Duke of Bourbon. The damage has revealed that these arms were painted over another set (fig. 232). Upon examining this manuscript, I was able to determine that the underlying arms are quartered. Although the second and third quarters of the device have suffered a significant amount of damage, there appears to be a dark charge laid upon a white field in the upper left corner of the second quarter. This would fit the marshalling used by Armagnac during the period this manuscript was produced. The second and third quarters of Armagnac's device were themselves counter-quartered, of which the first and third quarters were the device of Armagnac-Rodez, blazoned as argent, a lion rampant guardant purpure, crowned or, which is similar in appearance to what the underpainted arms may be (fig. 233). The presence of Beaujeu’s arms covering Armagnac's is explained by the fact that a portion of Armagnac’s library was appropriated by Pierre after Jacques’s arrest and execution in 1476-1477. Beaujeu then undertook a fairly extensive campaign to have any previous signs of ownership erased or painted over.

Unfortunately the coat of arms is missing other embellishments commonly associated with Armagnac, most notably a wheat-sheaf crest and either wildmen or sirens.

43. K, f. 1r.
44. Anjou, Le Livre des Tournois, 81; Blackman, “The Manuscripts and Patronage of Jacques d’Armagnac,” 19, 22. In contrast, Françoise Robin declares that the arms are too damaged to read accurately. Robin, La cour d’Anjou–Provence, 176-77.
as armorial supporters (fig. 233). As Susan Blackman demonstrated, these heraldic emblems, together with Armagnac's coat of arms, were nearly always included as decorative elements in manuscripts which he either commissioned as new works, or added to those he had redecorated, and therefore serve as reliable indicators of his patronage. The lack of these armourial embellishments in this coat of arms could therefore contradict the theory that Armagnac owned this manuscript. However, additional details that are not part of the source manuscript's image cycle and that were added to the first and second images in K further suggest that this manuscript was owned by Armagnac (figs. 234 and 235). In both images an unknown artist has added a sketched background in what was apparently an abortive attempt to fill out the interior space of the two court scenes. The artist included wildmen as architectural elements along the ceilings of both images (figs. 236 and 237). The first example even carries a shield which was likely meant to include a coat of arms. Unfortunately it was left unfinished, leaving only a tantalising clue rather than definitive proof of ownership. Jacques d’Armagnac was certainly not averse to altering image cycles in manuscripts he inherited or acquired to include subtle indications of his ownership. In her study of Armagnac's library and patronage, Blackman demonstrated that artists in the duke's employ would often include visual clues, not unlike those described above, in addition to more overt statements of their patron's identity. The inclusion of the wildmen in the first two images, although admittedly circumstantial, is another piece of evidence pointing towards Armagnac's ownership of this manuscript.

The K manuscript contains one further element that links Armagnac to it. On the verso of the final folio is an inscription that reads, “Ce livre a cinquante et cingc feulles et

47. Blackman, “The Manuscripts and Patronage of Jacques d’Armagnac,” 36-37. The example shown does not have the wheat-sheaf crest, although it does appear adorning another helmet in the margin on the same page in the manuscript.

48. K, ff. 2r, 3v.

histoires trente six” (fig. 238). This phrasing is very similar to the duke's customary tally of folios and images that is found in manuscripts he owned. Unfortunately there is no further evidence fitting Blackman's subscription category that would definitively indicate that K belonged to Armagnac. It does not contain his elaborate signature, or any images or folios with the characteristic jumble of letters that when unscrambled form his motto, "fortune d'amis". Nevertheless, the heraldic evidence combined with the inscription presents a compelling case for linking this copy of the Livre des tournois to the duke.

The fact that K replicates the the image cycle as well as the arrangement and layout of text and image found in the source manuscript is significant. Furthermore, the image cycle in K contains none of the variations found in any of the other copies. Taken together, these facts indicate two things. First, from a very early point in the history of René's treatise there was a recognition by the work's audience of the intrinsic value of the image cycle and the unique relationship between text and image. Secondly, it suggests that K was modelled directly from P1. Unfortunately it is not clear how Armagnac came to possess K. While some historians have interpreted the similarities in the visual programmes of K and the source manuscript as an indication that K was produced at René's court and possibly even under the supervision of Barthélemy d'Eyck, it must be acknowledged that the evidence for this is far from conclusive. Although K was executed on parchment the technique used to finish the images is less polished than found in P1,

51. While I have not matched the hand of this inscription to an identified scribe used by Armagnac, I have not been able to consult every instance of this inscription from the duke's collection. Blackman noted that these inscriptions were completed by a variety of hands, especially in manuscripts that the duke received as gifts. Blackman, “The Manuscripts and Patronage of Jacques d'Armagnac,” 32-33.
53. See appendices C and D.
54. See Chapter 1.
55. Robin, La cour d'Anjou-Provence, 176-77.
which was produced on paper. This is the opposite of what we might expect to find in the case of a paper exemplar and parchment copy. This lack of polish is even more noticeable when compared to the parchment manuscript copies of the *Livre des tournois* produced under Louis de Bruges's patronage, or when placed against other examples of Barthélemy d'Eyck's work produced on parchment, such as René's copy of *La Théséide* (figs. 48 and 78).  

While the details of both objects and narrative sequences in K are consistent with the source images, the application of colour is in places less refined. In particular the details in images like the tournament melee are harder to discern through the layer of colour (fig. 239). Furthermore, the artist of K has displayed a rudimentary understanding of portraying volume and depth. Examples such as the red bend along the caparison of the Duke of Bourbon's mount (fig. 240), which does not mimic the subtle flow and folds depicted in the same image in P1 (fig. 241), suggest that whoever was responsible for the images in K was less experienced with using shade and line to emulate volume and express movement. Given that Barthélemy was likely still alive when K was produced it is hard to accept that a manuscript so uncharacteristic of his technique was produced under his guidance.

However, in no way does this devalues the image cycle in K. The artist's pastel-like application of gouache seems to have been a purposeful attempt to emulate the effect of the colour wash applied over ink drawings on paper folios found in the source manuscript. The colour in K seems to have been applied quickly using light brush strokes in an attempt to emulate the translucence found in the source images as opposed to techniques that resulted in more opaque finishes. Furthermore, the ethereal images of castles and landscapes that flesh out the processional images in K can also been seen as purposeful attempts to emulate the ink wash style (figs. 242 and 243).

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56. ÖNB, codex Vindobonensis 2617, ff. 18v-19
57. K, ff. 25v-26r, 29v-30r.
details resemble the backgrounds found in the anonymous *Relation du pas de Saumur* (figs. 37 and 164). This may serve as evidence that K was produced within René's court as Barthélemy is widely credited with the images that served as the base for the *Relation*. Although it is safe to say that the images in K were not completed by Barthélemey, an intriguing possibility is that K was produced by an artist familiar with both the source manuscript of the *Livre des tournois* and the *Relation* and sought to combine visual elements from both manuscripts within K image cycle. Alternatively it may point to a now lost intermediary manuscript produced at René's court, which included similar additional details as are found in K's image cycle.

An analysis of the textual content reinforces the closeness of K to P1. K incorporates all the redactions found found in P1, indicating that it was copied after these were in place. Although K does contain some scribal errors it is on the whole an accurate copy of the textual content. K does contain one significant and consistent spelling anomaly, when "chevaliers" is not abbreviated it is always written as "chivaliers". This example is reflective of the type of subtle spelling changes in K that is most likely an indication of the scribe's regional dialect. This variation plays a role in linking K to H because H uses the same spelling throughout most of its text. Furthermore, the presentation of the text indicates that K was composed as a presentation manuscript. The hand is even and steady throughout and the passages were carefully planned and arranged on the page. Initials are decorated and occasionally gilded. While the layout of text is in general more compact in K than P1, the sequence of text and image, as well as the

58. NLR, ms. fr. F. p. XIV, 4, f. 24v
60. For three examples of many, see: Appendix A, notes 17, 32 and 57. A search of the DMF revealed a single manuscript from the fourteenth century that used this spelling. Although this search was not exhaustive it, this anomaly might help identify a region of production based on spelling patterns. “Dictionnaire du Moyen Français.” Accessed September 2015
arrangement of the text on particular pages to emphasise empty space, as illustrated in Chapter 1, is on the whole remarkably similar to P1 (figs. 62 and 244).

**H: HL, MS Typ 131**

This thesis is the first study to demonstrate that K served as the model for H. This has direct implications for dating the two manuscripts, as well as unravelling the pattern of transmission and understanding how René's work was received by its contemporary audience. The conclusion that H was modelled from K is based on a range of evidence drawn from textual variants and the analysis of elements in image cycles of both manuscripts. H and K share a number of similar spelling variants, including the unusual form of "chevaliers". In addition, H contains four examples of scribal eyeskip that can be directly linked to K.

Further evidence is found in similarities between the visual cycles of the two manuscripts. The significantly smaller format of H seems to have forced the artist to draw the images freehand as opposed to having traced them. For example, although the images in H are mimetically accurate reproductions, the figures in the image of the awards scene are somewhat less detailed than either K or P1 (fig. 245). Both H and K are the only copies of the *Livre des tournois* that include a blue swath across the top portion of the image of the two dukes armed and on horseback, an apparent rudimentary attempt to create a skyline (figs. 246 and 247). Like K, the artist of H also attempted to apply a diluted gouache to mimic the ink wash technique used in the source manuscript. This resulted in an odd mix of opaque and transparent details, which can be most readily seen in the different attempts to shade the background and flooring in the awards scene (fig. 245).

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61. For examples of other similar variants, see: Appendix A, notes 4, 8, 18 and 29. Although H uses "chivaliers" throughout most of the text, the scribe switches to "chevaliers" after the first third of the manuscript. The last occurrence of this spelling in H is cited in Appendix A, note 131.

62. Appendix A, page 515, note 124; page 588, note 322; page 595, note 334; and page 636, note 444.
The artist of H also had difficulty in handling perspective and volume, similar to that found in K. Details in the image of the list barrier exhibit the same lack of refinement in rendering dimensional space (figs. 248 and 249). In fact, the awkwardly portrayed fence posts in H appear to be a further exaggeration of the same unaligned fence posts in K. The red bend found on the rear caparison of the Duke of Bourbon's mount follows the same bends and curves as in the K image while also displaying the same lack of ability to use line and shade to properly render volume (figs. 240 and 250). Comparing the awards scene of K and H also reveals that there is a similar stiffness to their figures' poses, although again the images in H seem to further exaggerate this lack of grace (figs. 245 and 251).

All of these features are also found in the frontispiece of H, suggesting that it was a single artist who outlined all of the images in the manuscript (fig. 252). The figures are stiff and unnatural, the artist's representation of space where the walls meet and the placement of the throne is confused. Although the application of colour and overall finish to the frontispiece is quite different than found in the awards scene, a similar technique was used to shade the figures' faces (figs. 253 and 254) as well as the same awkwardly elongated hands and fingers (figs. 255 and 256). The visual evidence thus indicates that a single artist was responsible for the images in H and that K was his direct source for the images in the Livre des tournois. This suggests that H was conceived as a single unit with the intent of showcasing the contents together. The conclusion is supported by the codicological evidence. The manuscript is ruled with twenty-eight lines throughout, and the quire structure indicates that it was conceived of as a complete unit. Furthermore, the scribal hand and decorated initials are consistent throughout the manuscript.

The fact that H was conceived and executed as a holistic unit comprised of three works directly affects the dating of H. The key lies in the introduction to Armagnac's La forme des tournoys. Despite the author's refusal to directly name either himself or his

63. For the contents of H, see Appendix E, pages 775-776 The introduction is found on pp. 1-4 of the
Dedicatee, the work is now understood to have been written by Jacques d'Armagnac and addressed to Gaston de Foix (1443-1470), Prince of Viana. Gaston's renown for martial prowess was, in large part, built on his performance in tournaments. The introduction addresses the dedicatee in the present tense as opposed to offering a memorial of his life and accomplishments. Armagnac refers to the Gaston's fondness for martial endeavours, whether they were "joustes, tournays et autres choses" in times of "guerres ou en paix." Furthermore, the inclusion of three different forms of tournament helmets and a single cuirass in the background of the frontispiece serves as a visual reference to Gaston's reputation (fig. 252). This suggests that it was written before Gaston's death in 1470, and possibly during the eleven year period between 1465-1476 when Armagnac sought refuge at his residence in Carlat.

Armagnac also refers directly to René's Livre des tournois in his introduction, styling it as "ung beau traictie de la forme des tournoys qui aujourd'uy ont cours." The introduction goes on to indicate that he is including René's treatise along with his own, in essence creating an expanded treatise on different forms of tournaments. The reference to René's treatise and its inclusion in H is significant for a number of reasons. It demonstrates that Armagnac was familiar with René's treatise and wrote his after René's. Additionally, this clearly indicates that Armagnac intended for both works to be considered together. Despite this, of the twenty or more manuscripts that contain Armagnac's treatise


68. H, pp. 5, 3.
H is the only one that contains both works bound together in a single volume.\textsuperscript{69} This
evidence coupled with Armagnac's ownership of K and the closeness between K and H
suggests that H was produced at Armagnac's court and may be the presentation manuscript
intended for Gaston. This interpretation is further suggested by the manuscript's
frontispiece. Not only does the inclusion of armour refer to the reputation and prowess of
the dedicatee, the kneeling figure is shown presenting both a codex and a single leaf of
paper or parchment to the recipient in what might be a visual representation of the
introductory letter included with the work (fig. 252).

