

**The Medieval Tournament:
Chivalry, Heraldry and Reality
An Edition and Analysis of Three
Fifteenth-Century Tournament
Manuscripts**

2 Volumes

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for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy**

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Institute for Medieval Studies

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The candidate confirms that the work submitted is his own and that appropriate credit has been given where reference has been made to the work of others.

Acknowledgments

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I wish to thank my employer Glasgow Museums and in particular my Line Manager Ms Jean Walsh for being so flexible and understanding.

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Abstract

In the Royal Armouries collection is a codex comprising three fifteenth-century manuscripts in French. The codex is not only unpublished, it has never been transcribed or translated. The content is a primary source for the study of the medieval tournament as well as many other aspects of the elite culture of late-medieval Burgundy, England, and France. It is composed of fourteen different texts called items. This edition comprises a transcription of over 50,000 words of text in three different hands and a translation from the medieval French into English.

The commentary is tripartite. The first section is a technical physical description, with an investigation of the palaeography, provenance, and miniatures of the three manuscripts. The second is a discussion of the origin of the production of the codex. It will be postulated that it was produced by heralds for heralds. In the third section explanatory notes are given to the fourteen items to allow a greater understanding of the codex. Drawing on similar primary source material, much of it unpublished, a clearer definition of the terminology employed for the various forms of combat is offered. Often subsumed under the category of 'the tournament', the examination of the organization and regulation of, and specialized equipment used in, these forms of combat reveals a more complicated phenomenon than is often represented in current studies.

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List of Abbreviations

- AD Archives départementales
- AN Archives nationales, Paris
- A-ND *The Anglo-Norman Dictionary*, ed. by L. W. Stone and W. Rothwell (London: MHRA, 1992), online edn
- Armouries The Royal Armouries: The National Museum of Arms and Armour, Leeds, London, Portsmouth
- Barber and Barker, *Tournaments*
Richard Barber and Juliet Barker, *Tournaments: Jousts, Chivalry and Pageants in the Middle Ages* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1986)
- Barker, *Tournament*
Juliet R. V. Barker, *The Tournament in England, 1100-1400* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1986)
- BEC *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes*
- Beltz, *Order of the Garter*
G. F. Beltz, *Memorials of the Most Noble Order of the Garter* (London: Pickering, 1841)
- BL British Library, London
- Blair, *European & American Arms*
Claude Blair, *European & American Arms, c. 1100-1850* (London: Batsford, 1962)
- Blair, *European Armour*
Claude Blair, *European Armour, c. 1066-c. 1700* (London: Batsford, 1958)
- BM Bibliothèque municipale
- BnF Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris
- Brassart, *Pas du Perron fée*
Le Pas du Perron fée, tenu à Bruges, en 1463, par le chevalier Philippe de Lalaing, ed. by F. Brassart (Douai: Crépin, 1874)
- Chastellain
Œuvres de Georges Chastellain, ed. by Kervyn de Lettenhove, 8 vols (Brussels: Heussner, 1863-66)
- CIPM *Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem*, ed. by J. L. Kirby, 4 vols (London: Eyre, 1898)
- Clepham, *Tournament*

- R. C. Clepham, *The Tournament: Its Periods and Phases* (London: Methuen, 1919)
- CNRS Centre national de la recherche scientifique, Paris
- Commynes *Mémoires / Philippe de Commynes*, ed. by J. Blanchard, 2 vols (Geneva: Droz, 2007)
- CPR *Calendar of the Patent Rolls, Henry V and VI*, ed. by R. C. Fowler and others, 4 vols (London: HMSO, 1910-11)
- CPR, *Richard II*
Calendar of the Patent Rolls, Richard II, no ed., 6 vols (London: HMSO, 1895-1909)
- Cripps-Day, *Tournament*
 F. H. Cripps-Day, *The History of the Tournament in England and France* (London: Quaritch, 1918)
- CTHS Comité des travaux historiques et scientifiques, Paris
- DBF *Dictionnaire de biographie française*, ed. by J. Balteau, 10 vols (Paris: Letouzey, 1933-2003)
- D'Escouchy *Chronique de M. d'Escouchy*, ed. by G. Du Fresne de Beaucourt, 3 vols (Paris: Renouard, 1863-64)
- De Haynin *Mémoires de Jean de Haynin, 1465-77*, ed. by Dieudonné Brouwers, 2 vols (Liège: Société des Bibliophiles Liégeois, 1905-06)
- DMF ATILF/Équipe "Moyen français et français préclassique", 2003-2005, Dictionnaire du Moyen Français (DMF). Base de Lexiques de Moyen Français (DMF1), online edn
- DML *Dictionary of Medieval Latin from British Sources*, ed. by R. E. Latham, 10 vols (London: Oxford University Press for the British Academy, 1975-)
- DNB *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, ed. by H. Matthew and B. Harrison (Oxford: University Press, 2004), online edn
- EHR *English Historical Review*
- Excerpta Historica*
 S. Bentley, *Excerpta Historica, or, Illustrations of English History* (London: Bentley, 1831)
- Fleckenstein, *Turnier*

- Das ritterliche Turnier im Mittelalter: Beiträge zu vergleichenden Formen- und Verhaltensgeschichte des Rittertums*, ed. by J. Fleckenstein (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck, 1986)
- Foedera Foedera, conventiones, litterae* [...], ed. by T. Rymer, 10 vols (London: Churchill, 1704-35)
- Froissart *The Online Froissart: A Digital Edition of the Chronicles of Jean Froissart*, ed. by P. Ainsworth and others (Sheffield: Hrionline, 2010)
- Gay, *Glossaire*
Victor Gay, *Glossaire archéologique du Moyen Âge et de la Renaissance*, 2 vols (Paris: Société bibliographique, 1887-1928)
- GM Glasgow Museums
- JMH *Journal of Medieval History*
- Keen, *Chivalry*
Maurice Keen, *Chivalry* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1984)
- La Marche *Mémoires d'Olivier de La Marche*, ed. by H. Beaune and J. d'Arbaumont, 4 vols (Paris: Renouard, 1883-88)
- Le Fèvre *Chronique de J. le Fèvre, Seigneur de Saint-Remy*, ed. by F. Morand, 2 vols (Paris: Renouard, 1876-81)
- Le Jouvencel* *Le Jouvencel par Jean de Bueil*, ed. by Léon Lecestre, 2 vols (Paris: Renouard, 1887-89)
- Lester, *Thesis* G. A. Lester, 'Sir John Paston's Grete Boke: A Descriptive Index, with an Introduction, of British Library MS Lansdowne 285' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Sheffield, 1981)
- Lester, *Paston's 'Grete Boke'*
G. A. Lester, *Sir John Paston's 'Grete Boke': A Descriptive Catalogue, with an Introduction, of British Library MS Lansdowne 285* (Cambridge: Brewer, 1984)
- LMA London Metropolitan Archives
- MED *Middle English Dictionary*, ed. by F. McSparran, 10 vols (Ann Arbor: Michigan University Press, 1952-) online edn
- MHRA Modern Humanities Research Association
- Molinet *Chroniques de Jean Molinet*, ed. by G. Doutrepont and O. Jodogne, 3 vols (Brussels: Palais des Académies, 1935-37)

- Monstrelet *La Chronique d'E. de Monstrelet*, ed. by L. Douët-d'Arcq, 6 vols
(Paris: Renouard, 1857-62)
- MS(S) Manuscript(s)
- NBG *Nouvelle biographie générale*, ed. by J. Hoefer, 10 vols (Paris:
Didot, 1852-66)
- Neste, *Tournois* Évelyne van den Neste, *Tournois, joutes, pas d'armes dans les
villes de Flandre à la fin du Moyen Âge* (Paris: École des Chartes,
1996)
- OED *Oxford English Dictionary*, ed. by John Simpson (Oxford: University
Press, 2004), online edn
- Paston Letters* *Paston Letters and Papers of the Fifteenth Century*, ed. by Norman
Davis, 2 vols (Oxford: Clarendon, 1971)
- Prost, *Inventaires*
*Inventaires [...] des ducs de Bourgogne de la maison de Valois,
1363-1477*, ed. by B. Prost, 2 vols (Paris: Leroux, 1902-08)
- Prost, *Traités* *Traités du duel judiciaire: Relations de pas d'armes et tournois*, ed.
by B. Prost (Paris: Willem, 1872)
- René's *Traité* *Traité de la forme et devis d'un tournoi par René d'Anjou*, ed. by
E. Pognon (Paris: Verve, 1946)
- Smedt, *Chevaliers de la Toison d'or*
Les Chevaliers de l'Ordre de la Toison d'or au xv^e siècle, ed. by R.
de Smedt, 2nd edn (Frankfurt: Lang, 2000)
- The codex Leeds, Royal Armouries Library, Codex RAR.0035(I.35)
- TNA National Archives, Kew
- UL University Library
- UP University Press
- Vale, *War and Chivalry*
Malcolm Vale, *War and Chivalry: Warfare and Aristocratic Culture in
England, France and Burgundy at the End of the Middle Ages* (London:
Duckworth, 1981)

Introduction

The central core of this thesis is a transcription and translation of, and commentary on, codex RAR.0035(I.35) in the collection of the Armouries. This codex comprises three MSS in French containing over 50,000 words. The first two MSS are of fifteenth-century date and the third, copied in the late-sixteenth century, contains material relating to the previous century. It has not been published or made widely available in any form. The contents of the codex are an exceptional primary source for the study of the chivalric culture of late-medieval Burgundy, England, and France. They include challenges to, and narratives of, combat involving influential courtiers such as Anthony Woodville, Lord Scales, brother-in-law of Edward IV, and Antoine, the Great Bastard of Burgundy, an illegitimate son of Duke Philip the Good. There is an account of a deadly combat at Tours in February 1446/7 which is vividly illustrated with eight miniatures. Also included are invitations to jousts, descriptions of – and a statute regulating – tourneys, as well as an ordinance concerning the payment of heralds' fees. As will be argued further, this codex is the product of the agents and custodians of this culture: the heralds. An investigation of their role in the creation and function of the codex is provided as an element of the study.

Various forms of combat are described in the codex and in similar primary sources. There has been a tendency in a great deal of current scholarship to apply the catch-all category of 'the tournament' to all of these. The area of primary research that this thesis is restricted to is a deeper understanding and clearer definition of the forms, organization, terminology, and equipment used in these combats. Jousts (of peace and war), tourneys, *pas d'armes*, and feats of arms are terms commonly employed but often much misunderstood in secondary source material. The explanation of the equipment and its use is one of the most prominent topics in need of revision. Through an analysis of the various types of equipment referred to throughout the codex and in other contemporary sources a fuller understanding of the forms of combat and their definition is provided.

It is worthwhile stating from the outset what this codex is *not*. It is not an armorial or heraldic treatise such as the resplendent Burgundian *Grand armorial équestre de la Toison d'or* of 1435 to 1440. The aim of works of this type was to record coats of arms and to instruct officers of arms in their description (blazon) and meaning. As will be shown, the role of the herald as organizer and recorder of events is a prominent one

throughout the codex but little space is given over to detailed descriptions of coats of arms. The codex is not a didactic manual or 'how to' guide for arranging chivalric combats in the vein of René of Anjou's lavish and much-copied *Traité*. There is no exegesis on the specialized vocabulary employed in describing the martial events. It is evident throughout that contemporary readers of this codex would be expected to be extremely familiar with the milieu in which it was created. Nor is it a technical manual on the art of jousting and tourneys as expounded by such fifteenth-century masters as King Duarte I of Portugal, the Castilian Diego de Valera, the Catalan Ponç de Menaguerra, or Pietro Monte – an Iberian in the service of the Milanese.¹ Again, a great deal of understanding of, and familiarity with, technical vocabulary is expected by the creators of the codex in the descriptions of these activities. This fact serves to reinforce the relevance of the chosen area of research.

Much unpublished source material will be utilized throughout. Due to the constraints of the thesis word limit it has not been possible to provide a comprehensive comparative analysis with the many MSS that contain similar content to the codex. The relationship with some of the most relevant – such as British Library MS Lansdowne 285 – is assessed, however, and the codex placed in the context of this MS tradition. This also ties in with the investigation of the role of the herald.

A key aim of the project is the production of a scholarly edition and analysis of the Armouries codex that will make more accessible a primary source that will prove to be of great use to all those with an interest in the extensively varied aspects of the elite culture of late-medieval Burgundy, England, and France.

¹ For an excellent examination of the advice of these men, see Sydney Anglo, *Martial Arts of Renaissance Europe* (New Haven, CT: Yale UP, 2000) and Noel Fallows's forthcoming, *Jousting: Iberian Perspectives* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2010).

1. The Manuscripts

Physical Description

This follows the method outlined by N. R. Ker in his *Medieval Manuscripts in British Libraries*, 4 vols (Oxford: Clarendon, 1969-92), I, vii-xiii.

Box

On spine: 'TOURNAMENTS | AND | THE LAWS | OF CHIVALRY'

Base of spine: 'MS. XV CENT.'

Binding

Brown leather

Embossed coat of arms

Greyhound's head crest

Motto on surrounding band:

'LOYAVTE [small circle] MON [small circle] HONNEVR'

Coat of arms also embossed on the back

On spine:

Large sticker '462'

Lower spine, smaller sticker '8528'

Inside cover

Top left: written in pencil then erased

'Sale – 21'

Eight Arabic numerals [illegible]

Nineteenth- / twentieth-century cursive hand in pencil:

'This piece of Parchment seems to be an order from cha[rle]s 2nd to pay to some one 1000 £ signed with the Kings own hand old N^o 462 8528'

Sticker bottom left corner 'BIBLIOTHECA | PHILLIPPICA'

Coat of arms: lion rampant with a crown with chain round its neck holding a dagger

'From the collection formed by Sir Thomas Phillipps Bt., 1797-1822, purchased by private treaty by William H. Robinson Ltd., Pall Mall, London'

Sticker partially covered by Royal Armouries stamp:

'THE ARMOURIES H.M. TOWER OF LONDON'.

Vellum flyleaf

Recto: seventeenth-century hand: 'ferdinando'

Verso: 'Charles R'

Vellum flyleaf before back cover

'Expedit apud West[minste]r decimo octavo die Aprilis
A[nn]o R[egni] R[egis] Caroli primo'.

The three MSS are bound together in one codex

Measurements

Binding: 199 mm x 273 mm

Spine: 29 mm

MS 1 (fols 6^f-38^f)

Vellum size (fol. 6^f): 191 mm x 268 mm

Mise en page (fol. 22^f)

Text: noticeable sloping to the right

Top margin: 22 mm

Left margin: 25 mm

Right margin: 40 mm

Bottom margin: 22 mm

MS 2 (fols 39^f-43^v)

Vellum size (fol. 39^f): 192 mm x 269 mm

Mise en page (fol. 41^v)

Text: noticeable sloping to the right

Top margin 20 mm

Left margin: 45 mm

Right margin: 45 mm

Bottom margin: 39 mm

MS 3 (fols 44^f-121^v)

Paper size (fol. 44^f): 193 mm x 270 mm

Mise en page (fol. 91^f)

Top margin 24 mm
Left margin: 46 mm
Right margin: 45 mm
Bottom margin: 43 mm

The paper has the inverted watermark of the coat of arms of France and Navarre crowned and encircled by the Order of Saint Michael. These are the arms of Henry IV of France (1553-1610, r. from 1589). This is indicative of a late-sixteenth century date. The watermark has not been located in the standard reference work.¹

Quire marks

These appear as the repeated last word of text (catchwords) on the verso on each of the following fols: 13, 21, 29, 37, 53, 61, 77, 101, 109, and 117.

Hands

A different hand for each MS has been identified; MS 1 as a 'mid fifteenth-century regular hand', MS 2 as a 'different mid-fifteenth century regular hand' and MS 3 as a 'late sixteenth-century formal hand' (Royal Armouries Inventory Entry).

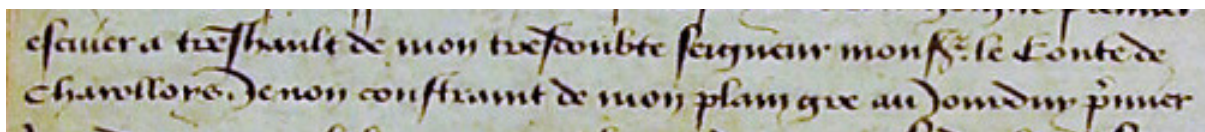


Fig. 1. Detail of MS 1 (fol. 6^r).

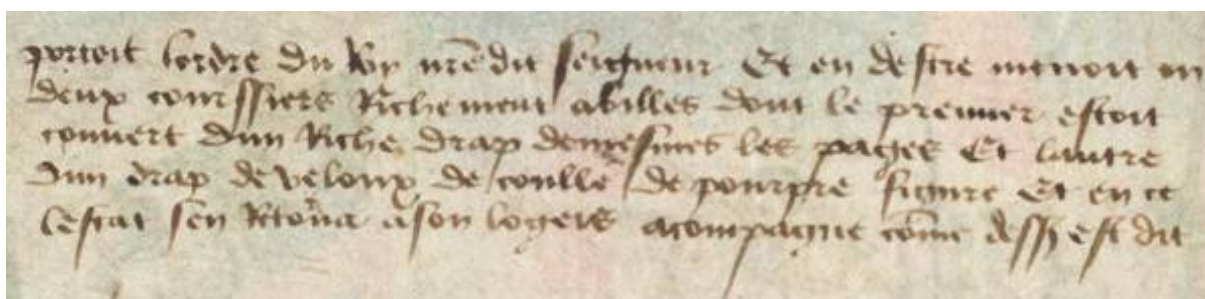
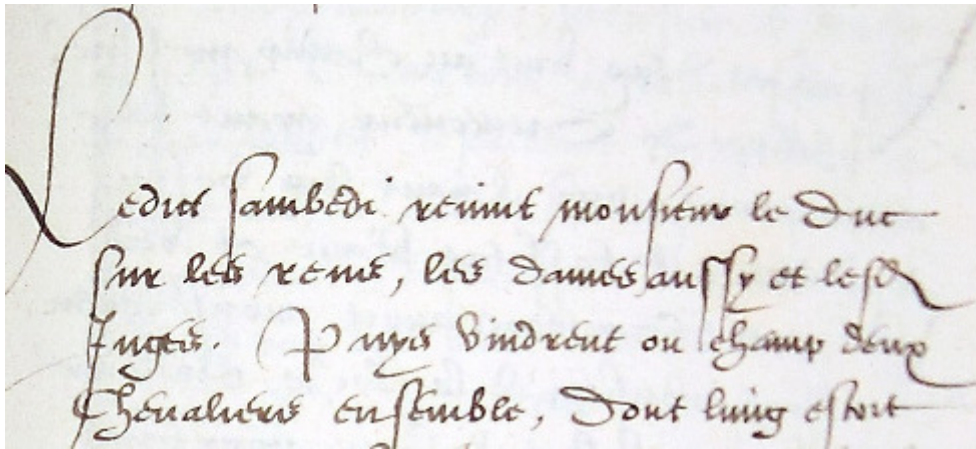


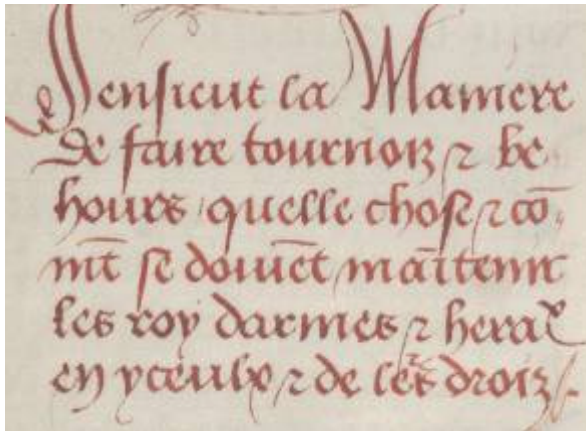
Fig. 2. Detail of MS 2 (fol. 40^v).

¹ C. M. Briquet, *Les Filigranes: Dictionnaire historique des marques du papier*, 4 vols, 2nd edn (Leipzig: Hiersemann, 1923).



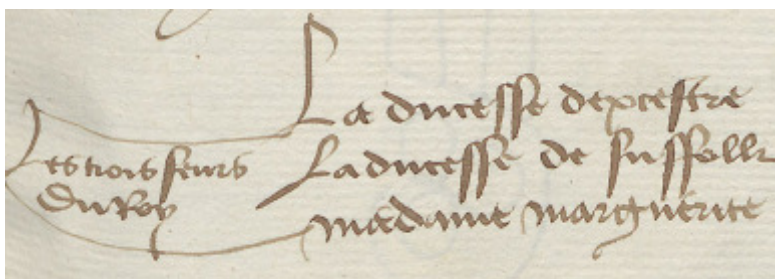
Le dicit sambedi. vint monsieur le Duc
sur les vents, les dames aussi et les
fugis. P mes vindrent ou champ deus
Cheualiers ensemble, dont luing est

Fig. 3. Detail of MS 3 (fol. 113').



Monseigneur la Maniere
de faire tourner & be
hours quelle chose & co
m̄t se doiuet maintenant
les roy d'armes & heral
en yceux & de les droitz.

Fig. 4. Yale UL MS 230, c. 1480.



La ducesse de prestre
L'aducesse de suffelle
madame marguerite

Fig. 5. Utrecht UL MS 1114, 1460s.

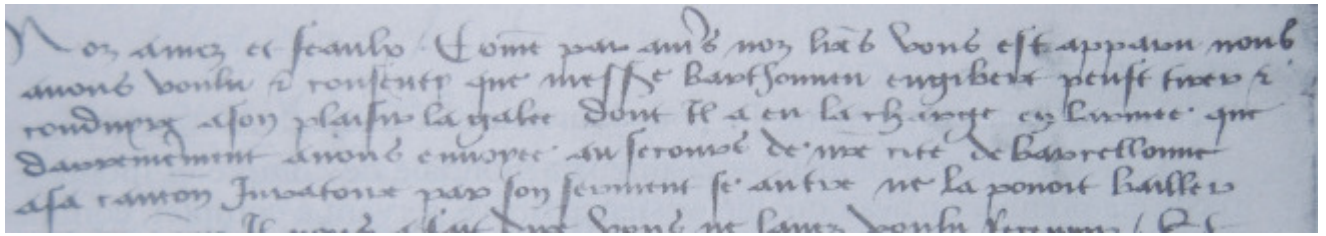


Fig. 6. Letter of René of Anjou, 1472.²

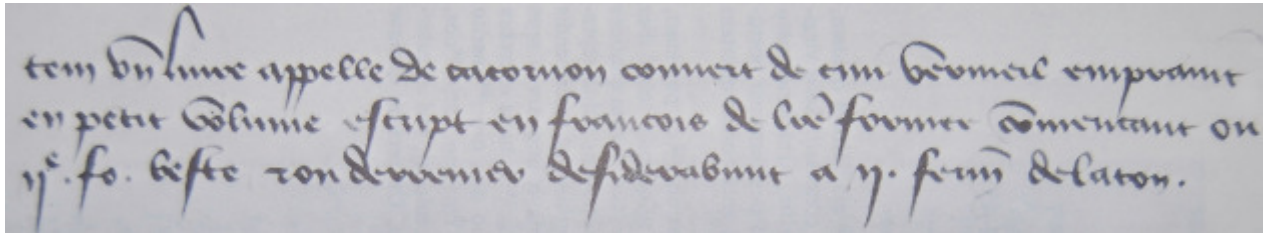


Fig. 7. Inventory of the Library of the Louvre, 1413.³

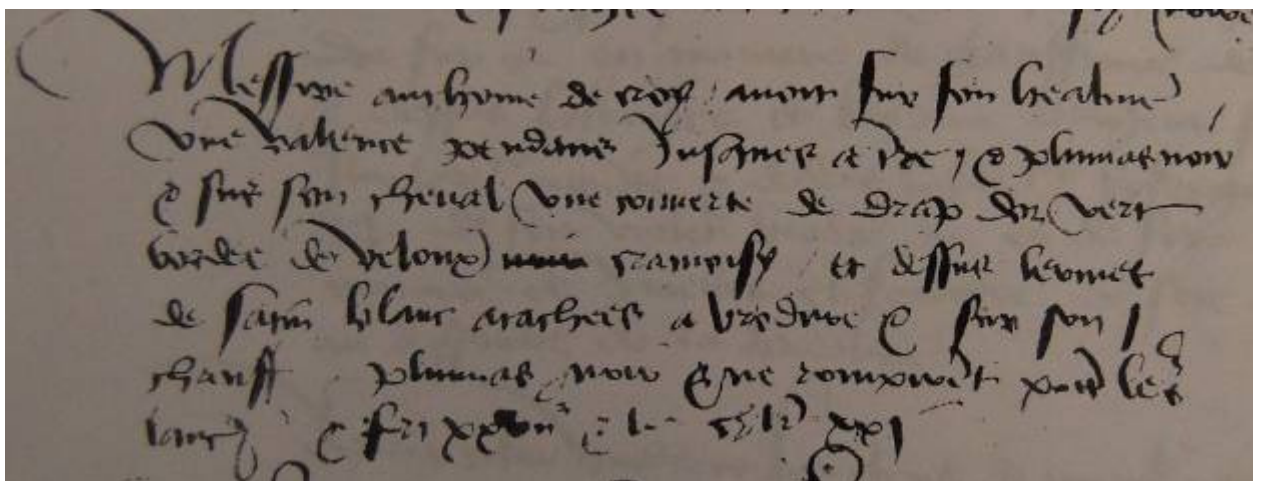


Fig. 8. Bibliothèque municipale Cambrai MS 1114, 1460s.

What can be said with certainty is that the hand of the first MS is of mid- to late-fifteenth century date and is *not* of the style which has become known as Burgundian (see Yale UL MS 230 above). It may well have been copied shortly after 1468, the date of the latest item. The third MS was certainly copied during or after the reign of Henry IV of France (1553-1610, r. from 1589).

² AM de Marseille MS EE 156, reproduced from G. Audisio, *Lire le français d'hier: Manuel de paléographie moderne xv^e-xviii^e siècle* (Paris: Colin, 2001).

³ BnF MS fonds français 9430, reproduced from J. Stiennon, *Paléographie du Moyen Âge* (Paris: Colin, 1973).

The identification of the hand of second MS leaves a little more scope for argument. Early- to mid-fifteenth century hands display a great deal of continuity. It should be pointed out that the contents of MS 2 were copied verbatim into MS 1 and that the former shows signs, such as the folded up folios, of having been a larger separate MS. There is no reason to believe that this section of the codex was not completed shortly after the feat of arms at Tours in February 1446/7 from copies made by the heralds there present.

Miniatures

The eight miniatures illustrating the feats of arms at Tours in February 1446/7 are described in detail in Chapter 3 Item 12.

Provenance

Many of the heralds through whose hands these MSS have passed have left their marks. On the last fol. of MS 2 is the presentation signature 'Ricard Champeney a norroy roy d'armes'.

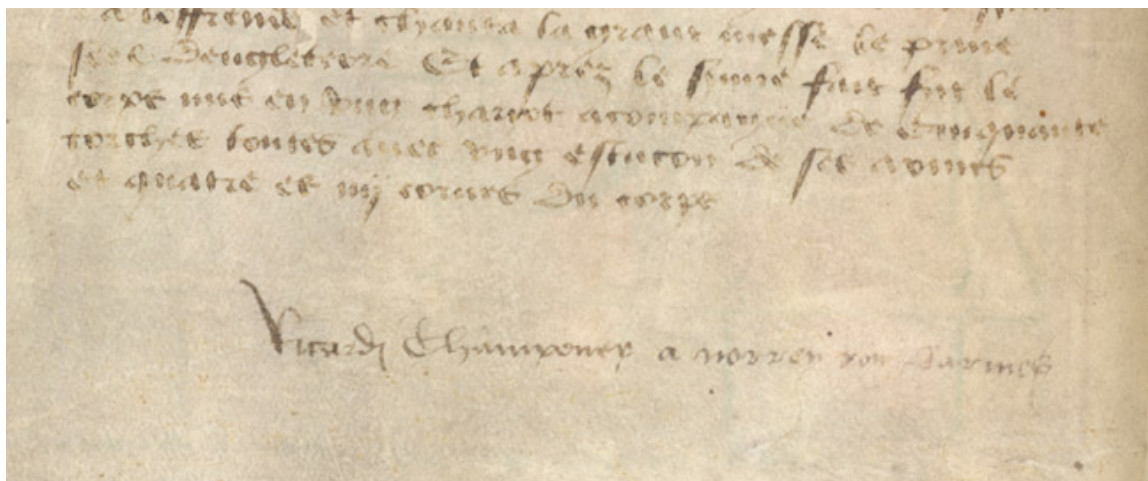


Fig. 9. Presentation Signature of Richard Champeney (fol. 43^v).

Richard Champeney was Gloucester King of Arms under Richard III and Garter King of Arms from 1483.⁴ The Norroy King could be John Writhe who held this position from

⁴ Sydney Anglo, 'Financial and Heraldic Records of the English Tournament', *Journal of the Society of Archivists*, 2 (1962), 183-95 (p. 190).

1477 to 1478 and was Garter King until 1504. John passed his MSS to his son Thomas who changed his surname to Wriothesley. This might explain the inscription on fol. 38^r.

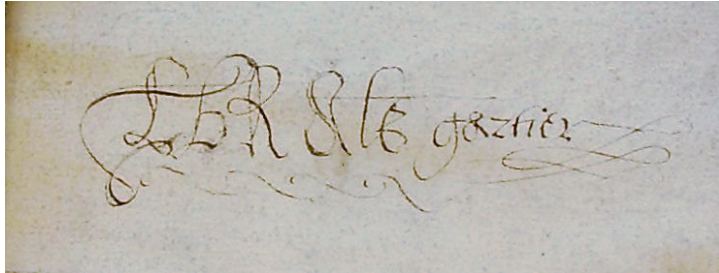


Fig. 10. Signature of Thomas Wriothesley (fol. 38^r).

WR[i]o[th]e[s]le[y] gartier [possibly TW as a monogram]

Thomas passed his MSS to his son Charles who was Windsor Herald from 1535 until his death in 1652. Charles's MSS were acquired by Sir Gilbert Dethick (Garter King from 1550 to 1586) and his collection was inherited by his son William (Garter King from 1586 to 1606). Many of William's MSS came into the possession of Sir William le Neve (1600-1661). Sir William was Norroy King and then Clarenceux King. Sir William's collection was bought by Sir Edward Walker in 1663. Sir Edward's coat of arms is blind stamped on the leather binding that still holds the MSS together. Sir Edward bequeathed his library to the heralds' College of Arms. Here the codex came into the possession of John Anstis who was Garter King from 1714 until his death in 1744. His marginal notes are to be seen throughout the codex. Anstis's collection was sold at auction in 1768 to an unknown buyer. The codex resurfaced in the collection (no. 8528) of the bibliophile Sir Thomas Phillipps (1792-1872) and his *ex libris* sticker remains on the inside cover. Sir Thomas bought the codex from Payne & Foss Booksellers in 1835.⁵ A sticker on the inside cover states that the lot was 'purchased by private treaty by William H. Robinson Ltd., Pall Mall, London'. This was the company that bought up the remainder of the Phillipps collection in the early-twentieth

⁵ Thomas Phillipps, *The Phillipps Manuscripts: Catalogus librorum [...]*, 1837-71 (London: Holland, 1968), p. 136. A. N. L. Munby, *The Formation of the Phillipps Library* (Cambridge: UP, 1954), p. 164.

century. It was purchased from this company by Mr Philip Frere for £750 after 1950,⁶ and it was he who presented it to the Tower of London Armouries – now the Royal Armouries.

There is some evidence of a royal connection. On a vellum flyleaf is written in a seventeenth-century hand 'Charles R' and 'Expedit apud West[minster] decimo octavo die Aprilis Anno R[egni] R[egis] Caroli primo'. In a nineteenth- or twentieth-century cursive hand there is written on the inside cover: 'This piece of parchment seems to be an order from Charles 2nd to pay to someone 1000 £ signed with the King's own hand'. Charles II was restored to the throne in May 1660. This lavish expenditure and autograph signature reveals that this codex was considered to be of great importance at a time of national upheaval.

⁶ A. N. L. Munby, *The Dispersal of the Phillipps Library* (Cambridge: UP, 1960), p. 110, describes many private sales but not the one to Mr Frere.

2. Function: The Role of the Herald and the Authorship of the Codex

For a fuller understanding of the production and function of the codex some attention must be paid to the probable authors – the heralds – and their role in facilitating, regulating, and recording chivalric combats. Evidence for their role in the delivery and proclamation of challenges, arbitration of chivalric behaviour, and the composition of challenges and narratives of the events will be assessed.

There is documentary evidence for heralds delivering challenges to combat from the late-fourteenth century. When Lord Welles replied to the challenge of Sir Eustace de Renti in 1384 to ‘a certain emprise of arms for thirty of my gentlemen to fight to the outrance against thirty of yours’ (‘de certain emprise darmes pur combattre moy xxx des gentilshomes contre xxx des vostres a combatre jesques a outreance’) the letter was delivered ‘par Chaundos le heraud’. In addition the letter was witnessed by heralds from Picardy, England, and Scotland: ‘le Roy de Corby et Norhampton le heraud en la presence de Liouns Roy darmes Descoces’.¹ Similarly, around 1400 Sirs Edmund Thorpe and John Cornwall received a challenge in the form of ‘two schedules carried by Artois King of Arms to Calais and carried from Calais to court by Lancaster, also King of Arms’ (‘deux cedulaes par artois Roy darmes apportees a Calais et de Calais par lencastre aussi Roy darmes apportess a meisme la court’).² Another challenge of similar date recounts that:

we have received your letters which you have written in the town of Paris on the last day of March by the hand of a herald called Artois King by a grant by Chester Herald written and given at Eltham on the fifth day of March.

nous auons Receues voz l[ect]res que esc[ri]ptes uous auez en la ville de pa[ris] le derrain Jour de mars p[ar] la main dun herault no[m]me le Roy dartois a vn baill[er] par Sectre le heralt esc[ri]ptes et donn[ee] a haltam le v^e Jour de mars.³

And yet another, undoubtedly of similar date, refers to ‘your honoured letters sealed with your seal and sent by you by Lancaster King of Arms to the court of our most puissant and revered lord the King’ (‘vos honn[or]ez li[ttr]es sell[ee] de v[ost]re seel et

¹ TNA, SC1/30/8/25, printed in C. Johnson, ‘An Abortive Passage of Arms in the Fourteenth Century’, *Speculum*, 2 (1927), 107-112 (p. 110).

² BL Additional MS 21357, fol. 3^r.

³ BL Additional MS 21357, fol. 2^r.

de p[ar] vous enuoyes p[ar] lencastre le Roy darmes en le court de n[ost]re t[re]spuissant et t[re]sredoubte seigneur le Roy').⁴ The Lancaster King can be identified as Richard Bruges and Chester as his son William. William was the first Garter King of Arms and the probable author of Item 8.⁵ Thus it is evident that by the early-fifteenth century heralds had secured their pivotal role in this process. This can be demonstrated in the codex. A squire of the household of the Bastard of Burgundy writes to Lord Scales's man: 'I have received your very gracious honourable letters sent by you to me by Nucleles Herald on the twenty-third day of June' (fol. 77^v). Nucleles was the second part of the title that Lord Scales had inherited from his wife's family in 1462. One of her forbears is referred to as 'mess[ire] Rob[er]t descales seigneur de noysell' in a challenge of 1402.⁶

There is mention in the codex of the challenges to various chivalric combats being proclaimed (fols 23^v and 78^r). A vivid illustration of this process is provided in an account of the 'justs royall' held to celebrate the marriage of the Duke of Gloucester in 1477:

the King [...] did call such Officers as were then pr[e]sent and Commanded them to publish and shew the said petit[i]ons and Artycles in all places conveyent Theis Articles were received by the said Officers of Armes and according to his high Commandment were first published in the white hall by [...] Clarenceux King of Armes and Norroy King of Armes who read the Proclamation Guyen King of Armes Winsor Herald Chester Herald being pr[e]sent in the said Hall [...] From hence the said Officers of Armes went to the Citty of London where the same day the said Articles were p[ro]claymed & published in fower severall [*sic*] places of the said Citty at the Standard in Cheape at Leadenhall at Grace Church and at London bridge and by Clarencieux Norry and Guyen Kings of Armes all on horsebacke also the Marshall of the Kings Trumpetts was w[i]th them & did sound at every of the places in þe Citty.⁷

⁴ BL Additional MS 21357, fol. 4^r.

⁵ See his entry in the *DNB*.

⁶ GM, R. L. Scott Library, MS E.1939.65.2198, p. 24. It was not this Lord Scales who was killed in the Combat of the Seven in 1402 as Juliet Barber and Maurice Keen ('Medieval Kings and the Tournament', in Fleckenstein, *Turnier*, pp. 212-28 (p. 225)) claim. It was in fact a squire of the same name. See the *chronique* of Juvenal des Ursins, in *Nouvelle collection des mémoires relatifs à l'histoire de France*, ed. by J. Michaud and M. Poujoulat, 10 vols (Paris: Didier, 1886), II, 422.

⁷ Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ashmolean MS 856, fol. 94^r.

In addition to delivering and proclaiming challenges it can be demonstrated that heralds also played an important part in the arbitration of chivalric behaviour. Maurice Keen has described heralds as ‘the registrars of prowess’⁸ and evidence of this function can be found in a variety of sources. In the challenge to combat ‘a oultrance’ between seven knights and squires of the Duke of Orleans’s household against seven of the Earl of Rutland’s in 1402 it was ordained that none might accompany the combatants save for two heralds from each side.⁹ Malcolm Vale has drawn attention to a description of one of René of Anjou’s *pas d’armes* in 1446. Two heralds rode in procession ‘holding in their hands their books or cartularies of honour and noblesse to record and praise the noble feats of arms and the valorous combats which would take place where the lists had been prepared’ (‘tenans leurs livres ou cartulaires d’honneur et de noblesse en leurs mains, pour y descrire et exalter les nobles faits d’armes et les valeureux combats qui se feroient au lieu ou les lices esoient dressees’).¹⁰ When asked who had jousted best at the *pas d’armes* of the Golden Tree in 1468, the ladies deferred to the report of the heralds who had been keeping score according to one MS account:

Mais les dames renuoyere[n]t yceux officiers darmes aux Juges Et sen repportere[n]t a lordonna[n]ce des chappitres dessus escriptz Si fu bien regarde par les liures et escriptures de to[us] les officiers darmes rois et herualx qui pl[us] auoit de lances ro[m]pu en la demye heure.¹¹

The mention of the death of the Bastard of Burgundy’s horse whilst being guarded by the heralds (fol. 62^v) is more evidence of their importance as arbitrators. In a narrative of the tourney for the marriage celebrations of the Duke of Gloucester in 1477 it is stated that one of the participants was able to ‘disvoid a ribb of the polron [shoulder defence]’ of his opponnet but ‘never sought him where hee was disarmed For the which the Princesse of the feast and all the Heraldes noted [it] for the which prudent

⁸ Keen, *Chivalry*, p. 139.

⁹ ‘[...] ne s[er]joit acompaignie fors seules[en]t iij heraulx cest ass[avoir] deux de lune p[ar]tie et deux de laut[re]’. GM, R. L. Scott Library, MS E.1939.65.2198, pp. 4-5.

¹⁰ Vale, *War and Chivalry*, p. 54, citing Marc Vulson de la Colombière, *Le Vray théâtre d’honneur et chevalerie*, 2 vols (Paris: Courbé, 1648), I, 83. Vulson de la Colombière is undoubtedly drawing on St Petersburg, National Library of Russia, Codex, Fr. F. XIV, no. 4. Regrettably this beautifully illustrated MS of René of Anjou’s *pas* at Saumur is only available in an extremely expensive and inaccessible format. Poor-quality microfilm reproductions of the illustrations have been published in C. de Mérimondol, *Les Fêtes de chevalerie à la cour du roi René* (Paris: CTHS, 1993).

¹¹ BM Valenciennes MS 776, fol. 39^r.

behaving there was awarded him [the prize] for the best Tourney[er] without'.¹² Thus it is evident that in all types of chivalric combat the heralds' role as chivalric arbitrator was paramount.

As shown, there is ample evidence for the central role heralds played in the delivery and proclamation of challenges, but what of their composition? Michelle Szkilnik has pointed out, in her study of a French romance, that its author Antoine de La Sale and his colleagues such as Jean Le Fèvre were heralds who were probably responsible for the composition of challenges and accounts of tournaments.¹³ In her important study of La Marche's *Mémoires*, Catherine Emerson has shown that the challenge to combat for Jacques de Lalaing's *pas d'armes* of the Charlemagne Tree appears in exactly the same form in no less than three other independent texts. She points out the unlikelihood of the chronicler's copy being 'a particular feature of La Marche's rhetoric alone'. Moreover, she demonstrates that La Marche himself states categorically of this same *pas d'armes* that 'à mon rapport je demande à tesmoignage tous le escriptz et registres faitz par les roys d'armes et heraulx presens à ceste chose'.¹⁴ These accounts, Emerson argues, 'bear clear signs of having started life as independent texts' drawn up by heralds and she draws attention to the fact that La Marche's readers are often directed 'to the chapters which he claims precede an account but which are not present'.¹⁵ English narratives also do the same. As part of the celebrations of the marriage of the Duke of Gloucester in 1477 one of the King's squires 'came horsed and Armed for the Tourney and two Knights bore two Swords before him accordinge to the Articles before rehearsed'.¹⁶ One would look in vain to find these articles within this narrative. These 'independent texts', for Emerson, are suggestions. It should be argued that the *Armouries* codex is one of these 'independent texts' preserved by the custodians and authors of them: the heralds. This would explain one of the earliest presentation signatures 'Ricard Champeney a norroy roy darmes' and the clear, even possessive, mark of ownership and pride in his position evident in Thomas Wriothseley's signature (see figs 9 and 10).

¹² Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ashmolean MS 856, fol. 101^r.

¹³ Michelle Szkilnik, *Jean de Saintré: Une Carrière chevaleresque au xv^e siècle* (Geneva: Droz, 2003), p. 74.

¹⁴ La Marche, I, 291.

¹⁵ Catherine Emerson, *Olivier de La Marche and the Rhetoric of Fifteenth-Century Historiography* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2004), pp. 192-94. I am immensely grateful to Dr Karen Watts for guiding me in the direction of this important work.

¹⁶ Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ashmolean MS 856, fol. 99^r.

The author of the Armouries accession register entry has revealed that this section of the codex 'must have been in the possession of Richard Champney, created Gloucester King of Arms, 18 September 1483 by Richard III' and that 'it is tempting to see in the Norroy king of the earliest note John Writhe, Norroy 1477-78 and Garter 1475-1504, whose MS passed to his son, Thomas Writhe or Wriothesley' the man responsible for the second signature.¹⁷ That it was of great historical value to later heralds is evidenced by the annotations in the margins – Anstis even going so far as to trace his own descent tenuously from the victorious English squire of the feat of arms of 1446/7 (fol. 38^v). It is significant that there is evidence for the codex passing through the hands of no fewer than nine English heralds in its long lifetime.

The attempts of Anglo, Lester,¹⁸ and others to establish an original text from which similar MSS such as Sir John Paston's *Grete Boke* (British Library MS Lansdowne 285) and the Armouries codex were copied can be compared to the hapless Don Quixote's tilting at windmills:¹⁹ valiant, but ultimately, futile. Both these MSS, and the myriad others in which copies of material of this nature can be found, are the 'independent texts' alluded to by Emerson. They were freely in circulation and were passed between, and copied by, heralds and other heraldic officers. They are the product of a vibrant chivalric culture. Keen has described heralds as a 'lay priesthood' for chivalry's 'secular cult'.²⁰ It might also be argued that there is some degree of myth making and status consciousness evident in the copying undertaken. This might be interpreted as evidence of heralds trying to cement the importance of their position. Being able to produce old MSS in which their importance is demonstrably paramount would have added much weight to arguments over their position. The examples of Thomas of Lancaster's Ordinances (Item 7) and the prominent role of Garter Herald at Tours in 1446/7 (Item 8) could be cited as evidence of this. Indeed, lengthy dissertations on 'la creacion de heraulx' and 'la fondacion dudit office' seem to have been a serious preoccupation of these officers.²¹ Such tedious

¹⁷ The information in the entry is gleaned from A. R. Wagner's, *Heralds of England: A History of the Office and College of Arms* (London: HMSO, 1967) and the bookseller W. H. Robinson's catalogue of c. 1850.

¹⁸ Sydney Anglo, 'Financial and Heraldic Records of the English Tournament', *Journal of the Society of Archivists*, 2 (1962), 183-65. Lester, *Thesis*, and his *Paston's 'Grete Boke'*.

¹⁹ It would be remiss not to point out that this should have been translated as 'jousting at windmills', as a tilt barrier is required for the tilt.

²⁰ Keen, *Chivalry*, p. 142.

²¹ BL MS Cotton Domitian XVIII, fols 229^f-35^v. New Haven, CT, Yale UL MS 230, fols 179^f-86^v. See also Torsten Hiltmann, 'Vieux chevaliers, pucelles, anges. Fonctions et caractères

lessons in mythical history reveal that such chivalric worthies as Alexander the Great, Julius Caesar, and the Old Testament King Amon all employed the services of heralds.

This status consciousness may not have been merely confined to heralds but may also have affected their masters. Torsten Hiltmann is not the only scholar to highlight how distastefully *arriviste* the likes of Lord Scales and Sir John Paston and their upwardly-mobile families were considered by their contemporaries.²² What better way to engage with the chivalric culture of the present than look to the past? The close relationship between Lord Scales and Sir John Paston has often been commented upon. The two were almost brothers-in-law at one point.²³ Is it merely coincidence that Sir John should have made his own copy of the statute regulating tourneys of 1292? According to a copy of one of his now-lost epistles:

My hand was hurte at the Tourney at Eltham upon Wednesday last [March 1467], I would that you had been there and seen it, for it was the goodliest sight that was sene in Inglande this Forty yeares of so fewe men. There was upon the one side within, the Kinge, My Lord Scalles, My selfe, and Sellenger, and without, my Lord Chamberlyn, Sr John Woodvyle [Lord Scales's brother], Sr Thomas Mountgomery and Iohn Aparre.²⁴

Quite a special gathering; and might Sir John have wanted to demonstrate that he had done his homework by copying a statute from the distant, yet royal, past? Even better, commission a whole book of such material; this was done and we still have what Sir John himself called 'my boke off knyghthod, & ther in m[aner] off making off knyghtes, off justes, of torn[amentis off] fyghting in lystes, [...] & challenges'.²⁵ This was his *Grete Boke*. Many of its contents are similar to those in the Armouries codex. One should not be regarded as the *Ur-text* of the other. They should be seen more as close relatives. As one chronicler said of the English squire John Chalons (Item 8) – on

principaux des hérauts d'armes d'après les légendes sur l'origine de l'office d'armes au xv^e siècle', *Revue du Nord*, 88 (2006), 503-23.

²² Torsten Hiltmann, 'Information et tradition textuelle: Les Tournois et leur traitement dans les manuels des hérauts d'armes au xv^e siècle', in *Information et société en Occident à la fin du Moyen Âge*, ed. by C. Bordreau (Paris: Sorbonne, 2004), pp. 219-31 (p. 223). See also Elizabeth Woodville's, her father's, and brother's entries in the *DNB*. For the Pastons see Philippa Madden, 'Honour among the Pastons: Gender and Integrity in Fifteenth-Century English Provincial Society', *JMH*, 14 (1986), 357-71.

²³ Lester, *Thesis*, pp. 139-40, citing evidence from the *Paston Letters*.

²⁴ *Paston Letters*, I, 369.

²⁵ BL Additional MS 43491, fol. 26^r, printed in Lester, *Grete Boke*, p. 41. The expansions are Lester's.

hearing the news that his French adversary had died of the wounds inflicted by his lance – he ‘mournyd for his enemy [...] as he had ben his carnall brother’.²⁶ The *Grete Boke* and the *Armouries* codex can be considered to share this familial bond. Sir John Astley’s splendid MS (New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, MS M.775) could be regarded in the same vein. Sir John and Lord Scales were given the task of investing a foreign dignitary with the Order of the Garter in 1480.²⁷ The former had been knighted in 1442 by the King after he had ‘done his armys’ against an Aragonese knight (fol. 279^r). Sir John was appointed one of the adjudicators in a trial by combat in 1453.²⁸ In his MS his chivalric feats are writ (and indeed illustrated) large (fig. 2).²⁹ His challenges to combat to the Frenchman he killed and the Spaniard he bested are curiously preserved, but in Latin, in a study of chivalry by a seventeenth-century French noble.³⁰ This is further evidence for the circulation of these challenges.

²⁶ Robert Fabyan, *New Chronicles of England*, ed. by H. Ellis (London: Rivington, 1811), p. 621.

²⁷ *Excerpta Historica*, p. 243, citing John Anstis, *Register of the Most Noble Order of the Garter*, 2 vols (London: Barber, 1724), II, 206.

²⁸ BL MS Cotton Titus C. I, fol. 234^r, printed in *Proceedings [...] of the Privy Council of England*, ed. by H. Nicolas, 7 vols (London: Record Commissioners, 1834-37), VI, 129-30.

²⁹ The wonderful illustrations of Sir John’s combats are reproduced in H. Dillon, ‘On a MS Collection of Ordinances of Chivalry belonging to Lord Hastings’, *Archaeologia*, 57 (1900), 29-70.

³⁰ Marc Vulson de la Colombière, *Le Vray théâtre d’honneur et chevalerie*, 2 vols (Paris: Courbé, 1648), II, 311-13. Unfortunately no references whatsoever are provided.



Fig. 11. John Astley proves his chivalric worth.³¹

There is more evidence for the movement of these ‘independent texts’ throughout the kingdoms of Europe. In a now-lost MS are the signatures of the Abbot of Scone and Sir James Douglas. They are attesting to a feat of arms performed by the heroic Jacques de Lalaing:

The which feats of arms thus done by the said De Lalaing and the gentle Mériadec we Robert Abbot of Scone and James Douglas knight of the realm of Scotland certify to have been done thus and do not wish to impeach the honour of so valiant and honest gentlemen. In witness of this we have signed here below with our signatures in this present book carried from the realm of France to Scotland.

³¹ Detail from New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, MS M.775, fol. 2^v.

Lesquelles armes ainsi f[ai]ctes par lesd[ic]tes De Lalaing et le gentil Meriadec nous Robert abbe da scugne et James Duglas ch[eva]ll[ie]r du Roy[au]me descosse certiffions avoir ainsi este f[ai]ctes et ne voulons toller lonner de si vaillans et honnestes gentilsho[m]mes. En tesmoing de ce nous avons signe cy desoubs de nos seigns manuelz en ce p[rese]nt livre aporte de roy[au]me de france en escosse.

The image shows two handwritten signatures in a cursive script. The first signature reads 'Rabbe da scugne' and the second reads 'James Duglas'. The ink is dark and the background is a light, slightly textured paper.

Fig. 12. Signatures of the witnesses to a feat of arms.

According to the editor of this extract, the 'volume in question was sent into Scotland in July 1448 by Charolais the herald'.³² It was not only the book that travelled there. The following year Jacques de Lalaing, his uncle Simon, and a Breton squire Hervé de Mériadec journeyed to the northern realm for a feat of arms à *outrance* with Sir James and his Douglas kinsmen. That the challenge was delivered by Charolais Herald is attested in the *Livre de Faits du bon Chevalier Messire Jacques de Lalaing*, which may have been composed by the herald himself.³³ The rather un-chivalric event is immortalized in the *Livre de Faits* as well as by contemporary chroniclers.³⁴

G. A. Lester has taken the concept of a heraldic genesis of this kind of material even further. In a case study of the feats of arms at Smithfield in 1467 between Lord Scales and the Bastard of Burgundy he has shown how such 'heraldic literature' was produced in Sir John Paston's *Grete Boke*. Documents such as the challenges surviving in various different MSS were brought together in 'a clever assemblage of documents: letters, rules of combat, lists, memoranda, statements, and narratives'. Translated from their original French this is evidence, argues Lester convincingly, of 'bringing relevant documents together to form a narrative whole' by the herald

³² Paris, Bibliothèque Impériale MS 8417, fol. 58^v, printed in Beltz, *Order of the Garter*, p. 407.

³³ Anon., *Livre de Faits*, in Chastellain, VIII, 164-78 (pp. 165-67). I wish to express my gratitude to Dr Rosalind Brown-Grant for discussing this passage with me and sharing her, as-yet unpublished, research.

³⁴ *Livre de Faits*, VIII, 164-78. Also D'Escouchy, I, 148-53, and La Marche, II, 104-09. For the Scottish perspective see Katie Stevenson, 'Contesting Chivalry: James II and the Control of Chivalric Culture in the 1450s', *JMH*, 33 (2007), 197-214.

authors.³⁵ There is evidence throughout the codex of the importance of the heralds' role.

The Armouries codex is one of the finest examples of a chivalric text to survive from medieval Europe. It is not a random miscellany but a carefully collected series of chivalric exploits that would have had a didactic purpose as well as one revealing the antiquity of the office of the herald. It was a working document that was initially produced by heralds. It was then studied, annotated, cared for, and treasured by successive generations of these men until its disappearance from the College of Arms. Now remaining in the collection of the Royal Armouries it can, once again, regain its original *raison d'être* by being used, studied, and treasured by those who share the heralds' passion for an understanding of chivalric feats of arms of English, French, and Burgundian noblemen and the world they inhabited.

³⁵ G. A. Lester, 'Fifteenth-Century English Heraldic Narrative', *Yearbook of English Studies*, 22 (1992), 201-12.

3. Context: Investigation of the Sections

The full explanation of many key terms necessitates that this section should be longer than those following. These terms are fundamental to a better understanding of the content of the codex.

Item 1. Philippe Bouton's Challenge [1 May 1467] (fols 6^r-7^r)

This item is a copy of the challenge issued by a Burgundian nobleman to a formal combat on horseback with sharpened lanceheads to any Englishman or man of English allegiance of similar social standing to his own. Philippe Bouton (1418-1515) was a cousin of the court chronicler and master of ceremonies Olivier de La Marche and was first squire (*premier escuier*) to Charles, Count of Charolais, the son and heir of Philip the Good, Duke of Burgundy.¹ The challenge is intended to coincide with the combat of Count Charles's illegitimate half-brother Antoine, Count of La Roche, who seems to have revelled in his appellation the Bastard of Burgundy. According to La Marche the title was inherited from Antoine's half-brother Cornille who was killed in battle against the Flemings in 1452.² The Bastard of Burgundy had accepted a challenge issued by Anthony Woodville, Lord Scales (c. 1440-1483) in 1465.³ Anthony was Lord Scales by right of his wife from 1462 and brother-in-law to King Edward IV following his sister Elizabeth's universally ill-accepted marriage to that monarch in 1464.⁴ Bouton's challenge mirrors that of Lord Scales's, albeit in a more abbreviated form, in that it employs the symbolism of the emprise. Defined by the editors of the *OED* as 'an undertaking, enterprise; especially one of an adventurous or chivalrous nature', this definition only explains the action. The emprise was also a physical

¹ For an explanation of the myriad court positions see W. Paravicini, 'The Court of the Dukes of Burgundy: A Model for Europe?', in *Princes, Patronage, and the Nobility: The Court at the Beginning of the Modern Age, c. 1450-1650*, ed. by R. Asch (Oxford: UP, 1991), pp. 69-102 (p. 72) and M. Damen, 'Gift Exchange at the Court of Charles the Bold', in *In, but not of, the Market: Movable Goods in the Late Medieval Economy*, ed. by M. Boone (Brussels: Koninklijke Vlaamse Academie, 2007), pp. 81-99 (p. 96). He is referred to by La Marche as 'premier escuyer trenchant' in 1469. Olivier de La Marche, 'Traicté d'un tournoy tenu à Gand par Claude de Vauldrey, seigneur de l'Aigle, l'an 1469', in Prost, *Traictés*, pp. 55-95 (p. 73).