Taken together this evidence suggests a date range of 1465-1470 for both K and H.
Because the most direct model for K is the P1 manuscript, K could not have been produced
before 1460, the \textit{terminus post quem} for P1.\textsuperscript{70} The fact that H is clearly derived from K
indicates that Armagnac must have had K in his possession before H was completed, thus
providing the \textit{terminus ante quem} of 1470 for K. Even if we allow for H to be a
posthumous memorial for Gaston after his death in 1470, which I believe to be unlikely, H
must have still been completed prior to Armagnac's arrest, trial and execution in
1476-1477.\textsuperscript{71} Overall the evidence is fairly convincing that these two manuscripts were
produced in quick succession within the period 1465-1470. This suggests that René's work
spread fairly quickly after it was first written, and from an early point in its historiography
was held in high esteem by its audience.

\textsuperscript{69} For example: BnF, ms. français 1437 contains the text of Armagnac's treatise and an edited version of the
introduction, but excludes René's treatise. BnF, ms. français 1435; BnF, ms. français 12597 contain the text
of Armagnac's treatise and the armorial, but reverse the order they appear in the manuscripts. The most
extensive, although incomplete, list can be found in: Jefferson, “Tournaments, Heraldry and the Knights of
the Round Table,” 69-70, 82 note 40, 83 note 44.

\textsuperscript{70} On the dating of P1, see above pages 316-317.

\textsuperscript{71} S. H. Cuttler, \textit{The Law of Treason and Treason Trials in Later Medieval France} (Cambridge: Cambridge
10-11, 19-20; Jefferson, “Tournaments, Heraldry and the Knights of the Round Table,” 82; Sandoz,
“Tournes in the Arthurian Tradition,” 393.
Prior to this study P2 and D were widely regarded as anomalies in the transmission of the Livre des tournois. Furthermore, there was no suggestion that the two manuscripts might be related. In fact, it is only through my recent analysis of the textual variants that a relationship between these manuscripts has emerged. Before presenting the textual evidence that links the two manuscripts I will address the properties of the earlier manuscript, P2, as certain elements have a direct effect on determining the transmission pattern of the Livre des tournois. This section then concludes with a short analysis of the D manuscript that proposes it may have been commissioned as a gift intended for the Hapsburg royal family.

P2: BnF, ms. français 2696

P2 is one of four manuscript copies of the Livre des tournois that contains a complete and highly accurate copy of the entire image cycle. However, unlike the other three copies in which this is also the case, P2 was completed on paper. The rare watermark found on the manuscript's pages has enabled scholars to pinpoint the production region to Flanders and establish a terminus post quem of 1483.72 There is at least one significant textual variant that suggests the text of P2 was either copied directly from P1 or a very close and now lost middle exemplar.73 The layout of the textual passages was carefully planned to maintain a similar mise-en-page between text and image as found in P1.74 However, in comparison to P1, the script in P2 is less hurried, the spacing is even and the whole effect is much more representative of a finished bookhand. Despite having been completed on paper, a medium often associated by scholars with preproduction or lesser

72. Delaissé, “Les copies flamandes,” 192; Anjou, Le Livre des Tournois, 82. Most scholars assign a production date of c. 1483 to P2 based on the fact that the paper does not appear to have been used over a long period of time after its initial and only production run and the one-time assumption that it served as the model for P3 and P4. However, I have chosen to be more cautious and only allow for the earliest possible production date indicated by the watermark evidence.


74. See Chapter 1, pages 53-56.
valued copies of manuscripts, the overall sense is that P2 was conceived and executed as a finished presentation manuscript.

Stylistically speaking the image cycle in P2 is one of the closest and most accurate copies of the original. The artist applied gouache in various states of dilutions in an apparent attempt to mimic the ink wash used in P1. The effect heightens the mimetic similarities between the image cycles of the two manuscripts. Overall the image cycle of P2 is a faithful reproduction of all twenty-six original images with only minor variations. However, these variations raise some issues about the path of transmission that complicates the textual evidence presented above. In the image showing the tourneyers taking their oaths the artist rearranged the judges in the viewing stands so that the fourth is peering out between the shoulders of two others (figs. 257 and 258). Additionally, the artist included two extra elements on the buildings in the image showing the display of arms outside the tourneyers' lodgings (figs. 18 and 259). The first, is an extra ring attached to the wall of the building on the left. In P2, there are four rings, one under each window. In comparison the image in P1 shows only three rings. However, there is a circular stain found under the far window at exactly the point where the fourth ring in P2 is located. On the building on the right of the same image the artist of P2 included a triangular attachment, possibly meant to be a sign hook or another form of horse tie ring, attached to the wall beneath the middle window that is not found in the source manuscript's image. Nor is there a corresponding stain or mark, such as with the rings in P1 to suggest a copying or tracing error. The artist of P2 has also slightly altered the paths of the red bends on the caparison of the Duke of Bourbon's mount in the image of the two dukes (figs. 241

75. This originally led to some confusion as to whether this manuscript was the source manuscript. However, later studies which identified the watermarks in both P2 and P1 have conclusively demonstrated that P1 is the oldest extant copy and likely produced within René's court. Delaissé, “Les copies flamandes,” 192.

76. For these variations, see Appendix D, pages 732-763.

and 260). Finally, the artist of P2 has divided both the upper and lower portions of the image showing the poster of the king of arms into four sections (fig. 261), as opposed to only the lower section as found in P1 (fig. 20). By themselves these differences could simply be the result of casual mistakes in the copying process. However, I will return to these points later in this chapter when examining the P3 and P4 manuscripts in order to assert that there was a now lost manuscript that served as the exemplar for P2, P3 and P4.

Unfortunately the established provenance of P2 does not shed any light on the transmission pattern. There is only a single mark of ownership, the signature of a "sieur de Salenove", which likely dates from between the end of the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries (fig. 262). While this signature has not yet been linked to a specific individual, there are intriguing possibilities to consider. François Avril has suggested possible links to the Salenove family that originated from within the region of Savoy. However, there are also records indicating that a branch of the Salenove family were connected to the Burgundian dukes during the fifteenth century. One such figure was Guigue de Sallenove, who served as a knight, counsellor and captain to Jean sans Peur, Duke of Burgundy (1371-1419). Guigue may also be the "seigneur de Salenove" mentioned as part of the Duke of Burgundy's company in the anonymous Chronique de la Pucelle. In 1417, a herald in the company of Guigue was recorded as being present in the Burgundian court.

78. P2, f. 59.
79. The family name is variably spelled as: Salenove, Sallenove, and in modern spelling as: Sallenôve. Anjou, Le Livre des Tournois, 82.
There is also a brief mention of a "sieur de Salenove" who participated in the siege of Liège in 1468 and was knighted for his actions shortly afterward. Unfortunately there is currently no evidence that links this family to any of the identified owners or patrons of the known copies of the *Livre des tournois*. Although the exact transmission of P2 remains unknown, the fact that it served as the most direct model for the D manuscript will hopefully reinvigorate interest in this manuscript's history and place in the dissemination of René's *Livre des tournois*.

The textual variants that P2 and D share in common unequivocally demonstrate that P2 was the most direct model for D. There are numerous small spelling variations used consistently throughout both manuscripts, such as 'poursievans' for 'poursuivans', as well as missing words. Both manuscripts also consistently use 'logis' in place of 'haberges'. However, the most definitive piece of evidence is an entire line which the scribe of P2 omitted, most likely the result of an eyeskip, also omitted in D. The fact that this error was not copied into any manuscript produced after P2, other than D, reinforces Pächt's assertion that P2 did not serve as the model for P3 or P4. Despite the textual evidence of a link between P2 and D it is impossible to link the two manuscripts via an analysis of the image cycles. In fact, D's unique image cycle has adversely limited our understanding of the transmission of René's treatise. Scholars have by and large avoided engaging with D because it was believed to be such an anomaly. However, one piece of
evidence in D’s image cycle suggests that the artist was at least casually aware of the image cycle in P2. The image sequence showing the assembly of the houurt ends with the fully assembled houurt covered in the heraldic cloth of the Duke of Brittany. The text does clearly indicate that the houurt should be decorated: "Item, on couvure ledit hort d'une couverture armoye des armes du seigneur qui le porte et fautes de baterie comme cy apres est hystorie." However, nowhere in any manuscripts does it state that the image shows the houurt decorated with the arms of Brittany. Either the artist of D, who inserted numerous other historically accurate coats of arms throughout the image cycle, happened to stumble onto the same use of Brittany's arms as the cover for the houurt or he was working from knowledge or notes of the original image cycle that indicated the houurt was shown with the arms of Brittany. Together with the textual evidence, this suggests that D was composed with at least some awareness of the original layout and image cycle. If this is accepted as the case, then the changes enacted upon the image cycle take on a new dimension. This forces us to reevaluate the content and structure of the images as a conscious choice, rather than a lack of knowledge.

**D: Mscr. Dresd. Oc. 58**

The copy of René's *Livre des tournois* within the D manuscript contains a number of features that set it apart from the other known examples. The visual programme is comprised of thirty-four images rather than the standard set of twenty-six, all of which were likely completed by a single artist who remains unidentified. Furthermore, the layout and content of the images bears almost no resemblance to the original image cycle. D is also the only example of the *Livre des tournois* that was planned to include text and image on the same page and features additional captions not found in any other

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86. Appendix A, page 560, lines 1-3. "Item, cover the houurt with the coat of arms of the lord who will use it in the fight as is shown hereafter." Translation from: Bennett, “King René’s Tournament Book.”

87. One further image introduces the second work in the manuscript, *Comment on doit faire et créer empereur, roi, duc, etc.* For the additional images included in the *Livre des tournois*, see Appendix C.
The textual content of the *Livre des tournois* within D is an accurate copy in terms of content, although the arrangement of some passages has been altered to accommodate the layout of text and image. In terms of physical characteristics, D is closer in size to P3 and P4 than it is to P2, and is composed entirely on parchment. Therefore, although it is now understood that P2 served as the most immediate identifiable model for D, the latter bears little resemblance to its source.

D has traditionally been dated to the period 1510-1520 based entirely on the stylistic analysis of the images. However, I propose that this needs to be reconsidered and expanded to 1495-1520 on the basis that D was most likely produced in a series of independent phases. The script is almost certainly a late fifteenth-century hand and is homogenous throughout the manuscript, indicating that the initial composition was undertaken in one phase. However, there is incongruity in the decoration of different initials. Those that begin captions are completed in a style more reminiscent of late fifteenth-century modes, while others more closely resemble trends from the early sixteenth century. Finally there is a stylistic break between the images in the *Livre des tournois* and the only other completed image in the manuscript (fig. 263). This image was completed by an artist other than the one responsible for the *Livre des tournois* content, although he attempted to emulate the compositional style of the latter. While this image is almost certainly datable to 1510-1520, the images in the *Livre des tournois* are more complex. The clothing is reminiscent of Flemish styles found in miniatures dating from

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88. For an example of an additional caption, see: Appendix A, page 629, note 463. Although G also features text and images on the same page, specific aspects of that manuscript make it difficult to classify as a planned layout. See below, pages 351-353.

89. A sampling of the rearranged captions include: Appendix A, page 524, note 164; page 532, note 179; page 547, note 248; page 572, note 294.


the period of 1490-1520. This potential range of dates is somewhat narrowed by the
depiction of certain heraldic devices, which are discussed in more detail below.

Finally, D is the only known manuscript that features René's treatise as part of a
miscellany. Although H, P3 and P4 package René's treatise together with other works, the
homogeneity of their contents precludes classifying either example as a miscellany.92 I
have intentionally limited my examination to the features of the Livre des tournois rather
than exploring its position as a codicological unit within the codex. Nonetheless I hope to
present a basis for the need to reevaluate this often overlooked but intriguing manuscript.

The image cycle of the Livre des tournois in D was purposefully reimagined via its
relationship to both the text of René's treatise and the treatise's relationship to the other
content in the manuscript. Other than the expansion of the image cycle,93 the most obvious
feature of D is that the mise-en-page is a much more conventional format.94 The images in
D are bound by pictorial frames and always share the page with text (fig. 264).95 There are
no double-page images and none occupies an entire page. Any discussion of D's image
cycle must acknowledge that the images are clearly of a lower quality than those in the

92. For the content of D, see Appendix E, pages 790-791 The additional texts are concerned with regional
interests and providing exemplars for a prince. For introductory and general sources on the additional
content see the follow, organised by subject. On the Traictié de la droicte ordonnance du gaiage de bataille
par toute le royaume de France, see: Lefèvre, Antoine de la Sale, 136-37; Taylor, Chivalry and the Ideals of
Knighthood, 203; Georges Doutrepont, La littérature française à la cour des ducs de Bourgogne (Paris:
1909), 312; Bertrand Schnerb, “Jean de Villiers, seigneur de L’Isle-Adam,” in Les Chevaliers de l’Ordre de
la Toison d’or au XVe siècle, ed. Raphaël de Smedt, and Otto Habsburg (Frankfurt am Main: P. Lang, 2000),
32-33. A copy of the work is included in: Prost, Traités du Duel Judiciaire, 28-41. For Honorat Bovet's
L'Arbre des batailles, see: Taylor, Chivalry and the Ideals of Knighthood, 13-14; Hélène Biu, “L’arbre des
batailles d’Honorat Bovet: étude de l’oeuvre et édition critique des textes français et occitan,” diss.,
Université Paris IV Sorbonne, 2004), I, pp. 221-224; Charlotte Bauer, “Introduction: Collections
Rediscovered and Redefined,” in Collections in Context: The Organization of Knowledge and Community in
Europe, ed. Karen Fresco, and Anne D. Hedeman (Columbus: The Ohio State University Press, 2011), 7;

93. Avril puts the number of images at thirty-two, while Robin counts forty. The discrepancy arises from
what each author considers to be an individual image. For my count I have included all images that either
occupy a separate space on a given folio or are introduced by separate captions.

94. See Chapter 1, pages 53-56.

95. While some of the images of G share the page with text, the construction is entirely different to that
found in D. For G, see above, pages 351-353.
source manuscript or any of its close copies. Figures are stiff and repetitive. Any attempt by the artist to depict movement has resulted in comparatively ungraceful and awkward gestures (fig. 265). The artist's application of a fairly thick gouache to simulate drapery and clothing shows only a rudimentary attempt at depicting the luxurious folds and volume that marked much of Flemish art throughout the fifteenth century. Additionally, the artist's handling of perspective and depth of space was unrefined and resulted in conflicting vanishing points or confused groups of figures that are all the same size regardless of their location within the dimensional space of a given image (figs. 266). In fact, the entire visual presentation is more formulaic and far less inventive than the original image cycle. However, the assertion that the image cycle of D was constructed independently of, or without regard for the original image cycle needs to be modified. In addition to the evidence presented above concerning the visual presentation of the houtr, the arrangement of the figures of the two dukes in the image showing them armed and mounted for the tournament (fig. 166) is consistent with their arrangement in the original image cycle. This is not to say that the artist was in any way attempting to emulate the original image cycle, rather I propose that the aspects of D's image cycle that make it unique can aid in reaching a more complete understanding of circumstances behind D's production.

There is abundant evidence that indicates that the patrons and designers placed a high value on the work's image cycle. The eight additional images in D's Livre des tournois fill specific gaps in the original image cycle. Three of these images are directly based on rubrics or captions found in the source manuscript and its closest copies including

96. The most recent assertion that D was produced independently of the source image cycle, see: Anjou, Le Livre des Tournois, 9, 83; Robin, “Le Livre des Tournois,” 15.

97. In comparison to the other content within D, the Livre des tournois was meant to contain nearly five times as many images as the rest of the content combined. See Appendix E, page 791 On the importance of the structure of the image cycle within the physical plan of a manuscript, see Hedeman, “Advising France through the Example of England,” 99; Van Hemelryck, “Of Books and Other Miscellaneous Revolutions,” 290.
P2, for which there are no accompanying images (figs. 266, 267, and 268). The first image shows both the Duke of Brittany and Bourbon swearing the tournament oath. The second image is a composite showing various pieces of tournament equipment. The final image in this group shows the procession of the knight or squire of honour to the lists prior to the start of the tournament. The other five images are derived from longer passages of text. These images include details that indicate they were planned after a careful reading of the entire text and not just the passages that are the most immediately relevant to the particular images. Four of these are presented with captions that have been written to reflect the phrasing used by René (figs. 170, 269, 270 and 271). In the image showing the appointment of the knight or squire of honour the artist included musicians and heralds in a gallery along one wall and a table displaying silver plate and other vessels (fig. 170). These details are described by René as being part of the festivities, but not within section of text that describes the appointment of the knight or squire of honour. Instead, these details are only included near the end of every copy of the Livre des tournois, including D. The other three images expand on the narrative of the tournament combat. The first two show the arrival of the Dukes of Brittany and Bourbon to the lists prior to the start of the melee (figs. 269 and 270), while the third shows the knight or squire of honour and tourneyers departing the tournament field (fig. 271). The final additional image included in D shows the dance held on the first night of the event. This ceremony is described in considerable detail in the text (fig. 169). From this we can conclude a considerable amount of effort went into creating an accurate and detailed visualisation of René's

98. Appendix C, pages 723 and 728; Appendix D, pages 765-766.
99. Appendix A, page 651, note 490; page 668, note 616; page 675, note 671; and page 692, note 748.
100. Appendix A, page 708, lines 14-22.
complete text. Therefore it is worthwhile to examine specific features within the image
cycle on the premise that they were included with intent and purpose.

In contrast to the original image cycle, D contains a number of historically-accurate
heraldic devices that support the assertion it was produced in Flanders. Furthermore, when
considered in conjunction with the additional content of the manuscript, these devices
suggest that D was intended as a gift to a member of the Hapsburg family, most likely
Maximilian I. Five devices in particular directly reference territories and lordships
claimed or ruled by the family after 1490. The most significant device, the ancestral arms
of Austria has already been discussed in Chapter 2.\textsuperscript{102} The arms are prominently displayed
throughout the image cycle, often in places of honour such as next to the heralds of the
tournament captains (figs. 95, 168, 169, 171, 197, 267, 272 and 273). Additional heralds
are shown dressed in surcoats emblazoned with the traditional arms of Flanders (figs. 168
and 196),\textsuperscript{103} and \textit{Bourgogne ancien} (figs. 141 and 169).\textsuperscript{104} The latter coat of arms was a
particularly politically charged device in the Low Countries. It had been used by the
Valois Dukes of Burgundy to evoke the ancient Kingdom of Burgundy and to symbolically
demonstrate their attempts to revive the middle kingdom.\textsuperscript{105} Other relevant devices are
found among the arms of tourneyers ready to begin the melee (fig. 274). In addition to the
arms of Flanders, Austria and \textit{Bourgogne ancien} found along the right side of this image,

103. Shown simplified as: \textit{Or, a lion rampant sable.}
104. Blazoned as: \textit{Bendy or and azure, a border gules.} Christiane Van den Bergen-Pantens, “Héraldique et
symbolique dans la miniature de présentation,” in \textit{Les Chroniques de Hainaut, ou les ambitions d’un prince
note 10.
105. On the political significance of this coat of arms within Valois Burgundy, see: Van den Bergen-Pantens,
“Héraldique et symbolique,” 125; Bertrand Schnerb, \textit{L’État bouguignon (1363-1477)} (Paris: Perrin, 1999),
Introduction; C. Stroo, “Bourgondische presentatietafereelen: boeken en politiek ten tijde van Filips de Goede
en Karel de Stoute,” in \textit{Boeken in de late Middeleeuwen: Verslag van de Groningse Codicologendagen 1992},
ed. J. M. M. Hermans, and K. van der Hoek (Groningen: Forsten, 1994), 286-87; Sturgeon, “The
Frontispieces of the Chroniques de Hainaut.”
the arms Salines\textsuperscript{106} and another showing a black eagle on an otherwise unadorned gold field are intriguing.\textsuperscript{107} This latter device is also found on the banners in the image of appellant entering the lists prior to the combat (fig. 270). All of these coats of arms can be found in numerous heraldic displays that record the territorial holdings of the Hapsburg family, the earliest dating from 1495 (figs. 275).\textsuperscript{108} Furthermore, the fact that three of these arms belong to territories once ruled by the Valois Dukes of Burgundy and subsequently acquired by the Hapsburg family in the 1480s is important. The artist of D has included heraldic devices that reference the Hapsburg dynasty and their acquired lordship over the former Burgundian territories. The inclusion of Flanders and Bourgogne ancien in particular is a politically charged message, and one that ties in directly with another prominent aspect of D's image cycle, the urban setting.

The image cycle in D asserts the urban context of the tournament much more so than the original cycle does. In combination with other details in the image cycle, this reminds the manuscript's audience of the vital role the Flemish urban communities played in determining the balance of power within the region. In Chapter 4, I explored the urban context of the tournament in the Livre des tournois against historic examples and illustrated that the visual presentation of the tournament in the source manuscript minimised the urban context in order to highlight the status of the noble tourneyers.\textsuperscript{109} I also demonstrated that the image cycle in D prominently features the urban setting while also acknowledging a more diverse audience for the tournament. The tightly packed buildings and their steeped gabled roofs in these images are synonymous with Flemish

\textsuperscript{106} Blazoned as: Gules, a bend or.

\textsuperscript{107} Because of the quality of the miniature and the oxidation of some of the arms, I have not been able to definitively identify the other arms in this image.

\textsuperscript{108} Salines was part of Valois Burgundy and passed to the Hapsburgs after Marie de Bourgogne's death in 1482.

\textsuperscript{109} See Chapter 4, pages 233-245.
architecture of this period (figs. 167 and 168). The placement of the tournament within an urban landscape such as depicted in these images would have closely matched the experience of the participants and witnesses of the tournaments held in Brussels in 1428 and 1439, or those held in Bruges in both 1393 and later between the Lords of Commines and Jonvelle in the early fifteenth century. However, in light of the manuscript's potential link to the Hapsburg family, the urban context takes on an added dimension.

The urban centres of the Burgundian Low Countries had a complex relationship with their noble lords. The region and its cities were volatile and tended to erupt in rebellion whenever there was any threat, perceived or real, to their historic liberties. Throughout the fifteenth century, the Valois Burgundian dukes dealt with numerous revolts both large and small. The Hapsburg dynasty was no different and faced two serious challenges to their rule in the 1480s, both instigated and led by the urban centres of Flanders. With this context in mind, the prominent display of the Flemish heraldic identity coupled with the image cycle's emphasis on the urban centre serves as a reminder of the urban centred political and social landscape of the Low Countries. In a tacit acknowledgement of the importance of the urban centres and the usefulness of the

111. For descriptions and sources for these events, see Chapter 4, pages 207-211, 214, 224-227, 237-239.
112. In the immediate aftermath of the death of Charles le Téméraire at the Battle of Nancy in 1477, the Estates General, representing the principal territories of the Burgundian lowlands, wrested an important series of concessions from his daughter and only heir, Marie de Burgogne. In return for recognising her claim to the territories, a claim which was far from certain under French Salic law, Marie agreed to reverse a number of acts forced upon the territories during the reigns of her father, Charles, and grandfather, Philippe le Bon. After Marie died unexpectedly in 1482, Maximilian began a heavy handed process of subjugating the territories and reversing any concessions granted by Marie. In the decade following Marie's death, Flanders, led by its most prominent cities, twice rebelled against Maximilian, first in 1483 and again in 1487. The two sides focussed their efforts on securing the governorship of Maximilian and Marie's young son, Philip, who after Marie's death inherited the titles to the territories in question. Maximilian, as the boy's father, claimed guardianship over the boy and therefore sought to impose his right to rule over territories he otherwise had little claim to. In a countermove, delegates of the major Flemish cities, led largely by Ghent and Bruges, set up a regency council to rule for the young heir. Louis de Bruges was one of the members of this council, which ultimately led to his direct conflict with Maximilian. In addition, on the basis that Flanders was historically a French territory, the French kings Louis XI and Charles VIII continued to intervene in the dispute until the Treaty of Senlis in 1493 when Charles VIII finally ceded all claims to Flanders. See page 366, note 190 in this chapter.
tournament as a venue for declaring status, Maximilian hosted a tournament in the city of Mechelen in 1494.\textsuperscript{113} The timing and choice of location for this event was no coincidence. Barely a generation prior to this tournament, Mechelen had been the symbolic heart of the Valois dukes' attempts to unite their disparate territories under a newly formed central government. It had been less than a year after the King of France had ceded his claims to Flanders. In addition, Maximilian had recently succeeded his father as Holy Roman Emperor and had officially turned over the government of the Low Countries to his son. This example demonstrates the continued awareness of the important role these urban centres played within the power politics of the Low Countries and their usefulness as a stage for broadcasting political messages.

Unfortunately the provenance of D prior to 1721 is unclear.\textsuperscript{114} Given the unfinished state of the manuscript, it is doubtful that it was ever presented to Maximilian or his son. Although the fact that P2 served as the most direct model for D is now established, this does not yet help to either specify a date of production or identify the patron. However, the information presented in this section will hopefully serve as a basis for a continued examination of this manuscript. This examination has demonstrated that specific elements within the \textit{Livre des tournois} of D reflect the importance placed on certain thematic threads developed in this dissertation. In particular, the importance of heraldry in establishing identity and status, and the urban context of the tournament are prominent features of the D copy of the \textit{Livre des tournois}. This brief analysis has shown that D is a unique example of how René's work could be interpreted and repurposed by its contemporary audience while still embodying many of the core principles elucidated throughout this thesis.

\textsuperscript{113}Gamber, “Ritterspiel und Turnierrüstung,” 525.

\textsuperscript{114}The first record of D is within a inventory of the library of Maurice-Guilaume, Duke of Saxe-Zeitz. Anjou, \textit{Le Livre des Tournois}, 83.
6.2.4 BnF, ms. français 2693; BnF ms. français 2692 and Glasgow, MS E1939.65.1144

This section brings together evidence from my analysis of the textual variants in P3 and P4 with current information on the image cycles of the same manuscripts, and compares it with select evidence presented earlier in this chapter to assert the presence of a lost model. In addition, this is the first study that incorporates G into the context of the other copies of René's *Livre des tournois* and demonstrates that this manuscript was produced after 1490 and modelled on P4.

**P3 and P4: BnF, ms. français 2693 and 2692**

P3 and P4 share a number of similar features. Both were composed on parchment and are nearly identical in size. Although written by different scribes, both scripts are a neat and even *batard burgogne* executed by a Flemish hand. Initials in both are finished in blue and red ink with similar decorative flourishes. Their content and decorative programmes are also nearly identical. In addition to René's *Livre des tournois*, both manuscripts contain an addition in the form of a prologue that describes the tournament held in Bruges in 1393 between the Lords of Gruuthuse and Ghistelles. This addition is comprised of a very short section of text and four images (figs. 117-120, 134-135, 143-144). As I will demonstrate below, these images intentionally mimic the iconography of the twenty-six original images in what was an attempt to create a cognitive link between the historic event and the ideal presented in the *Livre des tournois*. The images also functioned to link the prologue and *Livre des tournois* into a single unit.