² 'De là en avant ne fut pas appelé ledit messire Anthoine par son nom, mais bastard de Bourgoigne seulement'. La Marche, II, 270. One Brussels craftsman even entitled himself 'Armurier de Monsire le Bastart de Bourgogne' in a letter of 1473. *Paston Letters*, II, 409.

³ For the context of this event, see Sydney Anglo, 'Anglo-Burgundian Feats of Arms: Smithfield, June 1467', *Guildhall Miscellany*, 2 (1965), 271-83.

⁴ See Elizabeth Woodville's entry in the *DNB* for this 'shocking *mésalliance*'.

object; in Bouton's case a pansy and in that of Lord Scales a flower of remembrance.⁵ La Marche provides an intriguing example of a possible cultural misunderstanding of the use of the emprise in 1446. An Iberian squire in the service of the Duke of Milan discusses the interpretation of its use with Burgundian heralds:

Then Galiot asked the King of Arms and heralds about the custom of the country and said that in his country when the challenger grasped his companion's emprise it was [a sign that the combat was] for the life [or death] of one or the other but, when one had but only touched it, it was for chivalry. Golden Fleece [Herald] replied that the Lord of Ternant had charged his emprise for chivalry and that the custom was to touch the emprise in his presence. Then the said squire advanced and touched the knight's emprise, kneeling very low, and said, "Noble knight, I touch your emprise, and (God willing) I shall fulfil and accomplish all that you shall desire of me both on foot and on horseback". And the Lord of Ternant very humbly thanked him and told him he was welcome and that within the day he shall have sent him in writing the feats of arms that he desires to be done and accomplished and thus left for this time. And on this same day the said Lord of Ternant sent the [*chapitres* of the] feats of arms by a herald.

Lors demanda Galiot aux roys-d'armes, et heraux, la coustume du païs: et dit qu'en son païs, quand le requerant arrache l'emprise de son compaignon, c'est pour la vie de l'un ou de l'autre: mais, quand l'on n'y fait que toucher seulement, c'est pour chevalerie. Surquoy luy respondit Toison d'or, que le signeur de Ternant avoit chargé son emprise pour chevalerie, et que la coustume estoit de toucher à l'emprise, quand on est present. Lors s'avança ledict escuyer, et toucha à l'emprise du chevalier, en soy agenouillant bien bas: et dit, "Noble chevalier, je touche à vostre emprise, et au plaisir de Dieu vous fourriray et acompliray tout ce, que je sauray que desirerez de faire, soit à pié, soit à cheval": et le signeur de Ternant le mercia bien-humblement: et luy dit, que bien fust il venu, et qu'en icelle journee il luy envoyroit par escrit les armes, qu'il desiroit à faire, et acomplir: et ainsi se departirent pour celle fois: et ce mesme jour ledict signeur de Ternant envoya par un heraut ses [armes].⁶

In this challenge, and in those throughout the codex, the formal act of touching the physical emprise is stressed as an essential element in accepting any challenge.

⁵ For a comprehensive study of the symbolism of the emprise see J.-P. Jourdan, 'Le Langage amoureux dans le combat de chevalerie', *Moyen Âge*, 99 (1993), 84-106. Keen, *Chivalry*, p. 212, translates *flower of remembrance* as *forget-me-not* but the *OED* entry for this name suggests an altogether different origin.

⁶ La Marche, IX, 408-09. A copy of the challenge initiating this combat is to be found in BL Additional MS 21370, fols 31^r-34^v.

Following a practice well established by the fifteenth century Bouton's challenge is comprised of clauses known as *chapitres* which contain the details of the status of the combatant, manner of combat, weapons to be used, and regulations such as the number of courses to be run on horseback. The first two *chapitres* are quite self-explanatory establishing the nobility of his adversary and the time frame: within six days of the combat of the Bastard of Burgundy. The subsequent *chapitres* require more explanation.

Chapitre three stipulates that there should be no attachment of the man to the saddle. This is not uncommon. The 1409 challenge of the Seneschal of Hainault states that he and his opponent fight 'sans estre liez en la selle'.⁷ A famous example highlighting the importance of this stipulation can be found in an account of the combat between the Scots noble Sir David Lindsay and the English ambassador Lord Welles on London Bridge on Saint George's Day 1390. Sir David dramatically disproved any allegations of chivalric misconduct: 'mony Inglis men' insinuated to Richard II that the Scot 'fast was teyd' to his saddle. Sir David immediately rode up to the King and 'lap downe [...] off his hors' thus proving 'that thai falsly leid | That say, the Lyndssay before wes teyd'.⁸ Like the combat between Lindsay and Welles the mention of war saddles ('celles de guerre') and sharpened lanceheads ('lance a fer esmoulus') is indicative of a joust of war. An English contemporary chronicle also refers to their mounted combat with sharpened lanceheads ('equites cum acutis lanceis Thomas de la Launde Gascon' contra ... Boton' Burgund').⁹ Similarly, the combat between the Earls of Kent and Mar in 1406 at Smithfield was described by one chronicler as 'certeyn cours of warre on hors-bak' and that they 'manfully rydyn togadir with scharp speris dyuers cours'.¹⁰

There is, however mention of the tilt ('la toile'): a barrier placed between mounted combatants to prevent the collision of their horses. The herald and chronicler Jean Le Fèvre provides a vivid account of the 'joustes à l'usage de Portingal' that formed part of the celebration of the marriage of Duke Philip of Burgundy with Isabel of Portugal at Arras in 1429. The Portuguese had set up 'a single list, of strong timber, as high as

⁷ From the now-lost Paris, Bibliothèque Impériale MS 8417, printed in Beltz, *Order of the Garter*, p. 404.

⁸ Andrew of Wyntoun, *Orygynale Cronykil of Scotland*, ed. by D. Laing, 3 vols (Edinburgh: Edmonston, 1872-79), III, 48.

⁹ Chronicle of William Worcester, London, College of Arms Library, MS Arundel 48, cited in *Excerpta Historica*, p. 213.

¹⁰ *The Brut, or, The Chronicles of England*, ed. by W. D. Brie (London: Paul, 1906-08), p. 366.

the horses' shoulders, and it was hung all along with blue cloth' ('une seulle liche à travers, de fort marine, haulte jusque aux espaulles des chevaulx, et furent tendues de drap blue tout au long'). The jousts were separated by this barrier: 'l'un d'un costé et l'autre de l'autre'.¹¹ That this novelty was introduced from southern Europe is also suggested in another source. Writing at the start of the fifteenth century Gutierre Díaz de Gámez stated that 'the French joust in another fashion than is done in Spain, jousting without the tilt, in the manner of war' ('loz franzeses justan por otra guisa que non façen en España; justan sin tela, a manera de guerra').¹² The multilingual terminology of jousts of peace and war will be examined in more detail in Item 6 – the passage on the Smithfield jousts of 1390. It is of note that the common designation of extreme combat – à *outrance* – is nowhere to be found in Bouton's challenge, nor in any of the other challenges in the codex. As will be argued, applying the simple dichotomy between joust of peace and joust of war may be a hindrance to a deeper understanding of the rules and regulations of the various challenges recorded.

The fourth *chapitre* of Bouton's challenge is concerned with the provision of weapons – in this case lances. The use of the lance couched under the arm and passed over the horse's neck toward an opponent was of central importance to the mounted warrior throughout this period. The pick of the weapons chosen is offered to the opponent. This is also an extremely common occurrence in challenges of this kind. It fits the 'I'll cut the cake and you choose which half you want' approach to ensure that there is no deliberate tampering with the equipment and thus no accusation of foul play can be levelled at either combatant. For example, the Earl of Warwick in 1414 is said to have 'ordeygne[d] twey sadles and send the frenshe knight choise of both'.¹³ A challenge of 1437 insists both parties be seated in 'selles de millan'.¹⁴ Sir John Cornwall, in his challenge of c. 1400, went even further suggesting that two complete armours should be constructed by one party and sent to their opponent for inspection.¹⁵ Bouton himself, according to La Marche, was chosen to inspect the weapons at a *pas d'armes* in 1469 along with another squire: 'pour ce que tous deux

¹¹ Le Fèvre, I, 170.

¹² Gutierre Díaz de Gámez, *El Victorial: Crónica de Don Pero Niño, Conde de Buelna*, ed. by J. de Mata Carriazo (Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, 1940), p. 237. Blair, in *European Armour*, p. 158, suggests an Italian origin.

¹³ BL MS Lansdowne 285, fol. 16^r.

¹⁴ BL Additional MS 21370, fol. 27^v.

¹⁵ '[...] que vous faichiez ordonner deux paires de harnas entiers dont vous cens nous lun et vous laut[re] ou nous en ordennerons deux qui seront p[ar]eil desquelz vous coisuez adfin quil ny ait point de tardement'. BL Additional MS 21357, fol. 4^r.

avoient fait armes'.¹⁶ This inspection was not merely a formality. In a later passage in the codex we are informed that the whole day was needed for Bouton's combat on horseback 'because of a rest that was too advantageous that [his opponent] Thomas de Lalande wore' (fol. 69^v). This is corroborated by La Marche who states that 'those who served Sir Philippe Bouton said that Thomas de Lalande's rest was too advantageous' ('ceux qui servoient messire Philippe Bouton disoient que l'arrest de Thomas de la Lande estoit trop advantaigeux').¹⁷

Some discussion of terminology is required at this point. What follows is an analysis of an important feature. The rest is often referred to as a 'lance-rest' by arms and armour *cognoscenti*.¹⁸ Claude Blair has provided a succinct explanation:

One of the difficulties in managing a lance arose from the fact that the impact of a successful attaint was liable to drive the weapon backwards under the arm. From the beginning of the fourteenth century, and possibly earlier, this problem was sometimes met by securing a small disc-shaped stop over the shaft of the lance behind the hand: this could be rested against the front of the armpit, which would then take some of the shock previously taken by the hand only. From the end of the fourteenth century a bracket against which the stop could be rested was normally attached to the breast of the armour. The stop was usually called a *grate* or *graper*, but also occasionally an *arrest*: this latter term, shortened to *rest*, was more usually applied to the bracket on the breastplate which 'arrested' the backward movement of the lance on impact. The misleading term *lance-rest* now applied to it is a modern invention.¹⁹

The 'lance-rest' is illustrated in figs 13 to 15.

¹⁶ La Marche, 'Traicté d'un tournoy tenu à Gand', in Prost, *Traités*, p. 73.

¹⁷ La Marche, III, 55. Also Utrecht UL MS 1117, fol. 213^v.

¹⁸ See for example Blair, *European Armour*, pp. 61 and 161. *Riddarlek och Tornerspel / Tournaments and the Dream of Chivalry*, ed. by Lena Rangström (Stockholm: Livrustkammaren, 1992), p. 274.

¹⁹ Blair, *European & American Arms*, pp. 27-28.



Figs 13, 14, & 15. Artistic depictions as well as a surviving example of the rest or 'lance-rest' attached to the breastplate by means of a pin and staples.²⁰

It is significant that its use was banned in the modern-day jousts held at the Royal Armouries because the resulting increased force caused the unhorsing and injury of many of the participants.²¹ The waters have been muddied somewhat by an article by François Buttin who attempted to provide a modern nomenclature for the two distinct

²⁰ Detail from *St Maurice (or St Victor) and a Donor* by the Master of Moulins, French, c. 1480 (GM Accession no. 203). Composite armour, c. 1415 (Churburg Armoury no. 18). Detail from Miniature 3 of the codex (fol. 41^r).

²¹ I am grateful to Dr Karen Watts for this information. Thanks are also due to Dr Tobias Capwell for sharing his unenviable experiences of being unhorsed whilst jousting against opponents equipped with this device!

'rests': one on the breastplate and one on the lance. These he named the *arrête de lance* and *arrête de cuirasse*.²² In fact, the sources he cites – almost exclusively French ones – never seem to display any confusion between these two separate pieces of equipment and it is usually clear from the context the type of rest that is being referred to. Turning to sources in England we find that Nicholas the armourer was paid 8 shillings 'pro vj restes pro lanc' as part of the Earl Marshal's preparations for the war in France in 1414.²³ The treasonous Lord Scrope, executed the following year, had amongst his possessions 'vn paire Wrestes pur Justis'.²⁴ An anonymous eyewitness described the 'speres fast in rest' at the 'justs' for the nuptial celebrations at Bruges in 1468.²⁵ Blair has pointed out that the use of the word *lance* for horseback and *spear* for foot combat is a modern phenomenon.²⁶ For reasons of clarity, however, this modern distinction will be upheld throughout. In other countries too there is little ambiguity when describing the rest. Commynes remarked scathingly that of all the men 'armez de cuyrasses' there were only fifty who knew how to couch a lance in the rest at a battle in 1465.²⁷ A gilder was paid by the Duke of Orleans in 1485 'po[u]r au[o]ir fait dorer son arest de sa vielle curasse a la mode despaigne'.²⁸ James IV of Scots ordered payment 'for ane rest to the Kingis crais' (i.e. cuirass) in 1507.²⁹

Evidently the interpretation of the two types of rest requires some revision as on fol. 19^v of the codex there is mention of a prohibition: 'nul auoir arrest aduantageux ne contre arrest'. Blair has suggested that the use of a lance-rest and *queue* ('a horizontal bar projecting backwards under the arm and terminating at the rear in a hook under which the butt-end of the heavy lance can be lodged') was 'a combination known as a *rest of advantage* in England'.³⁰ He is, however, discussing the various forms of jousting that developed in the German-speaking lands at the *very end* of the fifteenth century in this section of his study. It is debatable as to whether this could be

²² François Buttin, 'La Lance et l'arrêt de cuirasse', *Archaeologia*, 99 (1965), 77-178.

²³ Gloucester Record Office, Berkeley Castle Muniment GAR 428, paginated 13.2. I am extremely grateful to Dr Tobias Capwell for providing a photocopy of this document.

²⁴ C. L. Kingsford, 'Two Forfeitures in the Year of Agincourt', *Archaeologia*, 70 (1920), 71-100 (p. 89).

²⁵ BL Additional MS 46354, fols 41^v-50^v, printed in T. Phillipps, 'Account of the Marriage of Margaret [of York] to Charles, Duke of Burgundy, 1468', *Antiquaries Journal*, 31 (1846), 326-38 (p. 338).

²⁶ Blair, *European & American Arms*, pp. 26-27

²⁷ '[...] il en y eust cinquante qui eussent sceu coucher une lance en arrest'. Commynes, I, 38.

²⁸ BL Additional Charter 2655.

²⁹ *Accounts of the Lord High Treasurer of Scotland*, ed. by T. Dickson, 11 vols (Edinburgh: HM Treasury, 1877-1913), III, 396.

³⁰ Blair, *European Armour*, p. 161.

applied to Francophone countries at this early date. Further ambiguity is evident in a record of payment in the accounts of René of Anjou in 1453. Jousting armour ('le harnois de joute') is purchased along with 'plusieurs autres choses secrettes que on ne vieult pas nommer, ung avantaige pour l'arrest dudit harnois'.³¹ Although from a palaeographical standpoint this document would need to be inspected at first hand, it does suggest that there may be more to find out about this particular feature. This reference is suggestive of differing sorts and sizes of rest and might offer some slight explanation for the delay caused by the argument over De Lalande's being too 'advantageous'.³² F. H. Cripps-Day interprets this feature, probably wrongly, as evidence of René employing the spring-loaded jousting armour that would become popular in German jousts of the late-fifteenth and early-sixteenth centuries.³³

English sources also use the word *advantage*. In a challenge to Sir John Astley of 1438 it is stated that 'we tweyne schal be armyd apon horsbak in harnes double withoute ony schilde & reste of avauntage'.³⁴ In a late-fifteenth century English ordinance it is stated that all comers shall be 'in plaine hosting harneis, without [...] any other advauntage in their harneis, but only such as the[y] will vse in tyme of warre'.³⁵ In the 1434 'traytese' on arming for single combat by Johan Hyll 'Armorer Sergeant in the Kinge's Armory', there is mention of 'a pair of gloves of avantage' and a 'basnet of avauntage for þe listes whiche is not goode for noon other batailles but man for man'.³⁶ In the revised articles 'tochyng the combat at the barrier' between Henry VIII and François I in 1520 there is also mention of 'pieces of avauntage' or 'harnoys de guerre avec piece davantage' as it is rendered in French.³⁷ It is thus clear

³¹ *Les Comptes du Roi René: Publiés d'après les originaux inédits conservés aux archives des Bouches-du-Rhône*, ed. by G. A. d'Agnel, 3 vols (Paris: Picard, 1909-10), I, 375, citing AD des Bouches-du-Rhône, MS B2479, fol. 86^v. Unfortunately, images of the original documents could not be provided.

³² C. Gaier, in 'Technique des combats singuliers d'après les auteurs "bourguignons" du xv^e siècle', *Moyen Âge*, 91 (1985), 415-57 (p. 444), mentions La Marche's comment but offers no further explanation.

³³ F. H. Cripps-Day, *Fragmenta armamentaria*, 6 vols (Frome: n. pub., 1934), I, 6. An introduction to the bewildering variations of German jousts is provided by Ortwin Gamber, 'Ritterspiele und Turnierrüstung im Spätmittelalter', in Fleckenstein, *Turnier*, pp. 513-31.

³⁴ New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, MS M.775, fol. 279^r, printed in H. Dillon, 'On a MS Collection of Ordinances of Chivalry belonging to Lord Hastings', *Archaeologia*, 57 (1900), 29-70 (p. 38).

³⁵ BL MS Harley 69, printed in Cripps-Day, *Tournament*, p. xlvi.

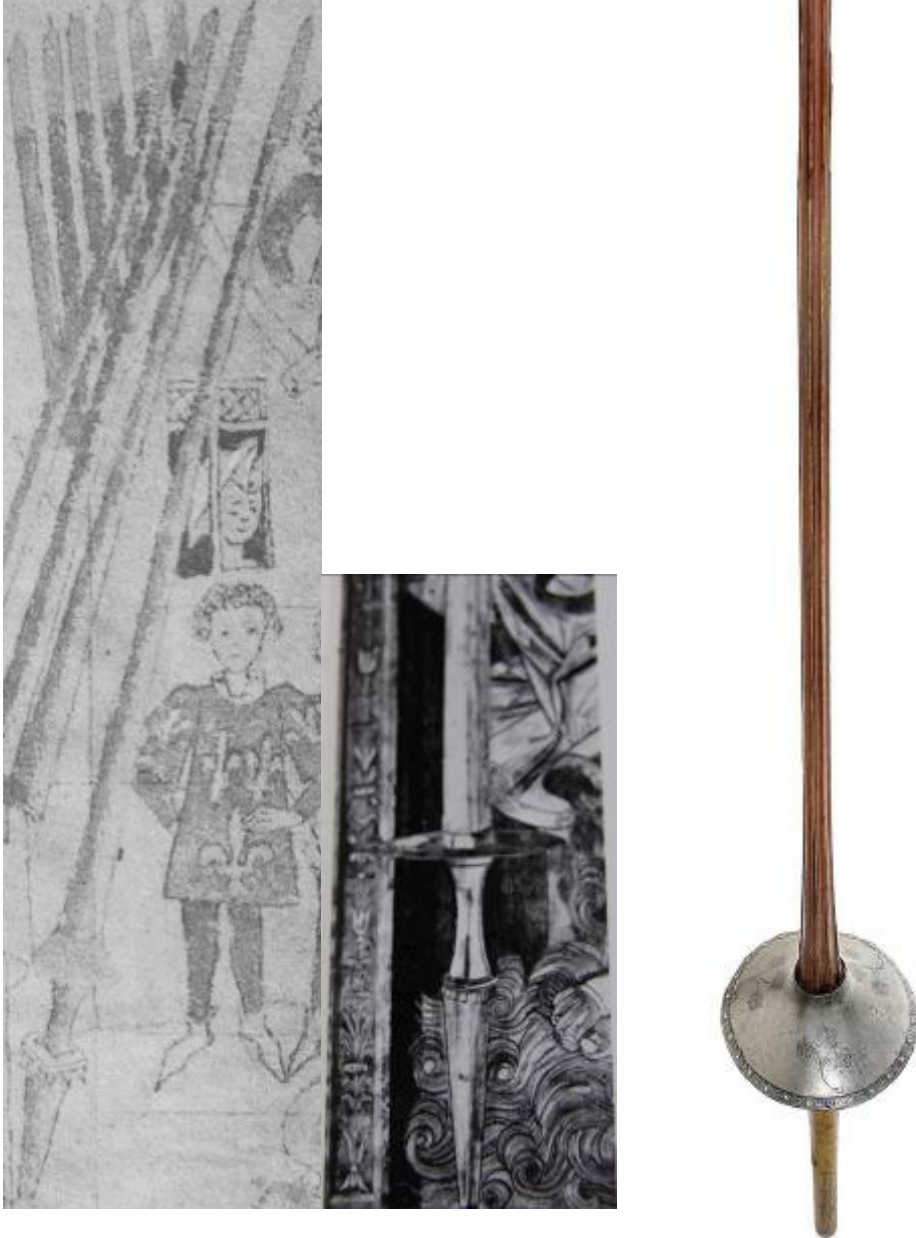
³⁶ Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Ashmole 856, p. 376, printed in C. ffoulkes, *Armourer and His Craft* (London: Methuen, 1912), p. 173.

³⁷ TNA, SP 1/20, fols 44^r-47^r, printed in Claude Blair, 'King Henry VIII's Tonlet Armour', *Burlington Magazine*, 125 (1983), 16-20 (p. 19).

that to contemporaries there were many means by which equipment could be 'too advantageous'.

If the interpretation of the rest throws up much confusion this is compounded by an allusion in *chapitre* four to an, as yet, unidentified part of a lance. It is stated that an opponent 'can equip the lance with vamplates as well as contra-rondels of his choice and pleasure'. Vamplates (referred to in French as *rondelles*) are conical metal hand-guards affixed to the lance (see figs 16 to 18). That the pace of their design was changing rapidly is attested by the appearance of 'ij rondelles à joster, de la vièse manière' in the 1358 inventory of the Count of Hainault's armoury.³⁸

³⁸ A. Lacroix, 'Inventaire de l'armurerie de Guillaume III, comte de Hainaut, qui existait au Château de Mons en 1358', *Annales du Cercle Archéologique de Mons*, 9 (1869), 145-50 (p. 148).



Figs 16, 17, & 18. Fifteenth-century depictions of a lance and a sixteenth-century example equipped with a vamplate.³⁹

The unidentified lance part is the second item. The word may well be a mis-transcription of 'con[tra]rondelles'. In a document recording jousting expenses of the Duke of Orleans in 1480 there is mention of payment 'pour six Roquetz six grappes et

³⁹ Detail from the mounted combat of Sir John Astley, New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, MS M.775, fol. 275^v. Detail from a painted doorway based on the drawings of Botticelli, 1467, Urbino, Palazzo Ducale. GM accession no. E.1939.65.r.4-5.

six contrarondelles [...] aux Joustes a Rouen'.⁴⁰ That is, six coronals, six grapers and six contrarondelles.

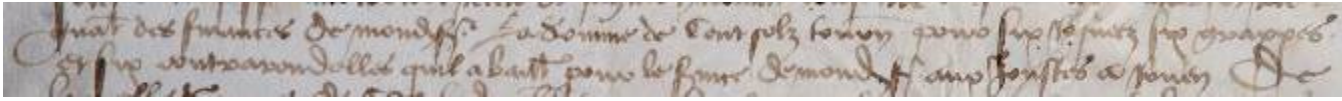


Fig. 19. Detail from a MS recording of Duke Louis of Orleans's jousting expenses.

Coronals (lit. 'little crowns', known in French as *rochets*) are pronged lanceheads for jousts of peace designed to catch in reinforced jousting armour thus causing the lance-shaft to break (see figs 20 and 21). There is further discussion of lance-breakage under Item 4. Le Fèvre complained about the new style of jousting with the tilt introduced by the Portuguese at Arras in 1429: 'little wood was broken [i.e. lances]; for the coronals could not catch on the shields and harness' ('à peu rompre de bois; car les roches ne pouvoient prendre sur les escus et harnois').⁴¹ An anonymous French writer in 1446 suggested countersunk rivet heads should be used in the construction of the jousting helm 'affin que le rochet ny prengne' and went on to give a detailed description of the *rochet*.⁴² According to Chastellain, the victor of a joust in Paris in 1461 was awarded 'une lance d'or avec trois diamants sertis en forme de rochet à l'extrémité'.⁴³ It is not difficult to see why they were called 'diamandis for justing speris' in the accounts of James IV.⁴⁴

Grappers (Fr. *grappes* / *aggrappes*) are discs set behind the lance-grip designed to ensure that the lance will engage in the rest attached to the breastplate (see figs 17, 18, and 21). The anonymous French writer of 1446 described the process of the jousting's lance with its grapers catching in the rest:

The said grapers ought to be full of little sharp points like little diamonds the size of little nuts. These points should come to stop within the crux of the rest which should be full of wood or lead so that the said points cannot slide because when the lance comes to strike it shall be in the manner that it must break in pieces.

⁴⁰ GM, R. L. Scott Library, MS E.1939.65.1174, fol. 11^r.

⁴¹ Le Fèvre, I, 170.

⁴² 'Lesdiz rochez sont voluntiers de ouverture entre chascun des trois pointes de deux doiz et demy ou trois au plus'. BnF MS fonds français 1997, printed in J.-P. Reverseau, 'L'Habit de guerre des Français en 1446: le manuscrit anonyme fr. 1997 de la Bibliothèque nationale', *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 103 (1979), 179-99 (p. 196). Reverseau reprints the text from René de Belleval's, *Du Costume militaire des Français en 1446* (Paris: Aubry, 1866). That the shape of the coronal was not completely standardized is evidenced by the description of '19 rochés de fer à joster, de plusieurs [sic] façons' at Lille Castle in 1388. Prost, *Inventaires*, II, 372.

⁴³ Chastellain, IV, 137.

⁴⁴ *Accounts of the Lord High Treasurer*, ed. by T. Dickson, II, 477.

Lesdictes grappes sont volentiers plaines de petites pointes augues comme petiz dyamens, de grosseur comme petites nouzilles, lesquelles pointes se viennent arrester dedans le creux de larrest, lequel creux de larrest plain de bois ou de plomb affin que lesdittes pointes ne puissent fourir, par quoy vient ladicte lance à tenir le cop: en faczon quil fault que elle se rompe en pièces.⁴⁵

It is perhaps the addition of these sharp points that differentiates the graper from the ordinary rest on the lance. References to grapers (or *grates* in its earlier form) often coincide with those to the aforementioned lance fittings. For example, ‘j grate iij vaumplates’ as well as ‘j coronali pro justis’ are recorded in an inventory of the goods of Sir Roger Mortimer in 1322.⁴⁶ ‘Grates’, ‘avantplates’, and ‘coronals’ were purchased along with other specialized jousting equipment for Edward III between 1338 and 1342.⁴⁷ A ‘brustplate pur Justes deux avantplates’ with ‘ij cornals j grate pur joutes’ are listed as being in Dover Castle in 1361.⁴⁸ Burgundian ducal accounts record payments for ‘3 rondelles garniez’ with ‘12 rochez et 6 agrapes’ in 1369.⁴⁹ Inventoried amongst Sir Simon Burley’s ‘Armo[u]r pur les Joustes’ in 1388 were ‘vj vamplates v grates & xij cornals’⁵⁰ whilst Henry, Earl of Derby (the future Henry IV) purchased ‘iij Grates iij coronalx & ij vantplates’ for the ‘hastilud’ pac’ apud hertforde’ along with another ‘vj Coronalex pro hastilud’ pac’ between 1393 and 1394.⁵¹ In the 1397 inventory of the effects of the Earl of Arundel are ‘xj vaunt plates & grates vj coronalx’.⁵² At Lille in 1464 two armourers were reimbursed for ‘4 rondelles garnyes de grappes et 4 roquetz qui ont esté perduz ausd. Joustes’.⁵³

⁴⁵ De Belleval, *Costume militaire*, p. 11.

⁴⁶ TNA, E154/1/11B.

⁴⁷ TNA, E101/338/11.

⁴⁸ A. Way, ‘Accounts of the Constables of the Castle of Dovor [sic]’, *Archaeological Journal*, 11 (1854), 381-88 (pp. 384-85). Unfortunately the original document cannot be identified. The author alludes to ‘j grate pro hastiludiis’ (p. 385) in another unidentified document of 1364.

⁴⁹ Prost, *Inventaires*, I, 197.

⁵⁰ TNA, E154/1/19. Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Eng. Hist. B.229, fol. 4^r.

⁵¹ TNA, DL28/1.

⁵² TNA, E163/6/13.

⁵³ Lille, AD du Nord, MS KK65, fol. 96^v, printed in Neste, *Tournois*, p. 327.





Figs 20 & 21. Illustration of the Earl of Warwick jousting from the *Beauchamp Pageant*, c. 1480. Note the graper on the broken lance beneath the Earl's horse and the servant checking the fit of the coronals to his left. *Roccio* (coronal) for a jousting lance, c. 1500, Madrid, Real Armería I 168.

The *contrarondelle* is not easily defined. The only other reference to it is in an article of 1888 where Viscount Dillon alludes, unfortunately without reference, to payments made for Henry VIII's diplomatic extravaganza:

In the preparations for the Field of Cloth of Gold in 1520, 2000 mornes of steel glazed were supplied at 10*d.* each. These were the spear-heads for the jousts. Counter roundels at 10*d.* and filed bures (evidently metal ones) at 16*d.* were also purchased to the number of 2000, 1000 vamplates [*sic*] of Isebrok [Innsbruck] steel, at 5*s.* each.⁵⁴

In both these instances the *contrarondelle* appears to be associated with the lance although neither of them shed much light on its physical appearance. It might be speculated that it was similar in shape to the vamplate but attached to the lance behind the wielder's hand in the opposite direction to the vamplate. There is no mention of this feature in the anonymous Frenchman's description of jousting equipment of 1446.

Chapitre five is very clear in stating that neither party may use 'anything of malengin whatsoever which is not licit and reasonable to bear and have between noblemen under pain of being punished at the King's (or his delegate's) total pleasure'. The *OED* definition of malengin is 'evil machination, ill intent; fraud, deceit, guile'. It appears in many other challenges of this kind. One from around 1399 states that the combat shall be on foot each armed at his pleasure and to fight with the lance,

⁵⁴ H. Dillon, 'Arms and Armour at Westminster, the Tower, and Greenwich, 1547', *Archaeologia*, 51 (1888), 219-80 (p. 241). This is probably sourced from TNA.

sword, axe, and dagger without fraud or malengin ('et seroit la bataille a pie ch[asc]un arme a son plaisir Et combatt[re] de lance despee de hache & de dague sans fraude et sans mal engin').⁵⁵ Some insight into what this might entail is provided by a challenge to combat between seven knights and squires of the Earl of Rutland's household and seven of the Duke of Orleans's in 1402. In this, it is stated that the combatants shall not have upon them any barbed spearheads, nor any hooks of iron or steel, nor any vapours, or herbs, or colours, or enchanted spells ('naura sur soy aucuns fers barbellez ne aucuns croqs de fer ne dasier ne nulle alaine ne herbes ne couleurs ne aut[re]s serremens enchantez').⁵⁶ Similarly, it was ordained that neither Antoine de Craon nor his opponent Sir John Oldcastle should have upon them a similar assortment of undesirables for their combat in 1409.⁵⁷ These are undoubtedly repeated from the 'Ordonnances que monseigneur de Nevers a faict pour le faict des armes a oultrance [...] en la ville de Lille [...] entre messire Anthoine de Craon et le S[i]r[e] de Cobham' of 1409'.⁵⁸ Similarly, an early-fifteenth century MS in the College of Arms proscribes the use of 'pierres parolles herbes daraustz charmes' in chivalric combat.⁵⁹ Another example of unreasonable equipment is provided by La Marche in his account of the combat between the aforementioned Iberian squire Galiot de Bardaxin and the Lord of Ternant in 1446. The Iberian had a horse bard of buffalo hide with large steel blades protruding from it.⁶⁰ This might well have been what the members of Bastard of Burgundy's council were alluding to when arranging the combat with Lord Scales:

The counsell of the seide Bastard [...] shewid a like acte of pleasaunce doone late before theire sov[er]aigne lorde the Duke of Bourgone, betwene a knyght of his and a squyer of Almayne [*sic*], the which came to do his armes on horsbak, the hors armed and enforcid with iij long daggers, oon before and two on the sides. The seide Duke seeyng this, callyng his council, thought of reson for as muche as it was but an acte of pleasaunce to

⁵⁵ BL Additional MS 21357, fol. 1^r.

⁵⁶ GM, R. L. Scott Library, MS E.1939.65.2198, p. 26.

⁵⁷ '[...] n'auront sur eulx pierres, sors, parolles escriptes, rasoirs, pointes, aloines, herbes, croz, ne aultres choses quelconques'. Neste, *Tournois*, pp. 166-67, citing Lille, AD du Nord, MS B1600.

⁵⁸ BM Valenciennes MS 860, fol. 67^r.

⁵⁹ London, College of Arms Library, MS M.19, fol. 139^r.

⁶⁰ 'Son cheval [...] couvert d'une barde de cuir de boufle [...] et y avoit au chamfrain, au poictral, et es flans de la barde, grandes dagues d'acier'. La Marche, IX, 420-21.

the augmentation of the prowese of knyght hode, the which aught to be doon with mannes hande ordeyned the seide harneise to be avoided.⁶¹

In using similar legalistic vocabulary to the judicial duel, the combatants in a feat of arms were equally protected against illicit practices of a man-made or supernatural kind. Thomas, Duke of Gloucester's (1355-1397) treatise *La maniere de faire champ a oultrance* or *The Ordenaunce and Forme of Fyghtyng within Listes*, probably initially written in French, states that it is the duty of the constable to make the appellant swear on a 'messeboke' that they have only the agreed armour and weapons on their person within the lists and

noon oothir knyff litill nor mykell, nor noon othir instrument, ne engine of poynte or oothir wise, ne stone of vertue, ne herbe of vertue, ne charme, ne experiment, ne carocte,⁶² ne othir inchauntment by thee, by the which thou trusteth the pe bettir to ovircome [...] thyne adversarie, [...] ne that thou trustith in noon othir thyng, but only in God and thi body, and on thy rightfull quarrel.

ne nul autre coustel petit ne grant, ne nul instrument ne engine de pointe, ne autrement, ne pierre de vertu, ne herbe de vertu, ne charme, ne experiment, ne carecte, ne nul autre enchantement par toy, ne pour toy, par quoy tu aies esperance de vaincre mieulx [...] ton adversaire, [...] Et que tu nayas fiance en nulle autre chose, si non proprement en Dieu et en ton corps, et sur ta droite querelle.⁶³

The content of the royal Duke's treatise would have been very familiar to anyone acquainted with the *Ordonnances aux gaiges de bataille en champ ferme* of Philip IV of France upon which it is based. The two treatises were often copied together in fifteenth-century MSS.⁶⁴ The close relationship between the judicial duel and chivalric combat has been touched on by some scholars but would certainly merit further investigation.⁶⁵

⁶¹ BL MS Cotton Nero C. IX, fol. 177^r, printed in *Excerpta Historica*, p. 200. See also Anglo, 'Anglo-Burgundian Feats of Arms', p. 267.

⁶² 'A drawn or written symbol used in sorcery; a written charm', *MED*.

⁶³ *Black Book of the Admiralty*, ed. by T. Twiss, 4 vols (London: Longman, 1871-76), I, 316-17. The ME text is from BL MS Lansdowne 285, fols 11^r-15^r. See the Duke's entry in the *DNB* for a discussion of which language this was first written in.

⁶⁴ They appear together in BnF MS fonds français 1280, Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Codex 2616, and New Haven, CT, Yale UL, MS 230.

⁶⁵ Sydney Anglo, 'Financial and Heraldic Records of the English Tournament', *Journal of the Society of Archivists*, 2 (1962), 183-95 (p. 189). Keen, *Chivalry*, pp.137-38 and 208. Catherine Emerson, *Olivier de La Marche and the Rhetoric of Fifteenth-Century Historiography* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2004), pp. 199-200.

Chapitres six and seven refer to the unhorsing and injury of the participants and require no further explanation.

The eighth and final *chapitre* of Bouton's challenge is concerned with the prize. In this case it is a ring to present to the lady of the victor. This is the crux of the whole challenge and explains the impetus behind it. The squire assures his noble adversary that his emprise is not to be taken as a sign of presumption. It is to be performed in the hope of winning and conquering the grace of her for the love of whom I bear my emprise and to acquire the perpetual fraternal acquaintance of the nobleman who shall give me this honour and pleasure as to provide my emprise.

'For the love of a lady' is a recurring motif in all the challenges of this kind. In 1400 a Castilian knight wrote to his English adversary in a challenge: 'Si prie au Dieu d'amours que, ainsi que vous désirez l'amour de vostre dame, vous avancez vostre venue'.⁶⁶ Juvenal des Ursins tells us that the seven knights and squires of the Earl of Rutland had the desire to do feats of arms for this purpose in 1402 ('certains nobles d'Angleterre [...] ayans desir de faire armes pour l'amour de leur dames').⁶⁷ In the same vein a challenge from John Hartwell to French knights of a similar date stresses that the combat is to take place 'pour lamour de ma t[re]s honneree dame'.⁶⁸ The Count of Clermont and his companions also undertook such dangers 'pour lamour de noz dames' in 1406.⁶⁹ Two years later the Seneschal of Hainault wrote to Henry IV stating that his intention in arranging a combat was to 'servir ma tres belle dame et pour avoir la cointance de la noble chevalerie de vostre royaume et de belles dames qui y sont'.⁷⁰ It was noted in 1440 that a Spanish knight had come to England to 'renne a cours with a sharpe spere for his souereyn lady[s] sake'.⁷¹

The 'perpetual fraternal acquaintance' alluded to by Bouton may have been more than simply a formality. Sir John Paston, in a letter to his mother describing the festivities at Bruges accompanying the marriage of Margaret of York and Duke Charles of Burgundy in 1468, noted that 'thys day my Lord Scalys justyd with a lord of thys contre, but nat with the Bastard, for [they] mad promyse [at London] that non of

⁶⁶ Monstrelet, I, 17.

⁶⁷ *Nouvelle collection des mémoires relatifs à l'histoire de France*, ed. by J. Michaud and M. Poujoulat, 10 vols (Paris: Didier, 1866), II, 421-22. See also Keen, *Chivalry*, p. 117, for several examples of amorously-inspired martial feats from chronicle sources.

⁶⁸ BL Additional MS 21357, fol. 5^r.

⁶⁹ BL Additional MS 18840, fol. 1^r.

⁷⁰ Beltz, *Order of the Garter*, pp. 404-05.

⁷¹ *Paston Letters*, II, 22. This was Sir Pedro Vásquez de Saavedra to joust with Lord Scales's father. See Item 9.

them bothe shold neuer dele wyth othyr in armys'.⁷² This suggests that the noblemen had formed a bond known as brotherhood-in-arms.⁷³ Later in the codex there is confirmation. We are informed that another lord must joust in the Bastard's stead against Lord Scales at this event 'a cause que mondict seig[neu]r le bastard et luy sont freres darmes' (fol. 110^v). Despite there being no mention of it in the sources, it may well be the case that Bouton was seeking a similar chivalric alliance. After the combat of the two other squires of Lord Scales and the Bastard of Burgundy – De Chassa and De Bretelles – we are informed that they remained loyal and amiable brothers-in-arms (fol. 84^v).⁷⁴ That brotherhood-in-arms was more than just an empty symbolic gesture is evident from an episode in an anonymous *Life of Henry V*, the author of which was informed by James, Earl of Ormond (1390-1452). It describes Arnaud Gillem, Lord of Barbazan appealing to the heralds to be spared following his capture at the siege of Melun in 1420. The heralds concluded that because the Frenchman and the English King had fought hand-to-hand incognito in a mine they were therefore brothers-in-arms and thus the captive could not lawfully be put to death.⁷⁵

Like all legally binding documents Bouton's challenge is given legitimacy by the addition of his personal signature and sealed with the seal of his coat of arms.⁷⁶ Fortunately this heraldry survives in a MS collection of music once owned by the squire and is reproduced in figure 22.

⁷² *Paston Letters*, I, 539. See also La Marche, III, 172.

⁷³ The phenomenon is discussed, although mainly in the context of warfare, in Maurice Keen's, 'Brotherhood-in-Arms', *History*, 47 (1964), 1-17.

⁷⁴ Also Utrecht UL MS 1117, fol. 225^f.

⁷⁵ C. L. Kingsford, 'The Early Biographies of Henry V', *EHR*, 25 (1910), 58-92 (p. 84), citing Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS 966.

⁷⁶ For the importance of the seal in this context, see Keen, *Chivalry*, pp. 132-33.



Fig. 22. Philippe Bouton's coat of arms. Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Chigi Codex, fol. 149^v.

Bouton's challenge differs from that of his fellow combatants at Smithfield in that he only seeks to perform feats of arms on horseback. The others – the Bastard of Burgundy against Lord Scales and Jehan de Chassa against Louis de Bretelles – all involve feats of arms on foot in addition to those on horseback. This is an example, as will be argued further, of the individuality of each event and the personal preference of each combatant.

A copy of Bouton's challenge also appears in Sir John Paston's *Grete Boke* (British Library MS Lansdowne 285, fols 25^r-25^v). It is Item 13 appearing between the challenge of Lord Scales's squire and the declaration of the *Pas d'armes* of the Golden Tree at Bruges in 1468. It is to be lamented that in none of the surviving MSS is to be found the acceptance of the challenge by Thomas de Lalande the Gascon squire in English service who took on the Burgundian. A London chronicler described him as one of the 'ij Gasconys of the kyngys house' who performed a 'dede of armys'⁷⁷ whilst for La Marche he was 'ung escuyer du Roy. Icelluy escuyer estoit gascon icelluy Thomas beau compaignon et homme de bien'.⁷⁸ A 'Thomas Delalond knyght' and 'the late Sir Thomas Delalande' are mentioned in contemporary chronicles of a rebellion in Lincolnshire of March 1470.⁷⁹

⁷⁷ 'Gregory's Chronicle, 1461-69', in *Historical Collections of a Citizen of London*, ed. by J. Gairdner (Westminster: Camden Society), pp. 210-39. The chronicler William Worcester also refers to him as 'Thomas de la Launde Gascon', London, College of Arms Library, MS Arundel 48, cited in *Excerpta Historica*, p. 213.

⁷⁸ La Marche, III, 55. For more information on De Lalande and his compatriot De Bretelles, see A. Peyrègne, 'Les Émigrés gascons en Angleterre, 1453-85', *Annales du Midi*, 66 (1954), 113-28.

⁷⁹ P. Holland, 'The Lincolnshire Rebellion of March 1470', *EHR*, 103 (1988), 849-69 (p. 853), citing *A Chronicle of the First Thirteen Years of Edward IV (Warkworth)*, ed. by J. O. Halliwell-Phillips (London: Camden Society, 1839), p. 8. 'Chronicle of the Rebellion in Lincolnshire, 1470', ed. by J. G. Nichols, in *Camden Miscellany*, I (London: Camden Society, 1847), pp. 1-28 (p. 10).

Item 2. The Declaration of the *Pas d'armes* of the Golden Tree [Bruges 1468] (fols 7^r-10^r)

The marriage of Duke Charles the Bold of Burgundy and Margaret of York sister to King Edward IV of England was celebrated with nine days of elaborate combats. Although not stated in this section, the man undertaking the combats was Duke Charles's half-brother Antoine the Bastard of Burgundy. Little secret is made later in the codex and in other accounts of the identity of the Knight of the Golden Tree. On fol. 96^r there is a reference to the '*pas de joute* which my lord the Bastard of Burgundy was beginning [...] under the title of the Knight of the Golden Tree'. And, in case of any uncertainty, he is further referred to as the 'Lady of the Secret Isle's knight (who was my lord the Bastard)' (fol. 102^v).⁸⁰ This section contains a brief prologue setting out the circumstances by which the challenging knight had been entrusted with a golden tree by the Lady of the Secret Isle and the nature of his emprise. This is followed by the *chapitres* detailing the form of the combats. These have been explained in detail in the previous section.

The chivalric combat is named in the codex as a '*pas d'armes* with both joust and tourney'. There is also another notable one employed to describe the Bastard's event – *pardon d'armes* (fol. 7^v) – worth investigating. This term is not an easy one to define. Malcolm Vale has shown it was employed by the herald Antoine de La Sale in a MS copy of an invitation or 'cry' of a tourney in 1459.⁸¹ It is also used in the context of the tourney describing that between the Lords of Jonvelle and Commines (fol. 11^r). This probably took place before 1430. Neste notes the rarity of the term in the fifteenth-century sources she consulted.⁸² There is evidence for its use in the fourteenth century. It is to be found in the invitation to the jousts at Smithfield in 1390 (fol. 13^v), as well as in a poetical invitation to jousts in Paris of a similar date (see Item 6). A feature all these events have in common is their peaceable nature. In this context *pardon* could be interpreted as *indulgence* or *celebration* whilst the remainder of the term contains the component *d'armes* as a reminder that these events do still involve some martial ability.

The *pas d'armes* is a phenomenon that has entranced many scholars. Its heady combination of ritual, drama, and literary allusion has attracted many different

⁸⁰ Also BM Valenciennes MS 776, fols 2^r and 7^r.

⁸¹ Vale, *War and Chivalry*, p. 96, citing BnF MS fonds français 5867, fols 22^r-23^r.

⁸² Neste, *Tournois*, p. 53.

approaches to its study. From a technical standpoint its basic form has been identified as involving a challenging knight (the *entrepreneur*) who must defend some passage against all comers.⁸³ A problem with previous interpretations is an overarching propensity to categorize the *pas* and seek common denominators in order to assign it as a specialist form under the general title of 'the tournament'. It is telling that, aside from the title of this thesis, the word *tournament* does not appear once in the codex.

It is evident that one of the principal reasons that so many of these texts containing both narratives and challenges exist is that each event was an individual contest involving unique ceremonies and various forms of combat both on horseback and on foot. Previous scholars' attempts at categorization have failed to encompass the subtle nuances evident in each of these grand events. Each *pas*, although undoubtedly influenced by both its predecessors and external influences such as the multitude of Iberians taking part, must be regarded as a stand-alone event.⁸⁴ This reinforces the need to understand the *chapitres* of each combat. Therefore a generalized interpretation will be avoided in favour of allowing the texts speak for themselves.

The event at Bruges has been hailed as 'the most elaborate spectacle ever staged by any of the dukes of Burgundy'⁸⁵ and the form of the *pas* as one which 'the Burgundian court had already made its own [as] eight *pas d'armes* took place within Burgundian territories between 1443 and 1470, more than in any other region'.⁸⁶ The motif of the golden tree has been identified as originating in an episode of Aimon de Varennes's romance *Florimont* of 1188 which tells the tale of the grandfather of Alexander the Great.⁸⁷ Analysis of ducal inventories has revealed Duke Philip the Bold as being in possession of a bejeweled clasp featuring a golden tree which he referred

⁸³ For example Vale, *War and Chivalry*, pp. 67-76; Barber and Barker, *Tournaments*, pp. 107-38; and Neste, *Tournois*, pp. 50-54.

⁸⁴ Noel Fallows's forthcoming *Jousting: Iberian Perspectives* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2010) promises much detail on Iberian practise.

⁸⁵ Edward Tabri, *Political Culture in the Early Northern Renaissance: The Court of Charles the Bold, Duke of Burgundy (1467-77)* (New York: Mellen, 2004), p. 118.

⁸⁶ *Court and Civic Society in the Burgundian Low Countries c. 1420-1530: Selected Sources*, ed. by A. Brown and G. Small (Manchester: UP, 2007), p. 55.

⁸⁷ Gordon Kipling, *The Triumph of Honour: Burgundian Origins of the Elizabethan Renaissance* (Leiden: UP, 1977), p. 117. Annette Lindner, 'L'Influence du roman chevaleresque français sur le pas d'armes', *Publications du Centre Européen d'Études Bourguignonnes*, 31 (1991), 67-78 (p. 73), both citing *Florimont, ein altfranzösischer Abenteuerroman*, ed. by A. Hilka (Göttingen: Niemeyer, 1932).

to as his 'order' in 1403.⁸⁸ An origin for the symbol has been traced to the supposed Trojan origins of the Burgundian nobility.⁸⁹

An example of the unique composition of every challenge to combat is the defending knight's desire to 'run a course with *plançons*' in the codex (fol. 8^v). This weapon is not easily identified. It is certainly not the *plançon-à-picot* identified by Blair as 'a club used in Flanders from the late thirteenth century to the early fourteenth'.⁹⁰ That it is to be used in the joust suggests it is a type of lance. The Burgundian ducal inventories record twelve in Paris in 1369 for this purpose ('12 *plançons* à joster').⁹¹ Like the lance, the *plançon* could be broken by an *attaint* on an opponent in the joust. This is attested in another MS account of this episode. So hard were the *attaints* in one course that the *plançon* broke in several places and pieces ('le pla[n]con [...] ro[m]pu en plus[eu]rs lieus et pieces') and in another 'course des *placons*' it was broken by 'vne tresrude *actainte*'.⁹² It is telling that in this same account the word is used interchangeably with *bourdon*.⁹³ *Bourdon* has many meanings in both the *DMF* and *OED* but the most fitting in this context is that of a heavy lance. Taking into account this interchangeable usage with *bourdon* it could be suggested that the *plançon* was a type of lance, probably heavier than those most commonly used. It is noteworthy that only one course was to be run with this weapon. Might this be interpreted as evidence of it being considered quite dangerous by those that wielded it?

The narrative of this *pas d'armes* is to be found on fols 99^r to 119^r. In Paston's *Grete Boke* (British Library MS Lansdowne 285, fols 26^r-29^r) this section is Item 14. The *chapitres* appear in a very similar form encompassed by a narrative of the nuptial festivities in a fifteenth-century MS now in the Bibliothèque municipale of Valenciennes.⁹⁴

⁸⁸ Carol Chattaway, 'The Heroes of Philip the Bold', in *The Burgundian Hero: Proceedings of the Annual Conference of the Centre Européen d'Études Bourguignonnes, 2000*, ed. by A. Brown (Neuchâtel: CEEB, 2001), pp. 27-37 (p. 29), citing Dijon, AD de la Côte d'Or, MS B1538, fol. 161^r. For the ambiguity of the term 'order' in this period, see Keen, *Chivalry*, pp. 182-83.

⁸⁹ Chattaway, 'Heroes of Philip the Bold', pp. 35-37.

⁹⁰ Blair, *European & American Arms*, p. 29.

⁹¹ Prost, *Inventaires*, I, 197.

⁹² BM Valenciennes MS 776, fols 27^v and 32^v.

⁹³ *Ibid.*, fols 18^r and 21^r.

⁹⁴ BM Valenciennes MS 776, fols 8^r-11^r.

Item 3. The Statute of Arms Concerning Tourneys [by the Parliament of England 1292] (fols 10^r-10^v)

This text is a copy of a parliamentary statute that is concerned with regulating the number of squires that magnates could bring with them to assist at tourneys. The equipment to be used and the behaviour of both the participants and observers are also addressed. Juliet Barker demonstrated that this statute dated to 1292 by resolving the names of the men alluded to: Edmund Crouchback (1245-1296), King Edward I's brother; Edward of Caernarfon (1284-1327), the King's son; Gilbert de Clare, seventh earl of Gloucester (1243-1295); and Henry de Lacy, fifth earl of Lincoln (1249-1311). An earlier dating of 1267, based on the premise that Prince Edward was too young to have headed a council responsible for the control of tourneys, had been proposed by Denholm-Young in an article of 1948.⁹⁵ Two fourteenth-century MSS in the British Library include a variant rendering of the statute. An extra name is included: that of William de Valence.⁹⁶ In addition, the personal name of the Earl of Gloucester – Gilbert de Clare – is given rather than his formal title: '[...] le comaundement n[ost]re seynur sire edward fiz le Rey e sir[e] Edmund frere le rei E sire Will[i]am de valaunce e sire Gilberd de Clare e le Cunte de Nicole [...]',⁹⁷ '[...] e le comandement sire Edward fiz le Roi sire Edmund frere le Roi sire William de Valence sire Gilb[er]t de Clare e le Count de Nicolle [...]'.⁹⁸ The addition of this name does not serve to complicate the date or interpretation of the content of the statute. There are, however, other readings which have caused such complications. Although Barker cleared up the issue of the dating, she added an element of confusion by drawing on a much later version to elucidate the section about the armour permitted to be worn by great lords. This is a seventeenth-century MS (British Library MS Harley 69) which is most likely a copy of Sir John Paston's *Grete Boke*.⁹⁹ The later MSS state: 'Et que nul fors de grans Seigneurs Cest assauoir de Conte ou de Baron ne soyt armes fors de mustelers et de Quissyers et des espauliers et de Bacynet sans plus' ('And that none save for great lords, that is to say: counts or barons shall be armed with anything save

⁹⁵ Barker, *Tournament in England*, pp. 191-92. N. Denholm-Young, 'The Tournament in the Thirteenth Century', in *Studies in Medieval History presented to F. M. Powicke*, ed. by R. W. Hunt (Oxford: Clarendon, 1948), pp. 240-68.

⁹⁶ William de Valence, Earl of Pembroke (d. 1296). See his *DNB* entry for his tourneying activities.

⁹⁷ BL MS Harley 748, fol. 112^v.

⁹⁸ BL MS Harley 869, fol. 53^v.

⁹⁹ Barker, *Tournament in England*, pp. 57-58. David Crouch, in his *Tournament* (London: Hambledon, 2005), pp. 201-02, also relies on this late MS copy.

for mustilers, cuisses, spaudlers, and bascinet, and no more').¹⁰⁰ However, when the MSS that are closer in date to the statute are inspected, it is clear that a key word is different.

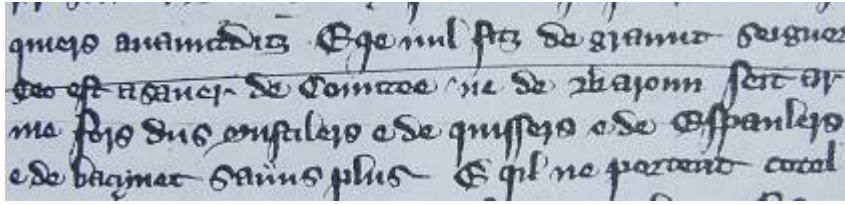


Fig. 23. Detail of a fourteenth-century copy of the statute.

[...] E qe nul fitz de graunt seigneur | ceo est asauer de Countee ne de Baron seit ar | me fors dus mustilers e de quissers e de Espaulers | e de bacynet sauns plus [...]. And that no *son* of a great lord, that is to say: counts or barons, shall be armed with anything save for mustilers, cuisses, spaudlers, and bascinet, nothing more).¹⁰¹

Similarly, another fourteenth-century example renders it thus:

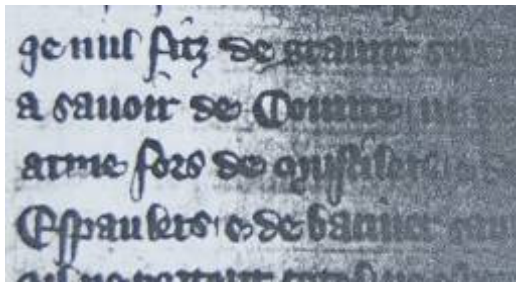


Fig. 24. Detail of another fourteenth-century copy.