115. The two manuscripts were composed by different scribes. Although both are neat and easy to read, P3 is more compact. Delaisé identifies the scribe for P4 as being from Ghent. Given P4's later production, this would fit with the pattern noted by Hanno Wijisman wherein Louis switched his patronage from workshops in Bruges to Ghent after 1485. See: Hanno Wijisman, “Politique et bibliophilie pendant la révolte des villes flamandes des années 1482-1492: Relations entre les bibliothèques de Philippe de Clèves et de Louis de Bruges et la Librairie des ducs de Bourgogne,” in *Entre la ville, la noblesse et l’Etat: Philippe de Clèves (1456-1528), homme politique et bibliophile*, ed. Jelle Haemers, Hanno Wijsman, and Céline Van Hoorebeeck (Turnhout: Brepols, 2007), 250; Delaissé, “Les copies flamandes,” 193.

116. P4, ff. 2v-7v; P3, ff. B-F.
P3 was commissioned and produced within Flanders as a personal copy for Louis de Bruges in or slightly before 1488. Three different artists worked on the images for René's *Livre des tournois*, while a fourth completed the prologue, which was likely inserted at a later date. Although the exact technique varied slightly between the different artists, the images were all completed using gouache applied in varying dilutions which produced a range of opacity in the colours. This manuscript also contains a seventeenth-century copy of the frontispiece in P4, which was likely inserted during a rebinding. On the whole the image cycle is very faithful to that found in the source manuscript with one notable exception. Although the artist identified as the Master of the Dresden Prayer Book closely followed the original arrangement and content of the images, he consistently altered the dress of the figures to more closely match Flemish styles contemporary with the 1480s (fig. 276). Because these updated fashions were limited to this artist's images, they should not be seen as an overall attempt to modernise the manuscript. It is much more likely that the artist simply reverted to styles he was more familiar with. This same artist also tended towards creating landscapes which are slightly more complex and complete than the source images (figs. 277 and 278). Finally, the two images showing the start of the melee and combat have Louis's motto, "Plus est en vous"


119. This copy was painted by Louis Boudan in the seventeenth century and added during the period the manuscript was in the collection of Roger de Gaignières (fig. 308). Hans-Collas, et al., *Manuscrits enluminés I*, 284-87; Anjou, *Le Livre des Tournois*, 82.

120. Appendix C, pages 721-729; and Appendix D pages 732-733.


122. Note the wall extending into the background of the second image. This feature is copied in P4.
inscribed in gold along the top of the viewing stands (figs 279 and 280). Other than these changes, the image cycle in P3 is remarkably true to the original.

P3 does contain some minor variations which have led to some confusion when trying to identify its most direct model. In the image showing the arms displayed outside the inns, the artist has included the same additions found in P2 (figs. 259 and 281). Although the ring on the left in P3 is slightly lower than it is in P2, the placement and shape of the triangular attachment on the right is an almost perfect match. After a thorough examination of this image in P1, I could find no reason for an artist copying this image to include this feature. Therefore, this image in P3 had to be based on P2, or share a common, and now lost, exemplar that had this anomaly. This latter explanation is further suggested by the sharpness of the details in P3 compared to the softer lines and slightly skewed perspective in P2, as well as by two additional anomalies in P2's image cycle that are not carried over into P3. In the image of the Duke of Brittany's entry a small chimney is included at the top of the far tower (fig. 17). The artist of P2 has omitted this feature (fig. 282), while the artist of P3 has included it (fig. 277). The arrangement of the judges in the image showing the swearing of the tournament oaths was altered in P2 (fig. 258), whereas in P3 the arrangement matches that found in P1 (figs. 257 and 283).

This process is further complicated by the division of work in P3. The fact that three different artists completed non-sequential images suggests that they were worked on simultaneously in order to quickly complete the manuscript. This would necessitate different models for each workshop or artist. The Master of Soane Josephus completed the image of the display of arms outside the inn,¹²³ which was copied from either P2 or a lost model. The Master of the Dresden Prayer Book was responsible for the Duke of Brittany's

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¹²³ The Master of Soane Josephus has been linked to the images on ff. 27v-28r, 29v-30r, 33v-34r and 38r. For more on this artist, see: Kren, and McKendrick, *Illuminating the Renaissance*, 292.
entry, which does not include the error found in P2. The third artist, who remains unidentified, completed the image showing the tourneyers swearing their oaths (fig. 284), which does not copy the arrangement of the judges in P2 (fig. 258). The images completed by this third artist are striking for their near perfect fidelity to the source image cycle. This is the same artist responsible for the anomaly in the prize scene, which was first presented to the reader in the introduction (fig. 28). The image must have been copied from P1 (fig. 27) or a trace of the original image. This same artist was responsible for one final peculiar addition. In the image of the initial challenge, the artist included two white hounds on a semi-circular patch beneath the court scene (fig. 285). Given that this artist precisely copied every other image he was responsible for, it is reasonable to assume that he did not invent this addition but was following a model. Because these dogs are not included in any earlier copy of the *Livre des tournois*, this would suggest that he was using a lost model. Therefore the image cycle of P3 indicates that it was based on three concurrent models, including at least one lost copy.

The textual variants in P3 indicate that it was copied from either P1 or a lost model. The eyeskip in P2 described earlier is not present in P3. In combination with the visual evidence presented above, this definitively negates the possibility that P2 was the sole exemplar for P3. There are, however, a few relatively minor similarities in textual

124. The Master of the Dresden Prayer Book has been linked to the images on ff. 4r, 31v-32r, 35v-36r, 40v-41r and 41v-42r. For more on this artist, see: Kren, and McKendrick, *Illuminating the Renaissance*, 207-08.

125. This artist has been linked to the images on ff. 2v, 6r, 7v, 11r, 46v-47r, 56v-57r, 60v-61r and 63v.


129. Some scholars have suggested that P2 served as the most direct source for P3 and P4. Their analyses were based heavily on the colour palettes used by the different artists. Delaissé, “Les copies flamandes,” 187-98; Robin, *La cour d’Anjou-Provence*, 176. Others have suggested that P3 was based solely on P1. Baurmeister, and Laffitte, *Des livres et des rois*, 202.
variations between P2 and P3. These mostly take the form of similar spellings, which may simply be the result of a regional dialect and fits with the shared production locale of Flanders. There are three instances of very minor word skips that the two manuscripts share in common, which potentially suggests a shared textual source other than P1. However, this is complicated by an instance of eyeskip in P3 that quite clearly matches with a line in P1. Given the confluence of textual and visual evidence, I propose that P3 was based on 3 models including text and image from P1, one lost visual exemplar, and either P2 or another lost visual model shared in common with P2.

Whereas P3 was produced as a personal copy for Louis de Bruges, P4 was commissioned as a gift and presented to Charles VIII in 1489 in the city of Tours during an embassy sent by the Flemish Estates. A single artist identified as the Master of the Flemish Boethius completed all of the images in P4, with the exception of the presentation miniature, which was completed in France by the Master of the Cardinal of Bourbon. The homogeneity of the images in both the Livre des tournois and prologue in combination with the sequential foliation indicates that, aside from the presentation image, the manuscript was planned and executed as a single unit. This is in contrast to the prologue in P3, which not only features a separate modern foliation, but was completed by an artist other than the three who worked on the Livre des tournois in that manuscript.

132.A lost model does not necessarily indicate a lost manuscript. The model could just as easily have been a sketch or trace of another manuscript.
134.The images were completed using an opaque gouache technique. The Master of the Flemish Boethius is also sometimes known as the Pseudo Alexander Bening after an early misidentification by Durrieu. Paul Durrieu, “Alexandre Bening et les peintres du Bréviaire Grimani,” Gazette des Beaux-Arts 33, no. 5-6 (1891), 353-367, 57-69. For general background on the Master of the Flemish Boethius, see: Kren, and McKendrick, Illuminating the Renaissance, 309.
136.This artist has been identified as the Master of Edward IV. Delaissé, “Les copies flamandes,” 193-94;
Furthermore, there is abundant evidence that the artist of P4 used P3 as his model. The landscapes, including the addition to the building in the procession to the review are nearly identical (fig. 286). He has also replicated the variation in clothing styles found in P3 (fig. 287). Although he fixed the odd anomaly in the floor of the awards scene (fig. 30), he kept a mistake in P3 in which the artist reversed the colours on the tabard of one of the judges' heralds (figs. 278 and 288). The herald at the front of the procession wearing a tabard blazoned *gules*, *a bend engrailed argent* (fig. 289) should be wearing a tabard of *argent*, *a bend engrailed gules* (fig. 290), as found in P1 and on the judge's mount in all the copies, P3 included (fig. 291). The visual evidence very clearly indicates that P4 was modelled on P3.

Although the textual evidence does not entirely invalidate this theory, it does suggest that P4 was modelled on two sources. There is no doubt that P3 and P4 share numerous variants in common. P4 also has one significant eyeskip, which was likely a result of copying from P3. However, P4 does not replicate the significant eyeskip found in P3. This would suggest that while P4 was primarily based on P3, the scribe recognised this error and was able to consult another copy, most likely either P1 or a shared intermediary and now lost exemplar. This evidence reinforces the likelihood that more than one manuscript or model was in the possession of or accessible to Louis de Bruges during the 1480s.


137. Respectively a red field field with a white diagonal band and a white field with a red diagonal band. *Engrailed* indicates a motif indented semi-circles applied to the edge or border of a charge or ordinary.

138. Aside form numerous similarities in spelling conventions some of the more significant variants are: Appendix A, page 479, note 14; page 484, note 28; page 544, note 224; page 611, note 362; page 628, note 398; page 648, note 474; page 652, note 499; page 655, note 521; page 667, notes 602 and 603; page 675, notes 673, 675 and 677; and page 676, note 685.

139. Appendix A, page 664, note 595.

G: Glasgow, MS E1939.65.1144

Until this study there has been very little acknowledgement of the G manuscript and no attempts to place it within the transmission pattern of the *Livre des tournois*. G is a comparatively small manuscript composed on paper folios of varying quality and bearing eleven different watermarks. I have been able to identify seven, the youngest of which suggests a *terminus post quem* of 1490 for the manuscript. G was written in a hasty yet readable script using numerous abbreviations. The image cycle in G has been drastically shortened to include only six miniatures of the tournament equipment. They were completed in brown ink outlines with ink wash colours. Despite the limited number of images they were carefully drawn by a skilled artist, who remains unidentified. Unfortunately the limited image cycle makes it impossible to suggest a visual model.

Of the eight extant *Livre des tournois* manuscripts, G is the only example that bears evidence of a significant programme of intervention to alter the work's textual content. These changes were a deliberate attempt to purge any trace of identity, whether implied, invented or historical. For example, when describing the ceremony to issue the challenge

141. For example, François Avril includes a catalogue of *Livre des tournois* manuscripts in the appendix of his 1986 work and does not include G. Anjou, *Le Livre des Tournois*, 80-84. To my knowledge the only work that uses G, and even then it is only images devoid of their context in the manuscript, is: Anglo, *The Martial Arts of Renaissance Europe*, 208.

142. There is no discernible order or pattern to the use of the different sheets of paper. Se: Appendix E, page 788.

René wrote, "ledit Duc de Bourbon." In place of this, the scribe of G has written, "ledit prince." The scribe has also excluded entire paragraphs, including the captions and René's introduction. The attempt to purge any trace of identity in the text is matched by changes to the reduced image cycle. Not only were all the narrative images left out, the artist has also not included the final stage of the helmet assembly (fig. 97), which showed the crest of the Duke of Brittany, or the assembly of the hourt, the final stage of which displayed the arms of Brittany. Despite the drastic intervention to the text, I have still been able to identify enough significant textual variants to conclude that G was modelled on P4. Although P3, P4, and G share a number of similar variants, there are a few significant variants shared by only P4 and G. In addition, G contains the same section of text found in P4 that is missing from P3. Taken together, this indicates that G was copied from P4 sometime after 1490. By this time P4 had been presented to Charles VIII. Therefore it is reasonable to conclude that P4 was produced in France, although its exact place of production remains unclear. Unfortunately the provenance and original intent of this manuscript prior to the nineteenth century is unclear. It may have been an attempt to repurpose René's treatise for a non-French audience, or it could have simply been intended as an intermediary model like the proposed lost example that served as an exemplar for P3.

6.3 Louis de Bruges and the Livre des tournois: A Case Study in Reception

On 11 March, 1393 ninety-nine combatants drawn from the regional nobility and local patriciate gathered in the central market square of Bruges to participate in a

144. Appendix A, page 499, line 11, note 62.
145. The first five examples of excluded captions are: Appendix A, page 480, note 25; page 487, note 34; page 495, note 58; page 500, note 78; and page 511, note 113.
146. Some significant examples include: Appendix A, page 476, note 6; page 516, note 127; page 632, note 411; page 664, note 598; and page 668, note 610.
147. Appendix A, page 479, note 14; page 484, note 28; page 544, note 224; page 611, note 362; page 648, note 475; page 652, note 499; and page 655, note 519.
148. Appendix A, page 520, note 143; page 571, note 291; page 652, note 502; and page 691, note 533.
tournament. The participants were divided into two roughly equal companies, one led by Jan II van der Aa, Lord of Gruuthuse (c. 1343-1400), and the other by Jean VI de Ghistelles, Lord of Ghistelles (c. 1350-1415).\footnote{There continues to be confusion regarding the exact identity of the Lord of Gruuthuse who led his party in this tournament. Some writers identify the Jan in question as Jan Louis's father Jan IV, despite the fact that he was born around 1390 making his participation impossible. Others identify him as Jan III. However the presence of a second "Jan van de Grutuse" is recorded in the occasional roll for this event. There were four members of the family named Jan at the time of the tournament, the fourth being a cousin who likely died at the Battle of Nicopolis in 1396. We can logically exclude Jan IV as he was only three years old at the time of the tournament, leaving three possible candidates. Based on marks of cadency present in some of the occasional rolls, Jean-Marie van den Eeckhout proposed that the second Jan was the cousin and that the captain of the tournament was Jan III. However, the armorials for the tournament always show the second Jan with the family crest, which in Flemish heraldry indicated the first in the line of succession. The heraldic evidence is therefore not precise enough by itself to identify this individual. While Jan II was admittedly near fifty years of age at the time of the event, this should not automatically preclude considering him as a participant. Noblemen continued to participate in tournaments and performed deeds of arms well into their fifties. However given the relative certainty that Jean VI was the captain of the opposing team and the similarity in ages between himself and Jan II, coupled with questionable heraldic evidence leads me to conclude that Jan II served as captain of the tournament and his son, and direct heir, Jan III is the second Jan included in the occasional roll. See: Van Praet, \textit{Recherches sur Louis de Bruges}, 1, 28; Neste, \textit{Tournois, joutes, pas d'armes}, 126; Baurmeister, and Laffitte, \textit{Des livres et des rois}, 202; Eeckhout, “Het tornooi van Brugge,” 391; Eeckhout, “Het wapen van de familie Gruuthuyse 1,” 20-24.}

Little else is known of this tournament. The city archives of Bruges contain only a brief mention and a single financial reference to paying for two burghers to participate in the event, and the great chroniclers of the time failed to take any notice of it.\footnote{The city's archival and financial records of the event can, respectively, be found in: Bruges, Stadsarchief, 539, Handschriften, 3, ff. 10v-21v; and Bruges, Stadsarchief, 1392/3 f. 94v. In addition the ducal archives mention that a herald of the Duke of Burgundy attended the event. See: Douai, Archives municipales, Comptes de la ville 202, f. 289. The entry is printed in: Neste, \textit{Tournois, joutes, pas d'armes}, 262. Also see: Brown, “Urban Jousts in the Later Middle Ages,” 319, 320; Gryse, “Toernooien en Steekspelen,” 89-92; Jelle Haemers, “Noble Discontent. Adolf of Cleves and Louis of Gruuthuse as Patrons and Challengers of the Burgundian-Habsburg Authority,” \textit{Yearbook of Medieval History} 10(2007), 178-215; Delaissé, “Les copies flamandes,” 193; Viaene, “Moderne vertoning,” 12.} Yet despite this apparent lack of interest one pair of matching sources created nearly one hundred years after the event would inflate the importance of this tournament. These sources are P3 and P4, the two manuscript copies of René's \textit{Livre des tournois} produced at the behest of Louis de Bruges in the final years 1480s.\footnote{Delaissé, “Les copies flamandes,” 190.} These manuscripts offer a particularly intriguing avenue into understanding the reception of René’s treatise for a number of reasons. To begin with, the two manuscripts were produced to be a matched set. They are nearly identical in terms of visual and textual content, as well as the presentation of that content. They are also two of the four copies
that faithfully reproduce the source manuscript. Their patron is identifiable, allowing us to contextualise these examples within the wider corpus of his manuscript patronage. In addition, we know that one of these copies was presented as a gift to Charles VIII. Both of these manuscripts contain a short prologue appended to René’s treatise. This prologue is not only an important record of the 1393 tournament, it offers insight into how a contemporary owner and reader of the Livre des tournois interpreted René's book relative to his own identity and status.

6.3.1 The Prologue

The prologue found in both copies of the Livre des tournois commissioned by Louis de Bruges positions the tournament held in Bruges in 1393 as the most natural source of inspiration for René's treatise in an attempt to establish Louis's noble identity via his ancestor's accomplishments. In order to accomplish this, there had to be a tacit acknowledgement within the prologue of the relative status of the tournament captains and their role in the event as defined by René in the Livre des tournois. It is the seamless integration between the prologue and main body of each manuscript that makes the prologue such an important element in understanding the reception and repurposing of the Livre des tournois.

Each prologue consists of the same four images and a short section of text. The images are, in order: the Lords of Gruuthuse and Ghistelle armed and on horseback as if at the tournament (figs. 143 and 144), the heralds and minstrels of the two lords (figs. 134 and 135), the armorial roll for the party of the appellant (figs. 117 and 119), and the armorial roll for the party of the defendant (figs. 118 and 120). The layout, figures, gestures, clothing, and coats of arms in the images of both manuscripts are virtually identical to one another. Any variations in tone, colour or details such as the texturing of
the wooden barrier are minor and the result of different artists working separately on the image cycles for each prologue. The accompanying textual description is very succinct.

En l'an de Nostre Seigneur mil trois cens quatrevingts et douze, le onzieme jour du mois de mars, fut fait ung tournoy en la ville de Bruges, par tres hault et puissant seigneur, monseigneur de la Gruthuse, appellant d'une part, et tres hault et puissant seigneur, monseigneur de Ghistelle, deflednat d'autre part. Lesquelz tournoyeurs ont en ensuivant l'ordre et maniere des tournoys acoustumez cy dessoubz, mis leurs armes, timbres et leurs noms tant seulement, comme l'en pourra veoir. Pour ce que toutes les ordonnances appartennans a ung tournoy, sont cy dedens pourtraictes et figurees. Pourquoi je me tais quant a present d'en plus parler.

It provides a basic context for reading the four images, including the date and location of the tournament and the identity of the appellant and defendant. The text then asserts that the participants adhered to the proper forms and customs of the tournament as shown "dedens pourtraictes et figurees." This phrase is crucial because it directly acknowledges the authority of the image cycle in the Livre des tournois. The prologues are virtually identical, except for the placement of the text relative to the images. In P3 the text immediately precedes the prologue's image cycle, whereas in P4 the text follows the prologue's image cycle. This is explained by the production sequence for the two manuscripts. P3 was completed in or immediately prior to 1488. In comparison, P4 was completed between 1488-1489. The codicological evidence suggests that the prologue in P3 was completed and inserted at a later date, possibly at the same time P4 was completed. While the quire structure is unfortunately unclear, because of later rebinding,

152. For possible identification of the artists, see: Hans-Collas, et al., Manuscrits enluminés I, 284-91.

153. P4, f. 7v; P3, f. B. An edition of the text can also be found in: Quatrebarbes, Oeuvres Complètes, II, p. cvi. "In the year of our Lord 1392, on the eleventh day of the month of March, a tournament was held in the city of Bruges, by the very high and powerful lord, my lord of Gruuthuse, as the appellant, and the very high and powerful lord, my lord of Ghistelles, as the defendant. The tourneyers followed the customary order and manner of the tournaments, as follows. They put their crests and names only so that they were visible and all the ordinances pertaining to a tournament were thereby portrayed and represented. And so I will not speak any more of this at present." The year given in the text is in the old format. As stated in the Introduction, page 1, note 2, I have been using dates converted to the new format throughout this thesis.


155. See page 346 in this chapter.

156. Hans-Collas, et al., Manuscrits enluminés I, 288; Anjou, Le Livre des Tournois, 82.
the foliation of P3 was completed in two phases. The foliation in the Livre des tournois is contemporary with its production, whereas the foliation in the prologue is modern and was completed at an unspecified date. In comparison, P4 was foliated in a consistent manner throughout the manuscript. In addition, the artist of the prologue in P4 was different than any of the three who worked on the main body of that manuscript. The fact that the prologue was added to Louis's personal copy after it had been completed and at roughly the same time P4 was finished suggests that the patron placed considerable value on ensuring the two manuscripts were a matched set. It was not enough for Louis to present Charles VIII with a beautifully decorated manuscript; his personal copy had to match the gift.

The key to unlocking the intention behind including the prologue lies in understanding how its image cycle functions in conjunction with the cycle from the main body of the Livre des tournois. In Chapter 1, I demonstrated the multivalent nature of the image of the two dukes armed for the tournament (fig. 15), and showed that it functioned as both a narrative image and as an example of a piece of equipment vital to the tournament's ceremonies. This image serves as the keystone to understanding the seamless integration between the image cycles of the prologue and the Livre des tournois. As René wrote,

Cela dit, fera bailler le Duc de Bourbon au roy d’armes, deux aulnes de drap d’or, ou de veloux velute, ou satin figure cramoisis du moins, sur lequel il fera mettre les deux seigneurs chiefz dudit tournoy, faiz en painture sur une grant peau de parchemin, a cheval ainsi comme ils seront oudit tournoy, armoyez et timbrez, et atachera ledit parchemin sur ladite piece de drap d’or, de veloux ou satin.

158. See Chapter 1, pages 80-84. Also see: Anjou, Le Livre des Tournois, 11; Freigang, “Le tournoi idéal,” 184-85.
159. Appendix A, page 499, line 21-page 500, line 4. "This said, the Duke of Bourbon ought to give the king of arms two ells of cloth of gold, or velvet, or at least figured crimson satin, on which he should place a large piece of painted parchment with the two principal lords of the tourney, on horseback as if at the tourney, armed and with crests, and attach the said parchment to the said piece of cloth of gold, velvet or satin.” Translation, with some corrections, from: Bennett, “King René’s Tournament Book.”
Once again, it is as if the reader could lift the pages out of the manuscript and apply them directly to the herald’s cloak, just as is called for in the text. The object of the parchment showing the two dukes is so precisely rendered and repeated throughout the image cycle, no less than four times, that it highlights the object’s importance to the forms and rituals of the tournament René envisioned (figs. 4, 5, 19 and 20).

The fact that the opening image of the prologue emulates the image of the two dukes armed and on horseback is vital to understanding this process (figs. 15, 143 and 144). It functions to assert Louis de Bruges's noble ancestry to the reader. The crucial difference between the image in the prologue and that in the *Livre des tournois* is the substitution of the heraldic identity of the Lords of Gruuthuse and Ghistelles in place of that of the Dukes of Brittany and Bourbon. By depicting Gruuthuse in the place of Brittany, the appellant in René’s imagined tournament, the image visually establishes Louis's ancestor as the appellant of the tournament held in 1393, a fact confirmed in the prologue's text. Thus the image elevates the captains of the 1393 tournament to the status of the great lords René insists should be the ones to host such an event.¹⁶⁰

While the prologue is concerned with Louis de Bruges's ancestors, there is a subtle but important difference in the coat of arms used for Jan II and those he actually bore. While Jan II's coat of arms consisted of the same elements as those in Louis's, the arrangement of the quartering of Jan's arms was the reverse of that used by Louis (figs. 292 and 293).¹⁶¹ This fluctuation in the the family's arms was a result of their financial and

¹⁶⁰ Appendix A, page 479, lines 2-5.

¹⁶¹ There is evidence indicating that indicates Jan IV, Louis's father, had begun quartering his arms: Bruges-van der Aa by 1442, relatively late in his life. This phrasing indicates that the arms reflective of his Bruges ancestry, or, a cross sable, were displayed in the first and fourth quarters, or the top left and bottom right as seen by the viewer. The second portion of the phrase indicates that the arms from his van der Aa ancestry, gules, a cross saltire argent, were displayed in the second and third quarters, or the top right and bottom left as seen by the viewer. For Louis de Bruges's arms see: Eeckhout, “Het wapen van de familie Gruthuyse 1,” 17-32; Eeckhout, “Het wapen van de familie Gruthuyse 2,” 47-68. This is in contrast to hereditary rules which would place an individual's paternal arms in the most honourable position. Pastoureau, *Traité d’héraldique*, 175-77.
political interests shifting between their territories in Flanders and those in Brabant. The orientation of the coat of arms in the prologues of P3 and P4 is that used by Louis rather than his great-grandfather. While the shift is subtle it would have left no doubt in the mind of a contemporary viewer that Louis and the individual pictured were from the same noble family. Thus, although the prologue highlights Louis's ancestry, it does so in a manner that explicitly links his ancestry to his contemporary heraldic identity at the time he presented the manuscript to Charles VIII.

Like the source image of the two dukes in the *Livre des tournois* the image of the Lords of Gruuthuse and Ghistelles functions as both a narrative image and as a material piece of equipment vital to, as stated in the prologue text, "les ordonnances appartenans a ung tournoy." Just as the reader feels that they could lift the pages showing the Dukes of Brittany and Bourbon out of the manuscript and attach it to the cloak of the king of arms, it is as if this image is the piece of parchment showing Gruuthuse and Ghistelles armed and at the tournament that was once attached to the cloak of the herald who cried the event in 1393. Of the four images that form the prologue, this is the only one not framed by the artist (figs. 143 and 144). The lack of a frame enhances the sense that this bifolium is a separate entity, an individual item that can be removed from, or in this case was inserted into, the manuscript.

The ontological nature of this image is thus used to create a conscious and tangible link with the 1393 tournament. The reader is invited to consider the image as a type of relic of the event. It asserts to the viewer that “l’ordre et maniere des tournois” for the tournament in 1393 were in line with what is dictated within the *Livre des tournois*. The care given to rendering the details within the image is exceptional, even in the context of

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the highly detailed images of the *Livre des tournois*. Faces stare out at the viewer from within the helmets (fig. 294). They invite the viewer to wonder, if even for a moment, whether this is a portrait of Louis de Bruges, or perhaps his ancestor. The image transcends being either a representation of an object or a narrative. Just as with the image of the two dukes mounted and armed, this image’s power lies in the fact that through inviting careful attention on the part of the viewer, it is both object and narrative. It is both a visual record of a historical event and an object from that event in the hands of the viewer. The fact that the dual nature of this image of the Lords of Gruuthuse and Ghistelles drew its inspiration from the source images of the two dukes illustrates how carefully contemporary audiences read and interpreted the unique relationship between text and image that defines the *Livre des tournois*.