[...] qe nul fitz de graunt seig[...] | a sauoir de Counte ne [...] | arme fors de mustilers [...] | Espaulers e de bacinet sau[...].¹⁰²

In both these early-fourteenth century examples the word 'fitz' (son) is clear. This can also be confirmed by contemporary examples in the BL: 'E ke nul fiz de graunt seignur ceo est asauer de Cunte ou de Barun ne seit arme fors de mustilers e de quissers',¹⁰³ 'E qe nul fiz de g[rau]nt seignur cest assauer fiz de Counte ou de Baroun seit arme fors de mustelerss e de quisers'.¹⁰⁴ Another fourteenth-century copy is to be found amongst the MSS at Petworth house.¹⁰⁵ It too contains this wording.

¹⁰⁰ BL MS Harley 69, fol. 17^r. My emphasis in translation. The Armouries codex has 'Et que nul fors de grans seigneurs Cestassauoir de conte ou de baron ne soit armez fors de mustelers et de cuisseres et des espaulieres et de bacinet sans plus' (fol. 10^v).

¹⁰¹ LMA, Liber Horn, fol. 101^r. My emphasis in translation.

¹⁰² LMA, Liber Custumarum, fol. 159^r.

¹⁰³ BL MS Harley 748, fol. 112^v.

¹⁰⁴ BL MS Harley 869, fol. 53^v.

¹⁰⁵ Chichester, West Sussex Record Office, Petworth House MS HMC 10, pp. 200-01 (p. 201).

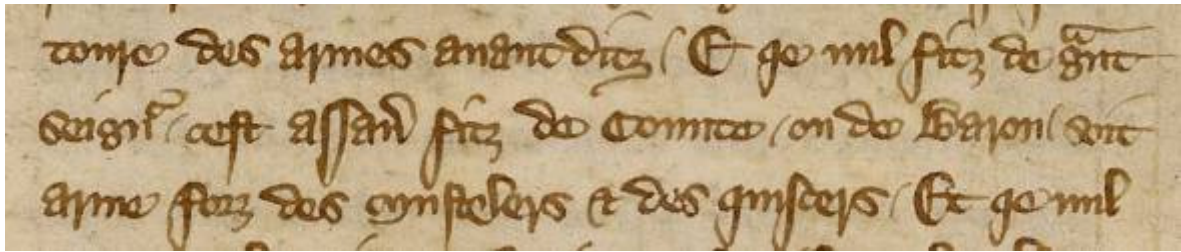


Fig. 25. Detail from the Petworth House MS copy.

This singling out of sons of great lords throws up interesting questions about the changing nature of protection utilized at tournaments. Why are these men being restricted to the use of protection for the lower and upper leg (mustilers and cuisses), shoulders (spaudlers) and head (bascinet) only? Is this because they are using the tournament field as a testing ground for more modern equipment – no doubt to the chagrin of grizzled veterans of earlier generations?¹⁰⁶ Whatever the case, it is clear that even in the second half of the fifteenth century this statute was considered something worth copying. It is evident that there is, in the later MSS, quite a different meaning to that of the earlier ones closer in date to the original statute.

The French of this statute is decidedly English in its character and is a useful point of comparison. By examining MSS that are closer in date to the original statute some conclusions can be drawn about possible errors in the copying. That these MSS date from the early-fourteenth century is evident not only from the palaeography,¹⁰⁷ but also the spelling of the French of England (or Anglo-Norman). For example, the velarisation of *a* as in *graunt* and *sauns*; and the use of *ke* for *que* and *e* for *et*.¹⁰⁸ It can also be demonstrated where homœoarchy (eye skip in the copying of similar words appearing near the start of a line of text) occurred during the production of both the Armouries codex and the *Grete Boke*. Both contain the line:

¹⁰⁶ There is limited discussion of this statute in S. Lysons, 'Copy of a Roll of Purchases for a Tournament at Windsor Park, 1278', *Archaeologia*, 17 (1814), 297-310 (pp. 297-98) and Juliet Barker and Maurice Keen, 'Medieval Kings and the Tournament', in Fleckenstein, *Turnier*, pp. 212-18 (pp. 216-17).

¹⁰⁷ These scripts are categorised as *littera gothica cursiva anglicana documentaria media* by palaeographers. See M. P. Brown, *A Guide to Western Historical Scripts from Antiquity to 1600* (London: BL, 1990), p. 96.

¹⁰⁸ M. K. Pope, *From Latin to Modern French with Especial Consideration of Anglo-Norman: Phonology and Morphology* (Manchester: UP, 1934), p. 422.

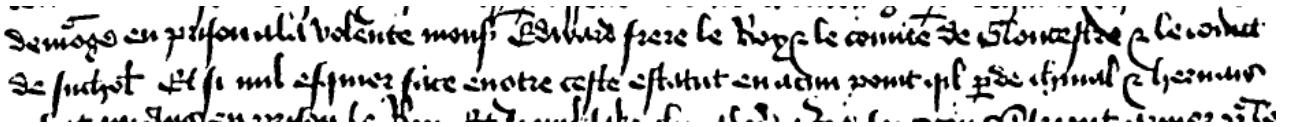


Fig. 26. Detail from the copy of the statute in British Library MS Lansdowne 285.

[...] a la volente monsieur Edward frere le Roy & le counte de Gloucestre & le count
| de suchol [...].¹⁰⁹

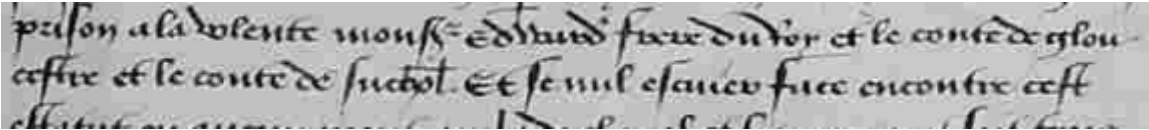


Fig. 27. Detail from the copy in the codex.

[...] a la volente monsieur Edward frere du Roy et le conte de glou | cestre et le
conte de suchol [...] (fol. 10^r).

The early-fourteenth century copies of the statute render it thus:

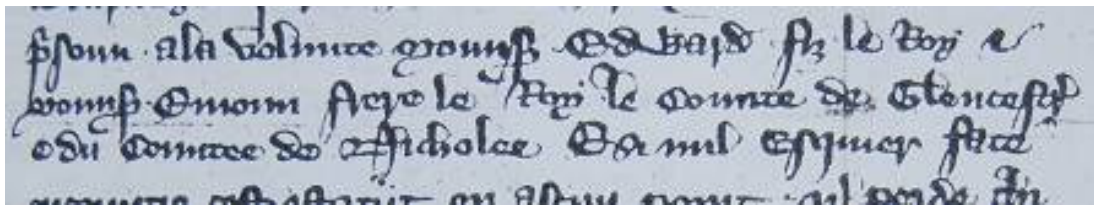


Fig. 28. Detail as in fig. 23.

[...] a la volente mounsieur Edward fiz le Roy & | mounsieur Emoun frere le Roy le
Counte de Gloucestr' | e du Countee de Nicholee [...].¹¹⁰

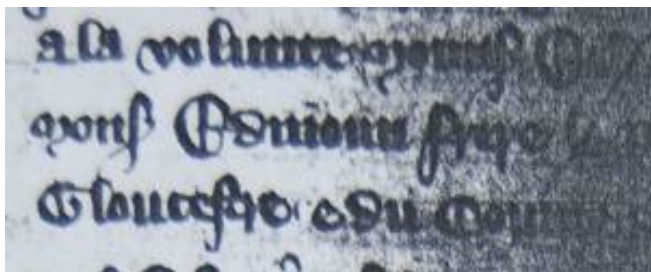


Fig. 29. Detail as in fig. 24.

[...] a la volente monsieur Ed[...] | monsieur Edmoun frere le R[...] | Gloucestre e
du Count[...].¹¹¹

¹⁰⁹ BL MS Lansdowne 285, fol. 43^r.

¹¹⁰ LMA, Liber Custumarum, fol. 159^r.

¹¹¹ LMA, Liber Horn, fol. 101^r.

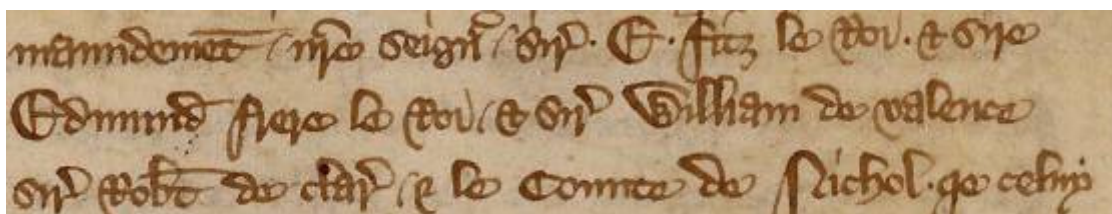


Fig. 30. Detail as in fig. 25.

[...] maundeme[n]t n[ost]re seign[eu]r Sir E Fitz le Roi & Sire | Edmund frere le Roi
[...].¹¹²

The copyist of both fifteenth-century MSS, or their exemplar (Sir John Paston?), skipped straight from the proper noun *Edmoun* to *Edward* omitting the first completely and applying Edmund's appellation 'frere le Roi' to his nephew Edward the King's son ('fiz le Roi').

An example of the confusion of a fifteenth-century copyist to the earlier orthography is that of the proper noun *Nichole* (Lincoln). Not only is it a French of England transitory form,¹¹³ it is also written with a capital letter that is difficult to recognise. The extract below is from a list of payments made to a mail-maker Jehan le Hauberger in the reign of Edward III:

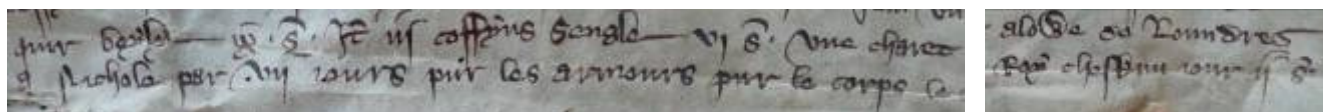


Fig. 31. Detail from a list of payments for armour in the reign of Edward III.

[...] vne charet alowe de Loundres | a Nichole par vij iours pur les armours pur le
corps le Roy cheskun iour [...].¹¹⁴

Both copyists of the fifteenth-century MSS render *Nichol* as 'suchol'. This is understandable as the long descender stem of the *N* could be read as a long *s*. The descending limb of the *N* adjoining the minim of the *i* has been interpreted as a *u*: thus the reading 'suchol' and copying it as such. If French of England place names proved problematic it should be argued that late-thirteenth century armour terminology also

¹¹² Petworth House MS HMC 10, p. 201.

¹¹³ R. E. Zachrisson, *A Contribution to the Study of Anglo-Norman Influence on English Place-Names* (Lund: Ohlsson, 1909), pp. 14, 122, and 130. See also K. Cameron, *Place-Names of Lincolnshire* (Nottingham: Place-Name Society, 1985), pp 2-3, where it is recorded in its French form from the reign of Henry I and described linguistically as 'an interchange of n/l arising from dissimilation'.

¹¹⁴ TNA, E 101/624/34.

threw up obstacles for our beleaguered scribes. This is demonstrated by their unfamiliarity with the word *mustiler* (a piece of armour for the lower leg) rendering it as ‘cousteler’ in the first instance:

[...] armes des coustelers [...]

[...] mustelers [...]

[...] armez des coustelers [...]

[...] mustelers [...]

Figs 32 to 35. Details as in figs 26 & 27.

Confusion also seems to arise with the appellation ‘King of Herald’s’. This first appears in English documents in 1276 with a charter reference to a ‘rex hyraudaorum’.¹¹⁵ In 1290 Edward I had two men designated ‘Rex Haraldorum’ and ‘alter Rex Haraldorum’.¹¹⁶ Still in 1388 this appellation was in use as payments were made to ‘Johannes Sper, rex heraldorum comitatus Arthesie’.¹¹⁷ In the codex it is rendered ‘Roy des harnoy’s’ and as ‘Roy dez harnais’ in the *Grete Boke*. This confusion may be due to the fact that the appellation ‘King of Arms’ was a more common one by the fifteenth century for chief heralds.

Some conclusions can be drawn as to the origin of the *Armouries* codex and its relationship with the *Grete Boke* of Sir John Paston. The copyists of both MSS most probably worked from a copy of the statute made by Sir John. It was he who was culpable for the instance of homœoarchy – with the names Edmund and Edward – and unfamiliarity with the French of his English forbears as evidenced by the mis-transcription both of the proper noun *Nichole*, the obsolete armour term *mustiler*, and the antiquated ‘Roy des Heraus’ for King of Arms. Both MSS have John Paston’s name at the end of the statute. G. A. Lester, in his doctoral thesis and book, has

¹¹⁵ J. W. Armstrong, ‘The Development of the Office of Arms in England, c. 1413-1485’, in *The Herald in Late Medieval Europe*, ed. by Katie Stevenson (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2009), pp. 10-32 (p. 10), citing BL Harleian MS 54, fol. 44’.

¹¹⁶ C. Bullock-Davies, *Menestellorum multitudo: Minstrels at a Royal Feast* (Cardiff: Wales UP, 1978), p. 160, citing TNA, E101/352/24.

¹¹⁷ Lille, AD du Nord, MS JJ132, no. 58, cited in B. Schnerb, ‘Rois d’armes, hérauts et poursuivants à la cour de Bourgogne sous Philippe le Hardi et Jean sans Peur (1363-1419)’, *Revue du Nord*, 88 (2006), 529-57 (p. 532). My thanks go to Dr Rosalind Brown-Grant for bringing this edition of the *Revue* to my attention.

convincingly argued that this is not an autograph signature in either of these fifteenth-century MSS.¹¹⁸ As has been argued in Chapter 2 the relationship between the MSS is a more subtle one than simply that of one being a copy of the other.

This statute is the most widely copied of all the texts in the codex. Lester lists twelve other copies in various MSS dating from the early-fourteenth century to the seventeenth.¹¹⁹ Malcolm Vale's contention that 'his extremely thorough work will not have to be done again' is perhaps somewhat premature.¹²⁰ It is possible that there are more copies to be discovered such as the fourteenth-century copy in Leconfield MS HMC 10 at Petworth House.

Item 4. A Copy of the *Chapitres* of Certain Feats of Arms both on Foot and on Horseback done by Two Gentlemen of Germany [undated] (fols 10^v-11')

There are two clues that might shed some light on the date of this passage. The first is that the combat is between two German gentlemen ('gentilz hommes dalemaigne'). The second is that the challenging knight (*entrepreneur*) is 'guillemme de boursset escuier'. In his *Mémoires* La Marche refers to a 'messire Bernard de Bourset, ung chevalier notable du pays de Luxembourg' and also to his two sons who were knights ('deux chevaliers, filz dudit seigneur de Bourset'); he does not, however, reveal their names.¹²¹ The editors of La Marche's work refer to a 'Bernard de Burschidtt (Bourset) le Jeune' who pledged allegiance to Duke Philip the Good of Burgundy and another Bernard entitled 'seigneur de Bourschait', as well as a 'Giliz', and Bernard's eldest son Jean.¹²² Whichever De Bourset this is, two key points can be ascertained. Bourset or Boursset appears to be the French rendering of the name of the town of Bourscheid in Luxembourg and people from this region were considered by Francophones to be Germans (*Alemaignes*) due to the language they spoke which was related to German. In conclusion, members of the Luxembourgish De Bourset family were involved in the campaigns of Philip the Good (d. 1467) and were considered to be 'dalemaigne' by their French-speaking neighbours.

¹¹⁸ Lester, *Thesis*, p. 126. Lester, *Paston's 'Grete Boke'*, pp. 41-42.

¹¹⁹ Lester, *Paston's 'Grete Boke'*, pp. 134-35.

¹²⁰ Malcolm Vale, review of Lester, *Paston's 'Grete Boke'*, *EHR*, 101 (1986), 977-78.

¹²¹ La Marche, II, 14.

¹²² '[...] un autre Bernard, qualifié seigneur de Bourschait (? Burschidtt) Giliz, et le fils aîné, Jean, seigneur d'Esche'. La Marche, II, 14, n. 1.

An important stipulation of this challenge is that the one who accepts it must be a gentleman without reproach. This proviso is one that appears again and again in challenges to combat. Lord Scales insists on ‘a nobleman of my choice of four lineages and without reproach’ (fol. 48^r). A challenge to Sir John Astely in 1438 insisted he be a ‘squer born de quatre cotes of his armys w[i]t[h]oute ony reproche’.¹²³ An English squire’s challenge of the early-fifteenth century is to all ‘les gentis ho[m]mes ch[eu]a[ll]ie[rs] et escuiers franchois sans repreche’.¹²⁴ Maurice Keen has provided an excellent explanation: ‘lack of hereditary qualification, or marriage below one’s estate, were the commonest “reproaches” against would-be jousters’. He further cites, in translation, a MS of Antoine de La Sale’s relating to chivalric combat:

There shall not be admitted any, however noble they may be, who are smirched with any of the following reproaches, that they are (i) violators of churches, (ii) hardened excommunicates, (iii) slanderers of womankind or men who have done ladies dishonour, (iv) murderers of malice prepense, (v) men false to their oaths or sealed pledges, (vi) fugitives, guilty of cowardice in the field, (vii) men who have been discomfited in the duel on an issue of honour, (viii) arsonists, (ix) leaders of free companies, (x) pirates of the sea.¹²⁵

What is remarkable about this section from a technical viewpoint is that it contains a detailed description of the acceptable breakage of the lance for a proper attain. Four courses of the lance must be run at the tilt and the lances must be broken ‘de puis pied et demy deua[n]t larrest et deux ou troys dois derriere le fer’. From the context the ‘arrest’ here should be interpreted as the stop on the lance rather than the ‘lance-rest’ attached to the breastplate.¹²⁶ The ideal length of the jousting lance as either thirteen or thirteen and a half feet between graper and coronal is clearly described by the anonymous Frenchman writing in 1446: ‘les plus convenables raison de longueur entre grappe et rochet, et aussy celles de quoy on use plus communement est de treze piez ou de treze piez et demy de long’.¹²⁷ A MS account of the jousts held at Bruges in 1468 hints at the extent of acceptable breakage but does not provide as much detail as this. In one course, despite many having been broken, ‘no lances were considered broken for they were not [broken] four French inches below the coronal or

¹²³ Dillon, ‘On a MS Collection of Ordinances’, p. 38.

¹²⁴ BL Additional MS 21357, fol. 5^r.

¹²⁵ Keen, *Chivalry*, p. 211, citing BnF MS fonds français 1997, fols 18^r-19^r.

¹²⁶ For a detailed discussion of these features see Item 1 above.

¹²⁷ De Belleval, *Costume militaire*, p. 11.

before the graper' ('nulles lances ne fure[n]t tenues pour ro[m]pue se Il ny auoit quatre dois de franc ou dessoubz le rochet ou deuant lagrappe').¹²⁸

Attempts have been made to make sense of the rather unclear regulations for the 'justs royall' promulgated by Sir John Tiptoft, Earl of Worcester in 1466. Sydney Anglo states:

Worcester's rules are repetitive, ambiguous and patently do not provide for all the contingencies that may have arisen in actual combat, but they make it clear that the usual way to assess a knight's performance was to count the number of lances or spears he managed to shatter on his opponent.¹²⁹

Anglo also presciently points out that these ordinances only survive in copies of the succeeding centuries.¹³⁰ The Earl decreed that 'whosoe[ver] breaketh a speare within a foot of the crownall [coronal], shall be judged as no speare broken, but a good attaynte'.¹³¹ An anonymous eyewitness recorded how at the 'justes' at Bruges in 1468 'they ranne courragiously together, and the Duke brake upone the said Lorde vj sperres'.¹³² The reference to lance breakage in the codex is thus one of the most detailed in existence.

The rest of the challenge is couched in similar language to those that have been examined above. There is a copy of this section in Paston's *Grete Boke* – British Library MS Lansdowne 285 (fols 43^v-44^r) – between copies of the statute concerning tourneys of 1292 and the Lord of Jonvelle's Tourney (before 1430). It also appears in British Library Harley 69: a seventeenth-century copy of Paston's *Boke*.

Item 5. The Tourney between the Lord of Jonvelle and the Lord of Commines [before 1430] (fols 11^r-12^v)

Although this section is not dated a *terminus ad quem* can be established. One of the principal participants can be identified as Jean de La Trémoille, Lord of Jonvelle, son of the better-known Guy and younger brother of Georges. A *chronique anonyme* of the reign of Charles VI refers to 'le seigneur de Jonvelle, frère au seigneur de La

¹²⁸ BM Valenciennes MS 776, fol. 17^v.

¹²⁹ Sydney Anglo, 'Archives of the English Tournament: Score Cheques and Lists', *Journal of the Society of Archivists*, 2 (1960-64), 153-62 (p. 155). See also J. C. Rühl, 'Regulations for the Joust in Fifteenth-Century Europe: Francesco Sforza Visconti (1465) and John Tiptoft (1466)', *International Journal of the History of Sport*, 18 (2001), 193-208.

¹³⁰ Anglo, 'Anglo-Burgundian Feats of Arms', p. 273.

¹³¹ London, College of Arms Library, MS M.6, printed in Clepham, *Tournament*, p. 47.

¹³² BL, Additional MS 46354, fols 41^v-50^v, printed in Phillipps, 'Account of the Marriage of Margaret of York', p. 337.

Trimouille' in 1417.¹³³ Jean's father seems to have been in the habit of getting into fights. He was involved in a *gaige de bataille* with Peter Courteney in 1383, was one of the few captives ransomed after the disaster at Nicopolis in 1396, and was pitted against the English squire Gilbert Umfraville in a *fait d'armes* at Lille in 1409.¹³⁴ In his marriage contract of 1424 our tourneyer is identified as 'Jean de La Trémoille, seigneur de Jonvelle, fils de Guy' and referred to in another document as *chambellan* to Philip the Good of Burgundy in 1437. His will was drawn up in 1449 and his lands legally dealt with the same year.¹³⁵ He is listed – along with the 'seigneur de Commines' – amongst the principal lords accompanying Duke Philip at the 'rencontre' at Mons-en-Vimeu in 1421.¹³⁶ At the meeting of the Burgundian chivalric Order of the Golden Fleece in 1450 Jacques de Lalaing was elected a knight of the order in place of the deceased Lord of Jonvelle who has been identified as our Jean.¹³⁷ Also indicative of an early-fifteenth century date is the mention of the 'sire du Roboys' (fol. 11^v). He might be identified as the 'Messire Jehan, seigneur de Robois, chevalier bachelier d'Artois' in Burgundian service in 1415.¹³⁸ A prize is awarded to the 'sire de mamynes'. If this is to be identified as Robert de Masmynes, seigneur de Masmynes then a tighter dating might be assigned. Robert inherited the title following the death of his father in 1416 and died without male issue in 1430.¹³⁹ Further evidence for a pre-1430 date is the lack of any mention of the Order of the Golden Fleece or its herald.

An immediately obvious source for comparison would be René of Anjou's celebrated *Traité*. There are, however, points of reference in this section that display the influence of earlier practice than René's late-fifteenth century work. An example of this is the word employed for the tourney's judges: *diseurs*. Evident as the doublet 'iuges diseurs' throughout René's *Traité*, this word can be shown to have been in use in England from the fourteenth century. Dated to the fifth year of the reign of Edward III ('lan de regne de bon roy Edward tierce apres le conquete quinte'), a manuscript in a fourteenth-century hand states that the ordinance controlling 'quatre tournementz

¹³³ Printed in Monstrelet, VI, 236.

¹³⁴ Prost, *Inventaires*, II, 132. Neste, *Tournois*, p. 280, citing Lille AD, MS 16154, fol. 41^r.

¹³⁵ C. Samaran, *Archives de la Maison de La Trémoille* (Paris: Champion, 1928), p. 28.

¹³⁶ Monstrelet, VI, 301.

¹³⁷ *Court and Civic Society*, ed. by A. Brown and G. Small, p. 160.

¹³⁸ J. de La Chauvelays, *Les Armées des trois premiers ducs de Bourgogne de la maison Valois* (Paris: Dumaine, 1880), pp. 157 and 164.

¹³⁹ Smedt, *Chevaliers de la Toison d'or*, pp. 39-40.

en lan' was promulgated by Edward I during the siege of Stirling in 1304.¹⁴⁰ The word for judges employed in this is 'dyseurs / disours'. Similarly, a MS in the College of Arms (MS M.19) – possibly compiled during the English occupation of Normandy in the early-fifteenth century – uses this word.¹⁴¹ Further comparison with this MS also reveals the use of almost identical language when describing the displaying of helms at the windows, the nailing of the banners, and the heralds' cries. The prizes too are identical: 'q[u]i se sera le mieulx combatu aura vne tres Riche espee pour la partye du co[m]menchant et le mieulx combatant de la partie du defendant aura vn tres Riche heaume'.¹⁴² The stipulation that those who un-helm themselves may not be touched is also the same.

This text is also to be found in Paston's *Grete Boke* (Item 18: British Library MS Lansdowne 285, fols 44^r-46^r). It was a modernized transcription from this MS that Kervyn de Lettenhove published in 1870.¹⁴³

Item 6. To Cry a Joust [Smithfield 1390] (fols 13^r-13^v)

This item is a formal invitation to knights and squires to a joust. It has been credibly identified as relating to the 'feste de joustes' at Smithfield in 1390 organized by Richard II to impress his new Valois allies.¹⁴⁴ The main piece of evidence for this, along with the dates tallying, is the description of the livery of the white hart. A contemporary chronicle notes this as an innovation of the King introduced at this event:

On the tenth, eleventh, and twelfth days of the month of October the King held his great court in the espicopacy of London, and a great *hastilidia* at Smithfield. To which court there came those from France, Zeeland, Germany and all parts bringing with them the

¹⁴⁰ Cambridge, Gonville and Caius College Library, MS 424/448, pp. 88-90.

¹⁴¹ For the dating of this MS see *Catalogue of the MSS in the College of Arms Collections*, ed. by L. Campbell and F. Steer (London: College of Arms, 1988), p. 163.

¹⁴² London, College of Arms Library, MS M.19, fol. 133^r.

¹⁴³ Kervyn de Lettenhove, 'La joute de la Dame Inconnue à Bruxelles. – La joute du sire de Commynes et du sire de Jonvelle à Bruges', *Bulletin de la commission royale de l'histoire*, 11 (1870), 473-86.

¹⁴⁴ Anglo, 'Financial and Heraldic Records', p. 183. Sheila Lindenbaum, 'The Smithfield Tournament of 1390', *Journal of Medieval and Renaissance Studies*, 20 (1990), 1-20 (p. 5). Lindenbaum's interpretation of the *dehors* and *tenans* on p. 12 is rather questionable as these terms were not exclusively employed for this event. For the diplomatic context see P. Meyer, 'L'Entrevue d'Ardres, 1396', *Annuaire-Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire de France*, 18 (1881), 209-44.

best horses, and appropriate arms, where there was first given to those who distinguished themselves the sign or mark of the white hart with golden crown and chain.

Decimo, undecimo, et duodecimo die mensis Octobris rex tenuit suam magnam curiam in episcopate London', et apud Smythfeld' hastilidia [*sic*] grandia. Ad quam curiam uenerunt extranei de Francia, de Selandia, de Alemannia, et de aliis partibus, ducentes secum equos optimos, et arma pertinencia, ubi datum erat primo signum uel stigma illud egregium in ceruo albo, cum corona et cathena aurea.¹⁴⁵

Richard is described in a contemporary account of his reception of Charles VI at Ardres in 1396 as 'arrayed in a long gown of red velvet, on his head a chapeau covered with hanging pearls, with a rich collar around the neck of the livery of the French King, with a great hart in his coat of arms' ('arraiez en une gowne longue de rouge velvuet, sur son test en chapeu plein des perles pendans, avec un riche coler entour le col, de la livrée le roi francois, avec un graunt cerf en son arme').¹⁴⁶

It has been suggested that the white hart was a pun on Richard's name and its appearance has been used as dating evidence for the famous Wilton Diptych.¹⁴⁷ In his study Harvey has pointed out that the motif of ladies leading knights with gold chains was repeated at the jousts in January 1396/7 noting royal payments for

Twenty long gowns of red tartaryn with white harts couchant of silver with gold crowns and chains [...] made for twenty ladies appointed to lead twenty armed knights from the Tower of London to Smithfield for the *hastilud'* there held after the coronation of the Queen lady Isabelle in the month of January.

.xx. gown. long. de tartaryn rub. cum ceruis albis de argento cum coronis et cathenis de auro iacentibus [...] factis pro .xx. dominabus ordinatis ad ducendum .xx. milites armatos de Turri London. usque Smethefeld contra hastilud. ibidem tent. post coronacionem domine Isabelle Regine mense Januarij.¹⁴⁸

¹⁴⁵ *Historia vita et regni Ricardi Secundi*, ed. by George B. Stow (Philadelphia: Pennsylvania UP, 1977), pp. 131-32. The same chronicle records a 'magna hastilidia [*sic*]' at Lichfield the following Christmas (p. 151).

¹⁴⁶ AN, MS J643, no. 35, printed in Meyer, 'L'Entrevue d'Ardres, 1396', p. 212.

¹⁴⁷ Dillian Gordon, *Making & Meaning: The Wilton Diptych* (London: National Gallery, 1993). M. V. Clarke, 'The Wilton Diptych', *Burlington Magazine*, 58 (1931), 283-94. J. H. Harvey, 'The Wilton Diptych: A Re-Examination', *Archaeologia*, 98 (1961), 1-28.

¹⁴⁸ Harvey, 'Wilton Diptych', p. 7, citing TNA, E361/5, roll 7d.

Juliet Vale has shown that this motif was probably borrowed from the civic jousts at Valenciennes in 1330 by Richard's jousting fanatic grandfather Edward III.¹⁴⁹ The contrast between grandfather and grandson has been discussed by many scholars and there has been much debate over the thorny issue of whether the royal person was subjected to the dangers of the joust or not. Richard's latest biographer does not believe that he did participate¹⁵⁰ whilst others have drawn attention to the fact that payments for specialized jousting armour were made during his reign, although regrettably none of these are for 1390.¹⁵¹

The French, as always, managed to outdo the English in matters of style when it came to invitations to jousts. While Richard's is in prose, the contemporary French equivalent is a beautiful *ballade* composed by Eustache Deschamps for the jousts 'A l'endemain du jour de Magdelaine' (On the day following the Feast of Saint Mary Magdalene [22 July]).¹⁵² It is evident that Richard envisioned an international event. Some attempt has been made by the English composer of this section to cater to a *langue d'oïl*-speaking audience. An example of this is the use of the French word *roques* for the lancehead for the joust of peace in place of the English word *coronal*. That *coronal* was more frequently used in an English context is clear from documentary evidence. There are payments in the accounts of 1393 to 1394 of Henry, Earl of Derby (the future Henry IV) 'for two lanceheads for jousts of war and six coronals for jousts of peace' ('pro ij ferr' lanc' pro hastilud' guerre & pro vj Coronalex pro hastilud' pac').¹⁵³ As well as in this invitation the French word is also used in the challenge for a joust in honour of 'princesse dame blanche fille au t[re]spuissant prince le Roy dalbyon' who has been identified as Henry IV's daughter Blanche.¹⁵⁴ For

¹⁴⁹ Juliet Vale, *Edward III and Chivalry: Chivalric Spectacle and its Context, 1270-1350* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1982), p. 42.

¹⁵⁰ Nigel Saul, *Richard II* (New Haven, CT: Yale UP, 1997), p. 453.

¹⁵¹ J. L. Gillespie, 'Richard II's Knights: Chivalry and Patronage', *JMH*, 13 (1987), 143-59 (p. 144). Lindenbaum, 'Smithfield Tournament', pp. 7 and 19. C. P. Fletcher, 'Manhood and Politics in the Reign of Richard II', *Past & Present*, 189 (2005), 3-39 (p. 30). K. Staniland, 'Extravagance or Regal Necessity? The Clothing of Richard II', in *The Regal Image of Richard II and the Wilton Diptych*, ed. by D. Gordon (London: Miller, 1998), pp. 85-93 (p. 92), with advice on the jousting armour from Claude Blair.

¹⁵² *Œuvres complètes de Eustache Deschamps*, ed. by A. Queux de Saint-Hilaire, 10 vols (Paris: Didot, 1878-1903), III, 89-91.

¹⁵³ TNA, DL 28/1.

¹⁵⁴ '[...] roches dassise'. BL Additional MS 34801, fol. 36^r. Anglo, 'Financial and Heraldic Records', p. 188. For further discussion and description of the coronal see Item 1.

Anglo this ‘fanciful challenge’ hints at a ‘fourteenth century allegorical tradition of which practically all traces have disappeared’.¹⁵⁵

In the text the event is described as ‘vng tresgrand faict darmes et vnes tresnobles Joustes’ and a ‘noble pardon darmes’. Richard II’s household payments refer to it as a ‘feste de joute’.¹⁵⁶ Deschamp’s aforementioned *ballade* alludes to ‘des armes grantdisime pardon’.¹⁵⁷ This vocabulary seems to have been commonplace in Francophone Europe in the last decades of the fourteenth century.¹⁵⁸ Froissart noted that Sir Simon Burley found many great lords at Brussels as well as a ‘great gathering of knights from Hainault and Brabant there, for there was a great *feste de joustes*’.¹⁵⁹ Sir Simon was in possession of a great deal of ‘Armo[u]r pur les Joustes’ at the time of his execution.¹⁶⁰ Payment records from the duchy of Burgundy describe ‘when the King [Charles VI] wished to hold a *feste de joute* at Saint-Denis on the first of May’ 1389 and when the King’s uncle the Duke of Burgundy assisted at the *joustes* which the King had held at Saint-Denis as well as ‘la feste des joustes tenues à Pariz ou mois d’aoust [13]89’.¹⁶¹ These events would be commemorated in the royal furnishings decorated ‘de la devise des *jouxtes de Saint-Denis*’.¹⁶² Marshal Boucicault’s extravaganza at Saint Inglevert in 1390 was commemorated in a tapestry: ‘ung grant tappiz de *joustes de Saint-Ildevert*’.¹⁶³ Charles VI’s other uncle the Duke of Orleans made similar payments such as the reward of a hackney to a man ‘qui a for Joute a la feste que nous auons faitte en n[ost]r[e] hostel a paris’ in 1389.¹⁶⁴ In England, household accounts of John of Gaunt record payments to ‘diverses

¹⁵⁵ Anglo, ‘Financial and Heraldic Records’, pp. 188-89.

¹⁵⁶ *CPR, Richard II*, IV, 302.

¹⁵⁷ *Oeuvres complètes*, ed. by A. Queux de Saint-Hilaire, III, 89.

¹⁵⁸ In fact, B. Bove has shown that in the Île de France chroniclers were employing this vocabulary at the very beginning of the fourteenth century. B. Bove, ‘Les Joutes bourgeoises à Paris, entre rêve et réalité (XIII^e-XIV^e s.)’, in *Le Tournoi au Moyen Âge*, ed. by N. Gonthier (Lyon: Jean Moulin UP, 2003), pp. 135-63.

¹⁵⁹ ‘[...] grant fussion de chevaliers de Haynnau et de Braibant; car là avoit une grosse feste de joustes’. Froissart <www.hrionline.ac.uk/onlinefroissart> [accessed 12 August 2010].

¹⁶⁰ TNA, E154/1/19. Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Eng. Hist. B.229, fol. 4^r. It is clearly juxtaposed to his ‘Armo[u]r pur la guer’ in these copies of the inventory.

¹⁶¹ ‘[...] comme le roy vouloit faire le 1^{er} may [1389], une feste de joute à St Denis’, ‘Le duc de Bourgogne assistant aux joustes que le roy fit faire à St-Denys, au mois de may 1389’. Prost, *Inventaires*, II, 491, 498, and 509.

¹⁶² Jules Guiffrey, ‘Inventaire des tapisseries du roi Charles VI vendues par les Anglais en 1422’, *BEC*, 48 (1887), 59-110 (p. 88).

¹⁶³ Guiffrey, ‘Inventaire des tapisseries’, p. 89.

¹⁶⁴ GM, R. L. Scott Library, MS E.1939.65.1174, fol. 12^r.

heraudes esteantz en Smethefeld le jour des joustes illeoques' in 1382.¹⁶⁵ A contemporary menu is preserved of the 'Feste of Kynge Henry the iiiiith to the hainawdes and Frenchmen when they had lustid in Smythefeld'.¹⁶⁶ Having demonstrated the ubiquitous usage of this term in the vernacular it becomes difficult not to equate the 'hastilidia grandia' of the chronicler with the 'fest de jouste'. Juliet Vale has warned, however, that 'it would be rash to assume that *joustes*, the most common term in (far less numerous) references in French, was always synonymous with *hastiludia* – the most common term in Latin sources'.¹⁶⁷

There is some technical vocabulary worth investigating in order to shed more light on the type of combat described in the passage. An investigation of the relationship between the Latin and vernacular terms for joust is important. It will provide a fuller understanding of the equipment used and thereby the type of combat entailed. The invitation in the codex proscribes iron or steel coverings on the shields ('les escutz [...] ne seront couuers en nulle maniere de fer ne dacier') (fol. 13^r). This proscription is also found in other challenges. A French nobleman's challenge to a duel of 1309 states that each 'aura escu de fust & de cuers'.¹⁶⁸ Sir John Cornwall declared that the 'armes [...] a cheual' were to be accomplished 'en targes sans fer et achier' in a challenge to Frenchmen of c. 1400.¹⁶⁹ The description of shields of this type in the codex can be interpreted as ones for jousts of peace. One of the Black Prince's knights was gifted 'j escu q' estoit cornee de nouel' for 'les Justes de Smethefeld' in 1359.¹⁷⁰ There are eight 'escutz p[u]r les ioustes de pees' and one 'target p[u]r iouster en guerre' in the 1388 inventory of Sir Simon Burley's effects.¹⁷¹ At Guines in 1414 the Earl of Warwick 'sent the two sheeldes to his felowe to choose as the purport of his letre wolde, which sheeldes were of lethir not als thick as the thyknes of vj papir leues'.¹⁷² The anonymous Frenchman writing in 1446 gives a detailed account of their construction:

¹⁶⁵ *John of Gaunt's Register, 1379-83*, ed. by E. C. Lodge, 2 vols (London: Royal Historical Society, 1937), I, 230.

¹⁶⁶ London, Society of Antiquaries Library, MS 287, fols 20^v-24^r.

¹⁶⁷ Vale, *Edward III and Chivalry*, p. 57.

¹⁶⁸ Anon., 'Elite d'armes 1309 au Viconte de Rohan', printed in G. Lobineau, *Histoire de Bretagne*, 2 vols (Paris, Muguet, 1707), II, col. 1639.

¹⁶⁹ BL Additional MS 21357, fol. 4^r.

¹⁷⁰ TNA, E36/278.

¹⁷¹ TNA, E154/1/19. Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Eng. Hist. B.229, fol. 4^r.

¹⁷² BL MS Lansdowne 285, fol. 17^r.

The shields with which they joust in France are made firstly of wood an inch thick, and with an inch or less of sinew both inside and out; and the said sinew without is covered with little square pieces the size of a chessboard square which are made of the hardest bone to be found, and the most common [sort] are made of staghorn.

Les escuz à quoy on jouste en France sont faiz de boiz premièrement dun doy espès, et nervez tant dedans que dehors dun doy desès ou moins; et sur ladicte nerveure par dehors est couvert de petites pièces large et carrées du grant dun point deschiquier de tablier, qui sont faictes dos le plus dur que len peut trouver, et le plus comunément sont faictes de cornes de serf.¹⁷³

This 'chessboard' application of horn or bone can be seen on existing examples of jousting shields of the late-fifteenth century.¹⁷⁴ In 1448 a saddler in Tours was paid 40 *escus* for 'deux escuz de jouste couvers de pièces de corne'.¹⁷⁵ The different construction is indicative of a different type of shield for a different type of combat: the joust of peace.

We are informed that the knights 'Jousteront en haultes selles' (fol. 13'). This is a reference to both the height of the saddle from the horse's back and also the high front offering more protection to the jouster. That specially designed jousting saddles were in use in the fourteenth century can be demonstrated by a legal action brought before the mayor and aldermen of the City of London in 1350. The saddletree-makers (fusters) were accused of selling their saddletrees (arsons) to the saddlers of London ('les sellers de Loundres') at too high a price. The saddlers were a separate craft to the fusters and the action records eleven different types of saddletree including: 'arson p[u]r Coursoer', 'arson p[u]r tournament', 'arson p[u]r destrers' and 'arson p[u]r Justes'.¹⁷⁶ This clearly demonstrates that there was a constructional difference between each type of saddle as each saddletree cost a different amount. This is also attested by the importation of three saddletrees for jousting saddles ('lign' pro iustyngsadill") to London in 1390.¹⁷⁷ Díaz de Gámez boasted of his master that 'as for saddles, no man of his time understood them so well. He had them planed down and

¹⁷³ De Belleval, *Costume Militaire*, pp. 7-8.

¹⁷⁴ See, for example, Reverseau, 'L'Habit de guerre des Français en 1446', p. 192, pl. 20.

¹⁷⁵ Cited in *Documents pour servir à l'histoire de l'armement au Moyen Âge*, ed. by J.-B. Giraud, 2 vols (Lyon: Giraud, 1895-1904), I, 184.

¹⁷⁶ LMA, Plea and Memoranda Roll A6.

¹⁷⁷ TNA, E122/71/13. Thanks are due to Prof. Wendy Childs for generously sharing her notes on these imports.

strengthened and at the same time had the wood made thin'.¹⁷⁸ The peaceable nature of the Smithfield contest is revealed when contrasted with other challenges. That of Sir John Cornwall insists on the use of 'sell[es] de coursierz basses deuant & derriere' for mounted combat.¹⁷⁹ The Seneschal of Hainault, who fought against Sir John, issued a similar challenge in 1409 to fight 'a cheval en selle de guerre'.¹⁸⁰ The legal spat between the fusters and saddlers serves to shed light on other documentary evidence of this kind. The 1358 inventory of the armoury of the Count of Hainault clearly differentiates between the 'sielles à jouter' from those 'à tournois' and 'pour le wière'.¹⁸¹ In 1388 Sir Simon Burley had 'v celles p[u]r ioustes de pees'.¹⁸² Four 'sell p[u]r t[or]nementz' appear in the possession of the Earl of Arundel in 1397 and inventoried amongst the goods of the Duke of Gloucester in the same year is a 'bastard sadell app[ar]aillez p[u]r ioustes de guerr' oue les armes de duc enorrez'.¹⁸³ The terminology as employed in contemporary sources starts to undermine Juliet Vale's cautioning of the interpretation of *hastilude*. In the same account of 1393 to 1394 the young Earl of March made payment for both 'emendacione j celle pro hastiludiis contra Natalem Domini proximum' and 'pur le armement d'un selle pur les justes'.¹⁸⁴ At the same time Henry, Earl of Derby made payment to 'Ric[ar]do Sadeler pro j sell' [...] empt' pro hastil' pac' apud hertforde' and for the 'eme[n]dac[i]o[n]e vn' sell' pro Thom' Beauford pro eisd[e]m hastilud'.¹⁸⁵ In his will of 1415 Lord Scrope bequeaths 'Sellis & omni Apparatu pro Hastiludendo' and inventoried amongst his possessions following his execution are two 'veillis justing sadils'.¹⁸⁶ An inventory of 1355 refers to 'j sel pour lez justes' along with specialized

¹⁷⁸ *The Unconquered Knight: A Chronicle of the Deeds of Don Pero Niño, Count of Buelna, by his Standard-Bearer Gutierre Díaz de Gámez, 1431-49*, trans. by Joan Evans (London: Routledge, 1928), p. 40. 'En las sillas de caualgar non supo ninguno en su tiempo tanto; él las fazía dollar e añadir e menguar en los fustes'. Díaz de Gámez, *El Victorial*, p. 87.

¹⁷⁹ BL Additional MS 21357, fol. 4^r.

¹⁸⁰ From the now-lost Bibliothèque Impériale MS 8417, printed in Beltz, *Order of the Garter*, p. 404. For their combat see A. C. Reeves, *Lancastrian Englishmen* (Washington: America UP, 1981), p. 144.

¹⁸¹ Lacroix, 'Inventaire de l'armurerie de Guillaume III, comte de Hainaut', p. 150.

¹⁸² TNA, E154/1/19. Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Eng. Hist. B.229, fol. 4^r.

¹⁸³ TNA, E163/6/13. TNA, E136/77/4.

¹⁸⁴ BL Egerton Roll 8746, printed in W. P. Baildon, 'A Wardrobe Account of 16-17 Richard II, 1393-4', *Archaeologia*, 62 (1911), 497-514 (pp. 505 and 512). I am very grateful to Prof. Wendy Childs for pointing out Baildon's error in ascribing this to the King.

¹⁸⁵ TNA, DL28/1. Thomas was Henry's teenaged half-brother. Their father made payment to his 'destrere as joustes de Smethefeld, Wyndesore et Hertford' in 1382. *John of Gaunt's Register*, ed. by E. C. Lodge, II, 259.

¹⁸⁶ *Foedera*, IX, 276. Kingsford, 'Two Forfeitures in the Year of Agincourt', p. 89.

jousting equipment ('ij helmes j escu ij meyndefferes') and other 'herneys apurtenantz'.¹⁸⁷ Another inventory of 1374 counts a 'sella' amongst the 'Justyngherneys'.¹⁸⁸ Foreign merchants were taxed on the two 'iustyng sadill" that were imported into the capital in 1390.¹⁸⁹ The famous joustier Sir Thomas Holland had two 'justyndadels' whilst an un-located inventory of the Tower of 1455 refers to 'olde Justing sadells' and 'olde Justing sadells p[ar]cell broken for the pese'.¹⁹⁰ The Duke of Clarence paid an armourer 'pro cariagio armature domini pro hastiludiis pacis de Somerton' usque London" between 1418 and 1421.¹⁹¹

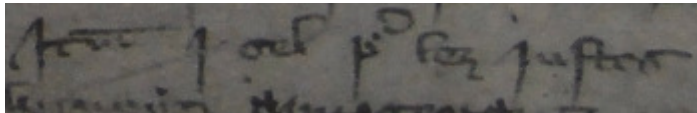


Fig. 36. Detail from an English inventory of 1355.

'It[e]m j sel p[u]r lez justes'.

All these examples from inventories serve to reinforce the argument that *hastilude* and *joust* are one and the same by the fourteenth century at the latest. Taking this into consideration, it can be convincingly argued that the Smithfield event is a joust of peace, not only because of the stipulation of the use of coronals but also of 'high' jousting saddles.

When the inventory was made of the Duke of Gloucester's tapestries in 1397 one was described as an 'old piece of Arras without gold of a story of jousts of peace' ('veil pece Daras sanz or dun estoire de Justes de pees').¹⁹² Simply by *looking* the official compiling the inventory could identify the subject matter as a joust of peace (see fig. 37). Undoubtedly this same official would have identified Richard II's Smithfield joust as the same sort had he read the invitation. The simple dichotomy of joust of war / peace is relevant in a fourteenth-century context. By the fifteenth century, however, it will be shown that there is much greater complexity in the various forms of combat.

¹⁸⁷ Nottingham UL, Middleton MS, Mi I 40.

¹⁸⁸ BL Sloane Charter XXXI 2.

¹⁸⁹ TNA, E122/71/13. Again, I am grateful to Prof. Wendy Childs for sharing her notes.

¹⁹⁰ TNA, E101/335/6. Lysons, 'An Inventory of the Armory [*sic*] at the Tower', p. 125.

¹⁹¹ Westminster Abbey Muniment 12163.

¹⁹² TNA, E136/44/4.



Fig. 37. A joust of peace in the early-fifteenth century Sherborne Missal (British Library Additional MS 74236). Note the coronals and the saddles. The latter offer so much protection that legharness is unnecessary.

Item 6 appears as Item 19 in Sir John Paston's *Grete Boke* (British Library MS Lansdowne 285, fols 46^v-47^r).

Item 7. Untitled [The Ordinance of Thomas of Lancaster, Caen, 3 September 1408] (fols 13^v-14^r)

It has been pointed out that the herald Sir William Dethick (1543-1612) considered this ordinance to be a forgery due to the fact that there was no Garter King of Arms in 1408.¹⁹³ It is evident that this section has been misdated as the siege of Caen took place in September of 1417. A contemporary of Thomas of Lancaster, the chronicler Thomas Walsingham, related how the royal Duke was instrumental in capturing by stealth a monastery adjacent to the town and was foremost in the final assault over its walls.¹⁹⁴ Duke Thomas wrote a triumphal letter to the mayor and aldermen of the City of London from the recently captured town on 11 September.¹⁹⁵ A recent study has argued that there is no reason to doubt the authenticity of the ordinance.¹⁹⁶

¹⁹³ Lester, *Paston's 'Grete Boke'*, p. 146. Anglo, 'Financial and Heraldic Records', p. 189.

¹⁹⁴ Thomas Walsingham, *Historia Anglicana*, ed. by H. T. Riley, 2 vols (London: Longman, 1863-64), II, 323-24. See also *The Brut*, ed. by W. D. Brie, p. 384.

¹⁹⁵ *Calendar of Letter-Books Preserved among the Archives [...] at the Guildhall*, ed. by R. Sharpe, 11 vols (London: Corporation of the City, 1899-1912), Letter-Book I, p. 185.

¹⁹⁶ Adrian Ailes, 'Ancient Precedent or Tudor Fiction? Garter King of Arms and the Pronouncements of Thomas, Duke of Clarence', in *The Herald in Late Medieval Europe*, ed. by Katie Stevenson (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2009), pp. 33-45 (pp. 35-36). I am extremely grateful to the editor for providing access to this work before publication.

It is not difficult to understand why heralds would be so keen to preserve and promulgate this ordinance. It lends credence to their self-perception of the foundation of the office of herald in antiquity as discussed in Chapter 2. The ordinance also makes some attempt to systematize and regulate their payment. It is clear from their common cries of largesse (fol. 120^v) that their income might flow on a rather *ad hoc* basis. An early-fifteenth century MS in the College of Arms (M.19, fol. 131^v) also alludes to this call: ‘largesce largesce largesce que doiuent cryer tous ensemble les heraulx et pours[uiuant]s qui y sont’. This might take the form of direct payment. In an account of the ‘justs royall’ held to celebrate the marriage of the Duke of Gloucester in 1477 it is noted that ‘Earle Rivers rewarded the said Kings of Armes and Heralds with Twenty Markes.’¹⁹⁷ Evidence for remuneration in both coin and kind can be seen on fol. 12^v. At the tourney of the Lords of Jonvelle and Commines both fabrics and a bond are stated as being owed. The right to heraldic trappings is also alluded to. Some conception of why heralds might have been so keen to receive the coat armours and banners of their patrons can be achieved by inspecting a list of payments made by Duke Thomas for these items. 110s. was spent on five pieces of red, black, and blue tartaryn ‘pro baners cotarmours et pennons’ and a further 9s. 10d. for a pound of gold, a hundred of silver, precious linen, and vermilion bought ‘pro le betyng du dit cotearmours’.¹⁹⁸ A veteran of the French wars, Sir John Fastolfe, had two ‘cote armours of silke aftir his own armys’ and one ‘of whyte silke of Seynt George’.¹⁹⁹

A copy of this ordinance is to be found in the sixteenth century British Library Additional MS 34801 (fol. 60^v). It is item 20 of Paston’s *Grete Boke* (British Library MS Lansdowne 285, fol. 47^v).

Item 8. Chalons [Feats of Arms at Tours, 5 February 1446/7] (fols 14^r-17^r and 39^r-43^v)

It seems to me that if you must fight on horseback – you must be armed in a good and sure harness, for a lance is very devious and there is no entry to be found that is so small that it may not enter. When it arrives there it is without mercy. The most perilous feats of arms in the world are those on horseback and of the lance – for there is no calling ‘Whoa!’ You can have the right arm very lightly armoured and more (if you can) except

¹⁹⁷ Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ashmolean MS 856, fol. 94^r.

¹⁹⁸ Westminster Abbey Muniment 12163.

¹⁹⁹ T. Aymot, ‘An Inventory of Effects formerly belonging to Sir John Fastolfe’, *Archaeologia*, 21 (1827), 238-79 (p. 256).

right at the armpit where you must have a strong and well-attached defence; for all wayward lances are driven there and it has caused the loss of many men.

Il me semble à vous qui avez à besongner à cheval, vous devez estre armé d'ung harnoyx bon et seur; car une lance est moult subtile et ne treuve si petite entrée que elle ne passe; par où elle arrive, elle est sans merci. Les plus perilleuses armes du monde sont à cheval et de la lance; car il n'y a point de holla. Vous povez bien avoir le bras dextre legièrement armé et le plus au delivré que vous pourrez, excepté au droit de la souriz, là où il vous fault avoir ung gaillardet puissant et soudé; car toutes les fuittes de la lance viennent là; et en y ont esté beaucoup de gens perduz.²⁰⁰

These are the words of Jehan de Bueil in his *Le Jouvencel*. They are all the more poignant because he is describing exactly how his younger brother Louis was killed in his presence as narrated in this section of the codex. The chronicler Mathieu d'Escouchy describes the incident thus:

And then, running as above, the Englishman made one more single blow with his lance on the said Louis, right within and below the arm and at the opening of his harness, by fault of not having a croissant or gusset, he was so severely injured that he died a short time after.

Et lors coururent comme dessus encores ung seul coup, auquel l'Anglois feri de sa lanche ledit Loys, tout dedens au dessoubz de bras et au vif de son harnas, par faulte d'avoir aung croissant ou gousset; duquel coup il fut sy douloureusement navré, que assez brief de temps apprez il en morut.²⁰¹

A London chronicler laconically recounted: 'And this yere [1447] John Chalons sqwere, sonne of Roberte Chalons knyght of Ynglond, fowth in France with the lorde of Boyles brother, and John Chalons slew hym in the felde'.²⁰² Jehan preserved the memory of his brother with the baptism of a son Louis in 1458.²⁰³

Although this section of the codex is simply entitled 'Chalons', there is evidence that contemporaries considered the event narrated to be a feat of arms. A French royal record of payment lists luxurious fabrics 'which were gifted by the said lord [King

²⁰⁰ *Le Jouvencel*, II, 100-101.

²⁰¹ D'Escouchy, I, 109.

²⁰² *Chronicle of the Grey Friars of London*, ed. by J. G. Nichols (London: Camden Society, 1852), p. 18.

²⁰³ '[...] fu né au chastel de Vaujoux Loys de Bueil, filz de [...] messire Jehan, seigneur de Bueil [...] Lequel Loys fu baptizié en l'église de Chasteaux en Anjou'. Tours BM MS 183, fol. 2^r, printed in Dorange, 'Walter Hungerford's Missal', *Notes & Queries*, 109 (1870), 112-13 (p. 113).

Charles VII] to John Chalons, squire of England, who had come to do arms at Tours in the said month [of February].²⁰⁴ D'Escouchy entitled one of his chapters 'When Louis de Bueil was killed in a feat of arms against an Englishman' ('Comment Loys de Bueil fut occis à faire armes contre ung Anglois') and recounted how there were feats of arms in the presence of the King of France and his princes in the town of Tours in Touraine ('[...] furent faites armes en la presence du Roy de France et de ses princes en la ville de Tours en Touraine').²⁰⁵

John Chalons may well have been aspiring to his father's knightly rank by demonstrating his valour through this combat.²⁰⁶ John Astley had done exactly this in 1442. In the MS that celebrates his feat of arms against an Aragonese knight it is related: '[...] and whanne the seide iohn hadde done his armys panne hit likyd þe kynge [Henry VI] of his hines for to make him knyth þe same day'.²⁰⁷ The modern-day herald Sir Anthony Wagner has demonstrated that the first English grant of heraldic arms (1 July 1389) was to a squire who had been challenged by 'un chivaler Fraunceys' 'to do certain feats and points of arms with the said knight' ('a faire certains faitz et Pointz d'Armes ovesque le dit Chivaler').²⁰⁸ When an inventory was made of Duke Thomas of Gloucester's possessions in 1397, bed hangings were listed embroidered with the story of when the son of the King of Friesland was knighted for a feat of arms ('[...] de le storie de Geras filtz au Roy de Fryson coment il fuyst fait chevaler pur fait darmes').²⁰⁹ According to one London chronicler, a squire who bested his opponent in combat, 'þe King for his manhode at þat tyme, dubbyd hym knyzt' along with four other victorious squires in 1409.²¹⁰

For Chalons, however, this was not to be. His accidental slaying of his French opponent came at a time of a very fractious truce in the Hundred Years' War and seems to have been something of an embarrassment to the English ambassadors

²⁰⁴ '[...] lesdiz draps donnez par ledit seigneur à Jehan de Chaalons [*sic*], escuier d'Angleterre, lequel estoit venu faire armes à Tours oudit mois'. *Rôle de dépenses du 26 mai 1447*, BnF (?) Fonds Gaignières 558⁷, fol. 4^r, printed in D'Escouchy, III, 254.