The second image in the prologue depicts two heralds, accompanied by two minstrels, in the act of announcing the tourneyers (figs. 134 and 135). In contrast to the previous example, which was shown to be heavily influenced by the image cycle of the *Livre des tournois*, this image was not inspired by any image or specific textual passage in René's treatise. However, a possible source of inspiration can be found in a miscellany owned by Louis. As part of a short tract on tournament customs titled, *Manière de faire tournois et béhours*, there is a single image depicting a joust (fig. 295). At the centre of this image, amongst the combatants and audience, are two mounted heralds. Their positioning and gestures are similar to those in the prologue image. Given that this manuscript was produced before the prologues of the *Livre des tournois* manuscripts, it may have served as inspiration for the second image or suggests that there is an as of yet

163. BnF, ms. français 1280.

164. BnF, ms. français 1280, f. 124. The text is essentially a version of 1306 ordinances issued by Philippe IV known as the *gaige de bataille*. For further background on the 1306 ordinances and their popularity, see page 399, note 92 in this chapter. For a complete description of the manuscript's contents, see: Hans-Collas, et al., *Manuscrits enluminés I*, 74-76.
Although the image was not inspired by any image or specific passage of text, it does reflect the prominence of the heralds in the numerous rituals described by René and their role in upholding and promoting the image and reputation of the nobility. As a part of the visual prologue, this image is immediately followed by two images presented as occasional rolls that record the participants of the 1393 tournament. Within the sequential visual narrative of the prologue the image of the heralds functions to introduce or announce the heraldic identities of the tourneyers who participated in the event.

In Chapter 2, I demonstrated how the heraldic devices invented by René function as a narrative tool allowing the reader to make a cognitive leap and relate to the imagined tournament as a tangible event. The occasional rolls included as part of the prologue's image cycle function in this exact way (figs. 117, 118, 119 and 120). They anchor the historic event in the mind of the reader by serving as evidence of the event's authenticity. The reference to the coats of arms, crests and names of the tourneyers in the text of the prologue effectively prepares the reader for the images. The first image shows the forty-nine blazons belonging to the members of the party of Jan II van Gruuthuse (figs. 117 and 119), while the second image shows the forty eight blazons belonging to those who fought with Jean de Ghistelles (figs. 118 and 120). Each individual is represented by their coat of arms, crest and a banderole inscribed with their name. In addition, some individuals are presented with a banner or pennon as an indication of their rank and position as the head of a company of tourneyers. This detail is reminiscent of both historic practice and the regulations outlined by René in the *Livre des tournois* that state how many participants an
An occasional roll that records the two hundred thirty-five participants of the tournament held at Brussels in 1439 is organised by the visual presentation of the companies that participated in the event.\footnote{Brussels, Archives de la villes, Archives historiques, 3357. Cited in: Damen, “The Town, the Duke, his Courtiers, and their Tournament,” 87.} Thirty-seven companies of varying size are depicted headed by either pennon or banner holders who were responsible for outfitting and fielding their members (fig. 296).\footnote{Brussels, Archives de la villes, Archives historiques, 3357, ff 77v-78. Cited in: Damen, “The Town, the Duke, his Courtiers, and their Tournament,” figs. 13-15, plate 8.} The occasional rolls in the prologue thus function as a standard device for recording and authenticating an event.

However, they also position Louis and his family as key figures in the Flemish political scene. The coats of arms in these rolls have all been identified and linked to members of the regional nobility and patriciate from the end of the fourteenth century.\footnote{Clemmensen, “Tournament in Bruges”; Eeckhout, “Het toernooi van Brugge”; Brown, “Urban Jousts in the Later Middle Ages,” 320.} A number of the identified participants were closely linked to the Gruuthuse and Ghistelles families through various civic guilds, societies and marriage. In addition, the participants represent a fairly wide sampling of the more affluent members of society, including many non-noble urban patriciate families.\footnote{Clemmensen, “Tournament in Bruges,” 9-21; Eeckhout, “Het toornoi van Brugge,” 383-403; Brown, “Urban Jousts in the Later Middle Ages,” 320.} Although the 1393 tournament was therefore more inclusive than René allowed for in the regulations of the Livre des tournois, as shown in Chapter 4 examples such as the 1439 tournament in Brussels suggest that events in the Burgundian Low Countries were often more socially inclusive than is indicated by regulations purporting to strictly limit participation to only the nobility.\footnote{See Chapter 4, pages 225-228.} Descendants of the tourneyers in the 1393 tournament even show up as participants in the Witte Beer.

\footnotetext[169]{Appendix A, page 588, lines 20-23.}
\footnotetext[170]{Brussels, Archives de la villes, Archives historiques, 3357. Cited in: Damen, “The Town, the Duke, his Courtiers, and their Tournament,” 87.}
\footnotetext[171]{Brussels, Archives de la villes, Archives historiques, 3357, ff 77v-78. Cited in: Damen, “The Town, the Duke, his Courtiers, and their Tournament,” figs. 13-15, plate 8.}
\footnotetext[172]{Clemmensen, “Tournament in Bruges”; Eeckhout, “Het toornoi van Brugge”; Brown, “Urban Jousts in the Later Middle Ages,” 320.}
\footnotetext[174]{See Chapter 4, pages 225-228.}
jousts, which were held in Bruges throughout much of the fifteenth century. Although P3 and P4 are the earliest known rolls that record the participants of the 1393 tournament, all evidence indicates that these coats of arms were not invented or merely taken from more contemporary examples, but are accurate representations of the event's participants. These armorials therefore not only historicise the event, they illustrate the historic position of Louis's family as important power-brokers in Flanders.

These images also aid in linking the prologue to the Livre des tournois. They are presented to the viewer so that they act as images of the rolls rather than occasional rolls themselves. The painted frame that surrounds both images creates the illusion that the rolls have been pasted to the pages of the manuscript. A similar effect is found in the image of the poster of the king of arms in the Livre des tournois (fig. 20). As I showed in Chapter 1, the nails at the four corners of this image seem to stretch and wrinkle the poster, creating a trompe-l'œil effect for the viewer that encourages active visual reading and participation in the developing visual narrative. These images thus function in a similar manner to the image of the two tournament captains that introduces the prologue. They link the prologue to the Livre des tournois, creating the sense that the two elements are inextricably bound into a single whole cohesive book. In addition, they serve as both a physical and visual record that asserts to the veracity of the event to the reader.

By appropriating the visual language and themes in the Livre des tournois the prologue positions the 1393 tournament as the most natural inspiration for René's treatise. Louis's ancestors were thus not only portrayed as great princes, capable of sponsoring such an event, they became the princes who inspired René to write the authoritative Livre des tournois. As the descendant of one of the parties responsible for this inflated event, Louis's own status and position was thus also elevated. The success of this endeavour is directly

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175. Abeele, Het ridderlijke; Brown, “Urban Jousts in the Later Middle Ages.” Prior to these articles there was a persistent idea that the 1393 tournament was part of the Witte Beer jousts.
attested to by the centuries-long belief that the 1393 tournament was the direct influence that René alludes to in the *Livre des tournois*. Furthermore, by memorialising an event in the distant past as opposed to his own admittedly strong tournament reputation, Louis conveniently swept away the turbulent relationship between France and Valois Burgundy, and his part in it, that marked the half century before the embassy to Tours. Louis's identity as a great prince is presented from the constructed association between his ancestry and the *Livre des tournois*.

6.3.2 The Context of the Replica Copies

It is worth emphasising the lengths to which the patron and artists must have gone in order to ensure that the image cycles in the *Livre des tournois* of both P3 and P4 were faithful reproductions of each other as well as the source manuscript. The inconsistencies between P3 and P1 that were outlined previously in this chapter should not detract from this effort. This is not to say that Louis did not have these copies of the *Livre des tournois* embellished. Both copies more easily fit the definition of a presentation manuscript than P1 does.176 Louis’s motto in both French and Flemish, “Plus est en vous” and “Meer es in hu” respectively, was added in gold in both P3 and P4 (figs. 297, 298 and 299).177 Rather than intervening and updating the image cycle, great care was taken to preserve the structure and visual presentation of the source manuscript. The homogeneity between

176. For a useful definition of luxury manuscript, see: McKendrick, “Reviving the Past,” 59-78. For a description of the specific properties of both P3 and P4, see above, pages 346-351. Also see: Maurits Smeyers, *Flemish Miniatures from the 8th to the mid-16th Century: The Medieval World on Parchment* (Leuven: Davidsfonds, 1999). In addition, see: Appendix E, pages 780-786.

these manuscripts suggests that contemporary audiences placed a high value on the holistic presentation of the Livre des tournois.

Louis de Bruges possessed the largest individually owned collection of manuscripts, excluding the ducal library, in the Burgundian Low Countries. To date nearly two hundred volumes have been linked to his patronage or ownership. To build his library, Louis favoured ordering copies of works found either in the ducal library or in the collections of his peers. In addition, he nearly always preferred copies that expanded the image cycle or enhanced the overall opulence of the manuscript when compared to its model. Elaborate decorative borders filled with fantastic figures and graced with gold leaf and silver paint are found in a relatively high percentage of his manuscripts (fig. 300). Louis employed the best artists and scribes in Bruges, and after 1485 in Ghent, to complete his manuscripts. Louis was also fond of having his coat of arms, heraldic badge and motto prominently displayed in his manuscripts (figs. 301 and 302). However, to every rule there are always exceptions. It is these exceptions that are directly


179 The vast majority of these were procured by Louis, as opposed to having been inherited. Hans-Collas, et al., *Manuscrits enluminés I*, 11-18. Also see the attribution dates in the catalogue; Martens, *Lodewijk van Gruuthuse*, 113-59.


182 On Louis's transition to using workshops based in Ghent, see: Wijsman, “Politique et bibliophilie,” 250.

183 Louis's coat of arms, badge and motto serve as the primary method for identifying manuscripts belonging to his patronage. The inclusion of heraldic devices linked to his identity was so extreme that purposeful programs to cover his marks of ownership with the arms of France after the bulk of his library entered into the royal collection, often failed to erase every indication of his ownership. In addition, Louis's badge and motto only became established between 1455-1465. Puype, “Het embleem,” 93.
relevant to the manuscript copies of the Livre des tournois that Louis commissioned. In particular, six manuscripts representing three titles, including the Livre des tournois, reveal a pattern of precision copying during the turbulent decade following Charles le Téméraire's death in 1477, the aim of which was to signify a bond between the possessors of the manuscripts, all with Louis de Bruges at the centre.

In 1485, while a member of Philippe le Beau's (1478-1506) regency council, Louis ordered two copies of a manuscript held in the Burgundian ducal library, then housed in Ghent. One of these was described by Hanno Wijsman as a "véritable fac-similé médiéval" of the source manuscript, itself an early fifteenth-century copy of the Livre de l'art de chasser aux oiseaux by Frederick II. Wijsman noted that the detailed images of numerous species of birds found in the margins of the source manuscript were carefully preserved in one of the copies. The other copy followed Louis's more typical pattern of updating and expanding the image cycle to create a more grandiose manuscript. What reason would Louis have for ordering two different copies of the same work, both of which were destined for his private collection, one an updated, altered and arguably more ostentatious version of the original, the other a virtual copy and seeming physical link with the source manuscript in the ducal library? Perhaps it served as a memorial to Marie de Bourgogne (1457-1482), Duchess of Burgundy, heiress of Charles le Téméraire, wife of Maximilian I, mother of Philippe le Beau, as well as ally and supporter of Louis. Marie had been an avid enthusiast of both riding and falconry. Her death in 1482 while out falconing with her husband set off a chain of events leading directly to the formation of the

185 Wijsman, “Politique et bibliophilie,” 249.
186 HL, MS Typ 129.
regency council and the conflict between Louis and Maximilian.189 The manuscript may have served Louis as a personal memento, a physical reminder of and tie to the late duchess. Perhaps it was intended to remind her young son of Louis's favoured position within his late mother's council. Unfortunately, Louis's exact reason for ordering such a copy remains unclear. However, what is fairly certain is that the manuscript was intrinsically valued for its content and presentation and the copy served as some type of link between possessor of the copy and the possessor of the original.190

During this same period Louis ordered a copy of Jean de Bueil's *Le Jouvencel* (c. 1466), a didactic work intended to instruct young noblemen on the finer points of nobility, knighthood and warfare.191 Shortly thereafter, it seems that Louis ordered a second copy, possibly originally intended as a gift to one of his steadfast allies throughout the troubled 1480s, Adolphe de Clèves 1425-1492), Lord of Ravenstein.192 However, the manuscript was instead presented to Adolphe's son, Philippe de Clèves (1459-1528).193 Despite the close relationship between his father and Louis, Philippe had aligned himself with Maximilian rather than the regency council.194 The second manuscript is a mimetic


192. The source manuscript is: BnF, ms. français 192. The later copy is: BSB, Cod. gallici 9.


reproduction of the first. All nine images from the earlier manuscript were reproduced in an exceedingly precise fashion, including backgrounds, architecture, and the individual figures. While the border decorations are similar they are not exact copies, except for one example that is a virtual copy of the original (figs. 303 and 304). Although the textual content in the later manuscript is very faithful to its source, the layout has been altered from a single column to a double column. Nonetheless, there was a clear effort to create a manuscript, intended as a gift, that was an exceedingly faithful copy of the one held by Louis.