²⁰⁵ D'Escouchy, I, 107-08.

²⁰⁶ Sir Robert's status is confirmed by the inscription on his tomb: 'strenui militis in armis'. C. L. Kingsford, *The Grey Friars of London* (Aberdeen: UP, 1915), p. 74. He is also referred to as 'chivaler' several times: *CPR, Henry V*, I, 358; *CPR, Henry VI*, II, 60, 85, 398.

²⁰⁷ Dillon, 'On a MS Collection of Ordinances', p. 38.

²⁰⁸ A. R. Wagner, *Heralds and Heraldry in the Middle Ages*, 2nd edn (Oxford: UP, 1956), p. 66, citing *Foedera*, VII, 630.

²⁰⁹ TNA, E 136/77/4.

²¹⁰ *The Brut*, ed. by W. D. Brie, pp. 369-70.

who witnessed the event.²¹¹ The author of the narrative in the codex – probably William Bruges the first Garter King of Arms – vividly recounts the desperation of his efforts to assuage the displeasure of the King of France (fol. 17^r).

The account has a demonstrably English bias. D'Escouchy would have us believe that it was De Bueil who wished to complete the agreed number of courses:

[...] and both of them did their duty so well that the King was very content that they should end [the combat]. Nevertheless, the forenamed Louis de Bueil did not wish to consent, and immediately asked the King and his adversarial party if the feat of arms, which had been agreed between them, could be properly finished; and this was granted to him.

[...] et surtout firent sy bien leur devoir tous deux, que le Roy estoit très content qu'ils se retraissent atant. Neantmoins Loys de Bueil, devant nommé, ne le volsist consentir, et requist bien instamment au Roy et à sa partie adverse, que les armes qui avoient esté accordées entre eux fusent paracomplies; sy luy fust octroyé.²¹²

Bruges's account is certainly different, placing emphasis on Chalons's desire to run another course with the lance despite his adversary's injured hand (fol. 16^v).

There was certainly no love lost between the two men. De Bueil's father was slain by the English at Agincourt in 1415 and he himself had been captured in Brittany and held hostage by Englishmen in 1443.²¹³ Louis's elder brother Jehan would go on to wreak his revenge on all Englishmen in France. As a military leader he was so active in their expulsion that he earned the abrasive *nom de guerre* 'fléau des Anglais'. Personal animosity, even hatred, are factors worth investigating as catalysts for many feats of arms organized by men whose allegiances lay with realms which were often in a state of war. We have had the example of Sir David Lindsay and Lord Welles in 1390 (see Item 1). In 1393 Lord Clifford attacked and murdered a natural son of the Earl of Douglas at Königsberg. Clifford had 'cloaked himself with excuses' to evade a

²¹¹ For the truces see Christopher Allmand, *The Hundred Years War* (Cambridge: UP, 1989), pp. 35-38; Anne Curry, *The Hundred Years War*, 2nd edn (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2003), pp. 97-99; R. Griffiths, *The Reign of King Henry VI* (London: Benn, 1981), pp. 490-96; Reeves, *Lancastrian Englishmen*, pp. 231 and pp. 243-44; *Foedera*, IX, 59, 70, and 74.

²¹² D'Escouchy, I, 109.

²¹³ See Anstis's genealogy on fol. 38^v. He cites Anselme de Sainte-Marie [Pierre de Guibours (1625-94)], *Histoire Généalogique et Chronologique de la Maison Royale de France* (Paris: Palais Royal, 1712) and *Foedera*, IX, 561.

duel with Sir William Douglas in the court of chivalry.²¹⁴ When Tanguy du Chastel arranged a combat with Sir John Cornwall in 1412 he may have been similarly motivated.²¹⁵ Sir John had commanded the forces that had repulsed a French attack on Poole in which Tanguy was taken prisoner and his brother Guillaume was killed ('qui murió en Cornualla [*sic*], en Guerra, como buen cavallero').²¹⁶ Not only did Tanguy have to witness the death of his brother, he also had to suffer the indignity of being 'ransom brokered' by Sir John who seems to have made a somewhat lucrative career of this greasy business.²¹⁷ Simon Walker has shown that it was this same Sir John who was chosen to fight against French challengers at York in 1400. They were attempting to discredit the recent coup of Henry IV.²¹⁸ The language employed in dismissals of these challenges could be very harsh indeed. Henry IV pointedly reminded the Duke of Orleans in 1402 that princes of his quality were not accustomed to be appealed by others of lesser status than them but that he would cross the sea with an army and he could oppose him with as many men as he could ('les princes de sa qualité n'ont accoutumée d'être appelés par autres moindres qu'eux, mais qu'il passera la mer avec une armée et ce sera a luy de s'y opposer avec tant de gens qu'il pourra').²¹⁹ An English knight warned his Castilian counterpart in a reply to his challenge not to speak so lightly of English chivalry in 1400.²²⁰ Sir Jacques de Heilly was a survivor of both Nicopolis and Humbleton Hill. On demanding to clear his name in a duel he was informed by Henry V before Agincourt that there was no time for such frivolities and that he would either end up a corpse or captive by nightfall!²²¹ Sir Jacques did not survive this battle, being one of the combatants to be murdered in

²¹⁴ 'Quod comperiens Douglas, conductum peciit et optinuit et ad locum et terminum statutos comparuit. Sed et Clifford excusacionibus clamidatus, ob ingentem fortitudinem Douglas comparere recusavit'. Walter Bower, *Scotichronicon*, ed. by D. Watt, 9 vols (Aberdeen: UP, 1987-98), IX, 447-48.

²¹⁵ See the account constructed from primary sources by A. Mirot, 'Tanguy du Chastel (1370-1458): Ses origines, sa carrière jusqu'en 1415', *Revue de Société des études historiques*, 99 (1932), 363-84.

²¹⁶ Díaz de Gámez, *El Victorial*, p. 243.

²¹⁷ M. K. Jones, 'Ransom Brokerage in the Fifteenth Century', in *Guerre et société en France, en Angleterre et en Bourgogne, XIV^e-XV^e siècle*, ed. by P. Contamine (Villeneuve d'Ascq: Université Charles de Gaulle-Lille III, 1991), pp. 221-35.

²¹⁸ Simon Walker, 'Janico Dartasso: Chivalry, Nationality and the Man-at-Arms', *History*, 84 (1999), 31-51 (pp. 41-42).

²¹⁹ BnF Fontette Coll. MS 5599 (G), printed in J.-B. De Vaivre, 'Le Rôle armorié de combat de Montendre', *Journal des savants*, unnumbered (1973), 99-125 (p. 100).

²²⁰ '[...] vous vous gardez d'aucune chose si légèrement parler de la chevalerie d'Angleterre'. Monstrelet, I, 30.

²²¹ The original sources for this episode can be found in W. B. Kerr, 'The English Soldier in the Campaign of Agincourt', *Journal of the American Military Institute*, 4 (1940), 209-24 (p. 214).

custody. These are only a small sample of many examples of men who had arranged combats due to some personal grievance. Hatred should not be ignored completely in the context of chivalry and feats of arms.

It is worthwhile investigating the nature of Louis de Bueil's armour. La Marche describes a combat in 1446 in which one of the participants sought out the weak points at the armpit with his sword ('commença [...] à querir son compaignon de la pointe de l'espée [...] sous les aisselles, à l'entour du croissant de la cuirasse, par dessoubz la ceingnée du bras').²²² D'Escouchy too alludes to the 'croissant' in the extract at the opening of this section. It is possible that this is a description of the thickened and turned edge at the armpit that was common on breastplates of this period. This was a feature designed to guide away incoming blades. Its appearance is undoubtedly crescent-shaped (figs 38 and 39). D'Escouchy also refers to a 'gusset'. In English sources this is almost always mail protection for the armpit (fig. 40). For example, in 1393/4 Henry, Earl of Derby purchased a pair of 'Gussettes de mayl de steell'.²²³ The Earl Marshal – in preparation for the Agincourt campaign – bought a pair of 'Gussett' de mayle de milayne'.²²⁴ Between 1418 and 1421 Thomas, Duke of Clarence paid an armourer for 'i breeke de maile i pair gusset iii paires voidours'²²⁵ and 'j breche & j paunse de maile ij par gusset'" were amongst the stock of a Southwark armourer in 1464.²²⁶ The former two items are defences for the lower abdomen and groin. In the 1434 'traytese' on arming for single combat by Johan Hyll 'Armorer Sergeant in the Kinge's Armory', a pair of 'cloos gussetts strong' are recommended and that 'pe gussets be thre fingers withinne his plates [torso defence]' at both sides.²²⁷ Whatever form De Bueil's armour took, it is clear that it failed to offer the protection necessary to survive his encounter with Chalons. D'Escouchy reminds us of the dangers of running with the lance. Even in the peaceful *pas* held by René of

²²² La Marche, II, 78-79.

²²³ TNA, DL 28/1.

²²⁴ Gloucester Record Office, Berkely Castle Muniment GAR 428, p. 13.2.

²²⁵ Westminster Abbey Muniment 12163. These last were pieces of mail stitched to the arming doublet to fill the 'voids' that the plate armour did not protect. The inventory of Richard, Earl of Arundel of 1397 lists 30 'petitz peces de maile a guyse de voiders' (TNA, E 163/6/13). That they were protection for the arms and thighs is attested by the 'j par' voiders long' & j par' voiders paru' pro Cusscheux & j par' voiders pro les vantbrace' in the Earl Marshal's account as well as the recommendation for 'cloos quysseux w^t voydours of plate or mayle' and 'vaunt bras cloos w^t voydours of mayle' in the 1434 arming treatise mentioned below.

²²⁶ LMA, Plea and Memoranda Roll A80.

²²⁷ Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Ashmole 856, p. 376, printed in C. ffoulkes, *Armourer and His Craft* (London: Methuen, 1912), p. 173.

Anjou at Saumur in 1446 'par la mal fortune [...] fu tué d'un coup de lanche ung gentil chevalier, [...] dont toute la compaignie fut troublée'.²²⁸



Fig. 38. Detail of a tomb effigy in Dunkeld Cathedral traditionally identified as Alexander Stewart, Earl of Buchan, the 'Wolf of Badenoch' (c. 1345-1405), fourth son of Robert II. Note the plate gusset riveted to the breastplate.



²²⁸ D'Escouchy, I, 108.

Fig. 39. The *croissant*? Detail of the edge of the shoulder defence of an armour of c. 1440.



Fig. 40. The squire ties on the knight's paunce. Note also the gussets on the inside of the arms.²²⁹

This episode is related verbatim as Item 21 of Paston's *Grete Boke* (British Library MS Lansdowne 285, fols 48^r-52^r). This passage is also referred to by the editors of D'Escouchy's *Chroniques* and Jehan de Bueil's *Le Jouvencel* respectively whilst the codex was still in the possession of Sir Thomas Phillipps (MS 8528).²³⁰ Both were utilized for publication in a French journal of 1859.²³¹

²²⁹ An arming scene in Sir John Astley's book of chivalry (New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, MS M.775, fol. 122^v).

²³⁰ D'Escouchy, III, 108. *Le Jouvencel*, p. cli.

²³¹ H. Lambron de Lignim, 'Joutes et tournois', *Mémoires de la société archéologique de Touraine*, 11 (1859), 276-335.

Item 9. Untitled [*Chapitres* of the Bastard of Burgundy as the Knight of an Oppressed Lady for a *Pas d'armes*, 25 February 1462] (fols 17^r-20^v)

The principal reason for there being so little information on this section is that this *pas d'armes* did not take place. The first signatory to this challenge is Antoine, Bastard of Burgundy. One of his squires, in a letter of challenge of 1466, stated that 'about three years ago' his master had undertaken to hold a *pas d'armes* which he had had proclaimed through all of Christendom but was unable to do so because of the crusade (fol. 78^r). This refers to the naval expedition, led by the Bastard of Burgundy in 1464, which assisted at the raising of the Siege of Ceuta in North Africa.²³² The Bastard's fellow signatory to the challenge, Sir Pedro Vásquez de Saavedra, was also on this expedition.²³³

When Kervyn de Lettenhove published his transcription of this passage in 1870 from Sir John Paston's *Grete Boke* he entitled it 'La joute de la Dame Inconnue à Bruxelles'.²³⁴ This title has been employed by contemporary scholars such as Neste who has, however, re-categorized the event as a *pas*.²³⁵ This is justly done as there is a plea to Duke Philip of Burgundy for 'three knights of your household [...] to hold a *pas* within your dominions' (fol. 18^v). The event is referred to as a *pas* throughout. This very elaborate passage does indeed involve an unnamed lady and is, in effect, a challenge for a combat to find a champion to fight for her cause in yet another combat. The scene is set in a few lines describing the arrival of two chief Burgundian heralds before Duke Philip, his son and heir Charles, and the court. The heralds present a foreign gentleman carrying letters of credence from his mistress which are subsequently read out. They reveal that the knight's mistress has been 'sorely oppressed' by a powerful neighbour and that she wishes a *pas* to be held to find a champion to fight this neighbour in closed lists to defend her cause (fol. 18^r).

²³² Jacques Paviot, *La Politique navale des ducs de Bourgogne, 1384-1482* (Lille: UP, 1995), pp. 130-33.

²³³ For Sir Pedro's chivalric career, see Martín de Riquer, *Caballeros andantes españoles* (Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, 1967), pp. 130-141. I am extremely grateful to Prof. Noel Fallows for his kind assistance in identifying this Castilian.

²³⁴ 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.

²³⁵ Neste, *Tournois*, p. 54.

The *chapitres* that comprise this challenge are generally similar to those found in other challenges. *Chapitre* four is noteworthy as it allows re-arming and replacement of damaged armour during running with the lances. Although not mentioned in De Bretelles's *chapitres* (fols 75^v-76^r), it is evident that this was understood to be acceptable in peaceable combats. It is related that all were made to wait whilst this squire re-armed after having his arm defences broken (fol. 84^r). Similarly, the Lady of the Secret Isle's dwarf was to attend those disarmed jousting at the *pas d'armes* of the Golden Tree (fol. 8^v). In other types of combat, however, this was not the case. The French King, as judge, could have halted the feat of arms at Tours in 1446/7 after one of the combatant's lower-arm defences was damaged and his hand injured. Instead the *chapitres* were consulted and the combat continued. This suggests that there was no proviso in them that allowed either combatant to re-arm or replace damaged armour.

The foot combat of this *pas* was to involve the use of throwing spears. Only one throw was to be allowed. This weapon and regulation are also to be found in Lord Scales's challenge (fol. 49^r), although when it came to pass the King disallowed even one throw. Spears were also used in a feat of arms at Stirling between Sir Jacques de Lalaing and Sir James Douglas and their companions in 1449. According to one source it was the Scots who requested that their throwing be disallowed.²³⁶ Jehan de Bueil, in his section on foot combat, advises that it is preferable to get one's throw in first if possible ('jettez vostre lance le premier, se vous povez').²³⁷

This section is item 22 in Paston's *Grete Boke* (British Library MS Lansdowne 285, fols 52^r-56^v). The episode is also referred to in an article of 1838.²³⁸

Item 10. Untitled [Sir Philippe de Lalaing's *Pas d'armes* of the Perron Phae, Bruges 1463] (fols 21^r-37^v)

That courageous knight, Sir Philippe de Lalaing was killed there. He came from a family whose members were almost all valiant and courageous and nearly all died in the active wartime service of their lords.²³⁹

²³⁶ '[...] mais a la requeste des dessusdits Escossois, le jet de la lance fut deffendu'. Anon., 'Le Livre de Faits du bon Chevalier Messire Jacques de Lalaing', in Chastellain, VIII, 173.

²³⁷ *Le Jouvencel*, II, 103.

²³⁸ J. R. Planché, 'A Portrait of Anthony Bastard of Burgundy', *Archaeologia*, 27 (1838), 424-33 (p. 429-30). This is probably an allusion to the event as recounted in La Marche's *Mémoires*.

²³⁹ This description is only to be found in M. Jones's trans. of Commynes's *Mémoires* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1972), p. 57.

This is one chronicler's eulogy for this knight following his death in battle in 1465. Sir Philippe would be in the shadow of his sun-in-splendour of an elder brother – the 'bon chevalier' Jacques – throughout his life. Along with the chivalric worthies of history and romance, we are told in the codex, Sir Philippe read

of the fair feats of arms which the Lord of Lalaing's eldest son the fair and good knight Sir Jacques de Lalaing has done twenty-six times on foot and on horseback in Spain, Scotland, Burgundy, and Flanders whence he emerged to his great honour and praise.

Like the other chivalric heroes, Du Guesclin, The Black Prince, and Marshal Boucicault, Sir Jacques had had a *Livre de faits* of his life recorded for posterity. Perhaps, as is mentioned, Sir Philippe too hoped that through this *pas d'armes* there might be left 'some little memory of himself'. In order to do this, we are told he decided to hold a *pas d'armes* 'under the fiction of *phaerie*'. This elaborate chivalric contest rivalled his brother's *Pas d'armes* of the Fountain of Tears at Chalon-sur-Saône in 1449 to 1450²⁴⁰ and of his fellow Burgundian courtier the Bastard of Burgundy's *Pas* of the Golden Tree of 1468. The romantic scene is set with a flirtatious *tête-à-tête* between Sir Philippe and the mysterious Lady of the Perron Phae in whose custody he finds himself.²⁴¹ The *chapitres* that comprise the challenge are set out by Limbourg Herald. The different coloured shields for different types of combat have been taken straight from Arthurian romance and this same scheme was employed by the famous Marshal Boucicault for his jousts at Saint Inglevert in 1390.²⁴² Further allusions to Arthurian romance are made in the introductory passage revealing the inspiration for the knight's *pas*. Various figures are mentioned. Perceforest was the King of Britain left in charge of the realm after its conquest by Alexander the Great. This king is credited with introducing Christianity. Along with the obligatory 'Artus', King Ban of Benoit, Lancelot's father is mentioned as is Sir Bagdemagus, King of Gore, Arthur's cousin and a keen tourneyer, along with Guiron the Courteous.²⁴³ Sir Philippe is then encouraged to read of the chivalric feats of the rest of the nine worthies – heroes

²⁴⁰ See A. Planche, 'Du tournoi au théâtre en Bourgogne: Le Pas de la Fontaine des Pleurs à Chalon-sur-Saône, 1449-50', *Moyen Âge*, 81 (1975), 97-125.

²⁴¹ For a comprehensive discussion of the *perron* see Sydney Anglo, 'L'Arbre de chevalerie et le Perron dans les tournois', in *Les Fêtes de la Renaissance*, ed. by J. Jacquot (Paris: CNRS, 1975), pp. 283-98.

²⁴² *Chronographia regum francorum, 1270-1405*, ed. by H. Moranvillé, 3 vols (Paris: Renouard, 1891-97), III, 96-99. *Le Livre de fais du bon messire Jehan le Maingre, dit Bouciquaut, mareschal de France et gouverneur de Jennes*, ed. by D. Lalande (Geneva: Droz, 1985), pp. 52-73.

²⁴³ *Arthurian Name Dictionary*, ed. by C. W. Bruce (London: Garland, 1999).

central to the concept of chivalry throughout the medieval period.²⁴⁴ The heraldic authorship of this section is revealed by the words 'I shall proceed diligently to put in writing those who came on the first day and only how they were dressed and the combats' (fols 28^r-28^v).

An examination of the *chapitres* of Sir Philippe's *pas* provides an excellent opportunity to demonstrate how elaborate the forms of combat had become by the fifteenth century. It also reveals that the simple dichotomy of joust of peace / war is no longer appropriate. The different courses to be run on horseback depend on which colour shield each comer has struck. The black shield course is to be fought in war armour and saddles with war lances. The tips of the lanceheads, however, are to be 'cut to an un-jagged curve'. The course of the violet shield involves the use of lances equipped with the various accoutrements associated with jousts of peace and yet those running it must be armed in war armour. For the grey shield course similar lances are to be used and the runners are to be armed in jousting armour yet are to be seated in war saddles (fols 25^r-25^v). Like the Bastard of Burgundy's decision to run a course with *plançons*, Sir Philippe's *chapitres* are composed to his own personal preference and must be fully explained by the mysterious lady's dwarf to all comers.

MS copies of narratives of this episode were evidently in circulation not long after it happened. In an MS account of the feast of the vows of the pheasant in February 1454 is an allusion to Sir Philippe's *pas*: 'Philippe de Lalaing tu ne furniras le Pas du Perron Fae pour lintrouite de tes recommandacions'.²⁴⁵ Among the contents of René of Anjou's library was listed a 'Relation du pas d'armes de Bruxelles [*sic*] tenu par Philippe de Lalain'.²⁴⁶ It is Item 23 of Paston's *Grete Boke* (British Library MS Lansdowne 285, fols 60^r-82^v). It was also copied into the fifteenth-century Bibliothèque nationale de France MS fonds français 5739 (fols 136^r-71^v). When F. Brassart published the text in 1874 he drew on this version.²⁴⁷ Brassart's text has been published in modern French in a collection of excerpts relating to the Burgundian

²⁴⁴ For the context and importance of the nine see Keen, *Chivalry*, pp. 121-24.

²⁴⁵ BnF MS fonds français 11594, fol. 212^v, cited in M.-T. Caron, *Les Vœux du faison, noblesse en fête, esprit de croisade: Le Manuscrit français 11594 de la Bibliothèque nationale de France* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2003), p. 194.

²⁴⁶ A. Lecoy de La Marche, *Le Roi René [...] d'après les documents inédits des archives de France et d'Italie*, 2 vols (Paris: Firmin-Didot, 1875), II, 189. Brussels was to be the original location for the event (fol. 26^r).

²⁴⁷ *Le Pas du Perron Fee, tenu à Bruges en 1463 par le chevalier Philippe de Lalaing*, ed. by F. Brassart, (Douai: Crépin, 1874).

court.²⁴⁸ The 'relation' also makes an appearance in Cambrai Bibliothèque municipale MS 1114 (fols 3^r-15^v) and British Library MS Harley 48 (fols 54^r-78^r).²⁴⁹ A copy of a declaration of the 'noms des chevaliers et gentils hommes, lesquelz ont besoigne au pas de messire Phelippe [*sic*] de Lalaing' was listed in the Count of Lalaing's library in 1541.²⁵⁰

Item 11. Untitled [A Short Description of England and a Genealogy of Chalons and De Bueil by John Anstis, eighteenth century] (fols 38^r-38^v)

This item is unique to this codex. The short description displays the herald's knowledge of the geography and composition of the realm. The genealogy displays Anstis's desire to link himself, however tenuously, with the chivalric feats of the English squire in Item 8. Perhaps this was an attempt to validate his position as the chief herald of England.

Item 12. Untitled [Feats of Arms at Tours, 5 February 1446/7] (fols 39^r-43^v)

This Item has been copied into MS 1 (as Item 8) therefore the content has been discussed in that section. What follows is an investigation into the relationship between the two MSS.

There is much evidence to suggest that this Item is the oldest MS in the codex and was copied into MS 1 (Item 8). The palaeography of MS 2 has already been identified in Chapter 1 as being of an earlier date than other parts of the codex. In addition, it is possible to demonstrate differences between the copies and where copying errors have occurred. On fol. 36^r at the end of the description of Chalons's entourage is the term 'the names of whom follow'. This has been omitted in the copy in fol. 14^r. Another omission of note in Item 8 is that of 'Garter King of Arms, and several notable squires' described on fol. 40^r as accompanying the Englishman into

²⁴⁸ 'Le Pas du Perron Fée', ed. and trans. by C. Beaune, in *Splendeurs de la cour de Bourgogne: Récits et chroniques*, ed. by D. Régner-Bohler (Paris: Laffont, 1995), pp. 1177-87.

²⁴⁹ This last is utilized by J. R. Goodman, 'Display, Self-Definition, and the Frontiers of Romance in the 1463 Bruges *Pas du perron fée*', in *Persons in Groups: Social Behavior as Identity Formation in Medieval Europe*, ed. by R. Trexler (Binghamton, NY: Medieval Texts, 1985), pp. 47-54.

²⁵⁰ M. Mestayer, 'La Bibliothèque de Charles II, comte de Lalaing, en 1541', *Publications du Centre Européen d'Études Bourguignonnes*, 31 (1991), 199-216.

the field. A slight difference between Items is to be found in the list of De Bueil's lancebearers. In Item 12 the Count of Clermont 'carried the fifth lance', whilst in Item 8 this same count merely 'carried another'. A clear example of a copying error can be seen in the description of the first course of the mounted combat. In the original we are informed that the Frenchman struck his opponent with his lance on the bottom of his helm at the side of his neck ('sur le bas de son heaume au coste du col') (fol. 42^r). This phrase has been copied on fol. 16^r as 'sur le bas de son heaulme au Reste du tel'. These examples all serve to reinforce the argument that MS 2 is the oldest part of the codex and may well have been produced as a 'fair copy' from MSS produced by heralds present at the event. The inclusion of miniatures, an extremely rare occurrence in chivalric MSS of this type, also adds weight to this argument. A detailed analysis of these follows.

When the codex was in the possession of Sir John Anstis (Garter King of Arms from 1714 to 1744) he boasted that it contained 'not only the narrative in a centemporary [*sic*] hand, but all the feats of arms painted'.²⁵¹ He was referring to the miniatures illustrating Item 12: the combat at Tours on 5 February 1446/7 between the English squire John Chalons and the French nobleman Louis de Bueil.



²⁵¹ John Anstis, *Register of the Most Noble Order of the Garter*, 2 vols (London: Barber, 1724), I, 341.

Fig. 41. Miniature 1 (fol. 39').

This scene shows the arrival of the English party at the gates of the walls of Tours for the combat. Twelve figures and four horses are visible. Three of the figures wear hats and five sallets, one with its visor raised. There are three further simple helmets, usually referred to as *cappelines* in France at this time. The figures with hats also wear fitted doublets with emphasised shoulders – these were considered *à la mode* in the mid-fifteenth century.

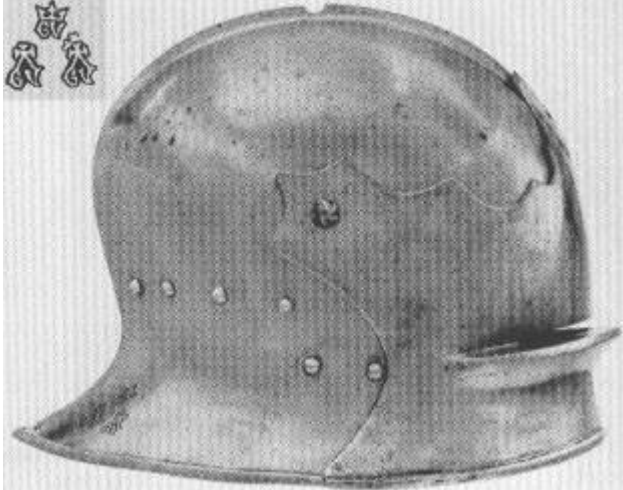


Fig. 42. Sallet, Brescian, c. 1460. Armouries Accession no. II.168.

One of the two men at the front may well be John Chalons, perhaps the figure with the feather in his hat and, over his long riding boots, silvered spurs rather than gilt – as befits his status as squire. One man behind carries a long-bladed staff weapon (a vouge?)²⁵² and has a sword and buckler at his hip, a second figure also has sword and buckler. The figure in the foreground is armed with sallet and longsword. Two figures have coat armours emblazoned with the cross of Saint George and one bears a spear with a pennoncel of the warrior saint's arms. The upper halves of three bows are visible the parti-colouring showing the heartwood of the yew tree in the bow stave. This miniature has been reproduced in an article of 1988.²⁵³

²⁵² See gloss.

²⁵³ Claude Blair and Ida Delamer, 'The Dublin Civic Swords', *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*, 88 (1988), 87-142 (p. 125).



Fig. 43. Miniature 2 (fol. 40^r).

The Englishman and his party enter the lists to present themselves to King Charles VII in this scene. Eleven mounted figures and four horses can be made out. Four figures sit in the stand one of whom is the King as identified by his crown. Of the three smaller figures representing boy pages one holds a baton. Two of the three trumpeters have banners pendant from their instruments. It is has not been possible to identify the squire's coat of arms. As shown below, those of his adversary have not been portrayed accurately. Four retainers are in the background. Two wear hats, and one banner and three spears or lances with spearheads for war are borne upright. The figure at the front – John Chalons – is armoured in a cuirass with two-piece breastplate with lance-rest²⁵⁴ and fauld (plate defence for the lower abdomen). His shoulders and arms are protected by pauldrons and vambraces but he has no legharness,²⁵⁵ gauntlets, or helmet. His neck is protected by a standard of mail. His horse has a trapper²⁵⁶ but those of the pages do not. In the following miniatures Chalons's trapper is completely different to the one depicted here. On an elaborately decorated hanging at the front of the stand are two shields with the royal coat of arms of France *moderne* as adopted by Charles V in the 1370s – *azure* three fleur-de-lys

²⁵⁴ For a detailed discussion of the lance-rest see Item 1.

²⁵⁵ See gloss. for an explanation of these armour parts.

²⁵⁶ See gloss.

or. The wooden barrier of the lists is shown in some detail. It is very similar to that represented in René's *Traité*.

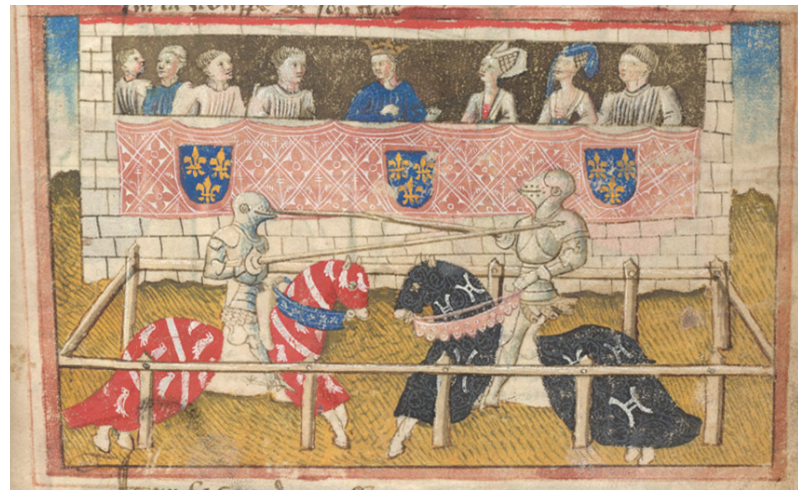


Fig. 44. Miniature 3 (fol. 41').

The Frenchman and his entourage make their entrance to the lists in this scene. Twelve mounted figures are visible and a further six figures are seated in the stand. The first man on horseback – Louis de Bueil – is armoured in a cuirass with two-piece breastplate with lance-rest and fauld. His shoulders and arms are protected by pauldrons and vambraces but he has no legharness, gauntlets, or helmet – on his head he wears a small brimless cap. His neck is protected by a standard of mail. His horse has a plume of one ostrich feather and the horse trapper is decorated with scales. Behind him ride three fools in parti-coloured costumes one of whom has rumbler bells on the outside of his sleeves. All three fools have a single rumbler bell at the tip of each ass's ear. The foremost fool rides a trapped horse. It is on this horse that De Bueil is mounted for the combat in the following miniatures. With regard to heraldry, as the editors of *Le Jouvencel* have pointed out, 'the arms that figure on the banners appear to be pure fantasy'.²⁵⁷ The surrounding text, however, is unambiguous as to the figure's identity. Christian de Mérindol has identified De Bueil's coat of arms from a MS miniature illustrating René of Anjou's *pas d'armes* at Saumur in 1446. These are the arms of the De Bueil family (*azure*, a *croissant argent* with six cross-

²⁵⁷ 'Les armes figurées sur les bannières [...] paraissent être de pure fantaisie'. *Le Jouvencel*, I, p. cli.

crosslets fiche or) differenced by a label of three pendants for the second son.²⁵⁸ Two trumpeters – one in a hat, the other in a brimless cap – have banners pendant from their instruments. Next to them are three boy pages. Three more retainers are visible. One in a fitted doublet and hat carries De Bueil's helm with perforated visor and front-attaching charnel. As the text makes clear this is the celebrated 'Good King' René of Anjou. Five spears or lances with spearheads for war can be seen borne vertically behind the mounted figures. In the stand are seated three male figures, one of whom is the King and two, or possibly three, female figures – two of whom have elaborate headdresses with wimples. The male figures are clad in fitted doublets with emphasised shoulders – the height of fashion in the 1440s. There are now three shields with the French royal arms depicted on the hanging. A wooden barrier of the lists runs along the foreground of the image. Just above the line of the barrier is evidence of damage to the artwork caused by the bottom of this folio having been folded up – presumably when this MS was cut down to be rebound as a codex in the seventeenth century. A detail of this miniature has been reproduced in the *Armouries Souvenir Guide* of 2006.²⁵⁹



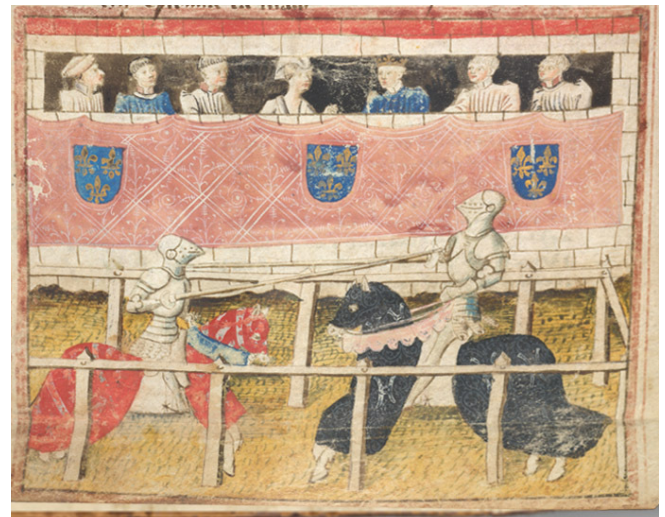
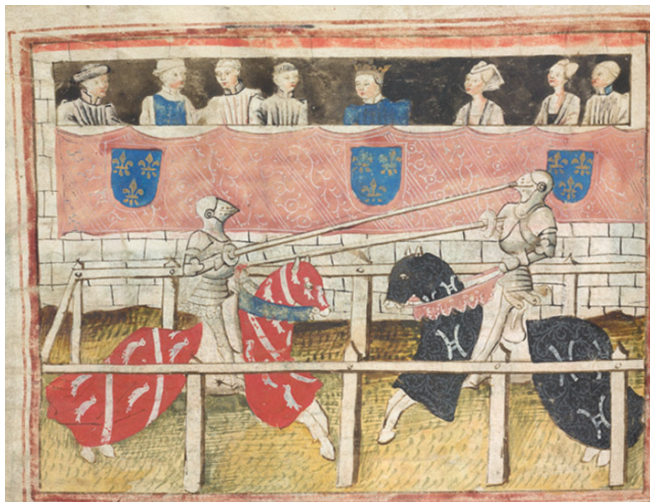
Figs 45 & 46. Miniatures 4 & 5 (fols 41^v & 42^r).

The courses run with sharpened lanceheads by the combatants are depicted in the remainder of the miniatures. Both are equipped in full armour including gauntlets with

²⁵⁸ 'Il brisait les armes de Bueil avec un lambel à trois pendants [...] d'azur au croissant d'argent, accompagné de six crois recroisettées, au pied fiché d'or'. C. de Mérindol, *Les Fêtes de chevalerie à la cour du roi René* (Paris: CTHS, 1993), pp. 136-37. The miniature is in St Petersburg, National Library of Russia, Codex Fr. F. XIV, no. 4.

²⁵⁹ *Royal Armouries Museum Souvenir Guide*, no ed. (Leeds: Royal Armouries, 2006), p. 26.

the exception of legharness. A detail not evident in the previous miniatures is the depiction of the dagged edges of the arming doublets protruding from beneath the edge of the faulds. On the left is Chalons who is in the process of knocking his opponent back onto the horse's crupper as is described in the text. In the stand are nine figures; eight of them including the King are male and one, with elaborate headdress and wimple, is female. In Miniature 5 eight figures appear in the stand, two of them female. Again, the hanging with three shields of the arms of France is shown and the barrier of the lists is clearly depicted. Miniature 5 has been reproduced in publications of 1979²⁶⁰ and 1988.²⁶¹



Figs 47 & 48. Miniatures 6 & 7 (fol. 42^r).

The courses run and attaints with the lances are depicted exactly as described in the text. In each Chalons is depicted on the left and De Bueil on the right. The bottom of Miniature 7 shows similar damage to the artwork as Miniature 3 from the folio having been folded up to be bound into a codex.

²⁶⁰ A. Borg, *Arms and Armour in Britain*, 2nd edn (London: HMSO, 1979), inside cover.

²⁶¹ Michele Byam, *Eyewitness: Arms & Armour* (London: Dorling, 1988), p. 25.



Fig. 49. Miniature 8 (fol. 43^r).

The final miniature shows Chalons's fatal attainment of the lance on his opponent as described in the text.

I have been informed by Dr Mara Hofmann and her colleagues in the Medieval MSS department of the British Library that the style of the illustrations is not English and is, in fact, more likely to be northern French or southern Netherlandish. Had it been produced in France it should be argued that it is highly unlikely that the artist would not have known the coat of arms of such a prominent noble family as the De Bueils.

Item 13. Jousts of my lord Antoine Bastard of Burgundy done in England [1467] (fols 44^r-72^v)

The title of this passage has been provided by a later copyist. As the text itself states this is an account of 'les tresnobles et cheualereux faitz darmes en champ cloz et ferme'. A fifteenth-century version – which is almost exactly the same – also describes it as 'les t[re]snobles et cheuallere[ux] fais darmes en champ cloz et ferme'.²⁶² Sydney Anglo, who has provided a lively and in-depth study of the event, opted for the title 'Anglo-Burgundian feats of arms'.²⁶³ Much has been made of this clash as a diplomatic prelude to the political alliance forged by the marriage of Margaret of York and Charles the Bold of Burgundy the following year.²⁶⁴ The event has been called a tournament and one scholar has even gone so far as to regard the Bastard of

²⁶² Utrecht UL MS 1117, fol. 186^r.

²⁶³ Anglo, 'Anglo-Burgundian Feats of Arms', pp. 271-83.

²⁶⁴ See, for example, Elizabeth Woodville's and Lord Scales's entries in the *DNB*.

Burgundy and Lord Scales as pioneers of a new diplomacy utilizing the tournament as the perfect cover for their political machinations.²⁶⁵ This whole line of argument is seriously undermined by the fact that these feats of arms are not a tournament (or tourney) at all, nor do they constitute an elaborate *pas d'armes*, nor even a *feste de joute*. They are, in fact, an arranged combat of the sort taking place with bewildering frequency between men of high status throughout Christendom. Documentary evidence for these proliferates from the end of the fourteenth century and is abundant by the fifteenth (see Item 1). The two noblemen were, in effect, doing what was expected of men of their position mindful of cutting a dash in the supranational cosmopolitan chivalric society of the time. As an illegitimate playboy and an *arriviste* royal brother-in-law respectively, the Bastard and Lord Scales would amass great kudos by arranging such a combat before an elite audience. There is evidence for the attitude of contemporaries toward both men. An account of the Bastard's *pas d'armes* of the Golden Tree in 1468 describes his entrance: 'he entered his list with such pomp and in such fine order that he did not seem to be merely a bastard of Burgundy but the heir to one of the greatest houses of the world' ('Il entra dede[n]s sa lice si po[m]peuseme[n]t et par si belle ordre quil ne sembloit pas seuleme[n]t vng bastart de bourgo[i]gne mais leritier dune de pl[us] grandes maisons du monde').²⁶⁶ Lord Scales's father was Earl Rivers. A court fool pointedly explained his difficulty in attending as 'the Ryvers been never soo hie that I coude hardly scape throw theym'.²⁶⁷

Unfortunately, as this passage and other contemporary accounts relate, there was some suspicion of the use of underhanded techniques by Lord Scales which would sour the tone of the first day of the combats. Mysteriously injured, the Bastard's horse 'mourut en la garde des heraulx' (fol. 62^v) on the following day. This provides evidence of the role of the heralds as arbiters of chivalric behaviour. It also reveals that – along with numerous other instances in the passage – this section was not written by a herald but rather by a courtier in the train of the Bastard. More evidence for this authorship can be seen when the narrator makes these scathing remarks about Lord Scales's Gascon squire Louis de Bretelles in the following item.

²⁶⁵ Aly Commies, '*Nul ne s'y frote*. Een biografische schets van Anton, Bastaard van Bourgondië', in *Excursionen Mediaevales: Opstellen aangeboden aan Prof. A. Jongkees*, no ed. (Groningen: Rijksuniversiteit UP, 1979), pp. 59-76.

²⁶⁶ BM Valenciennes MS 776, fol. 38^f.

²⁶⁷ *Great Chronicle of London*, ed. by A. Thomas (London: Jones, 1938), p. 208.

There was a great banner held aloft by Nuelles Herald blazoned with his coat of arms which were quartered and he had had [the same] quartered arms blazoned on the four banners above the said pavilion. But, although I asked many, none of the heralds could tell me the names of the lords displayed on the quartered arms, so it is impossible for me to write them down (fols 80^r-80^v).

The account provides a vivid description of combat with swords on horseback and with axes on foot. Sydney Anglo has provided an excellent study of a fifteenth-century treatise on combat of this nature: *Le Jeu de la Hache*.²⁶⁸ Many of the techniques described are to be seen both in this combat and that of their respective squires (Item 14). Anglo's interpretation of the axes as 'designed principally for showy fighting within the lists'²⁶⁹ should be challenged by such appearances as the two 'polhaches p[u]r la guerre' in the inventory of the arms of Sir Simon Burley, the 'pollax' in the inventory of arms of Sir John Holland, and 'uno secure vocato poll' ax" purchased by the Duke of Clarence before campaigning in France in the 1420s.²⁷⁰ Indeed, according to an English account the combat was so hard fought that Lord Scales, with 'poynte of his axe, stroke thorough oon of the ribbes of the Bastardes plates'.²⁷¹ This is corroborated by the anonymous courtier: 'la tierce lame de son harnois en bas failsee tout oultre' (fol. 65^v).

This anonymous account appears as Item 15 of Paston's *Grete Boke* (British Library MS Lansdowne 285, fols 29^v-43^r). There is also an almost identical fifteenth-century copy in Utrecht UL (MS 1117, fols 186^r-225^r). It was this version that Anglo drew on for his study.

Item 14. Feats of Arms of Sir Jehan de Chassa and Louis de Bretelles [1467] (fols 74^r-84^v)

The challenge [...] is certainly one of the most singular that were [*sic*] ever sent from one person to another. It is not exceeded in extravagance by anything similar in the volumes that recount the adventures of the Knights of King Arthur's round table, or those of the Emperor Charlemagne, or indeed in any other romance of chivalry. It affords a most curious specimen of the chivalrous spirit and manners of the times.²⁷²

²⁶⁸ Sydney Anglo, 'Le Jeu de la Hache: A Fifteenth-Century Treatise on the Technique of Chivalric Axe Combat', *Archaeologia*, 109 (1991), 113-28.

²⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 115.

²⁷⁰ TNA, E154/1/19. TNA, C145/278/37. Westminster Abbey Muniment 12163.

²⁷¹ *Excerpta Historica*, p. 211.

²⁷² H. Ellis and F. Douce, *Catalogue of the Lansdowne MSS in the British Museum* (London: British Museum, 1812-19), p. 100.

This is the reaction of the compilers of the catalogue of MSS in the Lansdowne collection in the British Museum. One of these, Francis Douce (1757-1834), was one of the first scholars to take seriously the study of the manners, customs, and beliefs of people in the past.²⁷³ This section of the codex not only contains the challenge and letter of acceptance but also a narrative of the combat itself. The two squires were principal members of the households of Duke Charles the Bold of Burgundy and Anthony Woodville, Lord Scales. Sir Jehan de Chassa was councillor-chamberlain to Charles²⁷⁴ whilst De Bretelles was, according to La Marche, 'un escuyer gascon [...] serviteur de monsieur d'Escalles'.²⁷⁵ He is described by Commynes as 'ung gentilhomme de Gascongne, serviteur du roy d'Angleterre'.²⁷⁶ The chronicler reveals Louis XI's attitude towards the squire: 'c'estoit ung tres mauvais paillart et qu'il le falloit garder de parler!'²⁷⁷ This may have been because the English used him as a diplomat to sabotage a French marriage alliance.²⁷⁸ Some confusion in his identification is due to the various spellings of his name. In a document recording his handing over of an important French prisoner to the English at Bordeaux he is referred to as an 'écuyer, nommé Louis de Brutailhs'.²⁷⁹ His challenge to De Chassa is couched in the vocabulary now familiar in correspondence of this sort. There are, however, some notable differences to the other challenges examined so far. In the first *chapitre* it is stated that the combatants 'run eleven courses on horseback with sharpened lanceheads without advantageous rests each of us carrying such lanceheads and such size of lance as we see fit' (fols 75^v-76^r). Although there is mention in the following narrative of the axes and daggers for the foot combat being inspected (fol. 81^v), it is not stated whether or not the lances were measured or inspected in any way.

²⁷³ See *DNB*. Dr Karen Watts deserves my thanks for alerting me to this intriguing antiquarian.

²⁷⁴ *Comptes de l'argentier de Charles le Téméraire duc de Bourgogne, 1. Année 1468*, ed. by A. Greve and É. Lebailly (Paris: Academie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, 2001), p. 241: payment to 'messire Jehan de Chassa, chevalier, conseiller et chambellan de mondit seigneur [...] en consideration des services qu'il luy a fais meismement aux jostes de ses nopces oudit mois de juillet'.

²⁷⁵ La Marche, III, 511.

²⁷⁶ Commynes, I, 379.

²⁷⁷ Commynes, I, 380.

²⁷⁸ See A. Peyrègne, 'Les Émigrés gascons en Angleterre, 1453-85', *Annales du Midi*, 66 (1954), 113-28 (p. 126).

²⁷⁹ P. Marchegay, 'La Rançon d'Olivier de Coëtivy, seigneur de Taillebourg et sénéchal de Guyenne, 1451-77', *BEC*, 38 (1877), 5-48 (pp. 9-10), citing a document translated from the 'langue gasconne' in J. Baurein, *Variétés bordelaises*, 6 vols (Bordeaux: Labottière, 1784-86), I, 134. See also Malcolm Vale's review of Lester, *Paston's 'Grete Boke'*, in *EHR*, 101 (1986), 977-78 (p. 978). Vale states, somewhat obliquely, that 'more is certainly known than is recorded here' about this squire.

This contrasts with other challenges. In an undated challenge in the codex it is stated that 'a lance-measure shall be placed in the ring a day before these feats of arms shall be done' (fol. 11^r). Similarly, for the Smithfield jousts of 1390 it is ordained that 'these lances shall be carried to the standard which shall be in this same field and all the lances shall be measured by this standard; and all shall be of one length' (fol. 13^r). It was the unknown oppressed lady who 'shall have placed at one end of the lists a number of lances all equipped in the same manner and of a just measure for running on horseback' for a *pas d'armes* at Brussels in 1462. Perhaps there was a level of trust between the two men. It also appears that De Bretelles was not so much of a danger with this weapon as 'in all the courses Louis broke but one lance' on his opponent (fol. 84^r). This is also affirmed by G. A. Lester who describes an early-sixteenth century MS which contains 'copies of some of the score cheques, including one for "Lewis de Bretail", who scored only 1' attaint.'²⁸⁰

Another interesting difference in De Bretelles's challenge is a clause allowing his adversary to 'adjust or increase anything in either of these feats of arms on horseback or those on foot' (fol. 76^v). This appears to be a unique instance of a challenger allowing his opponent to make changes to the *chapters*. De Chassa does, in fact, take him up on his offer requesting the feats of arms on horseback follow those on foot 'pour ensuyuir lusage francoys' his reasoning being that this will help to avoid the encumbrances which often come about through doing feats of arms on horseback (fol. 79^r).

This section is Item 12 in the *Grete Boke* of Sir John Paston (BRITISH LIBRARYMS Lansdowne 285, fols 22^v-24^v). In a rather garbled account a contemporary London chronicler records this 'dede of armys' 'bothe on hors backe and on foote' between 'Syr John de Cassy, knyght' and 'Botton' [*sic*], incorrectly stating that the combat 'was for lyffe and dethe'.²⁸¹

²⁸⁰ Lester, *Thesis*, p. 62, citing BL Additional MS 46354, fol. 58^v. For further information on this scoring method see Anglo, 'Archives of the English Tournament', pp. 153-62.

²⁸¹ 'Gregory's Chronicle, 1461-69', in *Historical Collections of a Citizen of London*, ed. by J. Gairdner (Westminster: Camden Society, 1876), pp. 210-39 (p. 232).

Item 15. Nuptials of my lord Charles Duke of Burgundy with Lady Margaret of England [Bruges 1468] (fols 86^r-121^r)

G. A. Lester has described this marriage as a ‘public event which caused a great stir at the time’.²⁸² This is undoubtedly an understatement. Reports of the nuptials were sent to all parts of Christendom: from Lübeck in the north to the court of Savoy in the south.²⁸³ The court chronicler and master of ceremonies Olivier de La Marche was commissioned to write what has been described as an authorised ‘explanatory programme booklet’.²⁸⁴ He produced two narratives as did his companion on the wedding-guest list Jehan de Haynin.²⁸⁵ Indeed, one of the annotators of the codex – probably the herald Sir John Anstis – mistakenly ascribes this section to the latter writer (fol. 2^r). The event inspired the imaginations of those present such as Sir John Paston who wrote to his mother: ‘as for the Dwkys coort, as of lordys, ladys, and gentywomen, knytrys, sqwyris, and gentyllmen, I herd neuer of non lyek to it saue Kyng Arthourys cort’.²⁸⁶ There is a contemporary account in Flemish²⁸⁷ as well as an English version of events which ‘seems to have been written by one of the heralds who attended the Princess’ in BRITISH LIBRARYMS Cotton Nero C. IX (fols 173^v-77^r) and Additional MS 46354 (fols 41^v-51^v).²⁸⁸ This has been hailed as ‘the most authoritative English account of the event’.²⁸⁹ The very ‘Englishness’ of this account is also attested by a derogatory comment made about the merchants from the realm of England’s ‘auld inemie’: Scotland. It is stated that the bride-to-be was met by ‘Venysyauns and Januas, *with* dyvers other nacions, as Esterlyngs, Espaniardis, Lucans, and Scots; all wear one horse bake, savinge the Scottis, which wear all one fowtte’.²⁹⁰ This is a flagrant example of English promulgation of the pernicious stereotype of the Scots as tight-fisted!

²⁸² G. A. Lester, ‘The Literary Activity of the Medieval English Heralds’, *English Studies*, 2 (1990), 222-29 (p. 226).

²⁸³ Richard Vaughan, *Charles the Bold: The Last Valois Duke of Burgundy* (London: Longman, 1973), p. 49 and Paravicini, ‘Court of the Dukes of Burgundy’, p. 76.

²⁸⁴ Paravicini, ‘Court of the Dukes of Burgundy’, p. 89.

²⁸⁵ De Haynin, II, 18-62. See also, Tabri, *Political Culture*, p. 114.

²⁸⁶ *Paston Letters*, I, 539.

²⁸⁷ ‘Huwelijksplechtigheden van Karel van Bourgondië en Margaretha van York’, ed. by W. Brill, in *Kronijk van het Historisch Genootschap gevestigd te Utrecht* (Utrecht: n. pub., 1866), pp. 37-48.

²⁸⁸ Printed in *Excerpta Historica*, pp. 227-39. For the author see p. 227.

²⁸⁹ G. A. Lester, ‘Fifteenth-Century English Heraldic Narrative’, *Yearbook of English Studies*, 22 (1992), 201-12 (p. 204).

²⁹⁰ BL Additional MS 46354, fols 41^v-51^v.

In one of the most picked-over phrases, the narrator states that he will not include a description of the jousting as 'Garter the Kyng of Armys hathe it in Frenche'.²⁹¹ This has been interpreted as evidence of heraldic recording of the event. The nuptials have continued to enchant historians and students of elite culture down the centuries. There is a great deal of information. Articles entirely devoted to this event were published in 1846, 1877, 1958, 1998, and 1991.²⁹²

Copies of the English account are to be found in various BRITISH LIBRARY MSS: MS Cotton Nero C. IX (fols 173^v-77^v), MS Harley 543 (fols 131^r-39^r), and Additional MS 6113 (fols 93^r-101^r).

Catherine Emerson, in her study of the 'grant hystorien'²⁹³ of the Burgundian court Olivier de La Marche, has convincingly shown that the French account is 'one of a number of redactions' by this writer. Various versions of La Marche's account are to be found in different MSS throughout Europe. They appear in a MS in Turin and in one in the Bibliothèque municipale of Valenciennes.²⁹⁴ The account in La Marche's *Mémoires* is from the Turin MS. The codex thus provides yet another version of the account.

²⁹¹ *Excerpta Historica*, p. 238. For discussion of this see Richard Firth Green, 'An Account of the Marriage of Margaret of York and Charles the Bold, 1468', *Notes & Queries*, 35 (1988), 26-29 (p. 27); London, *Life of William Bruges*, p. 31; Lester, 'Literary Activity', p. 227; Lester 'Heraldic Narrative', p. 205. Emerson, *Olivier de La Marche*, pp. 9-10.

²⁹² T. Phillipps, 'Account of the Ceremonial of the Marriage of Margaret [of York] to Charles, Duke of Burgundy, in 1468', *Antiquaries Journal*, 31 (1846), 326-38; La Marche, '*Historia Nuptiarum Caroli ducis Burgundiae*: Description inédite des fêtes célébrées à Bruges en 1468 à l'occasion du mariage du duc Charles le Téméraire avec Marguerite d'York', ed. by A. Dufor, *Mémoires de la Commission des antiquités de la Côte d'Or*, 9 (1877), 311-53; Dorothy Margaret Stuart, 'The Marriage of Margaret of York and Charles Duke of Burgundy July 1468', *History Today*, 8 (1958), 256-63; Green, 'An Account of the Marriage of Margaret of York', pp. 26-29; Patricia Robins, 'Le Mariage de Marguerite d'York et de Charles le Téméraire en 1468', *Handelingen van de Koninklijke Kring voor Oudheidkunde, Letteren en Kunst van Mechelen*, 95 (1991), 75-97.

²⁹³ Molinet, II, 456.

²⁹⁴ Emerson, *Olivier de La Marche*, pp. 7-10. Turin, Biblioteca nazionale universitaria, MS gallic. Codex XXI, L. V. 1. BM Valenciennes MS 776, fols 1^r-43^v.

4. Editorial Principles

Transcription

The scripts employed in the codex are, in themselves, things of great beauty and from a palaeographical standpoint a pleasure to read. Scribal professionalism and costliness permeate every folio. We are provided with a good idea of the cost of such a MS in England in the late-fifteenth century. The scribe employed on Paston's *Grete Boke* provided a bill 'for the Challenges and the Actes of Armes, which is xxvij^{ti} lefes – iiiij s viij d'.¹

The guiding principle of transcription is to be as faithful to the original as possible. In the interests of ease of reading for a modern audience the following principles will be observed. Where clear truncation or contraction marks are evident the text will be expanded in [brackets]. Legible words and letters that have been scored out will be rendered in <angle brackets>. Capitalization will remain as it appears. Letters in upper case will only be amended to lower case if they appear in the middle of a word, e.g. ToulonJon (Toulonion), balones (baiones). The use of *y* for *i* – as in Loys, suyvant – will be left in the original *moyen français*, as will *u / v* and *i / j*.² Cardinal and ordinal numbers will remain in their original form – in most cases in Latin rather than Arabic. No modern diacritics or punctuation will be added. Where there is textual ambiguity or palaeographical interpretation is necessary this will be provided by the apparatus of a numbered footnote. Regrettably, due to the expansions and editorial restrictions of the thesis, it is not possible to retain the *mise en page* of the codex's original line order. Paragraph spacing will be provided by indentation of the first line and words that carry over a line and were hyphenated in the original will be given as a single complete word in the transcription.

Translation

It has been pointed out that literature of this nature was produced for, and by, individuals of high social status. This 'curial' language contains repetitive doublets and

¹ BL Additional MS 43491, fol. 13^r, printed in Lester, *Thesis*, p. 113.

² For a recent discussion of the definition of Middle French, see J. C. Smith, 'Middle French: When? What? Why?', *Language Sciences*, 24 (2002), 423-45. The editors of the *DMF* give a date range of 1330 to 1500.

lengthy sentences that contain endless sub-clauses.³ Contemporaries also treated such extravagance with disdain. Abbot Bower, writing in the 1440s, did not wish to include superfluous chivalric material which might 'arouse boredom' in his audience.⁴ This disdain appears to have continued into the following centuries. An eighteenth-century editor stated:

We have either removed, or inserted by extract, according to their importance, the descriptions of the tourneys, *pas d'armes*, or other festivities of this nature; observed with the most scrupulous attention to preserve the names and the colours of the defenders and the challengers.

Nous avons ou retranché ou inséré par extrait, selon leur importance, les descriptions de Tournois, de Pas d'Armes, ou d'autres fêtes de cette nature; observant avec la plus scrupuleuse attention de conserver les noms & les couleurs des *Tenans* & des *Assaillans*.⁵

To a twentieth-century commentator

Both Haynin and La Marche are extremely conscious of minute details concerning the costumes of the knights, their attendants and even their horses. Pourpoints, plumes, bells, harnesses, and caparisons are tirelessly described over and over again, along with the respective mottoes of the challengers and the liveries of their pages, squires and other minions. Clearly the visual presentation of the knights mattered every bit as much to contemporaries as did the actual sport.⁶

A slightly more sympathetic stance has been adopted by G. A. Lester who concedes that there is *some* literary merit in the writings of English heralds.⁷ It is hoped that an even more nuanced approach will be adopted in future studies of the writings of these men.

An attempt will be made to retain the flavour of this courtly language whilst making it palatable to a modern readership. At times some of the discourse deictics such as 'cest assavoir' ('that is to say') and legalistic demonstrative phrases such as 'the said',

³ J. D. Burnley, 'Curial Prose in England', *Speculum*, 61 (1986), 593-614 (pp. 596-97). Also Jens Rasmussen, *La Prose narrative française du xv^e siècle* (Copenhagen: Munksgaard, 1958). My thanks go to Dr Rosalind Brown-Grant for bringing the latter to my attention.

⁴ Walter Bower, *Scotichronicon*, ed. by D. Watt, 9 vols (Aberdeen: UP, 1987-98), IX, 38.

⁵ *Collection universelle des mémoires particuliers relatifs à l'histoire de France*, no. ed., 65 vols (Paris, n. pub., 1785-91), VIII, pp. xiii-xiv, cited in Catherine Emerson, *Olivier de La Marche and the Rhetoric of Fifteenth-Century Historiography* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2004), p. 26.

⁶ Edward Tabri, *Political Culture in the Early Northern Renaissance: The Court of Charles the Bold, Duke of Burgundy (1467-77)* (New York: Mellen, 2004), p. 114.

⁷ G. A. Lester, 'The Literary Activity of the Medieval English Heralds', *English Studies*, 2 (1990), 222-29.

and 'the aforesaid' will be expunged in order to maintain the flow. Where possible, sentence order will be retained but there are many instances where this will need to be changed and longer sentences split up into shorter ones for ease of comprehension. Lester has described the language as 'over-elaborate' and 'long-winded' and further stated that even in a contemporary English translation of the material of 1467, 'expressions which are very natural in French (e.g. 'le bonnet hors de la teste') are rendered in a very wooden way, especially in the first English version ('my cap oute of my hede')'.⁸ This is evidence that Anglophone writers have struggled with such elaborate texts from their inception. The arboreal rendering of this language will be avoided as much as possible to improve the readability.

As is common in contemporary source material personal names are rendered in various forms: Jehan / Jean, Jacques / Jaicques, Philippe / Phelippe etc. These will be given as they are in names occurring infrequently. If a name is used more frequently the most common spelling of the name will be given. As far as possible where they can be identified individuals will be given their name or title as appears in UK scholarship, thus Duke Philip of Burgundy but Sir Philippe de Lalaing. Whilst some information on particular individuals will be provided if relevant – especially if they have been involved in feats of arms – there is not space in the thesis to provide biographical detail for them all. When provided, these details will come from the *DNB*, *DBF*, and *NBG*.

One common term that throws up many potentialities for confusion is *armes*. Individuals in the codex are described as doing their *armes* (*faire les armes*), signing letters with their *armes*, and having their banners and horses' trappers blazoned with their *armes*. In order to avoid confusion, the context in which the term is used will determine the way it is translated. There are two principal meanings; one martial, the other heraldic. When arms are described as something which must be done this refers to the martial meaning. This will thus be translated (without brackets for the extra words) as 'to do feats of arms'. The heraldic meaning will be translated as 'signed, blazoned etc. with the coat of arms'.

Philippe de Mézières advised his tutee Charles VI on his reading practices.

For the Holy Scriptures were written and spoken by the Saints in Latin and then translated into French and are of such substance to readers as [drinking from] streams

⁸ G. A. Lester, 'Fifteenth-Century English Heraldic Narrative', *Yearbook of English Studies*, 22 (1992), 201-12 (pp. 212 and 208).

rather than from the proper fount. What wonder! For in the Sacred Scriptures there are several particular words in Latin which, when read, pierce the heart with great devotion. But, when these are translated into French, they are found to be vulgar, lacking in strength and delectation.

Car la sainte escripture, escripte et dictee par les sains en latin et depuis translatee en francois, ne rent par telle substance aux lisans es ruisseaux comme elle fait en sa propre fontayne. Quel merueille! car il y a en la sainte escripture certains et plusiers motz en latin qui du lisant percent le cuer en grant devocion, lesquex translatez en francois se treuvent en vulgal sans saveur et sans delectacion.⁹

This excellent advice should be borne in mind when engaging with the wonderful original language of this codex. An English nobleman who delighted in feats of arms ('qui in actibus militaribus delectatur') provided an excellent caveat at the start of his treatise of 1354 which still applies to all Anglophones: 'si le franceis ne soit pas bon, jeo doie estre escusee, pur ceo qe jeo sui engleis et n'ai pas moelt hauntee le franceis'.¹⁰ At the end of the fourteenth century a Scots nobleman wrote to Henry IV: 'mervaille yhe nocht that I write my lettres in englis fore that ys mare clere to myne vnderstandyng than latyne ore Fraunche'.¹¹ I wish to share in the sentiment of these noblemen and the anonymous author of one section of the Royal Armouries codex who states: 'because of my uncouthness I beg the readers that they might wish to supply the faults and omissions if there be any' (fol. 87').

⁹ Philippe de Mézières, *Le Songe du Vieil Pelerin*, ed. by G. W. Coopland, 2 vols (Cambridge: UP, 1969), II, 223-24.

¹⁰ *Le Livre de Seyntz Medicines: The Devotional Treatise of Henry of Lancaster*, ed. by E. J. Arnould (Oxford: Blackwell, 1940), p. 239. The description of Henry is from the Patent Rolls, cited in N. H. Nicolas, 'Observations of the Institution of the Most Noble Order of the Garter', *Archaeologia*, 31 (1846), 1-163 (p. 153).

¹¹ BL MS Cotton Vespasian F. VII.

5. Text of the Codex: Transcription and Translation

Transcription of Leeds, Royal Armouries Library, Codex RAR.0035(I.35)

[Fol. 1^r]

[Top right corner nineteenth / twentieth-century cursive hand in pencil:]

228 / Paper

[Watermark (inverted)]

[Fol. 1^v blank]

[Fol. 2^r] [Seventeenth- / eighteenth-century hand]

Syllabus Contentorum

Articles of the Challenge of Ph[ilippe] de Bouton who attended the Bastard of Burgundy into England dated May 1467. p. 1.

Declaration du Pas a l'arbre d'or p. 2. that was upon the marriage of the Duke of Burgundy in 1468.

L'Estatut darmes de Tournoy par le Parlem[en]t d'Angleterre – i.e. Statutum Armor[um] tempore[m] Ed[wardi] primi. p. 5.

Faitz d'armes tant a pied com[m]e a cheval par deux Gentilzho[m]mes D Allemagne p. 5v.

Tournoy entre le Sire de Jonuelle et le Sire de Commines en Bruges p. 6.

La Crie des Joustes p. 8.

Ordonnance du Tho[mas] de Lancaster Duc de Clarence 3 Sept. 1408 p. 9.

Faitz d'armes par Chalons et de Beul a Tours 1446. p. 9 et iterum cum figuris p. 34. Feb. 1462 being the Articles of a Tilt to be performed p. 12.

Articles of a Tilt to be performed at Brussels 1 Jan[ua]ry 1462. w[hi]ch was prorogued to 28 Apr. 1463 at Bruges p. 16.

Joustes de Mons[eigneu]r Antoine Bastard de Bourgongne faites en Angleterre. AD 1466. p. 39.

Nopces de Mons[eigneu]r Charles Duc de Bourgongne avec Dame Marguerite d Engleterre p. 81. - - Des Joustes et Tournois et faictes p. 94. These were stiled

L'Arbre d'or In Marques d Honneur de la maison de Justis p. 126 tis said –

Joustes du Grand Bastard de Bourgogne en la ville de Bruges en L'an MCCCCLXVIII descrites exactement par Jean Seigneur de Haynin.

[Nineteenth- / twentieth-century cursive hand in pencil at an angle:]

This is the Writing of J[oh]n Anstis Garter King of Arms

[Fol. 2^v blank]

[Fols 3, 4 and 5 blank]

[Fol. 5 watermark (inverted)]

[MS 1]

[Fol. 6^r]

Le Challenge¹ philippe de Bouton

En lhonneur et en la reuerence de mon createur Jh[es]ucrist et de la tresglorieuse vierge marie sa mere et madame sainte anne et de mons[eigneu]r saint george pour le temps hoiseux escheuer et le tresnoble mesne² darmes maintenir et ensuyure et pour toutes bonnes et honorables œuures a mon pouoir mettre et tenir en exercice Je philippe bouton natif du pays de bourgoigne premier escuier a treshault de mon treshoubte seigneur mons[eigneu]r le Conte de Charolloys Je non constraint de mon plain gre au Jourduy [le] p[re]mier Jour de may par le bon congie et licence de mon treshoubte et souuerain seigneur mons[eigneu]r le duc de bourgoigne et de mons[eigneu]r et maistre dessus nomme ay chargie et esleue emprise de vne fleur penser atacher a mon bras dextre la quelle ie porteray ouuerte Jusques atant que a laide de dieu ie deffendray ou tresrenomme Royaulme dangleterre en la compaignie de mon treshonoure seigneur mons[eigneu]r le bastard de bourgoigne connue a la Roche³ Et lors Je descouureray ma pensee par le bon congie et licence de treshault et tresexcellent et tresvictorieux prince le Roy dangleterre qui de sa grace men a donne le congie Laquelle emprise Jay chargie et esleue comme dit est a lentencion que soubz vmbre dicelle Je puisse faire fournir et aco[m]plir certaines armes selon le contenu en mes chappitres cy apres desclair[es] et dont lentendement et conduite sensuyt.

Le premier chappitre est tel que Jay chargie et esleue lcelle pensee po[u]r emprise en Intencion que vng noble homme des condicions app[ar]ten[ant] a lcelles nobles oeuures execiter qui soit angloys ou tenant leur party le doieue touchier seulement et moy fournir et acomplir le contenu de mes chappitres.

Le second chappitre Et celui noble homme qui touchera en ma dicte emprise sera tenu de moy fournir et acomplir le contenu en mes Chapitres dedens six Jours apres lacomplissement darmes et de mond[it] seigneur le bastard.

¹ *Sic.*

² *Recte* 'mestier'.

³ *Recte* 'comte de la Roche'.

Le iij^{me} chappitre est que nous comparont ou lieu en lheure et Jour que nous sera baillie par les condicions comme dit est dessus par le Roy ou son co[m]mis ch[asc]un de nous deux monies⁴ et armes co[m]me [Fol. 6^v] a nobles hommes appartient en tel cas portant armes ou heaulmes ou choys et plaisir du⁵ ch[as]cun de nous en celles de guerre et sans atache de lhomme a la selle et tousiours a la toille quinze courses de lances a fers esmolus.

Le iiij^{me} chappitre Et par expresse charge Je suis tenu et obligie de liurer les lances garnies de fers et de fustz seullement et dont mon compaignon aura le choys desquelles lances on emportera deux a mond[it] compaignon dont Il choisira lune et Je courray a lautre et courrons si longuement desdites lances que lune ou les deux auront mestier de Renouueler Cest assaouir par eslie Rompues ou estre le fer esgreue a la discrecion de n[ost]re Juge Et se les arrestz desdites lances estoient Rompuz ou desclouez on les pourra Referrer a Juste mesure et sans mal engyn et a ch[asc]un Renouuellement desdites lances mond[it] compaignon aura le choiz comme dessus est et se pourra fournir de Rondelles mond[it] compaignon a son choys et plaisir de tourondelles⁶ aussi.

Le v^{me} chappitre Et ne pourra nul porter arrestz adua[n]tageux ne acrest⁷ ne chose mal engyngneuse quelconques et quil ne soit entre nobles hommes licites et Raisonables de porter et dauoir sur paine destre pugnys ou bon plaisir du Roy ou de son co[m]mis.

Le vij^e chapitre Et sil aduient que dieu ne vieulle que en fournissant lesdites armes que lung de nous deux fust porte par terre hors de sa selle de plaine attainte de la lance et sans cheute de son cheual a terre les armes seront tenues pour accomplies.

Le viij^e chapitre Et sil aduient que dieu ne vieulle que lung de nous deux en faisant lesdites armes soit blecie tellement quil ne puisse son emprise parfournir en ce cas les armes seront tenuz pour aco[m]plies.

Le viij^e et derrenier chappitre Et noz dites armes acomplies Incontinent et sur les Rencz celluy de nous deux qui plus aura Rompu de lances aura de son compaignon vne bague honneste pour donner a sa dame.

⁴ Recte 'montes'.

⁵ Extra *u*.

⁶ Recte 'contrarondelles'.

⁷ Recte 'arrest'.

Si prie a tous les nobles hommes du tresrenomme Royaulme dengl[eterre] que ceste mon emprise ne prengent ou entendent a presumpcion ne outrecuidance Car par la foy que Je doy a la chose du monde que plus crains et ayme Je ne le faiz fors en bonne et franche Intencion et⁸ [Fol. 7^r] pour les Raisons dessusdites Et principalement en esperance de gaignier et conquerre en ce faisant la grace de celle pour lamour a qui Je porte maditte emprise et pour acquerir la fraternelle acointance perpetuelle de cellui noble homme qui cest honneur et plaisir me fera de mon emprise fournir et qui me deschargera de ma charge au quel Je seray a Jamaiz seruiteur et frere Et en signe de verite et que Je vieul lesdites armes fournir et aco[m]plir en la maniere dessud[it] se dieu me garde dencombrier et denseigne Jay signe ces presens chapitres de ma main et seel au seau de mes armes Le premier Jour du moys de may lan mil CCCC soixante sept.

Commenceme[n]t de la declaracion du pas a larbre dor

En lonneur de dieu tout puissant et comme soubz sa grace et bonte Je poure cheualier nomme a larbre dor en voiaigeant par diu[er]ses longtaines Regions Apres maintes dangereuses et estroites adue[n]tures passees vne singuliereme[n]t et en c ses⁹ derreniers Jours non longueme[n]t passees ny ait este cause de singulier Regard et de grande Rendicion le louenge a dieu par Reconnoissance Et de quoy sanz plus Reiterer sup[er]flusement choses dites dessus Treshaulte et tresnoble princesse la dame de lisle celee ma maistresse et ma dame par ses lettres missibles presentement a Informe et aduertj en ma faue[u]r le tresexcellent et trespuissant prince le duc de bourgoigne mon tresredoubte seigneur icy present Et lesquelles lettres de mot a mot sont mises droit cy a front de mes presens chapitres souffisamment desclaratifz de toutes les causes et circonstances qui mont peu mouuoir et qui me moeue[n]t a droit cy en ceste glorieuse maison de bourgoigne estre arriue y auoir pris et quis gr[a]ce et licence pour y querir habitude et amiable acointance avec la noble cheualerie dicelle Soubz gracieuse co[m]munication et assay darmes lun avec lautre Et de quoy le commandement ma este donne outre ma valeur et linioncion dicellui par moy emprise moins bien aduise que bien digne A tous haultz et nobles pri[n]ces barons cheualiers et escuiers de ceste tresnoble et tresfameuse maison de bourgoigne Au Jourduy en toute humilite faiz ass[auoir] que ensuyuant certaines Requestes a moy

⁸ Word repeated on following fol.

⁹ *Sic.*

faictes par treshaulte et tresnoble dame la dame de lisle celle soubz le mistere dung p[re]cieux [Fol. 7^v] Riche arbre mis en ma main par lcelle A certaines condicions toutesfoiz et circonstances a moy bien difficiles lcellui arbre dor soubz le grace et hu[m]ble aggreement de tresexcellent prince monseigneur le duc de bourgoigne feray planter ou millieu de sa ville de bruges sur la marche a tel et si faitz misteres et gardes comme lordonnance a moy enioincte sur ce porte et contient Et comme distincteeme[n]t¹⁰ par mes chappitres cy apres et tout au plain sera viuement desclairer Affin de general Informacion publique et dont ch[asc]un se contente dont et comme la nature de cestui Riche arbre dor ainsi plante et curieusement garde porte effect armes et de cheualereux mestier par moy empris non par presumption maiz par commandeme[n]t pour ma maindrir et pour grandir et accroistre lhonneur daultuy en mon poure emprise.

Je supplie en toute humilite a tous nobles et haultz princes barons cheualiers et escuiers de ceste glorieuse maison qui apres les deuisemens de mes chapitres faitz et oyez Il leur plaise de leur grace moy presenter faueur et acquiescence en mes humbles prieres Eulx disposer liberalement et a donner de bon courage a ma deliurance et au secret de mon entreprendre Le quel originelement et a tous endroiz mœut de vraye noble amour et dhonneur enuers noblesse Par quoy co[m]me suis Informe de la parfondesse dhonneur et des vertuz qui ceaus reposent en merueilleuse clarte Tant plus Je me fie aussi et ose esperer ma briesue expedicion par voz nobles mains que dieu garde dencombre.

Sens[ui]t la fourme du pas a larbre dor

Le cheualier a larbre dor fait assauoir a tous princes barons cheualiers escuiers Et generalement a tous ceulx a qui noble pardon darmes app[ar]tient que pour le desir et vouloir de sa belle dame accomplir a son pouoir il a empris soubz congie souffisant de faire et tenir vng pas tant de Jouste que de tournoie Et le quel pas se co[m]me[n]cera par la Jouste et se assonnyra par le chappliz des espees Rabatues et sans pointtes par les chapitres et condicions cy dessoubz escriptes Et en esperant la Rompture de cent et vne lances ou que cent et vne lance Rompues en ceste emprise A entendre quil Rompe cent et vne lances ou que cent et vne lances soient Rompues sur lui Ledit

¹⁰ *Sic.*

cheualier entrepreneur en ceste partie entend et se delibere de courre par viij Jours suyans co[m]mencens ce dimenche iij^e Jour de present moys de Juillet lan lxxvij.

Et pour ce que ledit cheualier a l'arbre dor quiert et desire de tout [Fol. 8^r] son pouoir auoir l'acointance amour et priuante des princes cheualiers et nobles hommes de ceste triumphale et Renommee maison et soy esprouer a la cheualerie et prouesse de pluseurs Il a ceste cause co[m]pris et compile son dit pas et emprise par telle maniere quil courra tous les Jours a iij nobles hommes et a ch[asc]un demye heure dorloge sans comprendre en ch[asc]une demie heure les ecombre¹¹ delays ou autre te[m]ps perdu comme plus a plain sera desclairé cy apres

Sensuie[n]t les Chapitres

Le premier chapitre que len trouuera les lisses prestes co[m]me il appartient et ou milieu plante vng Riche arbre dor au quel arbre sera enchainé vng geant et au pres sur vng perron aura assis vng nain le quel aura vng cor a son col et deua[n]t vne orloge de sablon courant l'espace de demye heure et le quel commencera a courra a la premiere lance couchee et gardera l'entree de sa lisse arbre dor le quel sera en vng pauillon.

Le ij^{me} chapitre est tel que cheualier ou escuier qui voudra venir audit pas sera tenu destre a l'entree des lisses a telle heure que par arbre dor lui sera dit et signifie monte et arme co[m]me a tel cas app[ar]tient acompaignie de six hommes a cheual et quatre a pied et no[n] plus Reseruez pages a cheual sil en a lesquelz entreront dedens tant que la Jouste encommencera deua[n]t le quel cheualier ou escuier aura vng officer darmes le quel portera vng escu armoyé des armes dudit cheualier ou escuier pour pendre a l'arbre dor.

Le iij^e que nul ne pourra amener dedens les lisses plus de gens que dit est Reserue les princes lesquelz en pourront amener tant que bon leur semblera.

Le quart que alentree des lisses sera tenu ledit venant au pas de faire frapper dung gros martel de boys le quel prendra a la barrie[r] troys coups et lors sauldra arbre dor du pauillon le quel demandera que cest Et lors ouye la Responce Retournera au nain le quel deschainera le geant qui yra ouurir la barriere et amenera ledit cheualier dedens les lisses presenter aux dames.

Le quint que qua[n]t ledit cheualier aura fait vng tour autour de la toile Reuendra a son bout Et lors ledit arbre dor apportera deux lances toutes garnies dont ledit cheualier prendra le choye Et lors quant il sera prest led[it] nain sonnera son cor Et

¹¹ Sic.

apres ce [Fol. 8^v] le cheualier a l'arbre dor sauldra hors a l'autre bout par vne porte au quel sera bailliee la lance dont ilz seront tenuz de courre tant quelle soit Rompue et ou quel cas se bailleront autres et ainsi courre la moitie de demie heure.

Le vi^j^e que Incontinent que leditz cheualiers comme[n]ceront a courroie ledit nain dretera en cas que lun ne fust desarme ou quel cas lesditz cheualiers seront tenuz de courre et de la enauant en sera fait par ceste maniere.

Le vii^e que sil aduenoit que dieu ne veuille que lun deditz ch[eu]a[ill]ie[rs] fust blecie ou desarme tant que pour ce Jour ny eust Remede de plus courre en ce cas ledit cheualier a l'arbre dor pourra mettre autre en son lieu tel que bon lui semblera pour fournir son dit pas Maiz ou cas quil aduenist au cheualier venant audit pas sera tenu pour aco[m]plir de sa p[er]sonne sans en plus faire.

Le viii^e que celui qui durant la demie heure Rompra le plus de la[n]ces sur son companion par la maniere cy apres desclaiee gaignera vne verge dor la quelle celui qui mauis en aura Rompu sera tenu de lui faire presenter aua[n]t le partir les lisses telle que bon semblera a ch[asc]un.

Le ix^e que sil aduenoit que dieu ne veuille que lun des deux fust porte par terre d'attainte de lance sans cheual ou a tout cheual celui qui ainsi l'aura abatu gaignera vng Rubi enchasse en vne verge dor La quelle lui sera pareillement presentee sur les Rencz.

Le x^e que nulle lance ne sera tenue Rompue selle nest Rompue d'attai[n]te au dessus de la selle et vne poingnie entre le Rochet et la grappe du moins.

Le xi^e que led[it] cheualier a l'arbre dor liurera toutes les lances garniez de Roches d'agrappe et de Rondelles de quoy on courra audit pas sans que nul puisse courre d'autre Et dont ledit cheualier venant aura le choiz a ch[asc]un foiz.

Le xii^e que la demie heure sera passee et que l'orloge <s> du nain sera couru hors et quil cornera seront par arbre dor apportez deux planco[n]s dont le cheualier de dehors aura le choiz desquelz deux plancons sero[n]t tenuz de courre vne course sans plus pour lamour de la dame de lisle celee attainte on et non plus.

Le xiii^e que sur vng hourt ou milieu des Rencz aura deux ou troys nobles hommes ordonnez par mond[it] seigneur avec iiij officiers darmes lesquelz seront Juges des lances Rompuees et qui plus en aura Rompu et [Fol. 9^r] le mieulx besoignie Et aussi de tous autres debatz qui sourdre pourroient durant ledit pas affin de sauoir Justement donner le pris sans faueur a qui l'aura mieulx gaignie et lesquelz en seront creuz par leur serement.

Le xiiij^e qui celui que durant le pas pour sa demie heure aura le plus Rompu de lances sur le cheualier a larbre dor par la maniere cy dessus desclairée sera p[rese]nte le pris le destrier couuert ensemble le harnoys en quoy et sur quoy le cheualier a larbre dor aura couru pour celui Jour le quel destrier couuert et harnoys luy sera presente sur les Rencz et deua[n]t les dames.

Le xv^e et derrenier chapitre Et pour ce que le ch[eu]a[[ie]r a larbre dor est estrangier et petitement acompagnie de gentz et de conseil Requiert ou nom de la dame de lisle celle sa maistresse en toute hu[m]ilite a tous les cheualiers princes et nobles hommes qui a ce pas auro[n]t couru quil leur plaise luy faire tant dhonneur et de courtoisie que de la co[m]paignier le lendemain quilz auront couru contre lui Assauoir iij a iij ainsi quilz auront estre au pas de la quelle chose de Rechief il supplie treshumblement lui estre ainsi accorde etc. Pourueu toutesuoiez que nul ne pourra changier cheual sur paine de perdre le pris.

Sensuyue[n]t les chapitres du tournoy

Le premier chapitre est tel Tous nobles hommes p[er]sonneleme[n]t qui contre le cheualier entrepreneur auront couru seront tenuz de eulx ioindre et associer avec ledit cheualier affin dilec¹² lui fournir le tournoy et porter le faiz du chapliz despees a lencontre de tous ceulx qui venir et voudront Et porterent tous comme ledit ch[eu]a[[ie]r parures et enseignes a larbre dor en souenance de la dame de lisle celee.

Le ij^e chapp[it]re Et tous ceulx qui deueront tournoier a cestui noble pas seront tenuz de eulx presenter a treshault et victorieux prince mons[eigneu]r le duc de bourgoigne etc. au Jour et a lheure quil leur sera ordonne.

Le iij^e que a lheure que leur sera signifie ilz seront tenuz de enuoyer tous a vne foiz presenter leurs escuz affin destre mis [**Fol. 9^v**] a larbre dor ainsi et par la maniere que ceulx de la Jouste.

Le iiij^e que nul ne pourra apporter espees si non quelles soient sans pointes et Rabatues telles et si Raisonnables co[m]me a noble et franc tournoy app[ar]tient Lesquelles seront presentees aux Juges par les officiers darmes pour le visiter Et apres ce¹³ <s> le nain sera apporter plusuers lances desquelles le chief des vena[n]s de hors et ses compaignons en pourrons choisir ch[asc]un vne et les aut[re]s ledit nain les portera au cheualier entrepreneur et a ses compaignons.

¹² Descender of the s of *seront* in the line above obstructs.

¹³ Interlineated.

Le v^e Et qua[n]t ilz seront fourniz de lances et despees dun coste et dautre ledit nain se Retraira au pied de larbre dor et sonnera son cor Et incontine[n]t commenceront a courre ch[asc]un vne course de lance seulement et tous a vne foiz Et puis mettront le nain aux espees en frappant du hault des bras tant et si longueme[n]t que par le Jugement des dames la prouesse promise a la dame de lisle celee par le ch[eua]ll[ie]r a larbre dor puisse estre accomplie Et que leur plaisir soit de faire departir la meslee.

Le vj^e Et tantost apres la bataille cessee ledit ch[eua]ll[ie]r entrepreneur fera enquerir aux dames et aux Judges de celle feste qui a este celui dung coste ou dautre qui le mieulx aura feru despee pour celle foiz Et a lcellui aua[n]t partir des Rencz sera presenter par arbre dor son cheual couuert et son harnoys pour le pris dicellui tournoye.

Le vij^e Et affin que toutes choses soient mieulx faites et ente[n]dues deurant le temps de ceste noble emprise tant de la Jouste comme du tournoye mon tresredoubte seigneur ordonnera nobles hommes a ce congnoissans lesquelz auront pouoir de ordonner sur le tout comme seroit la personne de mondit seigneur.

Le viij^e et dernier chapitre Et apres le pris du tournoye baillie du cheualier entrepreneur a telle heure expediera arbre dor le herault le cheualier pignant le grant prisonnier et ses soldoyers Et par eulx enuoiera a la dame de lisle celee son arbre dor enrichi des nobles blasons dont dessus est fait mencion Et ainsi et p[ar] celle maniere sera acheuee ladventure de larbre dor Et le ch[eua]ll[ie]r entrepreneur accompaignie de tous ceulx qui contre lui auront Jouste et tournoye accompaignera les dames en leur hostel Et puis se Retrira pour mettre fin a ceste emprise. [Fol. 10']

Si prie et Requier en toute humilite le cheualier a larbre dor entrepreneur en ceste partie a vous tresexcellent et tresvictorieulx prince et mon tresredoubte seigneur mons[eigneu]r le duc de bourgoigne quil vous plaise de vous tant humilier en la Requeste de ladicte entreprise aco[m]plir que v[ost]re plaisir soit de asserter le Jugeme[n]t de chose Et de prester lieu faueur et noblesse pour la fourniture de ce Et se dieu donoit tant de eur audit suppliant que vous qui tant de foiz vous estes trouue a lexercice darmes voulsissiez personnelleme[n]t trauailler a la complisseme[n]t du vouloir de la belle dame ledit cheualier le tendroit a plusgrant eur qui lui pourroit aduenir Requier et supplie tous autres princes barons ch[eua]ll[ie]rs et generaleme[n]t tous nobles ho[m]mes de eulx vouloir trauaillier en ceste <matre> matiere co[m]me po[u]r eulx a telle deliurance le feroit en tel cas Requier aussi treshu[m]blem[en]t

pri[n]cesses dames et damoyelles de prendre la paine de veoir lessay de cheualerie
esprouuer qui contre lui vendra Et aussi quilz veuille[n]t Induire et enhorter leurs amis
et seruiteurs daccomplir la Req[ue]ste dudit suppliant qui supplira au dieu damours
quil vous doint paruenir a ce que plus desirez. Amen

Cy finit le pas a larbre dor

Lestatut darmes de tournoys par le parleme[n]t dangleterre

Pourueu est et confereme par estatut en la Requeste de tous les banneers
dengleterre que nul desormaiz que a tournoyer voet soit si hardj dauoir plus de troys
escuiers pour lui seruir a porter chapel <de> <e> darmes son s[eigneu]r quil seruira
a la Journee pour ensigne Et que nul cheualier ne nul escuier qui serue en tournoye
ne porte espee a pointte ne coutel ne baston ne mace fors espee large pour tournoyer
Et que tous les banneers <qu l> qui laus¹⁴ porteront soient armez des coustelers des
cuissieres et des espaulieres et de bacinet sans plus Et sil aduient que aucun conte
ou baron ou autre cheualier voyse encontre ceste statut que cellui cheualier p[ar]
assent de tout le baro[n]nage p[er]de cheual et harnoys et demo[n]ge en prison a la
volente mons[eigneu]r Edward frere du Roy et le conte de gloucestre et le conte de
suchol Et se nul escuier face encontre cest estatut en aucun point quil p[er]de cheual
et harnoys et soit troys [Fol. 10^v] ans en prison du Roy Et si aucun tire cheualier a
terre fors ceulx qui sero[n]t armez pour leur seigneur seruir que le cheualier puisse
Recouurer son cheual et cellui soit a la forfecture des escuiers aua[n]tditz Et que nul
fors de grans seigneurs Cestassauoir de conte ou de baron ne soit armez fors de
mustelers et de cuisseres et des espaulieres et de bacinet sans plus Et quilz ne
portent espee ne coutel a pointte ne mace fors espee large Et si aucun vient encontre
ceste statut quil p[er]de <s> le cheual sur le quel il sera monte et quil soit en prison
vng an et que ceulx qui vienne[n]t pour veoir le tournoyement ne soient armez de
nulle maniere darmure ne quilz ne portent couteulz a pointte ne espee ne baston ne
mace sur la fourfecture des escuiers deuantditz Et que nul garson ne homme a pied
ne porte espee ne coutel ne baston ne lance et se nul soit trouue en forfecture soit
vng an en prison Et si grant seigneur ou autre tient mangerie quil ne mayne escuyier
fors ceulx qui trancheront deua[n]t leurs s[eigneu]rs Et que nul Roy des harnoys ne

¹⁴ *Recte* 'larmes'.

menestraulx ne portent priuees armes ne autre fois leur espee sans pointe Et le Roy des harnoyz leur hauctes des armes sans plus etc. Jhon Paston

Coppie des Chappitres de certains faitz darmes tant a pied comme a cheual qui par deux gentilz hommes dalemagne touchant certaine emprise Comme il sensuyt

En nom de dieu le tout puissant et de sa glorieuse mere et de mons[eigneu]r saint george Je guillaume de boursset escuier ay empris de porter vne emprise pour faire armes a cheual et a pied comme cy sensuyt.

Item au premier chapitre seray tenu cellui qui touchera en mon emprise de fournir et accomplir lesd[ites] armes tant a cheual comme a pied et ny pourra nul toucher quil ne soit gentil homme sans villain Reproche.

Item au ij^e chapitre cellui qui touchera a madicte emprise sera tenu de me fournir et acco[m]plir lesdites armes a cheual a la toille Jusques a ce que lun de nous deulx aura Rompu quatre lances Cestassauoir de puis pied et demy deua[n]t larrest et deux ou troys dois derrire le fer.

Item au iij^e chapitre quant lun de nous aura Rompu premier quatre lances au dessus la sainture en harnoyz et selles de guerre sur cheualx telz que a ch[asc]un plaira et a lances de guerre et a fers esmoulus les armes [Fol. 11'] de ce Jour seront acco[m]plis Et mettray sus les Rencs la mesme des lances vng jour deuant que lesdites armes se feront Et se adue[n]ture que dieu ne vueille lun de nous bleceoit le cheual de lautre dont mort ou affolure ensuyst Il sera tenu de le Rendre au Regard du Juge et des cheualiers et escuiers qui seront presens.

Item au iiij^e chapitre lesdictes [armes] a cheual faittes et acomplies sera tenu ledit deffendeur le iour apres me combatre a pied arme de telz harnoiz quil nous plaira prendre pour la seurete de noz corps et me fournit Jusques a ce que six pointtes despee seront acco[m]pliz Dont Je comme entreprena[n]t seray tenu de deliurer lesdictes espees pareilles et dune gra[n]deur et en bailleray au deffendeur le choys.

Item au v^e chapitre apres ce que lesdictes pointtes despee seront faitz et acco[m]plis nous <vous> nous Retrironz et desmarcherons cinq pas arriere lun de lautre et prendrons ch[asc]un vne hache et ce fait nous ressemblerons ensemble tant que douze coupz seront fourniz et acco[m]pliz et Je liureray pareillement lesdictes haches dune grandeur et en donray le choys audit deffendeur.

Item au vj^e chappitre lesdictes armes faittes et accomplies tant a cheual comme a pied se Je entreprenant faitz mieulx que le deffendant ledit deffendeur sera tenu de

me donner vng tel Joyel ou aussi bon que estoit madicte emprise a quoy il aura touche et se ledit deffendeur faict mieulx que moy entreprena[n]t mon emprise ou il aura touche sera a lui pour en faire a son plaisir.

De puis lescript de ces chapitres que ledit fait darmes a este fait et aco[m]ply selon le contenu des susditz chapitres et au lieu et place contenu en Iceulx chapitres et en la presence du Juge denomme en Iceulx.

Le tournoy entre le sire de Jonuelle et le sire de commines

Or oez or oez Seigneurs cheualiers et escuiers dames et damoyelles on vo[us] fait assauoir vng tresgrand et noble pardon darmes dun tresgrand et tres noble tournoy qui sera en la tresnoble ville de Bruges le viij^e Jour de may de par vng tresnoble baron le sire de Jonuelle de la partye de francoys Et de par le tresnoble baron le sire de commines de la partie des flamans Et seront leditz tournoians en leurs logeis le ij^e Jour deua[n]t ledit to[ur]noy Et le ij^e Jour deua[n]t ledit tournoy lesditz deux barons feront clouer leurs armes et mettre leurs bannieres dedens la place ch[asc]un deuers sa marche Et ceulx qui doiuent tournoyer ch[asc]un tendra sa marche pareillement Et led[it] Jour sur la vespree lesdites bannieres seront lors monstrees sur la place et mettront leurs heaulmes a leurs fenestres apres sen yro[n]t [Fol. 11^v] Jouer dancier et mener bonne vie Et le landemain sirons sur la place a dix heures de par le commandeme[n]t du sire de Roboys Et le gouuernuer de flandres diseurs dudit tournoy Et qui sera mieulx combatu et qui mieulx co[m]batra de la marche des francoys aura vne tresriche espee Et celui de la p[ar]tie de flandres aura pareilleme[n]t vng tresriche heaulme.

Aussi doiuent auoir tous cheualiers et escuiers dudit tournoy ch[asc]un vng varlet arme dedens la place sans baston de deffence pour bailler a leur ditz maistres espee ou bastons se mestier estoit ou se il leur falloit aucun harnoys en la place pour le faire amender se mestier en estoit.

Et landemain se cloueront leurs armes ch[asc]un deuers sa marche et mettro[n]t leurs bannieres et les heaulmes pareillement dessus la place Et les ditz deseure seront en ladicte place a heure de dix heures et partiront leurs dictes armes ainsi qui leur semblera bon et quel leur plaira Et recloueront leurs armes ch[asc]un ou lui est co[m]mande Et dont le p[re]mier banneret mettra sa banniere au co[m]mencement

desditz¹⁵ blasons et clouera le blason de ses armes a l'autre bout Et qui ne vendra deua[n]t le clouage de leur mise il ne tournera point.

Et aussi sera fait pareillement de l'autre Baron Et est le droit du tournoys telle que se il est enclos des tournoians qui pour occasion deschauffement ou que son plaisir il soit il se poeult desheaumer et ne sera touche ne batu Jusques a ce quil se sera Reaulme.¹⁶ Par le commandeme[n]t desditz deseurs

Les Roys darmes et heraulx si cheuacheront par my la ville de bruges p[ar] le commandeme[n]t desd[it]z deseurs de logis en logis en disant A laiches cheualier et escuiers a laiches cheualiers et escuiers Et <p> apres le commandeme[n]t desditz deseurs les Roys darmes et heraulx sen Iront cheualchant de logis en logis [en disant] hors cheualiers et escuiers hors ch[eua]ll[ie]rs et escuiers.

Et apres lesditz deux banneres sen vendront ch[asc]un a la place deuers sa marche et tous les tournoyeurs qui deueront tournoyer vendro[n]t ch[asc]un apres sa banniere Et dedens la place aura tendu deux cordes et la y demouront Jusques a tant quil plaira auxditz deseurs et tournoyeront a espees sans pointtes et Rabatues et aura chascun tournoyant vng baston pendu a sa selle et feront desdites espees et bastons hault et bas tant quil plaira auditz deseurs Laissez les aller lessez les aller.

Et apres eulx bien combatus commanderont lesditz deseurs au Roy darmes et heraulx quilz portent lesdites banneres et pannons [**Fol. 12'**] ploiez vos banneres.

Et apres ce fait sen yront et Retireront ch[asc]un cheualier et escuier en son hostel et dessus la vespree se assembleront cheualiers et escuiers dames et damoyelles et haeuront chanteront danceront et menero[n]t Joyeuse vie.

Et apres le noble souper et dance lesditz deseurs sassembleront lesditz Roys darmes et hereaulx Et pour la partie de la marche de france demanderont aux marches de flandres le quel a mieulx combatu de la partie des francoys Et apres eulx regardans dames et damoyell[es] sera demande lequel de lad[ite] marche de France a mieulx deseruy dauoir le pris de lespee Et de par deulx damoyelles pucelles fu presentee laditte espee a hault et puissant prince le duc de bourgoigne Et ainsi pareillement de la marche de flandres fut presente le heaulme au sire de mamynes. Le seigneur de Jonuelle premier banneret.

Mons[eigneu]r le duc de bourgoigne banniere

Mons[eigneu]r le Conte de saint pol banniere.

¹⁵ The mark after this word is possibly an omission sign.

¹⁶ *Sic.*

Et quatre autres seigneurs a banniere.

Cheualiers

Mess[ir]e Jehan de hornes

Mess[ir]e Jehan Rochefort

et six autres cheualiers.

Escuiers a pannon

Le bastard de bourgoigne pannon

Messire Jehan de Robois pannon.

Et fut ledit seigneur de Jonuelle accompaignie de la partie des francoys ce Jour audit
tournoy lxxviii heaulmes.

Le sire de Commynes banniere

Mons[eigneu]r de Trassignez banniere

Et viij autres s[eigneu]rs a banniere.

Cheualiers

Mess[ir]e pierre des hornes

Mess[ir]e Josse halowin

Et troys autre ch[eua]ll[ie]rs.

Pannons

Loys de hanesquerque pannon

[Fol. 12^v]

George loste pannon

Et deux autres pannons.

Et pareillement fut led[it] seigne[u]r de commynes ce dit Jour accompaignie de la partie
des flamans de lxxviii heaulmes.

Cy dessus sont les noms des seigne[u]rs barons ch[eua]ll[ie]rs et escuiers qui o[n]t
este a cest noble tournoy en la ville de bruges.

Cy apres sensuyue[n]t les noms des dames et damoyselles qui ont este a ce noble
tournoy en lad[ite] ville de bruges.

Madame de brucelles viscontesse de meaulx

Madame de la grutuse.

Et onze aut[re]s dames et damoysell[es].

Ce sont les noms des Roys darmes et heraulx du fait dud[it] tournoy

Le Roy darmes ou herault qui criera la feste du tournoy portera les blasons des deux bannieres qui feront crier led[it] tournoy Et aussi sont tenuz lesdites deux bannieres de donner aud[it] Roy darmes ou herault six aulnes descarlade et doibue[n]t trouuer ses despens Jusq[ue]z en la fin dudit tournoy.

Et aussi les Roys darmes ou heraulx doibuent auoir de ch[asc]un vng clouage vj s[ou]s paris[i]s.

Et aussi doibue[n]t auoir les bannieres de leurs maistres en leurs cotes darmes et les drappeures de leurs armes qui sont sur leurs heaulmes Et semblablement doibue[n]t auoir de ceulx qui sont tournoyans aud[it] tournoy auoir les blasons de leurs armes.

Le sire de Jonuelle

Aussi Bethfort le herault ault[re]mens appele Excestre portera la banniere du premier banneret Na[u]mur le herault portera la banniere du sire de co[m]mines flandres Roy darmes porta la ba[n]nie[re] de hault et puissant prince le duc de bourg[oign]e Saint pol le herault porta la banniere dud[it] conte de saint pol.

Et ainsi ensuyua[n]t ont estre seruis tous les autres seigne[u]rs et baro[n]s dudit tournoy.

Et doibuent aussi lesditz Roys darmes et heraulx les droitz de tous les heaulmes des nouueaulx tournoyans etc.

Cest la fin dudit tournoy

[Fol. 13']

La crie des Joustes

Oez seigneurs Cheualiers et escuiers nous vous faisons assauoir vng tresgrand fait darmes et vnes tresnobles Joustes les quelles seront faictes par vng cheualier qui portera vng escu de gueulles et sus vng blanc serf ayant vne couronne entour le col auecq vne chayne pendant dor sur vne trasse verte Et l'icellui cheualier acco[m]paignye de vingt cheualiers tous abillez dune couleur Et de puis le dimanche ix^e Jour doctobre prouchain vena[n]t en la neufue abbaye pres de la tour de londres Et dicellui lieu ces mesmes ch[eu]a[[ie]rs seront menez par vingt dames vestues dune liuree et de la dessusdicte couleur et seute des dessus ditz cheualiers tous oultre et parmy la noble cite dicte la neufu troy aultrement appelee londres Et tout oultre celle mesme porte lesditz cheualiers tendro[n]t champ appelle Smitfelde et par lostel de saint Jehan appelle Clerkuelle Et la ilz danceront et hoeront et meneront Joyeuse vie Et le la[n]demain le lundj lesditz vingt cheualiers en vne liuree co[m]me est dit

deua[n]t en ce mesme champ de Smitfelde armez et montez sur les Rencz dedens l'heure de haulte prime pour deliurer toutes manie[re]s de ch[eua][lie]rs qui voudront la venir pour Jouster ch[asc]un deulx six lances telles comme ilz trouuernt sur les Rencz lesquelles lances seront portees a lestandare le quel estandare sera en ce mesme champ par le quel estandare seront mesurees toutes les lances dune longue[ur] Et lesditz vingt ch[eua][lie]rs Jousteront en haultes selles Et que les lances aient Raisonables Roques Et les escutz desditz cheualiers ne seront couuers en nulle maniere de fer ne dacier lesquelles Joustes les nobles dames et damoyselles donneront au cheualier qui Joustera mieulx dehors vng cor garny dor Et a cellui q[ui] mielx¹⁷ dedens Joustera vng blanc leurier avec vng colier dor en tour de son col Et le landemain le mercredj ensuiua[n]t les mesmes vingt cheualiers dessus no[m]mez seront eus ou deuantit champ pour deliurer tous cheualiers et escuiers quelzco[n]ques avecques au tant de lances comme[n]t il leur plaira a Jouster Et la sera donnee par les dames a celluy Jour et a celuy qui mieulx Joustera dehors vng cercle dor Et a cellui qui mieulx Joustera dedens vne sainture doree Et a la dame ou damoiselle qui mieulx dancera ou qui menera plus Joyeuse [Fol. 13^v] vie les troys Jours deua[n]tditz qui est a entendre le Dimanche le lundj et le mardj sera donnee par lesditz cheualiers vng fermail dor<e> Et a la dame et¹⁸ damoyselle qui mieulx dancera et Reueillera apres elle qui est a entendre le second pris desditz troys Jours sera donnee vng anel dor avecq vng diamant Et quiconque Joustera lesditz troys Jours de lance qui ne soit de la mesure de lestandare ne emportera ne luy s[er]a donnee nulle maniere de pris ne gre Et qui Joustera lesditz troys Jo[ur]s de non Raisonables Roques perdra son cheual et son harnoy Et le mercredj ensuyuant lesditz troys Jours desdites Joustes seze escuiers portans escuz de gueules Et dessus les escuz vng griffon d'argent montez armez et cheuauchans en haultes selles avecq blancs secotz et escuz comment il est dit deuant tendront le champ et deliurero[n]t tous cheualiers et escuiers qui venir y voudront au tant de lances que bon leur semblera Et sera donnee en ce mesme champ a cellui qui mieulx Joustera dehors vng noble coursier selle et bride Et a celui qui mieulx Joustera dedens vng beau chapellet bien ouure de soye Et sera seurete par la vertu de cest noble pardon darmes a tous estrangiers cheualiers et escuiers qui voudront venir a la susdite feste Et pour demourer et passer vingt Jours deuant la feste et xv Jours apres par la vertu des treues donnees et acordees

¹⁷ *Sic.*

¹⁸ *Recte 'ou'.*

par les deux Roys sans aucun empeschemen[t] leur donner Et sur cela auoir
saufr conduit a tout homme qui auoir le vouldra du Roy n[ost]re souuerain seigneur

Explicit

Nous thomas de lancastre filz et frere au tresnoble Roy dengleterre et de France duc
de Clarence Conte de dammarle grand seneschal dangleterre et Connestable en lost
du Roy mons[eigneu]r Considerans comme danciennete par les tresnobles et
victorieux emp[er]e[u]rs Roys et princes de la fondacion de loffice darmes aux
officiers s[er]uite[u]rs exerceans ou dit office leur furent attribuez plus[ieus] priuileges
en droitz darmes de labondance de la cheualerie et de fait exerces aua[n]t cest heure
eues es nobles voiajes de mond[it] seigne[u]r le Roy si bien comme au temps de ces
nobles predecesseurs Nous sont sur ce venuz treshumblement supplier Jarter Roy
darmes des angloys accompaignie de tous les autres Roys darmes et heraulx de
lobeissance du Roy mons[eigneu]r pour les tesmoignier par noz lettres **[Fol. 14']**
scelles et par lcelles signifier a tous estaz les droitz que audit office appartiennent
pour les fiez des bannieres et que lesditz de loffice doibuent prendre des princes
contes barons et cheualiers banneretz pour leur banniere et co[m]me de perpetuelle
memoire a este acoustume Signifio[n]s a tous ceulx qui ces presentes verront ou
orront que lesditz de loffice darmes doibuent de droit demander des princes contes
barons et banneroyz de fait lexploiter Cestassauoir vng duc qui Releuera sa
ba[n]nier[e] doit aux officiers seruiteurs darmes pour sa banniere a ceulx de loffice xx
li. estrelingz et pareilleme[n]t le baron qui Releuera sa banniere doibt a loffice
dessusdicte .C. s. sterlingz Et le cheaulier banneret qui metra sus ou Releuera
banniere <s> doit pour sa banniere .v. m[a]rc' estelingz Et pour ce que les estatz
susditz sachent veritableme[n]t quilz doie[n]t aux Roys darmes et heraulx pour leur
honneur exaulcier comme dessus est et les ditz de loffice nen demandent autre droit
qui ne leur app[ar]tient tesmoignons a cause de ce comme dessus en est faicte
mention et pour ce dessus plus veritablement approuer auons fait mettre a ceste
noz prese[n]tes n[ost]re seel donne ens ou siege Royal de mons[eigneu]r le Roy
deua[n]t sa ville de Caen en sa duchie de Normandie le iij^e Jour de Septembre en lan
m[i]l CCCC et viij

Chalons

Lan de grace mil quatre cens quarante six en la noble ville de Tours en touraine vint honnoure escuier Jehan Chalons natif du Royaulme dangleterre pour accomplir certain fait darmes Entre luy et loys de Beul tenant le party du Roy Charles Comme et par la fourme contenue es articles cy apres ens[uyuant] entre les deux escuiers Et arriua ledit Chalons en ladicte ville de tours le xix^e Jour de Januier Et fist ces armes le dimenche v^e Jour de feburier Et entra es lices enuiron xij heures en grand honneur Et en yssy a greigneur sans comparaison.

La estoit le Roy charles et la Royne comme Juge Et en sa co[m]paignie moult de notables princes ducs contes barons cheualiers et notables personnes et plus[ieus]rs dames et damoyselles.

Le Roy de Cecille

Le duc dorleans

Le duc de bretagne [**Fol. 14^v**]

Mons[aigneu]r Charles danjou

Le Conte dangoulesme

Pierres mons[aigneu]r frere du duc de bretaigne

le Conte de vandosme

Le conte de dunoys

Le conte de <fe> fouez et son frere

Le conte de laual

Le conte de Clairemont

Le conte de Eu

Le conte de tancauille

Le conte de dampmartin

Le sire de gaucourt

Le s[ir]e destouteuille

Le s[ir]e du bueil

Le s[ir]e de precigny

Mess[ir]e prege[n]t de Cotiuy admiral de france

Mess[ir]e pierres de bresey Seneschal de france

Mons[aigneu]r de precigne

Mons[aigneu]r de gallont lun des <seneschaul> mareschaulx de France

Et plus[ieu]rs autres notables p[er]sonnes dont ne sauons pas les no[m]s Et de peuple de x a xij mille a pied et a cheual pour veoir aco[m]plir les faitz desdictes armes Et oultre y estoient.

Larcheuesque de Tours

Leuesque de mal gallone

Leuesque de vienne.

Et entra led[it] Chalons ou champ et es lices environ vne heure deuant loys de Beul Et la se presenta deuant le Roy et la Royne et les notables seigneurs dames et damoysselles qui la estoient entre lesquelles estoient les deux filles de Escosse.

Et la estoit ledit chalons acompaignie du s[ir]e de daudellay du s[ir]e de Camus de mathieu Bogh et harnois escuiers dont il y en auoit x qui portoient ch[asc]un vne lance garnye deua[n]t ledit chalons et plus[ieu]rs notables poursuyua[n]s portans la cotte darmes dudit **[Fol. 15^r]** Chalons Et y auoit quatre trompettes qui portoient ch[asc]un vne banniere de ses armes au champ deuant luy dont ensuyent les noms.

Colier poursuyua[n]t du Roy n[ost]re s[eigneu]r

Nuelles poursuyua[n]t de mons[eigneu]r de Scales

Lyon dor poursuyua[n]t de mons[eigneu]r de doudellay

Beul poursuiuant de matheu Bogh.

Et estoit led[it] chalons monte sur vng couriser couuert de satin noir Et deuant et derriere vne croix Rouge Et apres sa presentacion deua[n]t le Roy et la Royne et la noble seigneurie qui la estoit fist vng tour au long des lices acco[m]paignie co[m]me dit est Et apres lui auoit troys pages sur troys coursiers Richement <ves> abillez vestuz de drap darge[n]t ch[asc]un vne Riche plume sur leur teste Et dont le premier portoit lordre du Roy n[ost]re dit seigneur Et en destre menoit deux coursiers Richement abillez dont le premier estoit couuert dung Riche drap de mesmes les pages Et lautre dung drap de velours de couleur de po[u]rpre figure Et en cel estat sen Retourna a son logeis aco[m]paignie co[m]me dessus est dit.

Et apres environ vne heure led[it] loys de Beul vint deua[n]t les lices aco[m]paignie de grandz et notables s[eigneu]rs Et deua[n]t luy auoit deux mulles qui portoient ch[asc]un deux coffres couuers de drap de veloux vermeil et bendez de bendes dorees Et apres lesdites mulles troys coursiers couuers de ses armes Et sur ch[asc]un cheual vng ho[m]me abillie en guise de fol et leurs chaperons cousus aux Robes et my parties de blanc et de pers et grosses sonnettes sur leurs chapero[n]s Et ch[asc]un cheual vng colier au col tout plain de sonnettes darge[n]t moittie dorees et

moittie blanches Et apres deux menestrelz et vne trompette menans grande vie Et apres vne banniere de ses armes et troys <bannieres> banneretz deusez ch[asc]un des armes de lautre a lui app[ar]tenans En Remonstrant quil estoit quatre foiz baron au Roy et a la Roynes et a la noble seigneurie qui la estoit et co[m]me il estoit yssu de noble maison Et en sa co[m]paignie¹⁹ auoit moult de notables gens et seigneurs dont les noms ensuyuent

Premierement

Tout deua[n]t estoit Poton de saintrailles qui portoit vne des six lances [Fol. 15^v]

Le Conte de dunois vne autre.