The value of the gift was not just in the quality of its reproduction, but also in its content. Within *Le Jouvencel*, practical experience was presented as valuable, but it must be tempered by sage advice. As Hanno Wijsman observed, it must not have been difficult to connect the war-ravaged setting that *Le Jouvencel* opens with to the plight of Flanders in the troubled 1480s as Maximilian, the French, and the regency council all vied for power. By 1486, when the later copy was produced, Louis and Adolphe were once again on the defensive against Maximilian. An attempt to woo Philippe, by then one of Maximilian's trusted lieutenants, to ally with Louis and his father would certainly have been fitting given the situation. In this light, the later copy of *Le Jouvencel* appears to be a gift from an elder statesman to a recalcitrant youth. It may very well have been intended to call home the young Philippe de Clèves while also impressing him with a gift from the renowned bibliophile Louis de Bruges. The similarity of the copies can thus be seen as an attempt to create or reflect a bond. Two years later, Philippe would abandon Maximilian

195. BnF, ms. français 192, f. 124; BSB, Cod. gallici 9, f. 197.
198. Wijsman, “Politique et bibliophilie,” 263.
and shift his allegiance to France and the Flemish Estates, alongside his father and Louis.\textsuperscript{199}

While it is a stretch to ascribe Philippe's shift in loyalty solely to having received this manuscript as a gift, there is evidence that suggests Philippe understood the usefulness of creating a symbolic bond between two individuals via identical manuscripts. In 1498, Philippe entered the service of the newly crowned King of France, Louis XII (1462-1515).\textsuperscript{200} Philippe chose this occasion to present the new king with a manuscript extolling Philippe's lineage, the \textit{Chronique des hauts et nobles princes du pays de Clèves}.\textsuperscript{201} The manuscript presented Philippe's heritage through a series of short biographies of his ancestors, which also served as a reminder of the familial relationship between Philippe and Louis XII. However, the most noteworthy aspect of this gift is that the manuscript presented to Louis XII was another precise reproduction in the tradition of the copy of \textit{Le Jouvencel} received by Philippe nearly fifteen years before. The \textit{Chronique de Clèves} presented to Louis XII was based on a copy that Philippe had inherited and that had likely been commissioned by his father Adolphe in the period 1475-1480.\textsuperscript{202} While it is a relatively short work and the decorative programme consists mostly of coats of arms, the near perfect copy of the work's sole image is noteworthy, especially in light of Philippe's relationship with Louis de Bruges and the copy of \textit{Le Jouvencel} (figs. 305 and 306).\textsuperscript{203} Although the border decoration is different in this example, it does not detract from the value of the image, which is precisely reproduced, relative to the content of the work.

\textsuperscript{199} Wijsman, “Politique et bibliophilie,” 264.

\textsuperscript{200} For this and what follows, see: Wijsman, “Politique et bibliophilie,” 268-69. Also see: Kren, and McKendrick, \textit{Illuminating the Renaissance}, 86-88, 190-191.

\textsuperscript{201} BnF, ms. français 5607.

\textsuperscript{202} BSB, Cod. gallici 19.

\textsuperscript{203} BnF, ms. français 5607, f. 1; BSB, Cod, gallici 19, f. 1.
Returning to Louis's involvement with the *Livre des tournois* and the mimetic quality of the copies produced at Louis's behest, particular points from the above examples stand out as being directly relevant to the *Livre des tournois*. The works chosen all represent a bond of personal interests between the original possessor and the recipient of the copy. For example Philippe and Louis XII shared an ancestor on Louis's maternal side, Marie loved riding and falconry and Louis's possession of multiple treatises on the subject indicate he shared a similar level of interest. They all are concerned with noble identity, whether in the form of hunting treatises, chivalric biography, or family chronicle. The effort that went into ensuring mimetic copies created a type of link between the manuscripts and therefore a bond between the possessors while simultaneously demonstrating the intrinsic value placed on the original.

In August 1489, Louis led a delegation to Montilz-lez-Tours composed of representatives from the Estates of Flanders to meet with Charles VIII.²⁰⁴ Earlier that year Charles VIII and Maximilian I had reached an agreement that provided for Charles to act as a mediator between Maximilian and the Flemish Estates. Maximilian had inherited a claim to sovereignty over a great portion of the former Burgundian possessions after the death of his wife Marie in 1482. Marie was the sole heir of the last Burgundian duke, Charles le Téméraire who had died in 1477. Maximilian’s moves to consolidate his power over these territories put him at odds with the regional nobility and fiercely independent urban centres in the region, as well as the king of France, who maintained his own claim to the lands. Maximilian's heavy handed tactics eventually ignited an open revolt pitting him against a rarely united population of Flanders led by the regency council that had been set up to supervise Maximilian and Marie's son. Louis de Bruges, who had been a steadfast supporter of the Burgundian dukes and served in Marie's council, was a leading member of

the regency council. He broke with Maximilian and supported the Estates of Flanders, as did many Flemish nobles at the time. Gruuthuse’s influence as the head of a prominent noble house and his close ties with the powerful patriciate of Bruges was crucial in forming an agreement between all parties. It was during the negotiations in Tours that Louis presented Charles VIII with the second of two copies of René’s *Livres des tournois* (P4) that he had commissioned. The *Livre des tournois* was not just a gift to mark an important embassy, it was carefully chosen to represent shared mutual interests between Louis and Charles VIII. Louis had been an avid tourneyer throughout most of his life, participating frequently in both the urban jousts of the Witte Beer and the more courtly spectacles sponsored by the Valois Burgundian dukes. Likewise, Charles VIII demonstrated a keen interest in tournaments and martial endeavours throughout his reign, effectively reviving royal participation in such events after the comparative decline under his father Louis XI.

The presentation of the manuscript to Charles VIII is memorialised in the frontispiece of P4 (figs. 307 and 308). The scene is a fairly standard presentation scene. There was no attempt to mirror the style and layout of the court scenes from the *Livre des tournois*. Thus there is a visual inconsistency between the presentation scene and image cycle in both the prologue and the *Livre des tournois*. This may simply be due to the circumstances of the frontispiece's production. It was likely completed in Tours, during the embassy, by the artist known as the Master of the Cardinal of Bourbon. This does have an effect on the visual presentation within the book. It creates a cognitive dissonance.


208. P4, f. 1.
between the presentation of the book and the content within the book. The authority and
identity of the *Livre des tournois* is not impacted by the frontispiece. Moreover, the
contemporary setting anchors the exchange in the present moment in which it occurred and
memorialises the gift and the giver. Charles VIII is pictured centrally in the composition,
seated on a throne covered in blue and gold fleur-de-lys cloth. Charles is dressed in robes
of state and carries a golden rod topped with a fleur-de-lys, all of which are part of a well
established iconography that visually identifies him as the King of France. Assembled
courtiers span to either side of the throne while Louis is pictured kneeling in the act of
presenting a manuscript to the king. The assembled courtiers are dressed in styles that are
contemporary with the last quarter of the fifteenth century.\(^{209}\) It is uncertain if they
represent the king’s councillors or the representatives of the Flemish estates, although it
would not be unreasonable to assume both parties were pictured. Louis is dressed in a long
fur lined black gown and is pictured wearing the collar of the Order of the Golden Fleece,
the famed Burgundian order of chivalry.\(^{210}\) While he is the only figure wearing the
Golden Fleece collar, Charles VIII is pictured wearing the collar of the Order of Saint
Michael, the French chivalric order founded in 1469.\(^{211}\) The fact that these are the only
two figures shown with clearly identifiable devices representative of their membership in
chivalric orders functions in two ways. Firstly it elevates Louis's standing relative to the
assembled courtiers. Secondly it serves as a type of bond between the two figures. While
they are not members of the same chivalric order, they share a status and identity not

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\(^{211}\) A description of the collar of the *Ordre de Saint-Michel* is contained in the statutes for the order. Bodleian, MS Ashmole 775. For more general background on the *Ordre de Saint-Michel*, see: Boulton, *The Knights of the Crown*, 427-47.
possessed by any other pictured individual. One final aspect of the presentation scene serves to anchor it as a device meant to highlight Charles VIII and Louis's mutual interest in tournament and martial endeavours. The scene is framed by an elaborate architectural border in which a small scroll at the bottom of the image contains an inscription that describes the scene and offers the reason for the gift.

Pour exemple aulx nobles et gen d'armes
Qui appetent les faits d'armes hanter
Le sire de Gruuthuse duyt es armes
Volut au roy ce livre presenter²¹²

The overt reference to the book as an example for "nobles et gen d'armes" and for those who want to practise deeds of arms highlights the shared interest of the two men. While the gift of the manuscript thus marked the occasion of the embassy, the selection of the Livre des tournois was presented as a personal link representing the mutual interests shared between the presenter and recipient. However, it also acknowledges the authority and importance of the Livre des tournois. The example referred to in the dedication is the book.

6.3.3 Section Conclusion

Louis de Bruges’s patronage of the Livre des tournois is thus marked by an appropriation of the work's text and image cycle to recall a specific event in his family’s history and link it to his own status and identity. By presenting one of a matched set of manuscripts to Charles VIII, Louis was following what was arguably a successful pattern to symbolise a bond between the possessors of the manuscripts. At the same time this act acknowledged the identity and importance of the Livre des tournois as a holistic unit. The choice of the Livre des tournois for this was particularly important. It represented their

²¹²."As an example to nobles and men-at-arms/ Who want to practise deeds of arms/ The Lord of Gruuthuse, adept in arms/ Wishes to present this book to the king” The text has been almost completely rubbed off in the original frontispiece. Where necessary I have filled in questionable text by consulting the copy found in P3, f. Ar. A transcription of the text can also be found in: Quatrebarbes, Oeuvres Complètes, II, p. cvi.
shared interest in tournaments and deeds of arms. Through the inclusion of a prologue recalling the 1393 tournament in Bruges, Louis took the opportunity to proclaim his status and lineage by linking the historic event his family had not just participated in, but also hosted, to his personal reputation. Louis's patronage of the *Livre des tournois* thus represents how a noble in the late fifteenth century understood the inherent value of the *Livre des tournois* as a book that embodied identity, authority and legacy.

6.4 Conclusion

This first section of this chapter demonstrated a revised understanding of the pattern of transmission for the *Livre des tournois*. By combining traditional methodologies derived from the fields of art history, codicology and textual criticism I was able to conclusively demonstrate links between manuscripts that were previously only theorised or unconsidered. As a result, we are now able to conclude that H and K are related and should be situated within Jacques d'Armagnac's sphere of influence. In addition, the D manuscript, which had previously been widely dismissed as being of little importance, can now be understood to have been modelled after P2. Similarly G is now known to have been based on P4 sometime after the latter was presented to Charles VIII in 1489 and subsequently entered the French royal collection. In addition, I have been able to assert the presence of at least one lost model. This work lays the foundation for further research into contextual reception of these manuscripts and the cultural network that fostered the dispersal of the *Livre des tournois*.

The second half of this chapter illustrated the benefits of applying a focussed case study to reception of the *Livre des tournois*. The examples of the two manuscripts commissioned by Louis de Bruges in the 1480s reveals how a specific example of a contemporary audience received and understood this important book. However, it is not just the mimetic replication of the image cycle and structure of the *Livre des tournois* that is important. This must be considered in context with the prologue's appropriation of the
work's image cycle. Taken together this suggests that the work's contemporary audience recognised and placed a high value on the identity of the *Livre des tournois*, and that this identity was defined by the holistic presentation of the book, or the assembly of text and image and the authority that it embodied.

The fact that of the eight known manuscripts, four were created to be exceedingly precise mimetic copies of the source manuscript reinforces this conclusion. Therefore, while the copies produced under the auspices of Louis de Bruges offer a window into understanding how the work's contemporary audience viewed and understood the *Livre des tournois*, these examples must be considered within context of the work's wider reception. The inherent value of the *Livre des tournois*, its authority and identity, was not in any one element, but rather the assembly of image and text to create what was, and continues to be the book on tournaments.
Conclusion

This thesis has revealed three distinct and consistent themes that run throughout René's treatise. The first is the compulsion to define and communicate various identities. The second is the emphasis placed on constructing the author's authority and expertise on tournament customs as part of a wider effort to solidify his reputation and legacy vis-a-vis his peers. The third theme is the importance of the book as an holistic product of the cultural milieu and specific circumstances of its inception and transmission. This simple fact has been often neglected in favour of addressing the elements of text or image independent of the other or from within the confines of a single disciplinary approach. These themes are not independent of each other, but function as mutually defining and supportive exegetic compounds.

The importance that the *Livre des tournois* places on defining various identities and establishing their hierarchical and relative relationships with each other is reflective of the wider socio-cultural preoccupation with the affirmation of status. In Chapter 5, I demonstrated how a series of rituals at the heart of the tournament functioned to define and reinforce noble identity. By analysing the confluence between text and image within the context of ritual and spatial theories, I conclusively demonstrated that these rituals functioned as both declarative acts aimed at an external audience and internally focussed reflective acts directed to members of the group. For example, the spectacles of punishment enacted in publicly accessible spaces were intended to project the identity of the nobility as a separate and elite social group to an external audience. This identity was further reinforced by restricting access to a number of rituals wherein the nobility reviewed themselves. The message was clear: review and judgement was reserved for members of the elite caste. While the general public could witness the spectacle of punishments, the review, judgement and punishment of members of the nobility was a right reserved to the group. By restricting access to a limited and exclusive group these rituals also reinforced
bonds and established a well-ordered hierarchical structure within the group. Thus noble identity in the *Livre des tournois* is defined by the application of rights and privileges enacted through a set of rituals.