Pierres mons[eigneu]r frere du duc de bretagne vne autre

Le Conte de fouez vne autre

Le Conte de cleremo[n]t vne autre

Et mess[ir]e charles danjou la vj^e lance.

Et le Roy de Cecille portoit son heulme deuant lui Richement abillie.

Et led[it] loys de Beul estoit monte sur vng coursier moult Richeme[en]t abillie Et sur la croupe de son cheual vng plumail blanc moult Riche Et le cheual couuert deua[n]t et derriere de plates dargent en facon de harnoyz et sur cela de Riches pierres et perles Et sur le cul vne moult Riche escherpe dargent Et apres lui troys coursiers moult Richement abilliez et troys pages montez dessus qui auoient ch[asc]un vne heulmet moult Riches et dessus ch[asc]un vng plumail blanc et pers Et les pages vestuz de Robes abilliees de belle orfauerie et apres eulx vng coursier de parement nobleme[n]t couuert Et adonc led[it] loys enuoya mess[ir]e pierre de breisey deua[n]t le Roy quil voulsist venir ou champ ne y entremy Remonstr[ant] au Roy [et] a la Roynes et a la seigneurie qui la estoit co[m]me il auoit desplaye quatre bannieres de quatre lignages dont il estoit yssu et vne banniere entiere de ses armes en suppliant humbleme[n]t au Roy quil luy pleust de faire enquerir se Jehan chalons anglois estoit gentil homme et noble comme il se disoit et se les armes quil auoit leuees pour le Jour luy app[ar]tenoient ou non et sil estoit venu du lieu quil deust faire avecques lui Et adonc Respondy tresnoble et puissant prince le duc dorleans qui la estoit au pres du Roy le quel certifia au Roy quil estoit bien noble et de noble maison venu et que les armes quil auoit luy app[ar]tenoient bien et quil congnoissoit beaucoup de ses parens et quil estoit ho[m]me noble pour faire armes contre luy et non obstant ce le Roy ne fu pas content de son Rapport et fist appeler guertier Roy darmes dangleterre pour en sauoir

¹⁹ Sic.

plus a plain le quel certiffia la chose estre vraye Et adonc Retourna ledit seneschal deuers ledit loys de Beul en lui Remonstrant quil estoit signifie au Roy quil estoit homme noble et digne de faire armes contre luy [Fol. 16^r] Adonc entra ledit loys en champ et lices et vint faire Reuerence au Roy a la Roigne et a la seigneurie Et ala a son pauillon qui estoit au bout des lices Le quel pauillon estoit couuert de drap darras et a ch[asc]un bout du pauillon vne banniere de ses armes lcellui acco[m]paignie de plusieurs notables heraulx et poursuyua[n]s de party de France Et aussi guertier Roy darmes dengleterre et poursuyuantz dessus no[m]mez.

Et premiereme[n]t aua[n]t que ledit chalons vouldist faire ses armes ne entrer en champ pour faire armes contre loys de Beul il enuoye deuers le Roy en lui suppliant humbleme[n]t de sa noble grace luy pleust denuoyer vng notable ho[m]me ou deux cieulx son hoste pour visiter et veoir son harnois ses cheualx et selles affin qui ny eust point de faulte de sa part ne de tromperie Alors par le Commandement du Roy fut enuoye le conte de dampmartin et le s[ir]e de bleys pour estre de son conseil pour le Jour et Reuisiterent ses habillemens qui app[ar]tenoient au <fut> darmes pour le Jour.

Et apres bien tost que ledit Chalons fu entre en son pauillon Reuint led[it] chalons en champ et lices moult notableme[n]t aco[m]paignye comme deua[n]t est dit pour aco[m]plir les articles quil auoit baillees deua[n]t dont les chapitres font mencion

Et la premiere course quilz courure[n]t ensemble Rompire[n]t tous deux leurs lances lung sur lautre vaillamme[n]t deua[n]t le Roy Et ataingny led[it] chalons led[it] loys de beul ou meillieu de son gardebras et la Rompy sa lance et la Rompy le fer bien vng pouce largeme[n]t comme il appert etc. Et ledit loys assena ledit chalons sur le bas de son heulme au Reste du tel²⁰ et luy faulsa double harnois et esgreua vng petit son fer et fu led[it] loys Reuerse Jusques sur la croupe de son cheual.

Item la seconde course courure[n]t et nataingnire[n]t point lun lautre et ne firent Rien lcelle course. [Fol. 16^v]

Item a la tierce course quilz coururent ensemble Ilz Rompire[n]t leurs lances lun sur lautre Et assena led[it] chalons led[it] loys de Beul dede[n]s le gardebras a deux doz pres ou il auoit feru la premiere course et Rompy sa lance et y esgreua demy doy de son fer ou enuiron Et led[it] loys assena led[it] chalons sur la veue de son heulme et la Rompy sa lance et demoura la pointe du fer sur le heulme dud[it] chalons.

²⁰ Fol. 42^r has 'au coste du col'. See the discussion in Chapter 3 Item 12.

Item la iiiij^{le}. course quilz courure[n]t emsemble²¹ la lance dudit chalo[n]s glissa sur le hault du heaulme dudit loys Et led[it] loys Rompy la sienne entre la selle de chalons et <persa> percea le gantelet dud[it] chalons et Rompy la charniere de laua[n]tbras au pres de la main et luy estonna la main.

Item la v^e. course quilz coururent ensemble led[it] chalons attingnit led[it] loys en la main et perca la garde du gantelet et le gantelet et le blessa fort en la main et saigna fort et fut en la main destre Et alors enuoya poton deuers le Roy en luy Remo[n]stra[n]t que led[it] loys et chalons ne feissent plus pour le Jour car loys auoit vne piece de son harnoiz Rompue et quelle feust changiee Ado[n]c Respondy le Roy quil falloit veoir les chapitres Et sil le pouoit faire ou non et fist appeler le s[eigneu]r de precigny qui auoit lesditz chapitres en garde le quel Respondy quilz pouoient bien aller Et adonc ledit chalons comme vaillant et plain de grand courage estant mal content de laisser passer ainsi la Journee sans parfaire les armes pour quoy il estoit venu print en sa main vne grosse lance et se mist en son deuoir Et adonc led[it] loys en print vne autre pareilleme[n]t et courure[n]t ensemble.

Item la vj^e Course que lesditz escuiers courure[n]t ensemble ledit chalons estoit vers le pauillon de loys et a lcelle course ledit chalons encontra led[it] loys endroit larrest et Rompy le bort de son harnois et luy bouta la lance dedens le corps de part en part et Rompy la sa lance et emporta led[it] loys le fer et du boys bien vne aulne au bout de la lice et la larracha luy mesmes adont le sang sailly dung coste et daultre Et adonc fu mene en son pauillon Et la mourut enuiron de six a sept heures de nuyt

[Fol. 17^r]

Et adonc quant le Roy oeut nouuelles du <cop> coup manda aud[it] chalo[n]s quil se Retrayst en son logeis Et alors led[it] chalons enuoya guertier acco[m]paignie des poursuyua[n]s dessusditz deuers le Roy luy supplia[n]t humbleme[n]t que son departeme[n]t du champ ne lui portast point de preiudice veu que le Roy luy commandoit partir le p[re]mier du cha[m]p Car il ne sauoit a lheure en quel point led[it] loys estoit Car ledit loys nauoit point touche led[it] challons²² dicelle course Adonc dist le Roy que non feroit il Et alors led[it] chalons vint prendre congie du Roy et de la Royne et de la noble seigneurie qui la estoit et fist vng tour au long des lices acco[m]paignie des seigne[u]rs et ge[n]tilz hommes deuantditz et du Roy darmes et poursuyua[n]s et la menere[n]t a son logeis qui estoit pres de la Et le vij^e Jour de

²¹ Sic.

²² Sic.

feburier fut enterre led[it] loys en son seruice fait notableme[n]t en la grande esglise de Tours et y auoit moult de notables et grandz seig[neu]rs aud[it] seruice et la fure[n]t les ambassadeurs dengleterre au s[er]uice <a> et a loffre[n]de et chanta la grand messe le priue seel denglet[er]re Et ap[re]s le seruice fait fu le corps mis en vng chariot accompaignie de Cinqua[n]te torches toutes avec vng escucon de ses armes et quatre es .iiij. cornieres du corps.

Explicit

Le Jeudy iij^e Jour de feburier lan mil CCCC soixante et deux Mons[eigneu]r le duc de Bourgoigne estant en la ville de brucelles en lostel de madame de Berghes accompaignie de madame la duchesse de bourbon sa seur de mons[eigneu]r le Conte de charolloys son filz et de plus[ie]urs aut[re]s princes et princesses Contes barons et grandz seigneurs et foison de dames et damoyelles la feste enco[m]mencea entra en la salle Artoys Roy darmes et fusil le herault lesquelz se vindre[n]t presenter deua[n]t mond[it] s[eigneu]r vng gentil ho[m]me soy disant estrangier luy apportant c[er]taines lettres de creance de par vne noble dame sa maistresse lesquelles mond[it] seigne[u]r Recept lors bien humbleme[n]t et les fist lyre en hault en la presence des assistens dont la teneur Sensuyt. **[Fol. 17^v]**

Lettre de creance

A tresexcellent et trespuissant prince et mon tresredoubte seig[neu]r Mons[eigneu]r le duc de Bourgoigne et de brabant etc.

Tresexcellent et trespuissant prince et mon tresredoubte seigneur Je me Recommande treshumbleme[n]t a v[ost]re bonne grace Et vous plaise sauoir que co[m]me ya long temps a que moy poure dame tres desconfortee me sens dureme[n]t oppressee par vng mien puissant voisin et lequel par tiltres volontaires pris a lencontre de moy et dont ie ne me puis deffendre p[er]seuere tousiours en sa Rigueur contre moy Dont pour ce quil mest cheu en aduis de puis nagueres de moy complandre a vo[us] et que de ceste matiere et tout fait Je me vouldroiz descourir a vous deua[n]t tous aut[re]s princes chrestiens Tant pour ce que suis v[ost]re voisine assez prochaine co[m]me aussi quon vous porte la grace que vo[us] este le prince de pitie et de co[m]passion enu[er]s toutes nobles femmes Je confiant de v[ost]re bonte enuoye par deuers vous vng mien s[er]uiteur<s> pour vous Raco[n]ter a plain vng douloureux cas Au quel tresexcellent et trespuissant prince Je vous supplie quil vous plaise adiouster foy et credence et lescouter benigneme[n]t de ma part que prie a dieu

que v[ost]re tresnoble p[er]sonne Ensemble v[ost]re excellente dominacion et
puissance vueille p[er]maintenir tousiours et garder estables en prosperite et salut
V[ost]re treshumble et obeissante la dame etc.

Après les lettres veues Mond[it] seigne[u]r demanda la creance Lors led[it]
ge[n]tilhomme parla ausd[it]z officiers darmes lesquelz disdrent a mond[it] seig[neu]r
quil leur auoit dit quil ne sauoit point le langaige du pays et que a ceste cause
meismes que la matiere estoit de bien grand poix Il auoit fait mettre sa creance par
escript en deux parties la q[ue]lle il prioit a mond[it] seigneur que particuliereme[n]t il
la voulsist faire lire le quel ainsi le fist dont de la premiere creance la declaracion
sensuyt.

La premiere p[ar]tie de la Creance

Mon tres Redoubte seigneur en supportant de ma simplesse dont il est vray que ceste
dame qui ainsi menuoye deu[er]s vous est de moult hault et noble parente Riche de
biens et de possessions et na prouchain aucun par quoy son fait se conduist en estat
Ains adez souffert beaucoup et de griefz et a cause dun sien trespuissa[n]t voisin fier
et de hault couraige et grand seigneur de terre Le **[Fol. 18']** quel par maintes foiz la
voulu desheriter et mettre hors de son heritaige pour aucunes Requestes par lui
plusieurs foiz faictes Ausquelles pour Rien elle ne sacorderoit Ains luy a Respondu du
tout au contrair[e] de sa volente de la quelle Response ledit seigneur qui fier est et de
hault couraige et mal content de tel Refuz plus moeu que deuant A donne assez a
entendre que madicte dame il mettra en tel contrainte quassez luy fera acheter chier
sa duresse enuers lui et telleme[n]t que lesdites menasses sont venues Jusques a
elle laq[ue]lle soy aduisant arriere de bon conseil a Renuoye deuers luy luy signifier
comme il est hault noble homme a qui y seit par nature et debuoir garder lhonneur de
toutes nobles femmes et non les traueillier et que portant elle luy prie que ains quil
enco[m]mence chose Reprouchable ne contre honneur enuers elle que premier il
vueille bien poyser lentrepandre Car le tltre de vouloir desheriter a tort vne noble
femme par force seroit moult poure A quoy ledit seigneur feist Responce que Jamaiz
ne se departiroit de sa poursuyte pour mort souffrir Mes pour soy mettre en debuoir et
pour do[n]ner a congnoistre que non tout a sa volente mes en lordonna[n]ce de
fortu[n]e bien mettre sa querelle Manda a madame que de deux choses elle prensist
choiz Ce fut ou quelle se consentist a ses longues poursuytes ou quelle se obligeast
de trouuer en dedens le p[re]mier Jour de May prochain en vng an vng cheualier que
en bataille et en lices closes se meist de son corps contre le sien pour la querelle

deffendre et par condicion telle que se led[it] seigneur pouoit venir au dessus par armes et vaincre son dit ch[eua]ll[ie]r Elle et sa terre seroit en la mercy de lui Et se led[it] cheualier pouoit venir au dessus dud[it] s[eigneu]r par bataille luy pareilleme[n]t se departyroit de la plus quereller Et en lhon[n]e[u]r et par Reuerence d'elle et de bon cheualier qui lauroit conquis Il de sa p[er]sonne de ses terres et possessions deuendroit son ho[m]me et vassal et luy porteroit honneur et seruice p[er]petuel La quelle chose ouye de mad[ite] dame et desirant tousiours fuir les Inconueniens de la guerre et de toutes humaines tribulacions finableme[n]t fest arrestee au choiz de la bataille par espoir certes quelle a en aucune cheualereuse main que par grace et don de dieu le mettra en sa franchise Or e[st] ainsi mon tresredoubte s[eigneu]r que le seigneur dessusdict est vng tresrenom[m]e **[Fol. 18^v]** chaulier et vng des plus a craindre de toutes les marches voisines et a qui nul ne voeult prendre ne tenir pied.

Si est ainsi que mad[ite] dame considere le cas quelle vous fait desclairer par moy le dangier en quoy elle vous fait prier et Requerir dun don lequel Je vous supplie treshumbleme[n]t de par elle quil vous plaise de le me accorder.

Lors mondit s[eigneu]r accorda le don et Requeste a luy faictes de par ladicte dame En disant que moult lui desplaisoit du grief et desplaisir de sa dame et maistresse Et Incontine[n]t led[it] gentil homme presenta le surplus de sa creance dont la teneur sensuyt.

La derreniere partie de la creance

Tresnoble prince doncques que bien Jespoire aues entendu le cas de madame qui submise sest a la bataille de sa vie de son honne[u]r et cheua[n]ce qui est vne haulte chose et de bien grand dangier co[m]me de soy mettre en la main dun seul ch[eua]ll[ie]r sans auoir congneu sa valeur Elle vous supplie doncq[ue]z que pour venir a la congnoissance des bons et des meilleurs de la terre Il vous plaise de grace esp[eci]ale et a sa Req[ue]ste troys ch[eua]ll[ie]rs de v[ost]re maison telz qui si voudro[n]t offrir donner grace et congie de tenir vng pas dedens v[ost]re seigneurie par ordonnance et commission telles quelle ma devise Cest pour ce que mad[ite] dame a esperance que les troys ch[eua]ll[ie]rs qui en son seruice soffreront seront du Royaulme de France Elle fera Requeste et Rescripra a tous aut[re]s Roys et Royaulmes chrestiens quen fauorisant a la querelle d'elle Il leur plaise enuoyer ch[asc]un troys nobles hommes de leurs Roy[aul]me a lencontre de ceulx du pas pour eulx exerciter en armes contre eulx Affin que par lexperience quon pourra prendre alors des valeurs de ch[asc]un en si haultaine esprœuue Elle apres se puisse mettre

tant plus seureme[n]t en la main du lun de ceulx dont il pourra quil ne se troeue en lun plus de seurete quen lautre Et alors led[it] pas aco[m]ply et que Recorde pourra estre fait de ch[asc]un madicte dame donrra a co[n]gnoistre son nom et Requerra a celui qui mieulx lui plaira de prendre la bataille pour elle sauf son acord et quainsi lui puist plaire Car autreme[n]t nul de tous ceulx qui vendront audit pas ne sera tenu et obligie de soy mettre en ce dangier Si non de sa noble franchise et bonte Et auquel elle se Reputera tenue toute sa vie en toute Retribucion condigne Jusques a donner exemple et couraigeme[n]t a tous aut[re]s cheualiers a porter querelle de dames. [Fol. 19']

Tresnoble et tresexcellent prince Cest icy le don que madame vous fait dema[n]d[e]r par moy et le quel de v[ost]re noble grace vous mauez accorde Restent encoire troys Requestes que Je vous ay a faire Cest que a v[ost]re grace il vous plaise a tenir la place seure a tous ceulx qui voudro[n]t venir audit pas Et destre leur Juge Et ou cas se pour la multitude de voz haulx affaires v[ost]re noble p[er]sonne ny pouoit entendre que mons[eigneu]r de charollois vostre filz poeust tenir v[ost]re lieu Ou se empescheme[n]t y auoit en lui aussi quil vous pleust y establir vng de mes seigneurs voz nepueux.

La seconde Requeste treshault et tresexcellent prince que madame vous fait Si est quil vous plaise lui acorder quatre officiers darmes portans vostres cottes darmes pour aller deuers tous les Roys chrestiens signifier et certifier que ledit pas sera tenu par troys de voz cheualiers a la Requeste de madame et que la place vous tendrez seure pour tous qui y voudront venir et dont presentez et offrez leur Juge en la maniere et par condicion deuisee Et de tenir ch[asc]un en Raison et Justice.

La tierce Requeste tresexcellent prince quelle vous fait Cest quil vous plaise donner et octroyer saufconduit a tous ceulx qui voudro[n]t venir aud[it] pas ou aua[n]cement de ceste presente besoigne et en la seureme[n]t de toutes diuerses nations estranges qui se pourront transporter par deca a ceste cause.

Et apres toutes les creances leues led[it] gentil ho[m]me fist dire ces parolles par lesditz officiers darmes Mon tresredoubte s[eigneu]r affin que les nobles hommes qui de leur bonte se voudroie[n]t emploier a mettre a effect la Requeste de mad[ite] dame puissent mieulx entendre et estre aduertiz q[ue]lle chose ilz auront a faire elle ma baillie par escripture Chapitres et la maniere dudit pas Lesquelz sil vous plest mon tresredoubte seigne[u]r vous ferez lire en hault affin que <leurse> lesd[its] chappitres leus sil ya acucu[n]s nobles ho[m]mes qui se y vueillent presenter Ilz se puissent faire

et que les puisse Remercier de par madame dont la declairacion desd[itz] chappitres sensuyt.

Les Chappitres

Premierement et pour ce que ma querelle gist en tort fait dont Justice en fin ne pœult faillir A cellui qui est souuerain Roy de Justice en ciel et en terre Je luy commande ma cause co[m]me qui en ce dangier suis cheue par contrainte et sans desserte Je declaire que lesditz nobles ch[eua][ei]rs qui de leur franchise et bonte me auront tant voulu honorer co[m]me dentreprenre ledit pas seront tenuz de faire armes en la maniere [Fol. 19^v] desclaiee cy apres Contre tous ceulx de diuers Roy[aul]mes qui vendront aud[it] pas du gre a consenteme[n]t ch[asc]un de leurs Roys Lesquelz autreme[n]t Je ne oseroye neouldroye Requerre Et se feront lesdictes armes en lices closes

pour le second point loist sauoir que pour ensuyure le condicion des armes de cedit pas ch[asc]un des ch[eua][ie]rs tant de ceulx de dehors comme de ceulx de dedens sera arme de tel harnoys comme bon luy semblera pour la seurete de son corps.

Pour le tiers point est assauoir que les troys ch[eua][ie]rs du pas au premier Jour et pour enco[m]menceme[n]t seront armez a cheual et deuront courir contre troys aut[re]s nobles ho[m]mes venuz des estranges Royaulmes Cest assauoir ch[asc]un le sien de lances de guerre a fers esmulus Et a Jusques au nombre de noef courses et non plus.

Item et pour le quart sil aduenoit que aucun desditz ch[eua][ie]rs en fais[an]t led[it] nombre de noef courses feust desarme ou aucune piece de harnoys faulsee En ce cas il pourra Reprendre autre piece se bon lui semble po[u]r parfournir le surplus desdites courses Et sil aduie[n]t que <nul> aucun²³ des fers desdites lances soit esgreue en ce case ladicte lance s[er]a changee Et ne pourra nul auoir arrest aduantageux ne contre arrest.

Pour v^e article est denote que Je ladicte dame feray mettre sur lun des boutz des lices vng nombre de lances garnies toutes dune facon et dune Juste mesure pour courre a cheual Et desquelles lances les ch[eua][ie]rs estrangiers qui la seront venuz pour faire armes auro[n]t le choiz Et les aut[re]s ch[eua][ie]rs tenans le pas auro[n]t lautre Et seront tenuz de en faire ch[asc]un noef courses Et se endedens lesdictes

²³ Interlineated.

noeuf courses il aduenoit que ne vueille que lun ou lautre feust blecie en telle manie[re] quil ne peust assonnir ne accomplir sond[it] nombre de courses En ce cas lesdictes armes seront tenues pour acco[m]plies.

Item la maniere de combattre a pied sera telle qu<e>on se pourra armer ainsi que bon luy semblera et au partir des pauillons ch[asc]un aura en sa main vne lance et vne espee et vne targe en lautre de laq[ue]lle lance se fera vng get et apres led[it] get fait combatront desdictes espees tant et si longueme[n]t que lun ou lautre aura mis le genoul ou la main a terre Ou p[er]dra son espee dune main ou la targe de lautre Et en lun des cas dessusditz lesdites armes seront tenuz pour accomplies.

Item les lances de get et lesdites espees de guerre Je ladicte dame [Fol. 20^r] les feray mettre en ce mesme endroit des lices pour endonner le choiz ausditz estrangiers.

Item ledit pas <ce> se comme[n]cera le premier Jour du moys doctobre en lan n[ost]re s[eigneu]r quon escript mil cccc soixante troys dedens le quel mois seront tenuz deulx presenter tous ceulx qui auront vouloir de besoigner audit pas sans passer le nombre de troys de ch[asc]un Royaulme dont qui premier se y seront offers et comparus seront les premiers deliurez Et pareilleme[n]t les autres ch[asc]un selon lordre de sa presentacio[n] Et saucuns en y auoit si longtainz qua cedit Jour ne peusse[n]t venir ne comparoir aud[it] pas En ce cas les troys ch[eua]ll[ie]rs tenans lcellui seront prestz de p[ar]fournir led[it] pas et le Reco[m]mencier au premier Jour du moy dauril ens[uyuant] qui sera en lan mil cccc soixante quatre.

Item et Je la dicte dame Retiens a moy que qua[n]t lesd[it]z ch[eua]ll[ie]rs daucu[n]s Roy[aul]mes estranges seront venuz pour faire armes avec les troys ch[eua]ll[ie]rs dud[it] pays de pouoir baillier a ch[asc]un diceulx tel ch[eua]ll[ie]r dudit pas que bon me semblera Et sil aduenoit par aucun cas que daucu[n]s desditz Royaulmes venir ne peussent que vng ou deux nobles hommes pareilleme[n]t leur bailleray a ch[asc]un tel des ch[eua]ll[ie]rs dudit pas que bon me semblera.

Item finableme[n]t et pour derrain article le treshault et trespuissa[n]t prince le duc de bourgoigne de sa benigne grace et pour faire mieulx attraire et asseurer tous nobles ch[eua]ll[ie]rs estrangiers ma accorde et promis de tenir la place seure et de soy presenter Juge ensemble donner saufconduit a tous ceulx qui le voudront auoir pour venir audit pas Et cela fait et fera c[er]tifier a tous les Roys et Roy[aul]mes chrestiens dessusditz par les officiers darmes Ausquelz Roys et Roy[aul]mes chrestiens dessusd[it]z Jenuoye mes lectres de priere et aduertisseme[n]t en leur

suppliant en toute humilite quen faueur et par pitie de ma cause pour glorifier aussi le[u]rs haulx nobles noms en oeuvre meritoire il leur plaise ordo[n]ner disposer enuoyer et souffrir venir a ce dit pas aucu[n]s de leurs nobles ch[eu]a][ie]rs affin que eulx congneuz et exp[er]imentez contre les ch[eu]a][ie]rs qui mondit pas tienne[n]t Je puisse tant plus seureme[n]t me mettre en aucune main diceulx pour faire ma **[Fol. 20^v]** bataille dont Redoubte la faire Et ie de tout mon pouoir mettray payne a glorifier voz haultz nobles noms et p[er]sonnes Et prieray a dieu quen ciel et en terre vous en puisse estre Rendue le Reco[m]pense dont pour seurete <de> toute et que le pas se tendra au Jour et moys dessusditz les troiz ch[eu]a][ie]rs qui tendro[n]t led[it] pas signeront et seelleront des seaulx de leurs armes maintenir et aco[m]plir a laide de dieu et de mons[eigneu]r saint george tout ce que cy dessus est dit et escript.

Et Incontinent lesditz chapitres leuz se vindre[n]t p[rese]nter deua[n]t mond[it] tresredoubte s[eigneu]r troys ch[eu]a][ie]rs luy suppliant humbleme[n]t que de sa benigne grace il luy pleust leur faire cest honne[u]r de leur acorder et donner grace de fournir et aco[m]plir le contenu es chap[it]res de lad[ite] dame dont lun fut mons[eigneu]r le bastard de bourgoigne Mess[ir]e philippe de Creuecueur et mess[ir]e pierre vasq[ue]s de sayuiedra ausquelz mond[it] s[eigneu]r liberaleme[n]t leur accorda tout pour seurete que led[it] pas se tendra au moys et Jours dessusd[it]z Ainsi et par la manie[re] quil est co[n]tenu esditz chapitres auons signez de nos seingz manuelz et seelez des seaulx de noz armes ces presens chapitres le xxv^e Jour de feurier lan de grace mil cccc lxij. Ainsi A de Bourgoigne Phillip[e] de creuecueur et pierres vasp
[Fol. 21^r]

Mons[eigneu]r philippe de la laing filz et heritier <de> du s[eigneu]r de la laing en la co[n]te de henault qui de son eage estoit grant historieux considerans les haultz faitz darmes que ont fait et en quoy se sont occupez en plus[ie]urs notables liures ou tresvolentiers se occupoit qua[n]t il auoit le loysir pour euitey oyseuse Et entre les autres en la bible les liures des Roys ou sont contenues les vaillances de dauid Judas machabeus et ses freres Et plus[ie]urs autres vaillantz Juifs aussi du <s> grand et puissant Roy Alexa[n]dre de macedonie et de ses conquestes du tresvaillant hector de troyes et de ses freres et aut[re]s estans a la destruction de troyes de thebes dathenes et de Cartaige ensemble des Rommains qui lors estoient sarrazins lesquelz ne creignoient a mourir pour leurs seigneuries a croistre et deffendre pour le bien de la chose publique Et tant et si longueme[n]t qui le maintindre[n]t ilz prospererent des chrestiens qui apres vindrent pour la foy de Jhesucrist exaulcier et les mauuaises

coustumes oster que au p[ar]aua[n]t auoient mis sur²⁴ les infideles de la foy
 chrestienne dont entre les autres qui premier <q> y trauailliere[n]t fure[n]t les nobles
 Roys p[er]ceforest vterpandragon artus le Roy bean de benouis et de magus²⁵ de
 goyre et ceulx qui de ceulx descendire[n]t Tous les ch[eua]ll[ie]rs de la table Ronde et
 autres sans nombre Car a leurs temps les dyables par la p[er]mission diuine et non
 autreme[n]t auoient si grand puissance sur les humains par faulte de foy dont ilz
 nestoient co[m]me Riens Instruis sinon par hermites et autres bonnes p[er]sonnes
 dont len ne tenoit gueres grand compte que tant de Illusions de fantesies de phaeries
 et dabusemens Regnoient sur terre que cestoit grand merueilles Et par leurs grandes
 vaillances avecq le tresbon galaad filz deancelot du lac prindrent la plus part fin
 co[m]me Racontent le liures de <p[er]deforrest> perceforest de lancelot de tristan de
 cournouaille de garon le courtois et dautres plus[ie]urs volumes qui en sont tous
 plains Le grand et puissant Roy Charlemaine de France de ses Roys princes barons
 et ch[eua]ll[ie]rs qui tant trauaillere[n]t es alemaignes espaignes ytallies lombardie
 guyenne et ailleurs en plusieurs et diuers lieux pour les conuertir en la foy de Crist du
 Roy gaudeffroy de byllon qui conquist ier[usa]ll[em] dont il fu couronne Roy et ap[re]s
 luy Baudouyn son frere les Roys princes et barons qui luy tindrent compaigniee a faire
 ses conquestes ez parties orie[n]tales sur sarrazins Et les grandes armes qui y furent
 faictes [Fol. 21^v] dung coste et dautre les belles et gentes armes que fist son filz aisne
 le bel et bon ch[eua]ll[ie]r mons[eigneu]r Jacques de la laing par xxvj foiz a pied et a
 cheual tant en espaigne escoce bourgoigne et flandres dont tousiours yssy a son
 grand honne[u]r et louenge Je ymagine que apres ces grandes lectures faictes par ce
 bon ch[eua]ll[ie]r de la laing il co[n]ceupt en son entendeme[n]t quil voudroit selon sa
 puissance ensuyuir en aucu[n]e facon les bons ch[eua]ll[ie]rs dessusditz non pas quil
 se volsist presumer en soy destre si bon que le maindre Mais po[u]r ce quil feust
 quelque petite memoire de luy il entreprist par la lice[n]ce et congie de treshault et
 trespuissant prince son souuerain s[eigneu]r et parain Philippe duc de Bourgoigne et
 de Brabant de faire vng pas sur vne fiction de phaerie Cest assauoir dune grande et
 puissant dame ayant soubz sa seigneurie plus[ie]urs fortes places et chasteaulx Et
 entre les autres estoit dame dung perron merueilleuseme[n]t situe et compose sur vng
 beau Roc et diuusement mueoit²⁶ coule[u]r par temps et par Jours co[m]me il plaisoit

²⁴ *Recte sus.*

²⁵ Note in right margin in a different hand: 'perceforrest vterpendragon Artus de benouis [*sic*]'.
²⁶ *Sic.*

a la dame par quoy il estoit nomme le perron phae pour les grandz m[er]ueilles qui dehors et dedens estoie[n]t Et entre les aut[re]s seigneuries pour tous titres elle se faisoit no[m]mer La toute passe dame du perron phae et no[n] plus Et qua[n]t len parlera delle desorenauant elle sera no[m]mee la dame du perron phae seulement Celle grande dame a eu plus[ieu]rs ch[eu]a[[ie]rs et de grand vaillance <mis> ses prisone[n]niers mis en ce perron dont elle portoit la clef et nulle autre Et entre les autres ch[eu]a[[ie]rs ainsi que fortune le voeult par merueilleuse adue[n]ture ce bon ch[eu]a[[ie]r de la laing y fu mis et tenu prisonnier de ceste dame par vne espace de temps Toutesfoiz ainsi quil fault que tout preigne fin par quelque moyen aduint vng Jour que celle dame alla visiter ce bon ch[eu]a[[ie]r et luy dist Mess[ir]e ph[i]l[ipp]e vous estes mon prisonnier co[m]me vous scauez et de ce lieu ne pouez partir sans mon congie Et il respondy Madame il est ainsi mais qua[n]t il vo[us] plaira v[ost]re seigneurie me fera grace a la quelle Je supplie humbleme[n]t Car vous scauez et <voirez> veez que Je suis en eage sil y auoit q[ue]lque bien en moy de me trouuer es lieux ou les autres ch[eu]a[[ie]rs se occupe[n]t a present en lostel de mon prince maistre et seigneur qui nont a present point dautre empescheme[n]t ou ilz sont comme il est Reno[m]mee **[Fol. 22']** par tout le monde de si grandz et honnestes estachemens que leurs noms en sont exaulciez Et a cause de mon emprisonneme[n]t Je ny puis estre ne co[m]pareoir dont il me desplaist et non pour autre cause Car dieu mercy et vous tant que Jay cy este Je ny ay eu que courtoisie selon le lieu dont Je vous mercye treshumbleme[n]t Qua[n]t la dame le ouy si vertueuseme[n]t et gracieuseme[n]t p[ar]ler moeue de pitie et courtoysie sans vouloir acquerre la Reno[m]mee destre cruelle elle luy dist Mess[ir]e ph[i]l[ipp]e Je congnois assez par Renommee v[ost]re bonne cheualerie et de ceulx dont vous estes yssus par quoy Je vous feray vng Joeu party Cest se vous voulez yssir de ceste prison il fault que faciez pour lamour de moy ung pas darmes courtoises sans nulle querelle autre que damours en la fourme et maniere dont Je vous apporteray de main les <chaples> chapitres articulez ainsi que Je voudray quilz saccomplissent Et se vous lacheuez a v[ost]re honne[ur] Je vous assure sur ma foy que Je vous quitteray entiereme[n]t v[ost]re prison Et se ainsi ne le voulez faire vous y demourrez a Jamaiz Qua[n]t ce bon ch[eu]a[[ie]r entendy loffre que ladame luy faisoit il oeult telle Joye que plus ne pouoit Car elle luy parloit de la chose du monde quil aymeoit mieulx a faire et la mercya bien humblement Et apres luy dist Madame vous semble il que Je soye si bon que Je puisse faire et acco[m]plir v[ost]re noble Intencion Car sa[n]s moy excuser sil

mest possible de faire chose qui vous soit agreable Je y vueil employer telle puissance que dieu et nature mont donne Et qua[n]t il vous plaire vous me ferez baillier lesditz chapitres et assignerez le temps quil vous plaira que Il les aco[m]plisse et ie les feray se dieu men donne ladue[n]ture La dame luy dist puis que vous men auez assure Je Retourneray demain au matin icy Et si vous aduertis quen acco[m]plisseme[n]t v[ost]re dit pas vous Reto[u]rnerez tousiours au soir couchier en ce perron Jusques a laco[m]plisseme[n]t dicellui Et Retournerez au son du cor que mon nain sonnera avec vng cheualier que Je co[m]mettray pour vous seruir et aco[m]paignier Car de ma personne Je ny puis estre et me souffist que ledit ch[eua]ll[ie]r avec aucuns officiers darmes me facent le Rapport ch[asc]un soir de vous et de v[ost]re estat En moy Rapportant les blasons darmes [Fol. 22^v] seuleme[n]t des nobles hommes qui pour le Jour auront besoignie alenco[n]tre de vous Et ainsi des autres Jours Jusques a ce q[ue] v[ost]re pas sera de tous pointz accomply Et vous assure que pour leur paine et bonne vole[n]te il ny aura celui a qui Je face donner de par moy quelque petite bague pour souuena[n]ce Et sy feray donner troys principaulx pris a troys ch[eua]ll[ie]rs ou escuiers qui mieulx feront selon le contenu desditz chapitres et descus que presenteront les dames et damoyelles du trespuissant duc de bourgoigne ou de madame la duchesse de bourbon sa sœur aux quelles me Reco[m]manderez t[re]shumbleme[n]t et Requerrez quainsi le vuelle[n]t faire qua[n]t vous les verrez Et au Jour que les feray donner Je les en feray Requerre aussy p[ar] mon cheualier a ce co[n]nues Et se vous voulez scauoir qui sera ce ch[eua]ll[ie]r ie vous dis que ce sera Ernoul de crequy lequel est co[m]me Je suis aduertye de v[ost]re lignage Et pour ce le vous ay Je voulu ordonner car avec la bonne voule[n]te quil a de vous faire s[er]uice Je luy ay expresseme[n]t co[m]mande que ainsi le face vous penserez ceste nuyt a ce que Je vous ay dit Et demain au matin [je] me retourneray icy pourueue des chap[it]res pour moy faire sur tout v[ost]re Respo[n]se affin que Je puisse par temps pourueoir a tout v[ost]re fait Adont luy dist le bon ch[eua]ll[ie]r Madame vous me dictes tant dhonneur et de courtoisie que Je ne vous scauroye assez m[er]cier et dieu me doint grace de le desseruir Sur ce point ce party la dame du perron et y laissa le bon ch[eua]ll[ie]r qui toute la nuyt ne fist que penser a ce que la dame luy auoit dit pour luy en faire a lendemain telle Responce quelle luy peust estre agreable Quant la nuyt fu passee et le Jour venu la dame nobleme[n]t acco[m]paigniee Retourna au perron ainsi que dit lauoit tena[n]t en sa main les chapitres dont <v> touchie luy auoit et les bailla au bon cheualier qui les lent

tout au long si hault que ceulx qui estoient layens les ouyre[n]t et entendre[n]t tresbien Et puis dist madame puis que cest v[ost]re noble plaisir que Je face le contenu en ces chapitres Je vous prometz co[m]me noble cheualier de les acco[m]plir a mon pouoir Dont la dame le mercya et dist Et Je vous assure que Je vous feray pourueoir de toutes choses qui vous seront necessaire pour fair v[ost]re pas En vous sera en ce <luy> lieu cy tout apreste tant cheuaulx harnoys bastons [Fol. 23'] comme autreme[n]t Et ainsi ordonnez quil me plaira qui sera bien a v[ost]re plaisance de ce ne faictes nulle doubte Sy vous aduertiz que soyez prest de v[ost]re corps pour co[m]mencier au premier Jour de Januier qui sera mil iiiij^c lxiij en la ville de brouxelles en brabant par deua[n]t treshault et trespuissant prince ph[i]l[i]pp[e] duc de bourgoigne et de braba[n]t qui sera v[ost]re Juge ou autres telz quil luy plaira y mettre Et en la presence des haultes et nobles princesses dames et damoyselles de son hostel ou Jentens que sont a present les duchesses de bourbon et de gueldes et autres filles de bourbon haulteme[n]t et nobleme[n]t acco[m]paigniees dont Je suis bien Joyeuse pour lamour de vous ou en vng aultre lieu au bon plaisir du duc et a telz Jours qui luy plaira De ceste parolle fu le bon cheualier moult esmerueillez et dist a la dame en toute humilite Madame vous me dictes la plus gra[n]t m[er]ueille du monde et ne vueilliez estre mal co[n]tente de ce que vous demanderay Et la dame luy dist mess[ir]e ph[i]l[i]pp[e] dites tout ce quil vous plaira et Je le vueil Et lors dist madame Je vous diz que ie ne scay se ie dors ou se ie veille ne par quelle adue[n]ture Je puis estre en ce lieu ou se ie y suys en esperit seuleme[n]t ou tout vif ne en quel lieu ceste prison est assise ne en quel pays sinon que tant y a que au parler ie vous entens et tous ceulx qui avec vous so[n]t tresbien par quoy Je presupose estre en France Et vous mauez dit quil me fault estre a brouxelles en brief temps tout priso[n]nier comme ie suis et en ce propre lieu Si ne puis considerer co[m]me[n]t il se pourroit faire et me pardonnez que sy Rudement le vous demande La dame a ces parolles se prinst a soubrire et luy dist courtoiseme[n]t Mess[ir]e Ph[i]l[i]pp[e] ne faictes doubte de quelque chose quil vous soit adueni ne quil vous puisse aduenir Et ne pensez que de faire bonne chiere et a v[ost]re pas acco[m]plir Je vous dy et responds que les adue[n]tures du monde sont moult diuerses et merueilleuses et en despart dieu et fortune a lung en vne facon et lautre en autre fortune a voulu que vous soyez mon prisonnier do[n]t Je la mercye Et que soyez en ce perron qui est de telle nature et moy de telle puissance et seigneurie que par tout ou Il me plaire le faire [Fol. 23^v] transporter Remuer ou transporter demourer en vng Instant il y sera Et vous dedens sans auoir nul dangier

de v[ost]re corps Et si sera de telles couleurs que Je voudray quil soit aux Jours que vous besoignerez pour vous honorer et parer Il sera Richeme[n]t couuert dor darge[n]t de vert et de Rouge Et demourra tel sans aultrement muer tant que v[ost]re pas sera parfait et accomply Et vous souffise sans en plus aua[n]t enquerre Car en tout ce que Je vous ay dit il ny aura point de faulte par moy Si faictes telleme[n]t quil ne[n] y ait point de par vous se vous voulez estre quitte de ma prison A ces parolles ne sceut le bon ch[eua]ll[ie]r que dire plus et doubtoit de couroucier la dame et de faire chose dont elle peust estre mal contente fors quil luy dist pour toutes resolucions quil satendoit de tous pointz a sa bonne grace Et sur ce se party la dame du perron en prena[n]t congie du bon ch[eua]ll[ie]r Et luy dist mess[ir]e ph[i]l[ipp]e Je prie dieu quil vous doint si bien faire que vous en puissiez los et pris par to[u]t le monde acquerre Et la bonne grace de toutes dames qui de bons oront parler Et vous diz que ne me verrez plus en ce lieu Jusq[ue]z Je vous verray deliurer et quitter v[ost]re prison Maiz Je vous lairay lembourg le herault et mon nain pour vous faire seruice de ce que mestier vous sera Qui sceue[n]t ou Je me tiengs le plus du te[m]ps par lesquelz Je scaray Journelleme[n]t de voz nouvelles et affaires pour y pourueoir selon que le cas le Requerra et desira Et adieu

Quant le bon ch[eua]ll[ie]r oy la dame si haulteme[n]t et honnourablement parler il fu ainsi co[m]me tout euanuy de Joye et ne vey ne aoy plus parler la dame dont fort luy despleut Neantmoins co[m]me ch[eua]ll[ie]r V[er]tueux il se Reconforta en luy meismes Et se print a deuiser a lembourg en ceste maniere
Lembourg puis que vo[us] auez la grace de madame de aller ou Il vous plaira Je vous prie que alez hastiuement deuers mon tresredoubte et souuerain seigne[ur] mons[ie]gneu[r] le duc de bourgoigne et luy suppliez treshumblement de par moy que son noble plaisir soit que vous puissiez <pl> publier en son hostel et ailleurs ou il luy plaira ces chapitres que madame de perron phae ma bailliez en v[ost]re presence et assigner telz Jo[ur]s [**Fol. 24**] quil luy plaira Et quil me pardonne que Je ne suis ala deuers sa seigneurie en moy excusant co[m]me congnoissez mes adue[n]tures de ce faire fu lembourg tout apreste et se p[ar]ty du bon ch[eua]ll[ie]r quil laissa au perron avec le nain soeuleme[n]t et sen ala a brouxelles ou estoit a ceste heure le duc au quel il fist treshumbles Recomma[n]dacions et luy compta mot apres lautre toute ladue[n]ture et lemprisonneme[n]t de ce bon ch[eua]ll[ie]r en la presence de toute la cheualerie de son hostel dont ilz se donnere[n]t gra[n]d merueilles Et puis demanda le duc a lembourg ou estoit ce perron phae et en quel pays Et quil noy Jamaiz parler que

en son temps les dames phaees eusse[n]t puissance de regner ne seignourir en ces
pays et quil pensoit que lancien temps Reuenoit co[m]me il faisoit du te[m]ps du Roy
artus Et pareilleme[n]t disoient les autres ch[eu]a][ie]rs Je ne scay que cest dist
lembourg mes tant vous dis ie que la dame e[st] plaine de grant honne[u]r et bonte et
quelle parle vng tresbeau francoys mais que Je vous sceusse plaineme[n]t dire le
pays ou ce perron est assis ne par quelle adue[n]ture il y est Je ne le scay maiz se
cest v[ost]re noble plaisir que ie publie ces chapitres que veez icy en v[ost]re
presence et tous ceulx qui y sont mon maistre le bon ch[eu]a][ie]r de lalaing vous
ensupplie treshumbleme[n]t Lors dist le duc lisez lesditz chapitres et ie y auray aduis
Lembourg leut lesditz chapitres tout hault et au long qui estoient si honorables qui
ny oeult duc prince ne seigneur qui ne dist ceste dame est de grand honne[u]r Et
veons bien quelle voeult resueillier dentre nous les cueurs endormis et vicieux et
benoite soit elle Car elle a esleu vng ch[eu]a][ie]r entre les autres de n[ost]re hostel
qui est pour les mener affin et aco[m]plir et dieu luy doint ladue[n]ture Et ie suis
content que vous les publiez ceans et ailleurs ou il vous a Requis Et a ceulx qui
toucheront aux troys escus a lun ou aux deux vous leur assignerez Jour quilz soient
prests et appareilliez de toutes choses pour fournir lentreprise du pays selon les
chapitres de la dame du perron phae en ceste n[ost]re ville de Brouxelles au p[re]mier
[Fol. 24^v] Jour de Januier qui sera lan mil iiii^c lxij Et ou cas que noz affaires seroient
telz et si grandz que ny peussions entendre nous luy ferions par vous scauoir de
bonne heure et a ceulx qui auroient touchie a ses escus Et ainsi luy direz de par nous
en le saluant qua[n]t <la varrez> la vendrez Le herault le m[er]cya treshumbleme[n]t et
print congie du duc Apres vindre[n]t plus[ie]urs ch[eu]a][ie]rs et escuiers deuers
lembourg et luy demandere[n]t ou estoit ce perron et ses escuz a quoy il falloit
touchier affin quilz y peussent aller touchier par temps lembourg leur Respondy
Mess[i]r[e]s ie ne le vous scauroie vrayeme[n]t dire que ie naye parle a madame qui
en est le seigne[u]r maiz bien brief Retourneray ceaus et le vous scaray a dire Et sur
ce prinst congie et sen Retourna deuers la dame sauoir ou il luy plairoit que le perron
et les escuz fusse[n]t mis pour le dire aux nobles ho[m]mes qui youldro[n]t venir La
dame luy dist lembourg il sera demain au matin a Brouxelles et mess[ir]e ph[i]l[i]pp[e]
dedens enferme dune Roche de pierre dure et grise et les troys escus noir violet et
gris pendans au perron que mon nain gardera et si y aura vng cor de veneur aussi
penda[n]t au perron que seront tenuz de sonner tous ceulx quiouldro[n]t touchier
ausditz escus et qua[n]t ilz y touchent pour aduertir le nain de ce quil aura a dire et

alez dire a mess[ir]e ph[i]l[i]pp[e] tout ce q[ue] aues trouue en lostel du duc de
 bourgoigne et aussi ma volente et quil face bonne chiere et le me saluez Lembourg se
 troeuua au perron ou il trouua le nain dehors qui tantost le mist dede[n]s et salua le
 bon ch[eua]ll[ie]r de par le duc de bourgoigne et de par mess[i]r[e]s les princes de son
 hostel Reco[m]mandacio[n]s fraternelles de par les ch[eua]ll[ie]rs escuiers dames et
 damoysselles qui moult le desiroient a veoir quitte et deliure de son adue[n]ture Aussi
 de par la dame du perron qui luy faisoit sauoir que le perron et luy dedens sa[n]s nulle
 faulte seroit le landemain bien matin en la ville de brouxelles et que audit perron
 seroient penduz troys escuz Cest ass[auoir] lung noir lautre gris et tiers violet avec
 vng cor de vene[u]r que sonneront tous ceulx qui voudront besoignier alencontre de
 vous selon les escuz a quoy ilz toucherons Et le nain de ma **[Fol. 25^r]** dame qui est icy
 les mettra par escript ainsi quilz <voudront > venront Et aux escuz a quoy ilz
 toucheront il dira ladue[n]ture de lescu et quelle chose ilz deuero[n]t Et ainsi le vous
 ma[n]de madame Sire nain faictes le telleme[n]t qui ny ait que dire en v[ost]re fait sur
 payne destre pugny a sa bonne volente Et le nain Respondy fiereme[n]t Lembourg
 Jay bien autre foys este co[m]mis a faire plus grant chose que ceste ou Je nay point
 fait de faulte encoire feray bien ce p[er]sonnaige Mess[ir]e Ph[i]l[i]pp[e] a ces parolles fu
 tant Joyeux que plus ne pouoit et ne desiroit que soy trouuer avec ces nobles
 ho[m]mes de sa congnoissance et faire ce que la dame luy auoit co[m]mande et que
 promis luy auoit Sy passere[n]t la plus part de la nuyt en Joyeuses deuises
 Lendemain se trouua et son perron dedens brouxelles tout appointie ainsi que la
 dame auoit dit au herault Qua[n]t les princes ch[eua]ll[ie]rs et escuiers sceurent que le
 perron estoit illec ch[asc]un le aloit veoir a grand merueille Et veyre[n]t ces troys escuz
 et ce cor pendens ou p[er]ron que le nain gardoit a grande dilige[n]ce Et
 demandoie[n]t ch[asc]un lun apres lautre de quoy ces escuz seruoient et ce cor Et le
 nain leur respondoit sur tout le disant se vous estes telz ne si vous dy touchier si le
 me dites En dya disoient ilz nain puis que vous y estes co[m]mis vous nous direz sil
 vous plaist de quoy ce cor sert et les troys escus et puis nous aurons aduis de ce que
 nous deuerons faire En nom de dieu dist le nain il y a assez de telz en la compaignie
 qua[n]t ilz y voudroient touchier que ie ne les recepueroie pas Et pour dirent aucuns
 Et le nain dist le pas qui ce fera a lencontre dun ch[eua]ll[ie]r qui est icy prisonner est
 si haulteme[n]t et nobleme[n]t ordonne de par madame ma maistresse que nul ne
 pourra besoignier sil nest noble ho[m]me cest le premier poinct Oultre qui sonnera ce
 cor sera tenu de touchier a lun de ses trois escus Et vous dis qui touchera au noir

escu qui est le premier il sera tenu de courre vne lance de guerre a fers esmoulus la
 pointe coupe au Ront sans esgreuure et apres combatre despees aux trencheans
 Rabatues et la pointe coupe en freant de hault de long et de traue[r]s [Fol. 25^v] et
 non destoc sur payne dhonneur et de perdre le pris tant et si longueme[n]t que xxvij
 coups despee soient faitz feruz et aco[m]pliz de lun dicuelx montez et armez en selles
 et harnois de guerre et sur telz cheuaulx quil leur plaira Et Incontine[n]t que Je
 sonneray ce cor ilz seront tenuz aco[m]pliz et deuera ch[asc]un cesser la bataille et
 soy Retraire en son Renc Oultre qui touchera a cest escu violet il sera tenu de courre
 xij courses de lances armees et garniees de Rochetz courtois de Roindelles et
 dagrappes que madame fournyra a tous vena[n]s a ses despens soient ou non
 Rompues et non plus et seront montez et armez en harnois de guerre et non
 aultreme[n]t Et apres leurs courses aco[m]plies ilz seront tenuz deulx tirer a leur Renc
 Aussi qui touchera a lescu gris il sera tenu de fournir et aco[m]plir a lenco[n]tre du
 ch[eua]ll[ie]r prisonnier xvij courses de lances garnies co[m]me dist est es derrenieres
 montez et armez de harnois de Jouste et selles de guerre Et lcelles accomplies soy
 Retraire co[m]me touchie est dessus Et entendez bien ce que Je vous dy affin que ne
 faciez faulte et chose dont vo[us] puissiez estre Repris Et encoire fault que entre vous
 qui y toucherez prometez la foy que vous deuez a dieu et a v[ost]re dame que se vous
 navez vraye et leale enseigne que vous co[m]parerez aux Jours qui vous seront
 assignez par lembourg le herault et ou lieu quil vous dira ou fera sauoir Et vous
 souffise de ce que ie vous en ay dit Et qui y voeult touchier si y touche mais qui soit
 tel que par aua[n]t dit ay et non autre ilz sont de co[m]menceme[n]t a leurs perilz et
 adue[n]tures Et nul ne se oublye de no[m]mer affin que ie les puisse dire a madame
 Et le premier qui y touchia fu vng noble bourguignon nomme henry de stice escuier Et
 puis les autres Jusques au nombre de iiij^{xx} et vj maiz pour les affaires qui suruindre[n]t
 a mons[eigneu]r le duc Cest assauoir dune grande ambassade quil enuoya deuers le
 Roy do[n]t mons[eigneu]r de Croy et autres en menere[n]t en leur co[m]paignie grand
 foison Aussi de mons[eigneu]r deueners qui estoit dehors qui auoit plus[ie]urs gentilz
 ho[m]mes auецques lui qui auoient touchie lesquelz ny poeure[n]t a ceste cause y nen
 y ot que lxj tant ch[eua]ll[ie]rs co[m]me escuiers dont les noms et leurs faitz seront cy
 [Fol. 26^r] apres au long desclairez ensemble les blasons de leurs armes et tous leurs
 abillemens Au quel le nain dist henry de stice Je vous dis que aussi tost que vous
 aurez fait a lencontre du ch[eua]ll[ie]r p[ri]sonnier ce que mauvez promis a faire que
 v[ost]re blason darmes sera oste par lembo[ur]g et de moy porte a madame car ainsi

le ma elle commande le vous dire et a tous les autres Et de ce ne vueilliez estre mal
contens car elle ne le fait que pour auoir entiereme[n]t vraye congnoissa[n]ce de vous
Et que ia ne seront mis en lieu ou vous ne autre en puist auoir blasme Maiz a bien
Intencion de les faire mettre en tel lieu que ce sera a lexaultacion de voz noms et de
voz armes a Jamaiz et de ce ne faictes nulle doubte Qua[n]t henry de stice ot oy le
nain ainsi parler et aussi tous les autres de toutes les choses dont il auoit le charge de
la dame ilz fure[n]t fort contens et Joyeux et promisdre[n]t au nain quilz seroient
prestz de faire tout ce quilz auoient dit et promis a leur pouoir aux lieux et Jours qui
le[u]r seroient assignez et que ainsi le deist a sa dame a la quelle ilz se
Reco[m]mandoient humbleme[n]t et aussi au ch[eu]a[[ie]r deist quil le desiroient moult
a veoir et la deliurance de la prison et que dieu len voulsist getter a son honneur Sur
les parolles se party le nain et dist quil feroit tresbien son Rapport a sa dame de tout
ce quil auoit veu et ouy et emporta tous leurs noms par escript Qua[n]t le premier Jour
de Januier approcha mons[eigneu]r le duc desclaira et fist sauoir par tout quil ne
pouoit entendre a faire besoignier au pas qui estoit crye estre fait a Brouxelles et quil
remettoit le iour au vj^e iour de feburier aud[it] lieu de Brouxelles Lembo[u]rg le fist
sauoir a la dame du perron et puis elle le manda ainsi au bon ch[eu]a[[ie]r prisonnier
qui luy fut assez grand desplaisir maiz sa grand v[er]tu et valeur luy fist assez
legiereme[n]t passer encoire de mons[eigneu]r le duc que le pas dessusdit feust fait
aud[it] vj^e Jour de feurier si le fist Ralongier au xxviiij^e Jour dapuril ensuyua[n]t qui fu
lan mil iiii^c lxiij et assigner le lieu pour le faire en la ville de Bruges et ainsi le fist
publier en son hostel pour tous autres lieux Quant la dame du perron phae sceut que
le Jour estoit Ralongie et remis a bruges elle le fist sauoir au bon ch[eu]a[[ie]r son
prisonnier et doulceme[n]t le feist Resconforter et quil le voulsist [**Fol. 26^v**] prendre en
gre Car le Retardeme[n]t ne venoit point a sa cause maiz que cestoit le plaisir du duc
de ainsi le faire Et quil feust seur que ses besongne<s> et affaires semporteroient
mieux en toutes facons Qua[n]t ce bon ch[eu]a[[ie]r ouy les gracieuses parolles que la
dame le mandoit son cueur se Releua et sa Joye luy redoubla ne de sa prison de luy
challoit sinon de latente seuleme[n]t Maiz puis quil ne se pouoit faire autreme[n]t Il
estoit content et soy recommandant tousiours treshumbleme[n]t a la bonne grace de
sa dame luy priant que en tous ses faitz elle leust et voulsist tenir en sa noble
memoire Et avec que son fait en toutes choses feust si bien prepare quil en puest
yssir a son honne[u]r que plus luy touchoit que nulle Riens de ce dist le messenger de
la dame ne faites nulle doubte Car ie vous asseure quelle y entent a toute diligence Et

ou vous deuerez besoignier et ceulx quelle a ordonnez a vous tenir co[m]paigniee et faire s[er]uice si aurez avec tout ce qui vous sera mestier ainsi que promis le vous a si soyez de v[ost]re corps tousiours prest a besongner aux Jours qui vous seront signifiez et assignez durant ce temps mons[eigneu]r le duc se party de Brouxelles et sen alla a Bruges et fist dire aux seigne[u]rs et gouverneurs de la ville quil vouloit le pas de mess[ir]e ph[i]l[ipp]e de lalaing estre fait illec Et quilz p[re]parassent leur marchie de haultes lices Et sur les costez faire de grandz ho[u]rs de bois bien Riches entre lesquelz en y auroit vng pour mons[eigneu]r le duc se estre y vouloit ou autres quil y co[m]mettroit Et ch[asc]un endroit soy se enforcea de bien faire et de faire prouisions pour recepuoir ceulx qui a celle feste vendroient Se pouez entendre que tout fu bien ordonne Car bruges est vne ville entre les autres du monde ou len Recourure²⁷ le plus ayseeme[n]t tout ce quil fault a faire vne grand feste pour tous viures et marchandises a cause quelle est si bien seruye de la mer et pour les grandz et Riches marchans qui y sont et qui y viennent de toutes pars Qua[n]t le xxviii^e Jour dapuril fu venu au plus matin eussiez veu au bout du marchie deuers le north le perron phae grand est et merueilleux le quel estoit de quatre couleurs ainsi que la dame auoit promis Cest ass[uoir] dor dargent de Rouge et de vert Et le bon ch[eua]ll[ie]r dedens sain et en bon point de tous ses me[m]bres Et aux quatre coingz y auoit quatre grandz griffons atachiez dune grosse chayne dor ch[asc]un deua[n]t le perron estoit le Nain de la **[Fol. 27^r]** dame assiz bien hault qui tenoit en sa main vng gros baston vestu du[n]g Riche drap <bleu> dor bleu affulle dune barrette de velours noir Audit perron pendoient les <dix> troys escuz dessusditz noir violet et gris et le cor de veneur le quel estoit dor Et par deuant ledit perron bien hault estoient tous les blasons darmes des nobles ho[m]mes qui deuoient besongnier assis et mis par ordre ainsi quilz auoient touchie et quilz deuoient besongnier sans auoir regard a haultesse ne grandeur Car ainsi lauoit ordonne le duc les princes et grandz seigneurs de son hostel pour oster les enuyes ou haines qui sen eussent peu ensuyuir Les ch[eua]ll[ie]rs et escuiers et les officiers darmes qui estoie[n]t ordonnez pour acco[m]paignier et seruir ce au bon cheualier prisone[n]nier furent trestous prestz attendant lheure que le duc et les dames venissent sur les Rencz Ce Jour apres disner vindre[n]t maiz po[u]r ce que mons[eigneu]r le duc nestoit pas tresbien dispose de son corps il co[m]mist pour tenir son lieu co[m]me Juges en son hourt de mons[eigneu]r de morueil de mess[ir]e ph[i]l[ipp]e pot seigneur de la Roche en

²⁷ *r* interlineated.

bourgoigne et thoison dor lesquelz y fure[n]t tous les Jours qui len y besongna Jusques en la fin et mons[eigneu]r se tient avec les dames en vng hostel de bourgeois a lautre coste et droit a lencontre desditz Judges co[m]mis par luy pour les myeux veoir et tous les faisant a son ayse En vena[n]t sur les rences eussiez veu le duc princes et grandz nobles ch[eu]ll[ie]rs montez sur coursiers qui faisoient les grandz saulx Madame de bourbon et ses filles autres dames grant foison et damoyelles en chariotz sur hacquenees et derriere ces ch[eu]ll[ie]rs et escuiers Richeme[n]t adoubees et pensez que sans cuider nestoit ce pas dautres gens de toute facon tant a cheual co[m]me a pied y auoit tant sur les Rues que len ny scauoit comme[n]t aller toutes les maisons dessus le marchie plaines et tous les hours si chargiez que cestoit chose Inestimable Qua[n]t ch[asc]un fu mis en son lieu et le bruys du peuple apaisie vecy venir henry de stice ainsi que promis lauoit monte et arme bien ge[n]teme[n]t Et pour sa parure auoit sur son harnois de teste vng plumail blanc et bleu Et sur son cheual vng harnoys de velours noir chargie de campanes et de fueilles darge[n]t quant il vint [Fol. 27^v] a lentre des lices il les trouua fermees et tresbien gardees de mess[ir]e morlet darenty capitaine des archiers de mons[eigneu]r le duc acompaignie des archiers en grand nombre et la sarresta tant que mess[ir]e ernoul de crequy ch[eu]ll[ie]r co[m]mis de par la dame du perron phae acompaignie de deux Roys darmes Cestass[auoir] le Roy de flandres et le Roy dartoys qui alerent au deua[n]t dudit henry a lentre desdites lices et luy dema[n]da ledit ch[eu]ll[ie]r co[m]mis qui estes vous et Il respondy Je suis henry de stice qui me viens presenter pour faire et acomplir a mon pouoir ce que Jay promis a la dame du perron phae ainsi que luy mande par son nain Et le ch[eu]ll[ie]r co[m]mis fist ouurir les baillies et le fist entrer dedens et sa compaignie Et puis luy dist henry vous soiez le bien venu et faictes vng tour sur les Rencz en faisant Reuere[n]ce au duc et aux princes et princesses et aux Judges co[m]mis de par le duc et puis vous tenez a v[ost]re Renc Incontine[n]t voiez le ch[eu]ll[ie]r prisonnier yssir du perron tout prest de vous recepuoir ainsi que madame le vous fist dire par son nain a brouxelles Apres ces parolles dittes les quatre griffons qui estoient aux quatre coings du perron tirere[n]t lun contre lautre de si grande force quilz oeuurirent le perron par le milieu si largeme[n]t que le ch[eu]ll[ie]r prisonnier monte et arme en yssi tout a son ayse et ceulx qui avec luy estoient luy apportoie[n]t deux lances et deux espees les quelles lances ilz baillere[n]t aux deux Roys darmes et les deux espees au ch[eu]ll[ie]r co[m]mis qui portere[n]t aux Judges pour scauoir celles estoient egales fu Jugie que ouy Et apres le

Jugeme[n]t fait le ch[eua]ll[ie]r et Roys darmes les porterent a henry de stice pour choisir de ch[asc]une vne il print vne lance et vne espee et les autres ilz Reportere[n]t au ch[eua]ll[ie]r prisonnier qui cestoit tire apart prest de besongner et luy bailla mons[eigneu]r de beusseut son beau frere mary de sa sœur Premièrement lespee quil mist en sa main senestre et quil tint avec la Rengne de sa bride de son cheual tant quil eust acco[m]ply la course de sa lance Apres luy baillia mons[eigneu]r de boussut²⁸ sa lance Et pour laco[m]paignier sur les Rencz y estoient mess[ir]e Josse et simon de la laing freres le galloys de crequy mons[eigneu]r dauelin et plus[ie]urs autres gentilz ho[m]mes de henau Pour sa parure auoit vne barde sur son cheual couuerte de velours noir semee de l[ett]res Rommaines brodees de fil dor et sur **[Fol. 28^r]** lesdites l[ett]res estoient fraizettez de brodure dor brodee de franges copponnee dor de soye noire Ce fait ch[asc]un se tyra a part adonc le ch[eua]ll[ie]r et henry ferire[n]t cheuault des esperons vindre[n]t lun contre lautre les lances baissiees que nul deulx ne rompy passerent oultre et les gettere[n]t Jus Puis Retournere[n]t les espees es poingz et se approcherent et glatirent bien esgrement tant et si longuement que henry accomply ces xxvij coupz despee et le ch[eua]ll[ie]r prisonnier en fery xix et non plus quant le nain vey que henry auoit fait et aco[m]ply ces xxvij coups despee il sonna le cor dor pour faire cesser la bataille la quelle ilz fire[n]t Incontine[n]t sans plus en faire Et se Retray le ch[eua]ll[ie]r prisonnier en son perron que les griffons luy ouurire[n]t et henry a son Renc Et vint prendre congie au duc aux dames et aux Juges desheulme Et passa deua[n]t le ch[eua]ll[ie]r prisonnier a qui il fist la Reuerence et touchia en sa main et puis sen ala a son hostel aco[m]paignie de ceulx qui lauoiert amene Et qua[n]t il fu hors des Rencz le ch[eua]ll[ie]r prisio[n]nier Rentra audit perron tout arme et non deua[n]t que ledit henry feust dehors Lembourg monta ou les blasons darmes estoient et en osta celui de henry de stice puis le porta au duc et luy presenta et le duc luy fist Rapporter au nain qui le garda pour le porter a la dame du perron phae ainsi que dit et ordonne estoit aux chapitres que la dame auoit bailliez Et porte ledit henry en ses armes.

Tout ainsi quil fut fait a henry de stice et pareilles serimoines furent faictes a tous les autres qui auoiert touchie a lescu noir tant en leurs venues et Recueillette en baillant les bastons en faisant les batailles et retraittes comme autreme[n]t sauf que po[u]r ce quilz <o> ne oyent pas bien le cor dor que le nain sonnoit mescha[m]ment et quilz estoient ententifz a combatre le ch[eua]ll[ie]r commis tantost quil oyoit le cor

²⁸ *Sic.*

sonner il les aloit prendre sus et separer et Ramener le ch[eua][i]e[r] prisonnier en son Rencq Et si ne rentroit pas tousiours en son perron mais au surplus tant fu fait ainsi a lung co[m]me a lautre par quoy Je ne les Reprendray plus pour la premiere Journee les choses dessusdictes Et procederay [Fol. 28^v] dilligemme[n]t de mettre par escript ceulx qui vindre[n]t au premier Jo[u]r et comme[n]t ilz estoient abilliez et les batailles seulement.

Mons[eigneu]r de grimberghe noblement aco[m]paignie vint le ij^e de ceulx qui auoient touchie a lescu noir bien et Richement monte et arme Et pour sa parure auoit vng plumail noir sur son harnoys de teste Et sur son cheual vng harnoys de velours noir borde de larmes de fil dor Le second cheual sur quoy estoit vng page bien genteme[n]t abillie et portoit vne lance de guerre en sa main a quoy pendoit vng bien longue ballence²⁹ avec vng harnois de velours noir a vng Roiser darge[n]t couuert de roses Et sus la croupe dudit cheual vng gros bouton darge[n]t non espany Et le harnois brode de poires dargent Sur le tiers cheual auoit vng autre paige portant vng vouge le quel auoit vng harnois de velours noir chargie de campanes dargent il entra dede[n]s les lices a tout sa parure et ceulx qui laco[m]paignoient et fist la Reuere[n]ce par tout en tourna[n]t sur les Rencs Et luy fu porte par le ch[eua][i]e[r] co[m]mis et les Roys darmes les lances et espees co[m]me il fu fait a henry de stice Et pareillement au ch[eua][i]e[r] prisonnier qui desja estoit yssu de son perron ainsi monte et arme quil feist la premiere foiz sans Riens changier Et luy fure[n]t bailliees la lance et lespee par mons[eigneu]r de boussut dont il fist ainsi quil auoit fait la premiere foiz deua[n]t Et fut ordonne pour ce que grand foison gens entroient dedens les lices quil ne demouroit que troys hommes avec lestrangier pour le seruir et le surpl[u]s yssyroit dehors ainsi en fu fait dilecq en aua[n]t a tous les aut[re]s qua[n]t chascun se fu tyrey apart les deux ch[eua][i]e[r]s baissere[n]t les lances quilz ne Rompirent point et les Jetterent Jus Puis vindrent hastiueme[n]t combatre des espees tant et si longueme[n]t que le ch[eua][i]e[r] prisonnier en fery xxvj et le s[eigneu]r de grinberghe³⁰ xxvij le cor fu sonne par le nain et le ch[eua][i]e[r] co[m]mis les prinst sus se Remena le ch[eua][i]e[r] prisonnier a son Rencq et le s[eigneu]r de grimberghe se Retrahyt au sien ou il se fist desheaulmer Et puis ala prendre congie au duc aux dames et aux Juges Et au ch[eua][i]e[r] quil trouua tout arme lespee au poing [Fol. 29^r] Maiz qua[n]t il prinst congie de luy il touchia en sa main et mist Jus lespee Et puis se retrahy

²⁹ *Recte* 'vallence'.

³⁰ *Sic*.

mons[eigneu]r de grimberghe en son logeis et³¹ le ch[eua]ll[ie]r demoura au dehors du perron sans Rentrer ens pour ceste foiz attendans vng autre Et porte mond[it] s[eigneu]r de grimberghe en ses <f> armes.

Mess[ir]e ph[i]l[ipp]e bastard de brabant auoit sur son harnoys de teste vng plumail blanc et violet et sur son cheual vng harnoys de damas blanc a troys pendans brodez de Roses enrichy de fil dor de venise Le cheual sur quoy estoient son paige auoit vne couuerte de satin figure violet broche de fil dor par tout brode³² de drap blanc decoppe et portoit ce paige vne lance ou pendoit vne vallence et pour laco[m]paignier auoit quatre gentilz ho[m]mes a hocquetons blancs et violetz my partiz et leurs cheualx vne couuerte de satin violet figure bordez de blanc drap decoupee Et ne Rompire[n]t point leurs lances maiz ledit bastard aco[m]ply les xxvij coups despee et le ch[eua]ll[ie]r xxiiij.

Mons[eigneu]r Jehan de Luxembourg vint aco[m]paignie de mons[eigneu]r de saint paol³³ mons[eigneu]r Jaques son frere mons[eigneu]r le Conte de brienne aisne filz de saint pol mons[eigneu]r de fiennes et aut[re]s plus[ie]urs ch[eua]ll[ie]rs et escuiers la couuerte de son cheual nestoit que dun harnoys de velours de fil dor Son premier paige portoit vne lance de guerre Et la couuerte de son cheual de velo[u]rs noir bordee de velours tane La <j> couuerte du second paige estoit de drap dor cramoysy bordee de velours noir Et ro[m]py le ch[eua]ll[ie]r sa lance et mons[eigneu]r Jehan non maiz il aco[m]ply les xxvij coups despee et le ch[eua]ll[ie]r nen fery que vj Et fait acroire q[ue] pour le Joenne eage quauoit mond[it] s[eigneu]r Jehan que le ch[eua]ll[ie]r qui estoit plain de toute courtoysie ensouffry et vult bien deporter.

Mons[eigneu]r Jacques de bourbon vint acco[m]paignie de mons[eigneu]r de Charolloys mons[eigneu]r de cleues mons[eigneu]r de Rauestain mons[eigneu]r de saint pol et plusieurs autres grandz seigneurs ch[eua]ll[ie]rs et escuiers Et auoit sur son harnoys de teste no[m]me barbutte [**Fol. 29^v**] vne grande vallence pendant Jusques a terre et vng plumail vermeil de velours borde tout a lentour de fil dor son cheual vne couuerte de velours bleu enrichy de petites feuilles dargent pendant a petitiz boutons dor Et ne Rompire[n]t point leurs lances maiz mond[it] seig[neu]r Jacques aco[m]ply les xxvij coups despee et le ch[eua]ll[ie]r <xxv> xxj.

³¹ Interlineated.

³² *Recte* borde.

³³ *Sic*.

Mess[ir]e Josse de lalaing auoit sur sa barbutte plumail blanc vermeil et noir chargie dorffauerie doree et vne valence pendans Jusques en bas et sur le cheual vne couuerte de velours cramoysy et sur son chamffrain pareil plumail du heulme et ne Rompire[n]t point leurs lances et acomply ledit mess[ir]e Josse xxvij coups despee et le cheualier xxj.

Jehan darsson auoit sur son heulme vne vanerolle de violet et dessus larmes de brodure dargent et sur son cheual vne couu[er]te de satin blanc sur la quelle auoit vne nuee de brodure dont partoyent larmes noires qui sespandoient par tout ladite couuerture et les[dites] larmes chargiees dorffauerie et ne Rompire[n]t point leurs lances Et aco[m]plire[n]t ch[asc]un xxvij coups despee.

Jehan de saint marcel auoit sur son heulme vne vanerolle de violet et vne barre de noir par le milieu chargie darge[n]t et sur son che[u]al vng harnois de velours noir a vng pendant sur le quel estoie[n]t escriptes l[ett]res de brodure dor et ne Rompirent point leurs lances Maiz led[it] ch[eua]ll[ie]r luy fist perdre son espee laquelle mons[eigneu]r adolf de cleues luy Rendy par lordonnance dud[it] cheualier de la tout passe dame du perron et aco[m]ply led[it] Jehan les xxvij coups despee et led[it] ch[eua]ll[ie]r xxiiij.

Ehinot de songny auoit sur son heulme vne valence pendant Jusques a terre bordee de lettres Rommaines dor et frangees a lentour de soye blanche copponnee de bleue et sur son cheual vne couuerte de taffetas gris <v> et violet et dessus grandes lettres de brodure dor et sur son chamffrain plumail gris et violet et fut led[it] Einot desarme du grand gardebras de la³⁴ course de lance mes ilz ne Rompirent point leurs lances et aco[m]plirent ch[asc]un xxvij coups despee.

Charles de courcelles auoit vne couuerte de taffetas noir et larmes de velours pareil et sur son chamffrain plumail noir³⁵ [**Fol. 30'**] et Rouge et ne rompirent point leurs lances et acco[m]plirent ch[asc]un xxvij coups despee Et est pour la seconde Journee.

La tierce Journee qui fu le derrain Jour dapuril len ne feist Rien pour ce que les gens de mons[eigneu]r de charolois nestoient point prestz et le premier Jour de may fut le pas co[n]tinue Jusq[ue]z au Jeoudj ensuyua[n]t v^e Jour dud[it] moys pour la solempnite de la procession de bruges et autres choses au quel v^e Jour ledit ch[eua]ll[ie]r auoit vne barde couuerte de velours noir bordee dor en manie[re] de

³⁴ Interlineated.

³⁵ Bottom of fol. catchwords 'et Rouge'.

bastons et de bra[n]do[n]s de feu semez par tout lad[ite] couuerte et frangee dor
copponnee de soye noire.

Mess[ir]e anthoine de croy auoit sur son heaulme vne vallence pend[ant]
Jusques a terre et plumail noir et sur son cheual vne couuerte de drap dor vert bordee
de velours cramoisy et dessus larmes de satin blanc atachees a brodure et sur son
chamffrain plumail noir et ne Rompirent point leurs lances et acomply led[it] [anthoine]
de croy les xxvij coups despee et le ch[eua][i]e[r] xxj.

Ph[i]l[ipp]e de bourbon auoit vne couuerte de taffetas bleu en manie[re] de barde
et houpes dessus de fil dor boutees en vng bouton dor et de soye et a lentour
brodee de fil dor et sur son chamffrain plumail noir et vng petit de Rouge au dessus et
luy mist ledit ch[eua][i]e[r] a la seconde course sa lance dessoubz le bras mes ne
Rompirent point le[u]rs lances et accomplire[n]t ch[asc]un xxvij coups.

Mess[ir]e anthoine bastard de brabant auoit deua[n]t luy vng ho[m]me a cheual
vestu de Jaune et si auoit vng grand geant qui le menoit et deux hommes sauuaiges
qui destroyent led[it] geant et sur son heaulme vne creste de duuet et dessus vne
creste de cramoisy chargee dorffauerie doree et sur son cheual harnoys de velours
bleu brode de fil dor et de larmes et sonnettes darge[n]t en maniere de poires et au
dessus de la croupe du cheual vne grosse sonnette Ronde et Rompy led[it]
ch[eua][i]e[r] sa lance et mess[ir]e anthoine non et acomply led[it] ch[eua][i]e[r] les xxvij
coups despee et ledit mess[ir]e anthoine xiiij.

Ladicte Journee ledit ch[eua][i]e[r] prist cheual nouveau et auoit sur son heaulme
vne vallence pendant bien bas et son cheual vne couu[er]te dor sur or en maniere de
gauffreure de brodure et dessus lousenges de brodure dargent semees sur lad[ite]
couuerte et dedens lesdictes **[Fol. 30^v]** losenges petitiz ys de fourme qui estoient de
soye violet et borde de velours violet brodee dor et de soye en maniere de Jennettes
et de frangee de soye <d> bleue au dessoubz de la bordure.

Après vindrent les gens de mons[eigneu]r de Charollois dont les no[m]s
sensuyue[n]t aco[m]paigniez de mond[it] s[eigneu]r et de mons[eigneu]r Jacques de
bourbon mons[eigneu]r de cleues mons[eigneu]r adol³⁶ et plus[ie]urs autres
ch[eua][i]e[r]s et escuiers vestuz de hocquetons de drap dor violet et dessoubz drap
dor noir decoppe Reserue mond[it] s[eigneu]r de charolloys et princes.

Mons[eigneu]r de saint pol auoit cinq couuertes et vng cheual barde que len
menoit en main et auoit sur son heaulme plumail noir et violet sur vne licorne dargent

³⁶ Sic.

et a lentour dicelle franges dor et sur luy vne escherpe dor pendans Jusques sur les costez du cheual qui estoit couuert de velours noir et violet chargie dorffauerie dor et darge[n]t en maniere de grandes feuilles et de houppes de brodure doree de sa deuse et chargie de campanes dargent moittie dorees en facon de poires frangee dor et copponne de soye noire et sur le chanffrain plumail noir et violet.

La seconde couuerte estoit de drap dor noir et violet et frangee dor et copponne de soye noire la tierce estoit de drap dor cramoyssi et noir et fourree et bordee de marthes La quarte estoit de velours bleu et chargie dorffauerie dor et dargent et de lettres de brodure dor dune deuse en bende sur laditte couuerte et fourree et bordee dermines La quinte estoit de drap dor gris deua[n]t et derriere de cramoyssi chargie dorffauerie dor et dargent et bordee de velours noir brode de l[ett]res dor la barde du cheual que len menoit en main estoit de drap dor cramoyssi fourree de lettices et plumailz tous pareilz des couleures des couuertes quilz portoient et Rompire[n]t tous deux leurs lances et aco[m]ply ledit seigne[u]r de saint pol les xxvij coups despee et ledit ch[eua]ll[ie]r xx.

Mons[eigneu]r Jacques de Luxembourg auoit sur son heaulme plumail noir et violet et vne couuerte sur son cheual de drap dor noir et violet chargie dorffauerie doree et blanche en manie[re] de grandes feuilles et de chiffres de sa deuse et dessus le col et la crouppe dudit cheual frangee de fil dor et sur toute la couu[er]te sonnettes [**Fol. 31**] dargent en facon de grosses poires et frangee a lencontre de fil dor copponne de soye violette et Rompire[n]t tous deux leurs lances et sur son chanffrain plumail noir et <s> viollet mons[eigneu]r Jacques fery les xxvij coups et ledit ch[eua]ll[ie]r xxj.

Drieu de humieres auoit vne couuerte de damas noir et viollet et ne Rompirent point leurs lances et accomply ledit ch[eua]ll[ie]r xxvij coups despee et drieu xvj.

Jehan de damas auoit vne couuerte de velours noir et viollet et sur son chanffrain plumail noir blanc et bleu et ne ro[m]py point sa lance et ledit ch[eua]ll[ie]r Rompy la sienne et de la puissance du cheual audit cheual³⁷ ledit Jehan et son cheual fu porte par terre et accomply led[it] ch[eua]ll[ie]r xxvij coups et led[it] damas xix Apres ce ledit Jehan de damas Remo[n]ta sur son cheual et p[ar]fist ses coups despee et est pour la tierce Journee dud[it] pas.

³⁷ 'audit ch[eua]ll[ie]r' repeated.

Charle³⁸ de happlaincourt auoit vne couu[er]te de damas noir et violet et fu desarme ledit charle du grand gardebras de co[u]rse de lance maiz ne rompire[n]t point leurs lances et qua[n]t ce vint aux espees ledit ch[eua]ll[ie]r perdy la sienne de son coup meismes sa[n]s ce que ledit charle en fust cause et par lordonnance des Juges fu Rendue audit³⁹ ch[eua]ll[ie]r par les officiers darmes et la Reprist mes Incontine[n]t le Jetta au loingz et vint a la main contre led[it] charle qui tenoit la sienne dont il se deffendoit contre ledit ch[eua]ll[ie]r Les aucuns dient que led[it] charle quant il veid que le ch[eua]ll[ie]r estoit sa[n]s espee il Jetta la sienne Jus et nen feirent plus Maiz toutesfoiz il le constraindy tant quil luy fist perdre et nen firent plus.

Le vendredy vj^e Jour dudit moys led[it] ch[eua]ll[ie]r auoit sur son cheual vne barde paincte dor et dazur et dautres couleurs et franges de soye bleue et le col arme de maille dacier.

Guill[au]me de fally auoit vne couuerte de damas noir et bordee de damas blancq et dessus la crouppe vne campane dargent et sur son⁴⁰ chamffrain plumail noir et blanc et dessoubz sa couuerte vng harnois de velours noir a vng pendant brode de lettres dor [**Fol. 31^v**] et lesdictes lettres frangees dor et dessus la crouppe vne autre grosse campane sur vne Raye dargent et Rompy ledit ch[eua]ll[ie]r sa lance et led[it] guill[au]me non et acomplirent ch[asc]un xxvij coups despee.

Jehan de vellu auoit vne couu[er]te de satin noir bordee de satin blancq et ne Rompire[n]t point leurs lances et accomplire[n]t ch[asc]un xxvij coups despee

Mess[ir]e phedricus de Withem auoit pour laco[m]paignier vng ch[eua]ll[ie]r et vng escuier vestuz de satin violet et ch[asc]un couu[er]tes de satin noir bordees de drap violet decoppe et sur les chanffrains plumail noir et violet et sa couuerte estoit de damas blancq brodee de damas bleu et sur la crouppe du cheual vne houppe de fil dor qui sespartoit par toute la couuerte et plumail violet et noir et sur le chanffrain blanc et bleu et ne Rompire[n]t point leurs lances maiz led[it] ch[eua]ll[ie]r luy fist perdre son espee par deux foiz et par lordonna[n]ce des Juges luy fu Rendue pour parfaire ses coups et luy fist led[it] ch[eua]ll[ie]r p[er]dre encoire vne foiz aua[n]t quilz fussent p[ar]acheuez ledit ch[eua]ll[ie]r fery xxvij coups et ledit Withem xxij.

Mess[ir]e gille de bellemont auoit pour laco[m]paignier mons[eigneu]r de cleues mons[eigneu]r adolf et plus[ie]urs autres ch[eua]ll[ie]rs et gentilz ho[m]mes et son

³⁸ *Sic.*

³⁹ Word repeated.

⁴⁰ Mark like a /.

cheual portant vng harnois de velours noir et violet et dessus feuilles d'argent et borde de campanes dorees toutes en maniere de poires et dessus la croupe du cheual vne grosse campane comme de chappelle pendans a quatre petis pillierons d'argent couuers de velours noir et violet frangez dor et au dessus vne houppes dor et de soye noire Apres luy estoit vng paige vestu de violet et la manche brodee dor portant vne targette et vne lance ou pendoit vne valence et sur son cheual vne couuerte de velours noir brodee tout a l'entour et dessus lettres et larmes dor et dessus la sallade dudit paige auoit vne houppes de fil dor et les plumailz noirs et violetz et Rompy le ch[eua][i]e[r] sa lance et mess[i]r[e] gille non et accomplirent ch[asc]un xxvij coups.

Mons[eigneu]r de Walham auoit vne valence sur son heaulme en la q[ue]lle auoit l[ett]res dor et vne couuerte sur son cheual de velours noir et dessus atachees lettres de franges dor et frangee dor et ne rompire[n]t [Fol. 32^r] point leurs lances et accompli led[it] Walham les xxvij coups espee et ledit cheualier xxij

Simon de lalaing auoit sur son heaulme vne vanerolle de taffetas noir en laquelle estoient larmes de brodure et vng A au millieu et sa couuerte estoit de velours noir et auoit sur son chanfrain plumail noir et fu ledit simon desarme des deux gardebras de course de lance et ne rompirent point leurs lances et cloy ledit simon le pas pour lescu des espees led[it] ch[eua][i]e[r] fery xxvij coups et ledit simon xxij.

Le dimenche viij^e Jour dud[it] moys le ch[eua][i]e[r] auoit pour le s[er]uir en la Jouste en harnois et selles de guerre six que ch[eua][i]e[r]s que gentilz hommes de hocquetons violetz et son cheual vne couu[er]te brodee dor et de soye en maniere doubles frangee de soye blanche copponnee de violet

Jehan de bourgoigne filz de mons[eigneu]r le bastard cornille s[eigneu]r de⁴¹ auoit sur son cheual vng harnois de velours noir brode de l[ett]res dor et ceulx qui le seruoient vestuz de hocquetons de taffetas noir et Jaunes bonnetz et rompy led[it] ch[eua][i]e[r] quatre lances et ledit Jehan vne.

Mons[eigneu]r adolf de cleues auoit pour l'acco[m]paignier mons[eigneu]r son frere et plusieurs autres ch[eua][i]e[r]s et escuiers tous vestuz de velo[u]rs lun ploys blancq et lautre dessus la sainture en maniere de Robe sans manches et dessbouz de drap bleu decoppe et dessbouz le bleu drap blanc et aux costez de puis les aisselles Jusques a la sai[n]tture drap blancq et bleu decoupe et deua[n]t eulx tro[m]pettes et clarons vestuz de Robes de couleurs pareilles et encoire deua[n]t lesdictes tro[m]pettes deux tabourins abilliez en turcsq lung Jouant de deux flaeutes et

⁴¹ Name omitted.

lautre de deux tabours et tous barrettes Rouges de taffetas Reserue lesditz tabo[u]rs et trompettes et si auoit mondit s[eigneu]r adolf vne couuerte de damas blancq et bleu brodee dor et plumail blanc et bleu et vermeil chargie dorffauerie Apres luy estoient quatre paiges vestuz de velours blancq et bleu en Robes et le des [Fol. 32^v] soubz de drap blanc et bleu et ch[asc]un vne barrette de taffetas vermeil et chaines darge[n]t et vne grosse houppe pendant desriere⁴² et de feuilles branlant <a lencontre> a lentour dicelle et sur ch[asc]un cheual vng harnois tout dargent en maniere de feuilles et de campanes et au dessus lesditz cheuaultz en maniere dune coupe entre feuilles de chesne et apres lesditz quatre pages estoit vng autre petit fol qui menoit vng destrier couuert dune couuerte ouuree de soye en maniere de maille sur laquelle estoient brodees larmes dor et vne croix saint andrieu brodee de soye blanche et tous plumailz sur les chanfrains blancqz et bleues les harnois de ceulx qui le seruoient estoient vestuz de drap blanc et bleu a vng pendant decoppe sur cuyr assez large et Rompy quatre lances et le cheualier vij.

Loys bo[n]nel auoit vne valence et sur son cheual vne couuerte de camelot tane a vne croix saint andrieu de blanc taffetas et brodee⁴³ de velours violet acco[m]paignie des trompettes de mons[eigneu]r adolf et Rompy le ch[eu]a[[ie]r quatre lances et led[it] loys deux.

Mess[ir]e adrien de mailly auoit sur son cheual vng harnois de velours violet borde de franges dor et apres luy vng paige sur vng cheual couuert de velours noir et ledit paige vestu de noir et de violet et fu desarme du grand gardebras de course de lance et Rompy le ch[eu]a[[ie]r deux lances et ledit adrien Riens.

Messire Jehan de Rebreumettes auoit vng harnois de velours noir brode de lettres dor de sa deuse et ceulx qui le acco[m]paignoient vestuz de hocquetons de damas noir et Rompy le ch[eu]a[[ie]r deux lances et led[it] Jehan vne.

Philippe de bourbon auoit vne couu[er]te de satin figure violet et dessus lad[ite] couuerte houppes de drap bleu et parmy de fil dor et ceulx qui laco[m]paignoient auoient hocquetons bleues de taffetas a pointz de satin figure violet et Rompy ledit ch[eu]a[[ie]r vne lance et est pour la premiere Journee.

Le ix^e Jour dudit moys led[it] ch[eu]a[[ie]r auoit vne couuerte dor sur bordee en facon de chauffeure et bordee de drap violet decoppe [Fol. 33^r] et sur le chanfrain plumail gris

⁴² *Sic.*

⁴³ *Recte* bordee.

Mons[eigneu]r Jaques de Luxembourg auoit pour laccompaignier mons[eigneu]r de charollois et mons[eigneu]r de saint pol mons[eigneu]r de brienne mons[eigneu]r de Roussy mons[eigneu]r de fiennes et mons[eigneu]r Jehan de luxembourg ch[asc]un deulx quatre sur leurs cheuaultz vne couuerte de taffetas bleu et sur son cheual vne couuerte de velours noir et violet chargie dorffauerie dor et dargent en facon de hobergerie et autour du col du cheual grosses campanes dargent et dor et sur son heaulme vne banerolles de taffetas bleu escripte de [ett]res dor et Rompirent ch[asc]un deux lances.

Mons[eigneu]r de grimberghe auoit sur son heaulme plumail noir chargie dorffauerie et sa couuerte de velours noir et sur son chanffrain plumail noir et ceulx qui laco[m]paignoient vestuz de hocquetons de camelot et Rompy le ch[eua]ll[ie]r quatre lances et led[it] de grimberghe point.

Mess[ir]e ph[i]l[ipp]e bastard de brabant auoit plumail Rouge et bleu et vne couuerte de satin noir chargee de campanes darge[n]t et pour le acco[m]paignier deux gentilz ho[m]mes et le[u]rs cheuaultz couuert lung de drap dor vert et lautre de drap dor cramoisi et ch[asc]un plumailz sur les chanffrains Rouge et bleu et Rompy le ch[eua]ll[ie]r troys lances et led[it] mess[ir]e ph[i]l[ipp]e deux.

Le xj^e Jour dud[it] mois le ch[eua]ll[ie]r auoit vne couu[er]te de velours noir borde de satin violet bendee dor et de soye blanche en facon de noeux lung dor et lautre blanc et frangee dessus et dessoubz ladicte bordure de soye blanche copponnee de violet et sur le chamffrain plumail violet

Jacques dourssan auoit vne couu[er]te de velours noir et violet et Rompy le ch[eua]ll[ie]r quatre lances et led[it] Jaques vne

Jehan larcheuesque auoit vne couuerte de damas noir et violet et Rompy vne lance et le ch[eua]ll[ie]r quatre.

Mons[eigneu]r de conde auoit sur son heaulme plumail noir et violet et vne couu[er]te sur son cheual de velours noir et violet bordee de chiffres dor et dessus la bordure orffauerie doree et au dessus de la croupe vne fleur comme de liz emmaillee dazur [**Fol. 33^v**] au couppel et Rompy vne lance et le ch[eua]ll[ie]r deux

Jehan franquelance auoit vne couuerte de damas noir et violet et Rompy vne lance et le ch[eua]ll[ie]r troys.

Guill[au]me bournel auoit vne couuerte pareille et Rompy deux la[n]ces et le ch[eua]ll[ie]r vne.

Jehan de lingne auoit vne couuerte de velours noir et violet et ne Rompy nulles lances et le cheualier deux

Le xij^e Jour dud[it] moys le ch[eua][i]e[r] auoit vne couuerte de velours noir et <violet> de satin gris bordee de velours violet et sur le chanffrain plumail gris.

Messire anthoine bastard de brabant auoit plumail Rouge et noir et vne couuerte de satin violet semee toute de larmes d'argent et au dessus du cheual vne grosse campane et ladicte couu[er]te bordee de velours noir brode de l[ett]res dor et ceulx qui laco[m]paignoie[n]t auoie[n]t ch[asc]un bonnetz violetz et vne larme d'argent dessus et ro[m]py deux lances et le ch[eua][i]e[r] troys.

Henry de cycey auoit vne couuerte de damas gris et violet et sur son chanffrain plumail blanc et noir et bleu et ceulx q[ui] lacco[m]paignoient hocquetons de taffetas gris et violet et Ro[m]py deux lances et le ch[eua][i]e[r] cincq.

Mess[ir]e phedric de Wethem auoit plumail noir blanc et violet et vng harnois de velours noir brode dor en maniere de branches entrelacees et au dessuz du cheual deux mains de moyre en vne mande de brodure dor ten[ans] vng vollet de soye noeu damours do[n]t partoie[n]t larmes et ceulx qui laco[m]paignoient auoient hocq[ue]tons de satin noir et violet brochiez en fil dor et ch[asc]un blancs bo[n]netz et Rompy Riens et le ch[eua][i]e[r] vne.

Mess[ir]e daniel de mourquerque auoit sur son heaulme vne valle[n]ce pendant <v> bien bas et sur son cheual vng harnois de velours noir brode dor et apres luy vng paige son cheual couuert de damas blancq et noir brode de l[ett]res dor et brode de drap blanc et noir decoupe et led[it] paige vestu de satin blancq et noir et ceulx qui le seruoient ch[asc]un hocquetons de taffetas blanc et au dessoubz de la sainture drap noir decoupe et barrettes blanches doublees de velours noir et vne houppe de fil dor dessus et Rompy troys lances et le ch[eua][i]e[r] deux Et cloy le pas pour lescu de Jouste en [**Fol. 34'**] en harnois et selles de guerre.

Le xiiij^e Jour dudit moys le ch[eua][i]e[r] auoit pour lacco[m]paignier vij que ch[eua][i]e[r]s que gentilz hommes vestuz de taffetas noir et violet et sur son cheual vne couuerte de velours gris brodee dor et de lettres et de petites chiffres et son escu noir violet et gris.

Mess[ir]e Eurard serclays auoit sur son heaulme vng vallence en facon de banerolle et son cheual couuerte de taffetas violet brodee de taffetas gris et sur son chanffrain plumail blanc et Rouge et noir et ceulx qui lacompaignoie[n]t hocquetons de

taffetas cramoyssi dessus et dessoubz de gris et Rompy troys lances et le cheualier troys.

Simon derbaix auoit vne couuerte de taffetas blanc brodee de deux lettres dor dung coste vng s et de lautre couste⁴⁴ vng b et son escu blanc brode desdites l[ett]res et la couu[er]te et son escu frangez dor copponne de soye viollete et ceulx qui laco[m]paignoie[n]t auoie[n]t hocquetons blancqs dessus brodez de l[ett]res et dessoubz drap violet decouppe et Rompy quatre lances et le ch[eua]ll[ie]r vij.

Ph[i]l[i]pp[e] de bourbon auoit vne couuerte de camelot bleu bordee de vellours violet decouppe et les decouppures brodees toutes de fil dor et ceulx qui laco[m]paignoient auoient hocquetons de camelot bleu dessus et dessoubz de velours violet decouppe Et lesdites coupeures brodees de fil dor et Rompy vne lance et le ch[eua]ll[ie]r deux maiz ledit de bourbon changea cheual.

Phil[i]pp[e] doruille auoit vne vallence et vne couuerte de velo[u]rs cramoyssi et sur son chanffrain plumail noir et ceulx qui laco[m]paignoie[n]t hocquetons de taffetas violet et Rompy vne lance et le ch[eua]ll[ie]r troys

Mess[ir]e Josse de Wassenaire auoit pour le mener sur les Rencs deux ho[m]mes vestuz de blanc et de bleu Robes a grandes ma[n]ches toutes ouuertes par derriere et chapperons de colle[u]rs pareilles la cornette entour de la teste et faulx visaiges et longues barbes Jouantz lung dune musette et lautre dune chalemye et auoit sur son heulme plumail noir et vne vallence blanche et sur son cheual vne couuerte de velo[u]rs [Fol. 34^v] violet brodee de drap dor noir et apres luy vng paige portant vne targette couuerte de velours violet brochee de fil dor et son cheual couuert de drap dor bleu et ceulx qui luy aco[m]paignoient auoient hocquetons blancqs dessus et bleuz dessoubz et barrettes de velours bleu et ne Rompy rie[n]s et le ch[eua]ll[ie]r en Rompy troys.

Mons[eigneu]r Jaques de luxembourg auoit plumail noir et Rouge en manie[re] de creste chargie dorffauerie et vne couuerte de velours cramoyssi brodee dor en maniere de branches et de grandes feuilles chargees toutes dorffauerie doree et l[ett]res darge[n]t dorees branllans dessus bien dreues de sa deuse de R et de A et frangee tout a lentour de fil dor et au dessoubz de la frange vng bort de velours noir brode et de frange dor au dessoubz tout a lentour et autour du col du cheual vng collier de ca[m]panes darge[n]t moitie dorees et son escu couuert de velours cramoyssi brode de fil dor et chargie dorffauerie doree et sur son chamffrain plumailz noir et

⁴⁴ *Sic.*

Rouge et ceulx qui laco[m]paignoient auoient hocquetons de taffetas cramaisy dessus et dessoubz de drap noir decoppe et rompy viij lances et le ch[eua]ll[ie]r vj Et est pour le p[re]mier Jour des Joustes en harnoys de Jouste.

Le xiiij^e. Jour dud[it] moys le ch[eua]ll[ie]r auoit vne couuerte de brodure dor sur or en maniere dune couu[er]ture de thieulle acomblee co[mm]e vng comble dardoize et dessus larmes co[m]me gouttes deau semees par toute lad[ite] couu[er]te et pour brodure en maniere dune noquiere de brodure darge[n]t et de soye bleue et frangee de soye blanche coppo[n]ne de violet et au dessus de lad[ite] noquiere tieulle<s> dor et de velours cramoyse lune dor et lautre de velours.

Mons[eigneu]r de charolloys auoit sur son heaulme vne houppe dor et de soye noyre et sur son cheual vne couuerte de drap dor noir et violet chargie de campanes dor et ceulx qui le seruoient auoie[n]t mantheaulx de damas blancq doublez de satin noir et rompy iiij lances et le ch[eua]ll[ie]r v.

Mons[eigneu]r de saint pol auoit pareilleme[n]t vne houppe sur son heaulme dor<ee> et de soye et couu[er]te pareille a mond[it] s[eigneu]r de Charollois et sur son chanffrain plumail noir et violet et ceuls q[ui] le seruoient hocquetons de taffetas violet de dessoubz de drap noir decoppe et Rompy vne lance et le ch[eua]ll[ie]r troys.

[Fol. 35']

Mons[eigneu]r de morcourt auoit vne couuerte de velours noir et violet et Rompy v lances Et le ch[eua]ll[ie]r troys

Mess[ir]e Jaques de Joumont auoit vne couuerte de velours noir et violet chargiee de campanes darge[n]t a demy dorees frangee dor copponne de soye violette et Rompy vne lance et le ch[eua]ll[ie]r troys.

Mons[eigneu]r de brienne auoit vne couu[er]te de velours noir et violet semee dorffauerie darge[n]t et de houpes dor <ot> athachees a orffauerie et de l[ett]res sur ladicte couuerte de vne R et dune A et dessus le col et la crouppe du cheual Jusques a la bordure et mesmes lad[ite] bordure toute dorffauerie dargent en facon de grandz feuilles et Rompy vne lance et le ch[eua]ll[ie]r vne.

Loys cheuallart auoit vne couu[er]te de damas noir et violet et Ro[m]py quatre lances et le cheualier troys.

Rossequin guamel houchie pareil dud[it] loys et Rompy vj lances et le ch[eua]ll[ie]r deux Et est pour la seconde Journee de la Jouste et iij^e escu

Le xvj^e Jour dud[it] moys le cheualier auoit vne couuerte de satin violet.

Charles de vissan auoit vne couuerte de taffetas vert et Rouge et Roye de taffetas gris sur le vert et sur le Rouge et son escu blanc brode dune l darge[n]t aco[m]paignie des archiers de mons[eigneu]r [de] charolloys et Rompy vij lances et le ch[eua]ll[ie]r iiij.

Mons[eigneu]r Jacques de bourbon auoit vne couu[er]te de velours sur velo[u]rs cramoisy frangee sur le col et sur le derriere du cheual franges en maniere de cringne de porc bordee de drap dor noir et gris et ceulx qui le seruoient Robes de taffetas cramoysi en facon italienne et barrettes de soye de plus[ie]rs couleurs tirant sur drap dor et Rompy vne lance et le ch[eua]ll[ie]r vne.

Mess[ir]e Jehan de trasingnies auoit vne valence et vne couu[er]te de velours noir et violet et sur le col et la croupe du cheual bla[n]c satin brode de l[ett]res dor lune dedens lautre vne S et vne I et plumail sur son chanffrain noir blanc et vermeil et ceulx qui le acco[m]paignoient hocquetons pareilz des couleurs et brodure a la couuerte et luy donna le ch[eua]ll[ie]r si grand coup quil luy Rompy toutes les tresses de son heulme et se desheulma sur les [Fol. 35^v] Rencs et ne parfist point ses courses et Rompy quatre lances et le ch[eua]ll[ie]r cincq.

Le visconte de furnes auoit vne couu[er]te de velours cramoisy et ceulx qui l'accompaignoie[n]t vestuz de hocquetons de violet taffetas dessus et dessoubz de blancq et Rompy deux lances et le ch[eua]ll[ie]r iiij.

Charles de poytiers auoit vne couuerte de velours sur velours noir bordee de drap blancq et Rouge decoppe sur la couu[er]te et sur son chanffrain plumail blancq Rouge et noir et ceulx qui laco[m]paignoie[n]t estoie[n]t vestuz de taffetas noir dessus et dessoubz de drap blancq et noir decoppe Et Rompy vne lance et le ch[eua]ll[ie]r troys.

Josse de bonam auoit sur son heulme vne chapeau de vermeilz bouto[n]s et sur son cheual vne couu[er]te de velours noir et dessus la croupe vng petit chapeau de boutons et au milieu partoyt vne houppe de soye blanche qui sespandoit par dessus toute ladicte couuerte et sur son chanffrain plumail gris Rouge et bleu et ceulx qui laco[m]paignoient auoient ch[asc]un hocquetons gris et bleues de taffetas et chapeaulx de pareille couleur et dessus vne plume noire et vng petit chapeau de boutons vermeilz et six trompettes porta[n]s chapeaulx pareilz deux autres de plumes et petis chapeaulx de boutons et Rompy .v. lances et le ch[eua]ll[ie]r troys.

Le xvij^e. Jour dudit moys le ch[eua]ll[ie]r auoit sur son heulme vng ato[u]r de femme et sur son cheual vne couu[er]te de brodure dor sur or en gauffreure et l[ett]res

Rommaines de velours bleu dessus atachees a brodure d'argent brodee de drap violet decoupee.

Mons[eigneu]r adolf de cleues auoit sur son heaulme plumail blanc noir et Rouge sur vne touffe de duuet chargie dorffauerie doree et sur son cheual vne couuerte de velours noir brodee de larmes dor et de chiffres de sa deuse et chargie de campanes darge[n]t my dorees et vne croix saint andrieu deua[n]t et derriere dorffauerie dor et darge[n]t ap[re]s luy estoient ses paiges tous vestuz de drap blancq et bleu en mode ytalienne et barrettes de satin noir Le premier paige estoit sur vne cheual chargie de drap dor vert borde de velours cramoysi chargie de campanes d'argent en facon de poires my dorees La seconde couuerte de drap dor cramoisy et vne croix saint andrieu de marthes sobelines deua[n]t et derriere La tierce estoit de velo[u]rs <j> bleu chargie dorffauerie dor et darge[n]t La quatre estoit de velours tane et vne croix saint andrieu deua[n]t et derriere dermines [**Fol. 36**] bordee de velours violet et chargie de campanes d'argent my dorees et daultres et ceulx qui le seruoient vestuz comme les paiges et ch[asc]un cheual auoit sur le chanffrain vne plume blanche et Rompy troys lances et le ch[eua]ll[ie]r cincq Et cloy le pas pour lescu desrain en harnois de Jouste et selles de guerre.

Quant mons[eigneu]r de Rauestain oeut fait toutes ses courses a lenco[n]tre dudit cheualier prisonnier qui fu la closture du pas le ch[eua]ll[ie]r sen vint deua[n]t les Juges Et leur demanda sil auoit acheue tout le pas ainsy que les chappitres de la dame du perron phae les auoit fait publier et si y auoit Riens a parfaire que a leur ordonna[n]ce et Jugeme[n]t il estoit prest de parfournir et faire Les Juges luy dire[n]t gentil ch[eua]ll[ie]r vous auez tant fait que v[ost]re dame et tous autres en doibue[n]t estre contens et au Regard de nous co[m]mis v[ost]res Juges par n[ost]re tresredoubte seigneur mons[eigneu]r le duc de bourgoigne vous disons et desclairons que nous le tenons pour bien et vaillamme[n]t aco[m]ply et dieu vous doint bonne adue[n]ture A ces parolles vint le nain a pied le querir et le mena par le frain de son cheual dedens le perron co[m]me il auoit acoustume Tantost apres vindre[n]t troys moyres abilliez et vestuz dabitiz turcquoyz des couleurs dont estoient les troys escuz aua[n]tditz Cestass[auoir] noir violet et gris et les couuertes de leurs troys cheuaultz aussi la premiere de velours noir la seconde de satin figure violet et la tierce de velours gris Et demandere[n]t au nain les troys escus pendans au perron pour les Reporter a la dame du perron qui les demandoit le nain les despendy et les bailla a ch[asc]un selon les coule[u]rs dont ilz estoient abilliez Et tantost quilz les oeure[n]t ilz

sen alerent a tout deuers la dame lung apres lautre et en ordre les escus pe[n]duz a leurs colz Apres vient la dame du perron phae sur les Rencs aco[m]paignie de mons[eigneu]r de boussut et mess[ir]e Ernoul de crequy du Roy de flandres et du Roy dartois Et troys paiges et se faisoit mener vng cheual en main et estoit vestue de satin bleu bien Juste vng chapperon de velours noir a cornette quelle auoit mis au tour de son visaige au col auoit vne grosse chaine dor montee sur vne blanche hacquenee couuerte dung Riche drap dor cramoyssi son premier paige vestu dune Robe de satin noir le dessus et dessoubz la sainture de drap gris de layne decoppe le chapperon de velours [Fol. 36^v] viollet a la facon dangleterre Et aussi estoient les deux autres la premiere couuerte du premier paige de satin viollet semee de bouillo[n]s dor bien drus La seconde de drap dor cramoyssi Et la tierce de velours cramoyssi Le cheual que la dame faisoit mener en main auoit vng harnois de satin viollet a vng large pendant brode dor et de soye blanche en facon de noeux dengleterre par bendes fra[n]gee a lentour par coppons de soye blanche et violette Qua[n]t la dame fu venue deua[n]t le perron le nain a grand Reuere[n]ce vint a lencontre d'elle et luy apporta vne grande clef et dicelle ouury par le millieu par si grand largeur que elle les ch[eua]ll[ie]rs Roys darmes et cheualx dessusditz y entre[n]t tout a leur ayse Puis ala de sa prisonnier le bon ch[eua]ll[ie]r qui attendoit la grace et mercy de sa dame et tantost le fist vestir dune Robe ytalienne de drap dor vert et sur sa teste luy fist mettre vne barrette de velours noir Et luy fist mettre son harnois de Jambes Et monter sur le cheual quelle faisoit mener en main Et luy dist Mess[ir]e Ph[i]l[ipp]e Je vous mercy de la paine et trauail que vous auez prins pour moy et a mon co[m]mandeme[n]t Car vous en auez tant fait que de cest hoere Je vo[us] quitte entiereme[n]t v[ost]re prison et vendrez a mon logeis avec moy ou Je vous feray la greigneure chere qui me sera possible Et puis vous feray deliurer les pris et les dons telz que Je vous ay promys pour les donner aux nobles hommes qui mont fait cest honne[u]r que dauoir besongnie contre vous selon le co[n]tenu de mes chapitres et les feray porter a ce soir par mes gens a lhostel du trespuissant duc de bourgoigne pour leur presenter et donner Auquel me veulliez treshumbleme[n]t Reco[m]ma[n]der et quil vueille estre contens que ainsi se face et en la fin de sa parolle le baisa par signe de grande amour Qua[n]t la dame ot finee la parolle et quil ot sentu le doux baisier de ceste noble dame ensemble des gracieulx motz quelle luy auoit dit avec la deliurance de sa prison si fu Joyeulx il ne le fault demander Et bien asseureeme[n]t⁴⁵ luy dist Madame vo[us] mauez fait tant

⁴⁵ *Sic.*

dhonneur et de biens et en tant de mani[er]e que ie ne [Fol. 37^r] vous scayroye assez mercier et dieu me doint grace de le desseruir par temps Il ne sera Jamaiz heure que Je ne me repute v[ost]re tenu car v[ost]re bonte et valleur a esuertue ce pou de bien qui estoit en moy Et qua[n]t v[ost]re noble plaisir sera de moy co[m]mander quelque chose a moy possible vous aurez desorenaua[n]t vng ch[eu]a[[ie]r en moy La dame luy Respondy Mess[ir]e ph[i]l[[ipp]e il me souffist bien de ceste hoeure de ce que en auez fait et si doit il faire a toutes dames Et puis que iay v[ost]re acointance de ce en aua[n]t vous aurez plus grande congnoissance de moy que nabez eu Jusques cy et vous souffise pour ceste foiz Et nous en allons dicy Car trop et plus y auez este que ie neusse vollu Combien que v[ost]re dep[or]tme[n]t me sera assez grief maiz ie me Reconforte dauoir bien souue[n]t bonnes et Joyeuses nouuelles de vous Madame ce dist ce bon ch[eu]a[[ie]r dune chose suys Joyeux cest destre en mon franc arbitre lautre me donne desplaisir de esloignier v[ost]re seigneurie Toutesfoiz ou que ie soye ie me Reppute v[ost]re seruiteur Sur ces parolles se partire[n]t du perron en la baisant la seconde foiz que mot ne poeult dire ayant les larmes aux tendres yeulx de son chief sans frons e[n] grand maniere Dillec passere[n]t par deua[n]t le duc et les dames tout a cheual et leur fist la dame grande humilite si fist le bon ch[eu]a[[ie]r et tous ceulx qui avec luy estoient puis aux Juges Et les mercya la dame de la paine quilz auoient pris pour son ch[eu]a[[ie]r les Juges luy firent grande Reuere[n]ce et se offirent a son seruice Puis partire[n]t ensemble et le faisoit la dame aller de coste aussi aua[n]t quelle Jusques a son logeis Elle venue trouua ch[eu]a[[ie]r[s] et escuiers dames et damoyelles qui la Receuprent honorablem[en]t Et estoit bien honnoure cellui a qui elle faisoit bon visaige.