The identity of the great princes, as both sponsors of the event and elite members within the nobility, is a recurring theme throughout this thesis. In the section of Chapter 4 which addressed the identity of the tournament's participants, I illustrated how the great princes were singled out as leaders responsible for both the impetus behind the event and fielding teams of tourneyers at the tournament. Chapter 5 returned to this topic in the examination of the sequence of initiation rites for new members of the nobility. Only the great princes were granted the privilege of confirming admittance to the nobility. The identity of the great princes is visually established and asserted through their coats of arms. In fact, as Chapter 2 demonstrates, the visual heraldic identities of the Duke of Brittany and Bourbon were constructed to be vague. Thus the reader is given an identifiable but abstract set of exemplars for this vital role.

The emphasis placed on noble identity is present in a number of other aspects elucidated throughout this thesis. Although the heralds have a prominent place in the rites and ceremonies of René's idealised tournament, their primary function is to affirm the honour and position of the nobility. Chapter 3 demonstrated that in spite of the fact that René did not significantly deviate from the historic range of duties ascribed to heralds, he did make subtle adjustments to their responsibilities. Each of these changes reflected his central concern for emphasising noble identity. For instance, by restricting the position of tournament judge to members of the nobility René has reinforced the importance of the review, judgement and punishments rituals as an exclusive series of rites overseen and enacted by members of the nobility on themselves. Yes, the herald does play a role in these ceremonies, but it is always as a supportive functionary within the spectacle and not
as an officiant. The herald's identity was therefore also carefully conceived and constructed within the confines of the *Livre des tournois*.

Throughout this thesis I have demonstrated the important role the image cycle plays in decoding these themes. Two points are worth emphasising in their relationship to the theme of identity. In Chapter 1 and Chapter 5, I illustrated how the construction of space and use of perspective in the image cycle addresses the reader as a member of the nobility. Noble identity is therefore not only contained within the images and text of the book, it is also projected outward onto the reader. Equally important is the presence of visual narratives that run throughout the image cycle. A narrative requires an identifiable subject. An example is found in the narrative of the knight who broke his oath and was punished by being beaten and placed on the list barrier (figs. 100 and 101). Without a narrative tag, the reader would be unable to follow his story and could not fully appreciate the spectacle of the ritual. As shown in Chapter 2, the heraldic devices that René claims to have invented specifically for the *Livre des tournois* function to define the identity of narrative subjects within the image cycle. These heraldic identities are an indispensable part of the the *Livre des tournois*. The nature of the work in the manuscript copies which omit the narrative images (H and G), or in which the use of heraldry as narrative tag is severely curtailed (D), is fundamentally different from the original. As demonstrated in Chapter 1, text and image were so intrinsically bound together that without the visual narrative the unique identity of *Livre des tournois* is fundamentally changed to something more mundane.

It is important to acknowledge that the *Livre des tournois* asserts its own particular identity. As demonstrated in Chapters 1 and 6, the identity of the *Livre des tournois* as an authoritative treatise was recognised and directly acknowledged by some of its earliest owners. Jacques d'Armagnac referred to it as a "beau traictie" and acknowledged it as an
authoritative work when he self-consciously positioned it against his own efforts. The prologues added to the two copies commissioned by Louis de Bruges in the 1480s blatantly appropriated the iconography of the *Livre des tournois* in an attempt to upstage the authority of the book by casting Louis and his ancestors as the inspiration behind it. The centuries-long confusion over whether the tournament described in the prologue actually served as René's inspiration testifies to the success of effort. However, building on the evidence presented in Chapter 4 and the conclusion that René did not draw on any single event, I have instead demonstrated that these prologues should be understood as a contemporary acknowledgement of the book's impact. In Chapter 1 I illustrated how text and image work in tandem with each other to create a work that is greater than the sum of its individual elements. This thesis has repeatedly highlighted the critical role that understanding the relationship between text and image plays in decoding René's work. However, the *Livre des tournois* also embodies the experience and knowledge of its author and deliberately asserts René's identity as author and authority.

René's identity as the author of the *Livre des tournois* is declared through multiple self-conscious and self-referential passages within the work. In effect, this identity is multi-valent: René is not only the writer, but also the artist and primary authority on heraldry, tournament forms and customs. As I have made clear in Chapter 1, the relationship between the book's text and image cycle contributed to the longstanding belief that René was both the author and artist, when in fact it was the result of a particularly fruitful and unusual collaborative working relationship between two individuals. Although we now know that the images were composed by Barthélemy d'Eyck, this does not negate the fact that the symmetry between text and image is entrenched into the core structure of the *Livre des tournois*. The image cycle does not simply present an accurate depiction of

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1. H, p. 3. Also see: Jefferson, “Tournaments, Heraldry and the Knights of the Round Table,” 82-83, 86, 129.
the text, but rather complements and expands on it in such a way that it reveals details not articulated in the text. This does not mean that the image cycle should be thought of as superior to the text, rather that text and image are, as I argued in Chapter 1, interdependent exegetic components. The numerous heraldic identities found throughout the work functions to define subjects within the visual narratives. As I discuss in Chapter 2, René asserts that he invented these heraldic identities for his amusement and to describe the tournament. This simple statement effectively casts René as the inventive force behind the coats of arms in the book, and thus adds to the range of his authorial identity.² Chapters 3, 4 and 5 each presented different examples of how text, image and heraldry combine to assert René's expertise in different aspects of tournament customs and present him as a leading authority on the topic. In effect, it is the encompassing breadth of authorial identity that is one of the greatest strengths of the Livre des tournois.

René's multi-faceted authorial identity has directly contributed to his continued legacy as an authority on tournament customs. The Livre des tournois is part of a larger and self-conscious effort on the part of René to bolster his reputation and secure his legacy. This effort is apparent within a diverse array of cultural productions that were created or enacted from within René's court, examples of which include tournaments and festivals, patronage of both the visual arts and written word, and of course, René's own authorial efforts.³ However, this thesis has conclusively shown that the legacy of the Livre des tournois extends far beyond René's own identity. The Livre des tournois's lasting impact is on tournament culture and the production and reception of manuscripts.

Throughout this thesis I have deliberately pushed against the entrenched model of interpreting the impact of the Livre des tournois by comparing it solely to the events René

². Appendix A, page 479, line 20-page 480, line 2.

³. SunHee Kim Gertz has recently drawn attention to René's awareness of the potential use of fame in creating lasting memory and establishing his legacy. Gertz, Visual power and fame, 33-67.
is known to have hosted and participated in during the 1440s. I have instead sought to stress the similarities, where they exist, between these events and René's vision for a new form of tournament that he describes in the *Livre des tournois*. Within Chapter 4, I elucidated the complex array of sources that René drew upon to craft his idealised event. Although he certainly derived the bulk of the form of tournament from Rhenish and German regional practices, I demonstrated that René tempered these sources with his own experiences garnered from the events he hosted and adapted them to his vision for a form of event centred around the French nobility. However, it is also important to acknowledge contemporary reaction to René's treatise. The manuscript copies produced at the behest of Louis de Bruges provide an excellent opportunity to consider a contemporary audience's reaction to the work. As I demonstrated in Chapter 6, by casting the 1393 tournament as the inspiration for René's treatise, Louis effectively raised the status of what was a comparatively minor event by the standards of the time. In order for this effort to be effective there had to have been a tacit acknowledgement of the authority and impact of René's work. Further acknowledgement of the importance of the *Livre des tournois* is evidenced by Jacques d'Armagnac's response which took the form of a similarly themed treatise. I have concurrently demonstrated that, despite persistent assumptions to the contrary, within France during this same period there was both knowledge of and interest in the form of tournament described by René.

As I have shown, the particular form of tournament described by René was heavily influenced by the events sponsored by German and Rhenish tournament societies that flourished briefly at the end of the fifteenth century. However, there is one notable difference between these events and the one described in the *Livre des tournois*, which is relevant to the current discussion. The impetus behind these events came from within the confraternities of the various tournament societies, whose membership consisted mostly of knights and low ranking nobility. In contrast, René's tournament is entirely driven by the
highest ranking members of the nobility, the princes, barons and other great lords. As it turns out, René's vision in this regard was particularly accurate. As tournaments became increasingly extravagant and costly affairs, the ability to sponsor them quickly surpassed the means of all but the wealthiest individuals. In an attempt to mitigate the financial burden, the tournament societies consolidated their efforts. However, fewer independent societies meant fewer events overall, at a time when the demand for tournaments was on the rise. In the final years of the fifteenth and throughout the sixteenth centuries, this model of princely sponsorship that René outlined was picked up and enacted by rulers such as Maximilian, Charles VIII and Henry VIII until it became the norm.

There is, of course, the tangible legacy of the *Livre des tournois* in the form of the manuscript copies that were created and have survived. In the first half of Chapter 6 I drew together previous scholarship with evidence garnered from my examinations of the different manuscripts to propose a revision to the current understanding of the dissemination and reception of René's *Livre des tournois*. In addition to proposing the presence of a lost model, I was able to demonstrate links between manuscripts that had not previously been considered. This work has laid the basis for future research into the spread and reception of René's treatise. The second half of Chapter 6 demonstrates how a case-study of a particular set of manuscripts placed within the context of their patron and circumstances of transmission can reveal contemporary audiences perceptions of the *Livre des tournois*. While this has allowed us to know more about the production and reception of individual *Livre des tournois* manuscripts, what this thesis has shown is that despite the number of variant copies, the *Livre des tournois* is recognisably – unlike almost any other work – a single book.

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The *Livre des tournois* is a book. This seemingly simple statement is a reminder of how we must approach it. Centuries of scholarship have reduced the *Livre des tournois* to its various elements. This thesis brings it back to being a book and reminds us of the need to appreciate it as a complete unit which is the product of its specific cultural environment. As a book the *Livre des tournois* is more than a manuscript which has been copied. It is greater than its individual components, whether we mean text and image, or parchment, paper, ink and paint, or the creative product, the *engin*, of artist and author. While it is constructed from these elements it is their bonded nature, or put another way, their codependent reliance on each other that creates the unique unified totality that is the *Livre des tournois*. Thus this conclusion returns to the beginning of this thesis. In Chapter 1, I demonstrated the futility of trying to separate text and image or of addressing author and artist separately. Throughout the remainder of this thesis I built on this premise and demonstrated that addressing any one aspect without consideration of the whole not only hampered academic inquiry, it ran the risk of misleading our perceptions of the work and leading to erroneous conclusions. It is for this reason that an interdisciplinary approach to the *Livre des tournois* was not only necessary but also yielded such rich insights.

This approach has not only influenced how I have investigated the *Livre des tournois*, but also how I have intentionally presented it within this thesis. Far too often, medieval works are presented to a modern readership through a narrow literary approach that overlooks the "decisive material space of the book in favour of editions of texts isolated from their context." At the same time I have formatted the edition that forms the bulk of the appendices of this thesis with the aim of allowing the reader the opportunity to experience the book as its contemporary audience would have, while being sensitive to a modern audience's needs. Throughout this thesis I have repeatedly referred to the *Livre des tournois*.

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des tournois as a product of the cultural environment in which it was produced. Indeed, the circumstances surrounding its production should influence how we approach and consider it. This was not a book produced in a workshop environment, nor for financial benefit. It was not written and copied in a monastery or university setting. Neither was it written as an introspective or self-reflective piece. It was instead a self-contained tool of communication, conceived and received as a holistic unit. This fact is demonstrated by the contemporary reception of the Livre des tournois, which is characterised by not only the preservation of the contents and quality of the book, but also through its emulation, such as I demonstrated in Chapter 6 concerning the copies produced under the patronage of Louis de Bruges.

As a cultural production the Livre des tournois embodies the intent of the author and displays his knowledge and authority while casting a light and illuminating our perception of the culture in which it was created. The importance of this study lies in demonstrating, via an interdisciplinary approach, how we as a modern audience can and should approach and understand the Livre des tournois in a manner as close as possible to the way in which it was received in the years immediately following its production. The Livre des tournois should be treated as nothing less, nor more, than what it claims to be: the book of tournaments.
Abbreviations

Aix Aix, Bibliothèque municipale
AME Archives du Ministère des Affaires Etrangères de Belge
AN Archives Nationales
Arsenal Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal
BL London, British Library
BNCF Florence, Biblioteca nazionale centrale
BnF Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France
Bodleian Oxford, Bodleian Library
Bodmer Cologny, Fondation Martin Bodmer
BSB Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek
BSG Paris, Bibliothèque Sainte Geneviève
Chatsworth Chatsworth, Collection Duke of Devonshire
Churbug Sluderno, Churburg Armoury
Condé Chantilly, Musée Condé
DKB Copenhagen, Det Kongelige Bibliotek
DMF Dictionnaire du Moyen Français
Getty Los Angeles, The J. Paul Getty Museum
HL Cambridge, Harvard University, Houghton Library
KB The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek
KBR Brussels, Koninklijke Bibliothek van België
KHM Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum
Louvre Paris, Musée du Louvre
Mazarine Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine
MMOA New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art
NaF Nouvelles acquisitions françaises
NLR St. Petersburg, National Library of Russia
ÖNB Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek
PCL Krakow, Princes Czartoryski Library
PML New York, The Pierpont Morgan Library
RAL Leeds, Royal Armouries Library
RLS Glasgow, Glasgow Art Gallery and Museum, R. L. Scott Collection
SLB Dresden, Sächsische Landesbibliothek
SMB Berlin, Staatliche Museen
UBH Heidelberg, Universitätsbibliothek Heidelberg
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