Qua[n]t la dame et le bon ch[eu]a[[ie]r fure[n]t descenduz de leurs cheuaults elle le mena par la main en sa chambre et illec le fist desarmer de son harnoys de Jambes Et apres plus[ie]urs deuses feist apporter vin et espisses et ch[asc]un prist congie pour aller ou bon sembla La dame se Retrahy en sa chambre et le bon ch[eu]a[[ie]r a son hostel [Fol. 37^v] et logeis qui luy estoit appointie a s[ainc]t donas au soir enuoya la dame vne moyre montee a cheual au bon ch[eu]a[[ie]r qui menoit vng cheual en main Richement houchie dung velours gris sur quoy auoit troys coffres de cuyr bouilly bien genteme[n]t trousses Esquelz estoient enfermez les dons telz quelle auoit promis donner a ceulx qui besongneroie[n]t contre son ch[eu]a[[ie]r prisonnier dont la moyre portoit les clefs et les presenta de par sa maistresse au bon ch[eu]a[[ie]r qui les Recept a grande Joye et honneur Et la fist descendre Jusques au soir qui seroit

heure de les porter au banquet que le duc donnoit et quil auoit fait appointier en la grande salle de son hostel a bruges ou il y ot plus[ieur]s tables plaines de princes princesses ch[eua][ie]rs et escuiers dames et damoiselles et non autres gens Et y auoit pour vng entremetz vne Riche galee de tout bien plaine dont estoit le patron vne dame vestue de drap dor bleu Et pour parer et enrichir lad[ite] galee les armes des pays du duc estoient mises et assises ou il app[ar]tenoit tant en bannieres co[m]me en estandares Et y faisoit les grandz bruytz et grande chiere par toute la salle trompettes menestrelz haults et bas y faisoient de grandes melodies Et y faisoit tresbeau veoir ceste noble co[m]paignee Car ch[asc]un endroit soy si estoit mys sur le beau bout et en Riches abillievements pour lhonneur de la dame et du Retour de prison de ce bon ch[eua][ie]r qui si honnorableme[n]t en auoit estre deliure et quittie Tandis que le bruyt y estoit le plus fort veez cy le ch[eua][ie]r co[m]mis de par la dame vestu de velours noir monte sur vne hacquenee qui entra en la salle tout a cheual et menoit vne moyre Richeme[n]t vestue et montee Laquelle menoit vng sou[m]ner en main couu[er]t de velours gris lequel portoit troys coffres de cuyr bouilly fermez a la clef esquelz estoient les dons et presens que la dame enuoyoit a tous ceulx qui auoie[n]t besoignie a son ch[eua][ie]r a ch[asc]un selon la couleur des troys escus puis descendy le ch[eua][ie]r co[m]mis de par la dame et vint faire la Reuerence treshumble au duc et aux dames Et dist en cest maniere Treshault trespuissant et tresexcelle[n]t prince et mon tresredoubte s[eigneu]r Madame la toute passe du perron phae ma maistresse menuoye deuers v[ost]re seigneurie et vous Requiert en toute humilite quil vous plaise luy faire cest honne[ur] de moy donner licence de presenter a tous ces princes ch[eua][ie]rs et escuiers

[end of MS 1]

[Fol. 38^r]

[On paper in a different hand]

Ther[e] be in Englonde xxxvj Sheres

There be in Englonde lii^m iij^{xx} townes

There be in Englonde xl^m and xj parishchirches

There be in England xl^m CCv knyghts feez Whereof Religious haue xxviii m^l and xv feez

The so[m]me of the xv in England is xxxviiiij m^l ix^c xxx^{li} ix d ob

The lenth[e] of England fro Scotland to totnas co[n]tenyth viij^c miles
The breede of Englon[d] fro seynte dauyd in Walys vnto douour is ij^c l miles
The cyrcuite of Englon[d] be[e]n iij^m xl miles
[further down the page and in a different hand] TWR[iothess]l[y] as gartier

[Fol. 38^v]

[In a different hand]

Jean Sire de Bueil

|

Jean sire de Bueil

|

Jean Sire de Bueil

|

Jean Sire de Bueil Maitre des Arbalestriers

|

Jean sire de Bueil Admiral de France

|

Antoine S[eigneu]r de Bueil Comte de Sancerre Chambellan

|

Jacques de Bueil Comte de Sancerre Eschanson mourut 8 Oct 1513

|

Charles Comte de Sancerre tué en 1515.

|

Jean Comte de Sancerre perdit la vie en 1537 sans avoir été marrie.

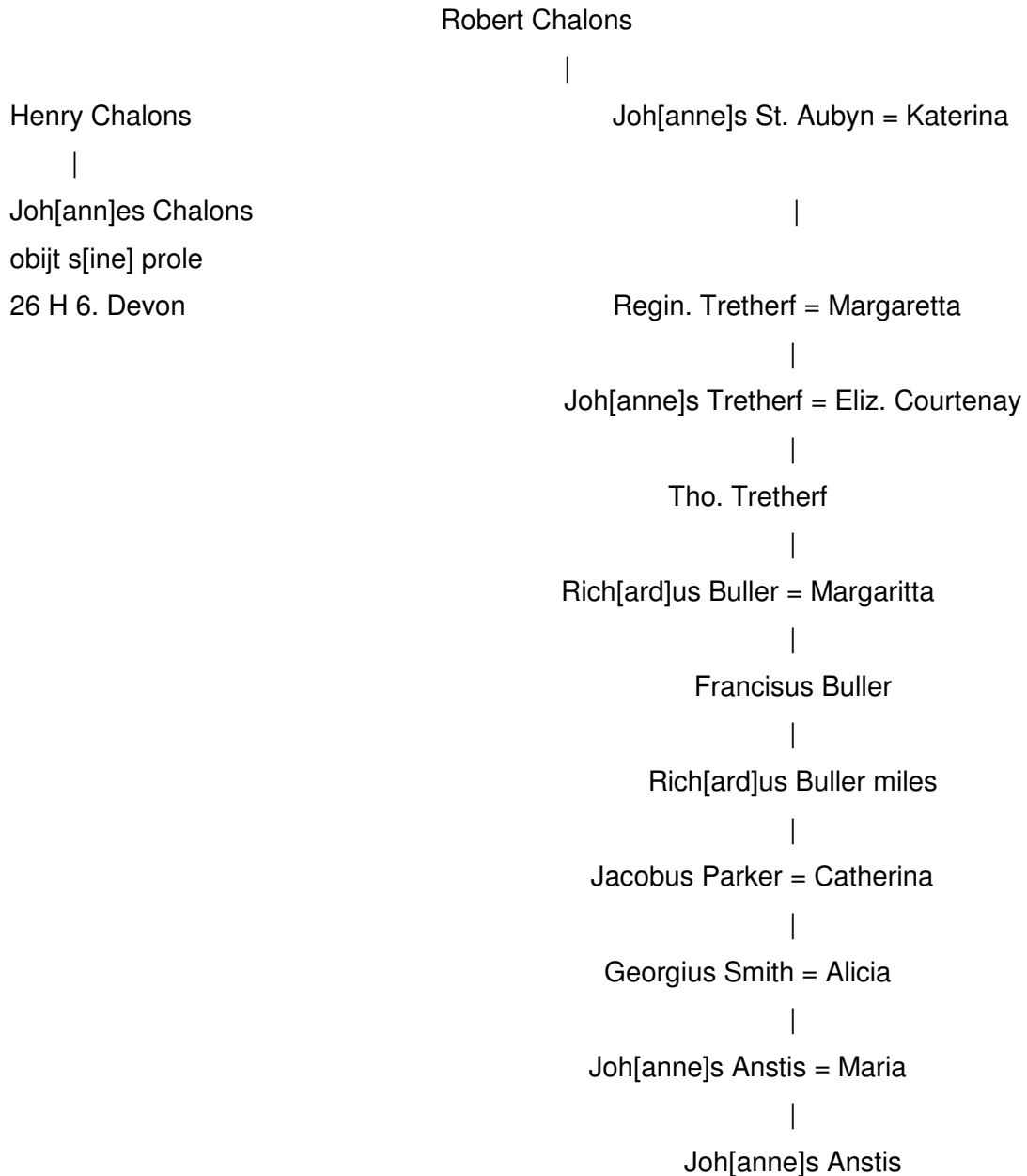
[column on the right hand side of the page leading from Jean V Lord]

Louis de Bueil qui fut prisonnier des Anglois en Bretagne en 1443 accompagna le Dauphin en Allemagne en 1444. et fut present au Traitté qui se fit a Chalon pour la deliverance du Roy de Sicile. Il mourut a une Jouste qu'il fit a Tours contre un Anglois en 1446 en presence du Roy. Anselme L Hist. Genealog. p. 1037

See Fabians Chron. p. 447 Lewis de Bruyl Prisonarius D[omi]ni Regis 1418 Rymer ffœdera vol. 9 p. 561. ffran. 3 et 4. Acta Armor[um] inter Ludou' de Brueil de regno n[ost]ro ffrancie' Arm' et Robertum Wingfeld [line across the whole page]

There is in Bibl. Harleyana 34 B 9 an acc[oun]t hereof Of this Lewis de Bueil see Hist. Geneal. de France vol. 7. p. 849

[at a right angle to the above text]



[MS 2]

[Fol. 39^r]

[Feats of Arms at Tours, 5 February 1446/7]

[Minature 1]

Lan de grace mil CCCC quarante six en la noble ville de tours en touraine vint honnore escuier Jehan Chalons natif du Royaume dangleterre pour acomplir certain fait darmes Entre luy et loys de Beul tenant le parti du Roy Charles Co[m]me et par la fourme contenue es articles cy apres ens[uiuant] entre les deux escuiers Et ariua ledit chalons en la dite ville de tours le xix^e Jour de Januier Et fist ces armes le dimenche v^e Jour de freuier⁴⁶ Et entra es lices enuiron xij heures en grant honneur Et en yssi a greigne[u]r sans comparison

La estoit le Roy charles et la Royne co[m]me Juge Et en sa compagnie moult de notables princes ducs contes Barons Ch[eu]a[[ie]rs et notables personnes Et plus[ie]urs dames et damoizelles dont les noms ens[uiuan]t [**Fol. 39'**]

Le Roy de Cecille

Le duc dorleans

Le duc de Bretagne

Mons[aigneu]r Charles daniou

Le Conte dangoulesme

Pierres mons[aigneu]r frere du duc de Bretagne

Le Conte de vandosme

Le Conte de dunois

Le Conte de fowez et son frere

Le Conte de laual

Le Conte de Clermont

Le Conte de Eu

Le Conte de Tancaruille

Le Conte de dampmartin

Le sire de Gaucourt

Le s[ir]e destouteuille

Le s[ir]e de Beul

le s[ir]e de precignie

Mess[ir]e pregent de Cotiuy admiral de france

Mess[ir]e pierres de Bresey seneschal de france

Mons[aigneu]r de precigne

⁴⁶ *Sic.*

Mons[eigneu]r de gallont lun des mareschaulx de france
Et plusieurs autres notables personnes dont ne sauon pas les noms Et de peuple de x
a xij mile a pie et a ch[eu]al pour veoir acomplir les fais desdites armes Et oultre y
estoient

Larcheuesque de Tours

Leuesque de mal gallone

Leuesque de vienne

Et entra ledit Chalons en champ et es lices enuiron vne heure deuant loys de Beul Et
la se p[rese]nta deuers le Roy et la Royne et les notables seigneurs dames et
damoisell[es] qui la estoient entre lesquell[es] estoient les deux filles de Escosse
[Fol. 40^r]

[Miniature 2]

Et la estoit ledit chalons acompagne du s[ir]e dondellay du s[ir]e de Camus de matheu
gook et harnois escuiers et le Roy darmes no[m]me Gartier et plusieurs notables
escuiers dont Il auoit x qui portoient ch[asc]un vne lance guernie deuant ledit chalons
et plusieurs notables poursuyans portans la cote darmes dudit chalons Et y auoit
quatre tro[m]pettes qui portoient ch[asc]un vne baniere de ses armes en champ
deuant luy dont ens[uiuent] les noms

Colier poursuiuant du Roy n[ost]re s[eigneu]r

Nucelles poursuiuant de mons[eigneu]r de Scalles

Lyon dor pours[uiuan]t de mons[eigneu]r de dondeley

Beul pours[uiuan]t de Matheu gook

Et estoit ledit challons monte sur vng Courssier couuert de satin noir Et deuant et
derriere vne croix Rouge Et apres sa p[rese]ntac[i]on deuant le Roy et la Royne et la
noble seignourie qui la estoit fist vng tour au long des lices acompagne co[m]me dit
est Et apres luy auoit trois pages sur trois courssiers Richement abillez vestus de
drap dargent ch[asc]un vne Riche plume sur leur teste Et auoit le p[re]mier [Fol. 40^v]
portoit lordre du Roy n[ost]re dit Seigneur Et en destre menoit on deux courssiers
Richement abilles dont le premier estoit couuert dun Riche drap de mesmes les pages
Et lautre dun drap de veloux de coull[eu]r de pourpre figure Et en ce lestat sen
Reto[ur]na a son logeis acompagne co[m]me dess[us] est dit

Et aprez enuiron vne heure ledit de beul vint deuant les lices acompagne de grans et notables seigneurs Et deuant luy auoit deux mulles qui portoient ch[asc]une deux coffres couuers de drap veloux vermeil et bende de bendes dorees Et aprez lesdites mulles trois Courssiers couuers de ses armes Et sur ch[asc]un ch[eu]al vng ho[m]me abille en guise de fol et leurs chaperons cousus aux Robes et my partis de blanc et de pers et grosses sonnettes sur leurs chapperons Et ch[asc]un ch[eu]al vng collier au col tout plain de sonnettes d'argent moitie dorees et moittie blanches Et aprez deux menestrelz et vne trompette menans grant vie Et aprez vne baniere de ses armes et iij banieres deusees ch[asc]une des armes de lautre a luy app[ar]tenant[s] En Remonstrant quil estoit quatre fois baron au Roy et a la Royne et la noble seigne[u]rie qui la estoit et co[m]me Il estoit yssu de noble maison Et en sa compagnie auoit moult de notables gens et seigneurs dont les noms ensuiuant

Premierem[en]t

Tout deuant estoit poton de saintrailles qui portoit vne des six lances

Le Conte de dunois vne aut[re]

pierres mons[eigneu]r frere du duc de Bretagne vne aut[re]

Le Conte de fouez vne aut[re]

Le Conte de Cleremont la v^e lance

Et mess[ir]e chales⁴⁷ daniou la vj^e lance

Et le Roy de Cecille portoit son heaume deuant luy Richement abille Et ledit louys de beul estoit monte sur vng courssier moult Richement abille Et sur la croupe de son ch[eu]al vng plumail blanc m[ou]lt Riche Et le ch[eu]al couuert deuant et derriere de plates d'argent en facon de hernois et sur cela moult de Riches pierres et perles [Fol. 41^r] Et sur le cul vne moult Riche escrepe d'argent Et aprez luy trois courssiers m[ou]lt Richement abillez et trois pages montez dessus qui auoient ch[asc]un vng heaumet m[ou]lt Riches et dess[us] ch[asc]un vng plumail blanc et pers Et les pages vestuz de Robes abillees de belle orfauerie et aprez eulx vng courssier de parem[en]t noblem[en]t couuert Et adonc led[it] louys e[n]uoia mess[ir]e pierres de breisie deuant le Roy deuant quil vouldist venir en champ ne y entrer Remonstr[ant] au Roy a la Royne et a la seigneurie qui la estoit co[m]me Il auoit desplaie quatre banieres de quatre lignages dont Il estoit issu et vne baniere entiere de ses armes en suppliant humblem[en]t au Roy quil luy pleust de faire enquerir se Jeh[a]n chalons englois estoit gentil ho[m]me et noble co[m]me Il se disoit et se les armes quil auoit leuees po[u]r le

⁴⁷ Sic.

Jour luy app[ar]tenoient ou non et sil estoit venu du lieu quil deust faire armes avec luy Et adonc Respondi tresnoble et puissant prince le duc dorleans qui la estoit auprez du Roy lequel c[er]tiffia au Roy quil estoit bien noble et de noble maison venu Et que les armes quil auoit luy app[ar]tenoient bien et quil congnoissoit beaucoup de ses parens et quil estoit ho[m]me noble po[u]r faire armes contre luy et non obstant le Roy ne fut pas content de son Rapport et fist apeler guertier Roy darmes dengleterre pour en sauoir plus a plain lequel c[er]tiffia la chose estre vraie Et adonc Reto[u]rna led[it] Seneschal deuers led[it] de beul en luy Remonstrant quil estoit c[er]tiffie au Roy quil estoit ho[mm]e noble et digne de faire armes contre luy Adonc entra led[it] louys en champ et lices et vint faire Reuerence au Roy a la Royne et a la noble seigneurie Et ala a son pauillon qui estoit au bout des lices lequel pauillon estoit couuert de drap darras et a ch[asc]un bout du pauillon vne baniere de ses armes Iceluy acompagne de plusieurs notables heraulx et pours[uiuan]t[s] du parti de france Et aussi guertier Roy darmes denglet[er]re et pours[uiuan]t[s] dessus no[m]mez

[Miniature 3]

[Fol. 41^v]

Et premierem[en]t auant que ledit Chalons vousist faire ses armes ne entrer ou champ pour faire armes cont[re] louys de beul Il enuoia deuers le Roy en lui suppliant humblem[en]t de sa noble grace luy pleust de[n]uoier vng notable ho[m]me ou deux cieulx son hoste pour visiter et veoir son harnois ses ch[eu]aulx et selles affin qui ny eust point de deffaulte de sa part ne de tromperie Alors par le co[m]mand du Roy fut e[n]uoie le Conte de dampmartin et le s[ir]e de bleys pour estre de son conseil po[u]r le Jour et Reuisit[er]ent ses habillemens qui app[ar]tenoient au fait darmes pour le Jour

Et apprez bien tost que led[it] chalons fut entre en son pauillon Reuynt led[it] chalons ou champ et lices m[ou]lt notablem[en]t acompagne co[m]me deuant est dit pour accomplir les articles quil auoit baillees deuant dont les chapitres font menc[i]on

[Miniature 4]

Et la premiere coursse quilz coururent ensemble Rompirent tous deux leurs lances lun sur lautre vaillamment deuant le Roy Et ataignit led[it] chalons **[Fol. 42^r]**

ledit louys de bueil⁴⁸ ou mellieu de son garde bras et la Rompit sa lance et Rompit le fer bien vng pouce largement co[m]me Il appert etc. Et led[it] louys assena led[it] chalons sur le bas de son heaume au coste du col et luy faussa double hernois et esgreua vng petit son <fier> et sur led[it] louys Reuersse Jusq[ue]z sur la croupe de son ch[eu]al

[Miniature 5]

Item la Seconde coursse coururent et nataingnirent point lun lautre et ne firent Rien lcelle coursse

Item a la tierce coursse quilz coururent ensemble Ilz Rompirent leur lances lun sur laut[re] Et assena led[it] chalons led[it] de bueil dedens le garde bras a deux dois pres de la ou Il auoit feru la premiere coursse et Rompu sa lance et y esgreua demi doy de son fer ou e[n]uiron Et led[it] loys asseyna led[it] chalons sur la veue de son heaume et la Rompit sa lance et demoura la pointe du fer sur le heaume dud[it] chalons

[Fol. 42^v]

[Miniature 6]

Item le iiiij^e Cours quilz coururent enssemble la lance dudit chalons glissa sur le hault du heaulme dud[it] louys Et led[it] louys Rompit la sienne entre la selle de chalons et persa le gantelet dud[it] chalons et Ro[m]pit la cherniere de lauant bras au pres de la main et luy estonna la main

[Miniature 7]

[Fol. 43^r]

Item le v^e Cours quilz coururent ensemble led[it] chalons ataignit led[it] de beul en la main et perca la garde du gantelet et le gantelet et le blessa fort en la main et saigna fort et fut en la main destre Et alors e[n]juoia poton deuers le Roy en luy Remonstrant que led[it] louys et chalons ne feissent plus po[u]r le Jour car louys auoit vne piece de son hernois Rompue et quelle fust changee Adonc Respondit le Roy quil falloit voir les chapitres Et se Il se pouait f[ai]r[e] ou non et fist apeler le s[eigneu]r de presigny qui

⁴⁸ Sic.

auoit lesd[it]z chappitres en garde lequel Respondit quilz pouait bien all[e]r Et adonc led[it]z chalons co[m]me vaillant et plain de grant courage estant mal content de laisser pass[er] ainsi la Jo[u]rnee sans parfaire les armes pour quoy Il estoit venu print en sa main vne grosse lance et se mist en son deuoir Et adonc ledit louys en print vne aut[re] pareille[en]t et coururent ensemble

[Miniature 8]

Item la vij^e Course que lesd[it]z escuiers coururent ense[m]ble ledit chalons estoit vers le pauillon de louys et a lcelle course led[it]z chalons encontra led[it]z louys endroit larest et Rompit le bort de son hernois et luy bouta la lance [**Fol. 43^v**] Dedens le corps de part en part et Rompit la lance et emporta led[it]z louys le fer et du boys bien vne aulne au bout de la lice et la lerracha lui mesmes alors le seng saillit dun coste et daultre Et adonc fut mene en son pauillon Et la mourut enuiron de six a sept heures de nuyt Et adonc que le Roy eut nouuell[es] du coup manda aud[it]z chalons quil se Retraist en son logeis Et alors led[it]z chalons enuoia guertier acompagne des pours[uiuant]s dessusd[it]z deuers le Roy lui suppliant humblem[en]t que son departement du champ ne luy portast point de preiudice veu que le Roy lui co[m]mandoit partir le premier du champ Car Il ne sauoit a leure en quel point led[it]z louys estoit car led[it]z loys nauoit point touche led[it]z chalons dicelle course Adonc dist le Roy que non feroit Il Et alors led[it]z chalons vint prendre congie du Roy et de la Royne et de la noble seigneurie qui la estoit et fist vng tour au long des lices acompagne des seigneurs gentilz ho[m]mes deuers et du Roy darmes et pours[uiuan]t[s] et lamenerent en son logeis qui estoit pres dela Et le vij^e Jour de freuier fut enterre led[it]z loys et son s[er]uice fait notablement en la grant esgl[is]e de Tours et y auoit m[ou]lt de notables et grans seigneurs audit seruice et la furent les ambassadeurs dengleterre au s[er]uice et a loffrande et chanta la grand messe le priue seel dengleterre Et aprez le s[er]uice fait fut le corps mis en vne chariot acompagne de Cinquante torches toutes avec vng escucon de ses armes et quatre es
iiij coins du corps

Ricard Champeney a norroy roy darmes

[MS 3]

[Fol. 44^r]

Joustes de monseigneur Antoine Bastard de Bourgongne faictes en Angleterre⁴⁹

[Fol. 44^v blank]

[Fol. 45^r]

Comme ia piece a pour exaulcer Les tresnobles et cheualereux faitz darmes en champ cloz et ferme. Mon tresredoubte Seigneur Monsieur Antoine bastard de Bourgongne Conte de la Roche en ardenne Seigneur de Beures et de beury eust porte certaine emprise a faire armes, et faict ce manifester par tous les Royaulmes chrestiens Et a laquelle requerant a combatre luy troisieme contre trois nobles hommes eust touche noble et puissant seigneur messire Antoine de Wideuille Cheualier Seigneur de scalles et de nucelles pour luy troisieme fournir desdictes armes. Lesquelles neantmoins par les grandes guerres et diuisions qui ont estees tant en Angleterre comme en france, et aultres grandz affaires suruenuz. Jusques au morir partie desdictz defendans Ne se sont peu accomplir ne parfaire Touttesfoys pour certaine Joyeuse aduventure aduenue audict seigneur de scalles enuoya a mondict seigneur le bastard certaine nouvelle emprise a faire armes corps contre corps ensemble lectres signees de sa main, et sellees de son seel contenant les chapitres desdictes armes a faire a cheual et a pied. Esquelles lectres moult ioyusement et en hault stille la maniere de ladicte aduenue est declaree. Dont affin que de ladicte entreprise enuoyee a mondict seigneur le [Fol. 45^v] bastard en la ville de Bruxelles par Cestre le herault et a laquelle il toucha du gre, et consentement de mon tresredoubte seigneur monsieur le duc de Bourgongne et de mon tresredoubte s[eigneu]r monsieur le Conte de Charlois cascun peut mieulx entendre la foundation Je feray la recitation desdictes lectres dont la teneur sensuyt -

Tresnoble vallereux et renomme Cheualier et treshonore seigneur Je me recomande a v[ost]re noble et bonne souenance tant affectueusement, et tant cordialement et par le plus grand debuoir que Cheualier peult faire a aultre, comme a celluy a qui Je me tiens oblige et estre tenu pour le grand honneur quaultresfois maues faict par voz honorables et gracieuses lectres et requestes monstrans desire et affection que nous deux nous puissions assembler par armes, et par lespreuue dont lessay croist lhonneur des nobles et augmente la renommee Laquelle chose na

⁴⁹ In a different hand: 'Par Messire oliuier de La Marche. v. Rymer Fœdera vol. xi. p. 573. Memoires dOlivier de la Marche p. 489 Fran. 6 E. 4. Puncta armor[um] inter Anth. de Wydeville Dom. de Scales et de Nucells et Ant. Bastardum Burgund. Comitem de la Roche. Rex suscepit præfatum Comitem in saluum conductum cum mille personis pro octo mensibus. 29 Oct.'

peu sortir effect Jusques a present a mon tresgrand desplaisir, et tout par les guerres et diuisions de ce Royaulme dangleterre, qui depuis ce temps ont dure et multiplie Jusques a ores Par lesquelles Jay heu si legitime excuse que vous ne personne du monde congnoissant le cas ne men peult demander ou donner [Fol. 46r] charge destre rompeur de celle v[ost]re noble emprise Mais men descharger et excuser Car dieu scait que le plus grand desir que Jay en ce monde est de me treuuer en tel le treshonorable et tant louee espreuue Et principalement affin que par icelluy moyen Je puisse auoir laccointance et lamytie de vous sur tous aultres de ce monde po[u]r les grandz biens les vertuz et les prouesses que ie scay en vous et dont v[ost]re renommee faict publiance par la generale chrestiente Et aussy esperant que par vous et v[ost]re aliance Je me puisse accointer et auoir congnoissance et communication a la treslouee et triumphale maison de bourgongne dont Je me tiens treshumble Seruiteur et parent Et laquelle ie desire seruice et honorer autant que par honneur il me seroit possible Ces choses considerees treshonore s[eigneu]r vous debues scauoir que mon plus grand desir et ma totale affection et volunte est sur toutes ces choses de treuuer le moyen de venir es choses dessusdictes et que dieu me face tant dhonneur et de grace que Je puisse auoir en vous la fraternellite et lamour par armes que deux cheualiers peuuent de lung a lautre acquerir et auoir Et pour commenceme[n]t et moyen de ceste noble œuure Je vous escrips et aduertis dune gracieuse aduventure qui [Fol. 46v] nouvellement mest aduenue, vous requerant en toute affection pour lhonneur de noblesse et de Cheualerie quen ceste matiere veuilles entendre et me faire tant dhonneur que de moy descharge de mon obligie. Et en ce faisant et fournissant, a tousiour mais ie me tiendray et reputeray a v[ost]re tenu cheualier. Verite est que le mercredy prochain apres la solemnel et deuot Jour de la Resurrection de n[ost]re benoist Saulueur et redempteur Jesuchrist pour aucuns mes affaires au partir de la grand messe Je me tiray deuers la Royne dangleterre et de france ma souuerainne dame, et a qui Je suis treshumble subiect. Et comme Je parlasse a sa seigneurie a genoux le bonnet hors de la teste comme faire debuoye. Je ne scay par quelle aduventure ny comment il aduint. Mais toutes les dames de sa compagnie se enuironnerent alentour de moy, et ne me donnay garde, que celles de leur grace me eurent attache alento[u]r de ma cuisse dextre vng riche collier dor garny de pierrerie, et estoit fait dune l[ett]re qui a la verite quant Je lapperceu me fut plus prez du cueur que du genoux. Et a celluy collier estoit attache vne fleur de souenance esmaillee, et en maniere demprise Et lors lune delles me dist. Cheualier

[Fol. 47^r] prenez en gre pour ceste foys. Et adonques se retirarent vne chascune en leur place. Et Je comme tout esbay de ceste aduanture⁵⁰ me leuay pour les aller remercier de leur riche et honorable present. Et comme Je prinse mon bonnet, que Jauoye laisser cheoir aupres de moy Je treuuay dedans vne lectre escripte en vng delie parchemin seellees et closes dung petit fil dor seulement. Sy pensay bien que cestoit le contenu de la volute des dames par escript, et ce que ie debuoye faire et accomplir pour la noble souenance, que par elles mestoit donnee. Lors ie remerciay treshumblement la Roynne, qui de sa grace auoit souffert que tant dhonneur me fut fait en sa noble presence. Et pareillement aux dames qui le noble present mauoyent fait, et men allay tout droict deuant le Roy Dangleterre et de France mon souuerain seigneur, comme faire le debuoye pour luy compter mon aduenture, et luy monstrem lempriue qui mestoit chargee. Et luy monstray et baillay la lectre close, luy suppliant en toute humilite, quil luy pleut me faire tant dhonneur, et de grace, que dagreer, et consentre la volute des dames en ceste partie, et quil me donnast conge et licence daccomplir le contenu dicelles lectres a moy baillees pour laduenture [Fol. 47^v] de ladictie souenance mener a fin. Le Roy de sa grace rompit le fil dor et fait lire lesdictes lectres contenans certains Chapitres lesquels maccorda liberalement, et dont la teneur sensuyt.

Sensuyent les Chappitres

En lhonneur reuerence et ayde de nostre benoist Saulueur Jesuchrist de sa glorieuse vierge mere, et de monsieur Saint George vray tuteur, patron et cry d[e]s Anglois a laugmentation de cheualerie a la recommandation de noblesse, et pour la glorieuse escolle et estude darmes, et de vaillance a mon pouuoir maintenir, et ensuyure, et pour obeyr et complaire a ma belle dame, Je Antoine de Wideuille Cheualier s[eigneu]r de Scalles et de nucelles anglois ay aujourdhuy xvij^e. Jour dapuril .M.CCCCxvij. receu, et par les dames le don dung riche collier dor, et a lcelluy pendante vne noble fleur de souenance, Lequel de leur grace elles ont attache et mis a ma cuyse dextre. Laquelle souenance par le don plaisir conge et licence du Roy mondict souuerain s[eigneu]r Jay chargee et prinse pour entreprinse [Fol. 48^r] pour fournir et accomplir a layde de dieu les armes qui sensuyent.

Premierement Je seray tenu par expres commandement de comparoir en la noble Cite de Londres au Jour et heure qui me seront limitees et ordonnees au moys doctobre prochainement venant deuant le Roy mond[it] souuerain Seigneur ou son

⁵⁰ *Sic.*

Commis mon Juge en ceste partie alencontre dung noble homme de quatre lignees et sans villain reproche a mon choiz sil se presente alencontre de moy.

Le deuxiesme Chapitre est tel que nous assemblerons a cheual arme chascun a son plaisir en selles de guerre sans arrest auantageux ou malengin et courrons sans toille a fers esmoluz vne course de lance seullement et puis mectrons la main aux espees trenchans et combatrons soit destoc ou de taille a laduantage de chascun Jusques a laccomplissement de xxxvij copz despee feruz par noz deux.

Le troixi[esm]e chap[it]re Je feray liurer lances et espees et dont mon Compaignon aura le choiz [**Fol. 48^v**]

Le quatri[esm]e Chappitre est sil aduient (que dieu ne veuille) que lun de nous deux soit porte par terre hors de la selle sans cheute de cheual du coup de la lance ou de lespee, les armes seront tenues pour accomplies

Le cinquiesme est, Si lun de nous deux estoit blece (que dieu ne veuille) tant de la lance comme de lespee Jusques a non pouuoir fournir, les armes seront tenues pour accomplies comme dessus. Et cest quant aux premieres armes.

Sensuyent les secondes armes

Item ie seray tenu de moy presenter pour la seconde foys deuant le Roy mondict souuerain Seigneur ou son commis mon Juge en ceste partie a tel Jour quil me sera assigne en lcelluy mois doctobre alencontre dung noble homme des conditions dessusdictes, Sil se presente alencontre de moy pour faire fournir et accomplir les armes que sensuyent.

Le second chappitre est tel que nous serons armes a pied comme a nobles hommes en tel cas appartient, et pourrons porter⁵¹ targes et pauaismes au plaisir de chascun, et [**Fol. 49^r**] serons embastonnez de lances de haches et de dagues, et ferons vng iect de lance seulement – Puis combatrons des aultres bastons Jusques ad ce que lung des deux soit pourte par terre ou de tout point desbastonne.

Le troixi[esm]e est que ie feray deliurer lesdictz bastons, et dont mon compaignon aura le choiz.

Et cest quant aux secondes armes –

Et si aucune question ou debat sourdoit ou mouuoit par ces presens Chapitres par estre mal couchez, mal escriptz, ou mal entenduz, lon soit seur que le Roy ordonnera pour ceste cause gens si notables, que les differentz en seront legierement appeisez gardant lhonneur et le droict de toutes les parties.

⁵¹ *Sic.*

Et pour conclusion final de ces presens Chapitres Je seray tenu a mes despens de faire auoir et obtenir du Roy mondict souuerain Seigneur, seur, leal, et souffisant saulfconduict aux nobles hommes, qui tant me feront dhonneur, que de me venir combatre selon le contenu de mes chappitres de pouuoir venir, de meurer, et retourner saulueme[n]t [Fol. 49^v] et sans mal engin tant en ce Royaume dangleterre comme es aultres Seigneuries appartenantes au Roy mondict souuerain seigneur tel temps, et tel terme qui demanderont, et a tel nombre de gens et de cheuaults quilz requerront couuenablement, et comme en tel cas appartient.

Treshonore Seigneur Par ces p[rese]ns chappitres vous vees et congnoisses la charge en quoy ie suis oblige et tenu sur vouloir de dames, et que Je suis restraint par commandement, et veult on que nommeement ie face ces armes en ceste Cite de Londres, et en ce Royaume dangleterre. Et laquelle chose Je ne puis sans desobeir, eslargir ne enfreindre, Dont pour fournir et accomplir ce que mest commande et le contenu de ces presens chappitres, pour la descharge de mon pesant faiz pour saouler ma longue desirance, et appaiser mon cueur de son desir, et pour les grandes et raisonnables causes ad ie moy mouuans comme Jescrrips presentement cy dessus Jenuoye deuers vous en toute affectueuse et cordiale requeste Cestre herault et Seruiteur du Roy dangleterre et de france mon souuerain Seigneur, po[u]r vous presenter de par moy ces lectres, et presens chappitres, ensemble la tresnoble fleur de souenance, qui ma estee baillee, [Fol. 50^r] et chargee pour emprise, vous suppliant et requerant quil vous plaise moy monstrer tant dhonneur et damytie, que de toucher a ladicte fleur mon emprise, et daccomplir les armes contenues en ces presens chapitres Laquelle fleur Jenuoye dela la mer par deuers vous comme au plus renomme cheualier et au plus prest, et delibere de telles nobles oeuvres accomplir, Sans nully blasmer, que par conseil ne par enqueste iay peu choisir ne scaouir en quelque Region. Et a tousiours Joblige moy et les miens, et ta[n]t que Dieu me donnera de bonne fortune pour estre v[ost]re tant que lhonneur la vie et laouir le pourront souffrir. Et quant ledict herault officier darmes porteur de ceste<s> emprise dessusdicte sera retourne par deuers moy, et maura rappourte ladicte fleur honnoree et touchee par si digne et cheuallereuse main comme la v[ost]re, lors sera ladicte fleur Joyusement par moy reprise, et men pareray et la pourteray comme ma charte, et la cause dont Jespere tirer plus de fruct et dhonneur en ce monde. Et ce Jusques au te[m]ps que Jauray fournies et accomplies ces p[rese]ntes armes alencontre de vous Treshonore Seigneur, pource que ie considere, qua vous et a tel si hault et si noble

personnage peuuent continuellement moult dafferes suruenir, et moult de romptures a voz haultes [Fol. 50^v] Emprinses tant pour guerres publicques suruenantes et v[ost]re marche accident de maladie le vouloir de v[ost]re souuerain ou le plaisir de v[ost]re dame qui nest pas a desobeyr dont Chascun diceulx pointz peult souffire a tous nobles hommes et est legitime et raisonnable ensonne pour retarder a vous et a aultres moult de haultes et honorables entreprises Ce considere pour monstrier a vous lhonneur le desir et laffection que Je vous porte sur tous Cheualiers Jay tant requis et obtenu que si ainsy est que par lune de ces raisons ou aultre leal ensonne vous ne puisses venir vacquer ou entrendre a laccomplisseme[n]t de ladicte entreprise ne fournir les armes dont Je vous requiers ou moys dessusdict Je vous attendray et supporteray le faiz de ma charge vng an entier a prendre despuis la fin dudict moys doctobre Jusques a la date dung an expire Cest a scauoir que toutes les foyes pendant icelluy temps dun an Je seray tenu dedans deux moys de semonce auant le Jour de n[ost]re premiere bataille que le me fera scauoir il vous sera limite lieu Jour place et Judges couuenables pour icelles armes fournir selon le contenu de mesdictz chappitres Dont Je promectz que si raisonnable ensonne ne me suruiet digne destre mon excuse que Je feray et accompliray le contenu en Iceulx Et ne cuyde nul [Fol. 51^r] que ie face ou emprende les choses dessusdic[ic]tes pour arrogance presumption enuye ou outrecuydance de valoir Car sus dieu et sus mon honneur Je ne le fais que pour obeyr a ma belle dame et auoir lacoointance des bons principalement dung bon Cheualier dont vous estes mon choix Ce scait le Createur du ciel et de la terre a qui Je prie qui vous doint Joye de v[ost]re dame

Treshonneur Seigneur tresnoble valereux et renomme Cheualier affin que vous soyez mieulx acertene que ie veulx entretenir faire et accomplir les choses dessusdic[ic]tes seelle Jay ces presens Chappitres du seel de mes armes et signez de ma main en la place et manoir royal de Shene le xviii^e Jour du moys dapuril Mil quatre cens Soixante et cinq⁵²

Ainsi mondict Seigneur le bastard desirant satisfaire ausdictes lettres toucha comme dict est Mais du gre et consentement des deux parties les armes furent tousiours entretenues en suspens et par especial a cause du voyage de france ou le rencontre fut au Montlhery et des voyages de Liege et de dignant Jusques en ce present an M CCCC lxxij que les choses se treuuerent [Fol. 51^v] ainsy disposees, que

⁵² In a different hand: 'veyes E XII ou sont les l[ett]res Certifiatoires de Conte de Worcestre et l[ett]res responsiues de dit bastard de Bourgoigne etc. p. 354 355 356'.

mondict s[eigneu]r le bastard se partit de la ville de bruges le xxiiij^e Jour du moys dapuril accompane de grand nombre de Cheualiers et escuyers, desquelx la plus part assez tost feray declaration, et sen vint a Lescluse pour attendre vent afin de nager en Angleterre en la ville de Londres, ou ledict Seigneur de scalles lattendoit pour fournir le contenu en sesd[ic]tes lectres comme il sera dict cy apres. Neantmoins le vent fut tel, quil ne fut propice pour faire ce voyage Jusques au xviiij^e Jour de May qui estoit lundy de Penthecostes et seiourna tousiours lestat de mond[it] s[eigneu]r audict lieu de Lescluse. Jacoit que de sa personne il alla a n[ost]re dame dardembourg, et mesmes fut a la procession de Bruges qui fut le iij^e de May. Et aduint quen ce seiour faisant, vng Jour mondict S[eigneu]r estant en son bateaul, aucuns robeurs de mer bisquayns prindrent vne krouelle⁵³ Dangleterre, et lamenerent toute plainne de draps en la pointe de Lescluse ancrer La ou mondict s[eigneu]r le bastard ayant de cela nouvelle les enuoya prendre et admener par deux de ses creuelles, dont il en auoit quatre pour faire sondict voyage, desquelles estoient Capitaines de la premiere, ou estoit mond[it] s[eigneu]r le bastard. Jehan de boschuse Dune aultre Jehan de Dausset m[aist]re dhostel [Fol. 52^r] a mondict s[eigneu]r, Dune aultre, fierin Palesding Capitaine des archiers de mondict s[eigneu]r, et De la quatriesme Gerard de hoccon bailly de Lille. Si enuoya mondict s[eigneu]r pour prendre lesdictz biscayns et leur proye lesdictz Jean de Dausset et fierin, qui les amenerent, et les liura mondict seigneur es mai[n]s des bailliz de lyane, et de Lescluse pour en faire ce quil seroit de raison et Justice.

Sensuyent les noms des Cheualiers et escuyers qui accompaignarent mond[it] s[eigneu]r le bastard, Dont Je proteste, que les mectant par escript lung premier, lautre Derrier, cest comme il me souuient de leurs noms, non pas ayant regard a leurs noblesse Du tout. Si prie quen ce Je soye tenu pour excuse.

Premierement.

Messire Simon de Lalaing s[eigneu]r de Montigny

Messire Philippe bastard de brabant s[eigneu]r de Crubeque

Messire Claude de Toulonjon s[eigneu]r de la bastie.

Monseigneur de montferrant

Mess[ir]e Jehan bast[ard] de Waurin s[eigneu]r du forestel

Messire Pietre vasque. [Fol. 52^v]

Messire Philippe de Gohen.

⁵³ Usually spelt *creuelle* in the text.

Messire Jehan de Chassa s[eigneu]r de monnet.
Mess[ir]e Jehan de Rebrommettes s[eigneu]r de thiebaultville.
Mons[eingeu]r Dantreulles
Messire Josse vassenart.
Sensuyent les escuyers sans office de la maison
Philippe bouton
Gerard de Roussillon
Gerard de occon
Claude de blesy
Dompietre
Charles de Toulonion s[eigneu]r de Traves
Huguet de Lannoy
Pierre de Lannoy
Antoine Duzies
Philippe de Salins
Pierre de Salins
Estienne Chatars
Jehan de banst
Jacquet de Tinteville
Claude de vaudrey
Baudouyn de la Croix
Pierre mettenes
Jean le tourneur
Pierre de Cressy. [**Fol. 53'**]
Alardin de Marcenelles
Huchon de scoennoes
Antoine bastard d'Aussy
Philippe de Carrin
Kemart Dolehan
Jehan le noble
Jean desue
Achilles de Flessin
Huguenin moureau.
Sensuyent les escuyers pourtains les offices de l'hostel a la despence.

Jehan de dausset m[ai]re d'hostel
Guillaume de Cressy pannetier
Huchon<s> Cocquet eschanson
Jean de maupas premier escuyer descuyrie
Alardin bournel second escuyer descuyrie
Loys de Werquingnoel mareschal des logis
Jehan de Lonchamp escuyer de Cuisine
Massin preuost Controlleur
Guillaume de Rogierville sourrier
Et Morlet de la haye recepueur general
Sensuyent les archiers.
Fierin palesding escuyer Cap[itai]ne des archiers
Gerardin mainborde archier [**Fol. 53^v**]
Le Luffre Archier
Sauarot Archier
Thonnin de villers archier
Guyot le Jeusne archier
Martinet baron archier
Berthoulet Widoque archier
Pierrechon haresque archier
Ernouillet Poullet archier
Pierrechon du castel archier
Brigade Archier
Hannequin martin archier
Mailinet Denis Archier
Sensuyent aultres officiers de la maison
Gerardin mainborde huysier darmes
Jaicques de marques dict le docteur huissier de sale
Casselaire maistre treux
Petit Guyot poutagier
Florecon et mahiot sommeliers de les saussouerie
Amandin Sommelier de panneterie
Troctet fructier
Denis saulsier

Et tous les compaignons seruans aux offices

Les Chappellains Item le⁵⁴ [Fol. 54^r]

Item le premier maistre Antoine du terni Docteur en theologie, et six aultres
ensuyuans Et aultres menestriers en nombre de xij

Thoyson Roy darmes

Bourgongne herault

Fuzil herault

Lembourg herault

Namur herault

et la Roche poursuyuant

Sensuyuent ceulx de la Chambre.

Le bastard de Naus Sommelier de corps

Le barbier

Lescuyer.

Le tapissier.

Item armuriers et selliers et grand nombre de varletz, montant le tout a plus de
quatre cens personnes.

Ainsy accompaigne avec grande quantite de Seruiteurs ledict lundy xviii^e de May
a dix [Fol. 54^v] heures du matin se partit mondict s[eigneu]r et Joyeusement passa la
Journee Jusques enuiron sept heures du seoir que mondict s[eigneu]r mist Jus de ses
apparaulx pour attendre vers la nuyct plusieurs petitz nauieres de Flandres de
zeelande dangleterre et daultre part qui tous estoyent pres de luy Alors perceut
mondict s[eigneu]r le b. et sa compaignie venir cinq bonnes creuelles de pyrates et
larrons despaigne qui prenoyent le vent pour nous courir sus et tantost mondict
s[eigneu]r et les siens reprindrent leurs apparaulx et sen vindrent contre lesdictz
espaignars et si feist vne nef dangleterre qui estoit en la compaignie et tant fut
exploicte que lesdictz espaignars se fourrarent sur nous et nous sur eulx Cest a
scauoir de traict a pouldre et a main a tres grande diligence dung coustel et daultre
sans que nous les puissions oncques abborder pour la nuyct et aussy quilz sen
gardoient fort et ainsy dura lescarmouche Jusques enuiron dix heures quilz se
retirarent non querre loing de nous Car le matin nous les voyons tout a plain En vng
petit nauiere qui nous accompaignoit fut vng homme tue dung vireton en la teste en
laultre vng homme perdu a bord et a vng aultre homme la Jambe emportee dun

⁵⁴ Last two words catchword.

veuglaire do[n]t [Fol. 55^r] il mourut. Des espaingnoz on ne peut scauoir quelle perte ilz heurent. Touttesfoys le matin enuiron dix heures ilz prindrent la coste de flandres, et nous Laisserent. Le vent nous vint contraire, si fut le Jeudy aua[n]t que nous entrasmes au bout dangleterre, et le sambedi auant que mondict s[eigneu]r se peut rendre a Londres. Dont pource que Jauoye temps et loysis a linstruction des mariniers Je mis par escript les places de la coste<s> dangleterre dung lez et daultre de la Thamise Jusques a Londres par maniere de pasetemps.

Premier en la plaine mer on treuue du coustel deuers <flandre> france vne tresbelle et tresgrande Isle, nommee Lisle de Tend, ou il y a a lentre vng bon village nomme Marguate. Puys y est Roykolue, puis entrant en la Thamise on treuue de ce mesme coustel vne place dicte kemumbrouc, si a vne Abbaye de dames au pres monstre on scapoye. Item vng village nomme cleue Item grauesande, De laultre coustel vers Nort entrant en la Thamise est Weuresain et vng Chasteaul a vng grand bourg no[m]me Hadlay. Item partant de grauezande Dont il a vngt milles Jusques a londres on treuue tant a vng coustel comme a laultre de la belle Riuiere Calghie, Norfliet, Winbrech, [Fol. 55^v] Saint Clement, Dertforde, Hable, Theride, Barqunghie Abbaye de Dames, Puis groinwich, qui est la maison du Roy a trois petitiz milles de Londres –

Le sambedy xxiiij^e. Jour de May a vne heure apres midy deuant Groinwich treuua mons[eigneu]r le bastard vng noble Cheualier nomme messire Guillaume de Tiptoph Conte Dourchestette⁵⁵ Connestable dangleterre en vne belle fuste ou galliotte a soixante rimes, et cinq barques plaines des plus notables de Londres, avec plusieurs botquins, qui tous attendoyent mond[ic]t seigneur et nagerent avec luy, et lors qui vindrent a vng mille de Londres ilz se Joignirent a luy et luy fait ledict connestable et tous les aultres la reuerence. Puys prist led[it] connestable mondict s[eigneu]r en sa fuste et les cinq barques tous noz gens hors des basteaulx, et Joyeusement menerent la compagnie Jusques pres du pont de Londres. La descendit mondict seigneur, puys monterent luy et led[it] Connestable sus petitiz cheuaulx et sen allarent du long de la ville Jusques a lhostel de leuesque de Salsebery, ou mondict s[eigneu]r se logea, lequel hostel le Roy auoit fait tendre de sa tapisserie, et dedans le Celier auoit fait mettre huict queues de vin Jacoit que mond[it] s[eigneu]r en heut admene cent queues et plus. [Fol. 56^r]

⁵⁵ Note in margin in a different hand: 'Worcester'.

Le dimanche xxiiij^e de May, Monsieur le bastard sen alla ouyr messe a leglise de Saint pol tenant et monstrant son estat. Si l'accompagnoyent le souuerain de flandres, Messire pierre de mirammont, monsieur de Rabodenghes, et Maistre Andrey Colin president de flandres, qui Ja piece a estoyent a Londres venus en ambaxade de par monseigneur le duc de Bourgongne –

Après le retour de Saint pol, ou mondit s[eigneu]r fut veu de moult de peuple, il festoya au disne lesdictz ambassadeurs, et ce Jour mesmes au soupper le vint visiter le bastard de Bretagne, lequel il festoya pareillement.

Le mardy xxvj^e Jour sen alla mons[eigneu]r le bastard hors de Londres pour soy tenir a son priue a vne place loing dillec a trois milles nommee scelse; et en ce lieu seiourna Jusques ad ce quil vint pour faire ses armes.

Le xxix^e. Jour de May vint secretement le Roy dangleterre au lieu de Scelse visiter monseigneur le bastard, et nauoit en sa compagnie que monsieur de hastinghes, gra[n]d Chambellain, le Conte dexces grand maistre d'hostel. Jehan mons[eigneu]r de bokingem, mons[eigneur] de Riuieres, messire Jaicques du glas, messire Thomas abouron, et messire [Fol. 56^v] Thomas de mongommery. Et mons[eigneu]r le bastard auoit mande de Londres pour l'accompaigner Mons[eigneu]r de Montigny, messire Philippe de brabant, messire Claude de Toulonion, messire pierre vasque, monsieur de monnet, mons[eigneu]r de Thiebaultville, et Philippe bouton. Et ne volut point le Roy que mons[eigneu]r le bastard vuydast de son hostel Sil attendit dedans lhuys environ viij piedz, La luy feist la reuerence, et le Roy moult humblement le receut. Puy se tournerent apart au Jardin, et deuisarent bien par demye heure eulx deux, et en fin le Roy appella monsieur de Riuieres, et furent deuisant eulx trois vne espace, puis leurs furent presentes vin et espices en l'hostel, dont le Roy se partit, et sen retourna a Winzorre ou il se tenoit.

Le penultiesme Jour de May vint audict lieu de Scelse visiter mondict seigneur le bastard le duc de Clarence frere du Roy accompaigne de mons[eigneu]r le Connestable –

Le second Jour de Juing monsieur le bast[ard] vint en Londres aveoir entrer le Roy, lequel entra en sa Cite moult grandement accompaigne des nobles dangleterre chascun en point a son pouuoir. Si pourtoit [Fol. 57^r] Lespee deuant luy Monsieur de Scalles, qui La brandissoit et palmoyoit moult fierement, quant il passa deuant mondict Seig[neu]r en regardant en hault vers l'celluy qui estoit aux fenestres.

Le lendemain troixiesme Jour mondict s[eigneu]r le bastard alla deuers le Roy en bel estat accompaigne de tous ses Chevaliers gentilz hommes, et Archiers. Et le conduysoit a Wasmustre monsieur le Chambellan Jusques a la Chambre du Roy, ou le Roy vint, et le receut alors publicquement. Et apres la reuerence faicte dung costel et daultre, mondict seigneur le bastard fist au Roy dauoir Jour assigne pour l'accomplissement de ses armes. Le Roy luy bailla le choix du Jour, lequel il nomma, et le Roy l'accepta au lundy huictiesme Jour du moys. Mais despuis a la request de monsieur de scalles, pource quil plouuoit, et que le champ estoit mol, et effondre, le Jour fut continue du lundy au mardy, et du mardy au Jeudy, qui fut le onziesme Jour du moys. En ce point, quant le Jour fut accorde, le Roy commenceoit ce Jour a tenir vng parlement [**Fol. 57^v**] general de tout le Royaulme, ou il est dusaige en tel cas de celebrer vne messe du Sainct esperit sollennellement, ou le Roy vient en estat Royal, et la on appelle tous ceulx, qui sont tenuz de venir audict parlement

Le Roy dangleterre vint a la messe du saint esperit en Labbaye de Wasmustre vestu dune chappe de velours cramoyssi a chapperon Royal en gorge fourre de letiches, a vng habillement de teste faict de velours cramaisy a vng groz bourrelet couuert de laitiches, ayant avec luy les ducs et Contes qui sensuyent. Cestascauoir le duc de Clarence, et le duc de Suffock, le Conte darondel, le Conte douycestre Connestable, le Conte de Kent, qui pourtoit lespee du Roy deuant luy, le Conte de Riuiere⁵⁶ pere de la Royne, et le conte dexces grand maistre d'hostel, les barons daudol, de Souch, de hastinghes Chambellan du Roy, Celluy de bernez Chambellan de la Royne, et ceulx de habarde, Stauorde, de scondewich Cromoele, Herbert, scourton, monioye et yuain. Tous <s>ces ducz Contes et Barons habbillez de chappes royales comme le Roy, excepte quilz auoyent sus la dextre espaule despuis la poytrine Jusques au doz bendes de laitices larges dune palme. Les [**Fol. 58^r**] Ducz quatre, les contes trois, et les aultres barons deux. Avec le Roy estoyent aussy a celle messe Larceuesque de Cantorbry, qui la chanta, et les euesques de Londres de Rocestre, et de Illy, de Norwic, de lingolne, et labbe de Wasmustre. Si pourtoit le Roy vng ceptre en sa main quon disoit, qui fut a Sainct Edouart. Ainsy fut mondict seigneur le bastard avec le Roy acelle messe tout au long, et allant a lofferande cheminait deuant le Roy. Et apres la messe mondict seigneur le bastard vint avec le Roy Jusques en vne salle ou pallais, La ou leuesque de linkolne feist vne longue colation pour le parlement ouurir. Si fut mondict seigneur tousiours present au prez du Roy, et

⁵⁶ Sic.

ladicte colation finee, il reconduisit le roy Jusques en sa chambre, ou il prist conge, et sen retourna en son hostel a londres, et puis de rechief sen alla a Scelse Jusques ad ce quil vint pour besongner.

Le Jeudy vnziesme Jour de Juing lan lxxvij au marche de Londres estoit vng parc fait a double lisse de Cent et viij paz de long et de lxxij de large. Au costel de midy **[Fol. 58^v]** Lentree de mons[eigneu]r le bastard, et a loppoosite celle de monsieur de scalles. A La partie dorient estoit fait pour le Roy vng hault tabernacle grand et spacieux tendu de drap de soye de couleur dasur seme de fleurs de liz dor et de briuetz, ou estoit escript Jamais. Au milieu du tabernacle estoit vne haulte chaiere adoz couuerte de riche drap dor, et estouffe de coussins paraulx.

Au bas dudict tabernacle a deux costez des degrez estoient les sieges du Connestable et du mareschal tenduz et aorniz de tapisserie, et dessus ledict Connestable, qui estoit au dextre estoit la place des Roys darmes et heraulx. Deuant le Roy a laultre partie du champ estoit vng hourt pour le maire de Londres et les siens, et aupres de luy vers midy vng hourt pour les gens de mond[i]t Seig[neu]r le bastard, et tout autour du champ hours faitz et la plus part des maisons de souuertes. Cedict Jour enuiron les huict heures vindre[n]t lesdictz Connestable et Mareschal au champ a grande suyte dhommes darmes et darchiers **[Fol. 59^r]** pourtans vouges, espieux ou haches, Ceulx du Connestable pourtans parure de blanc les vne a orfayuerie, et les aultres non, et Celles du mareschal de vermeil a vng petit lyon deuant et derriere, Et est a scauoir que ledict Mareschal estoit vng Cheualier nomme messire Jehan hauart pour le duc de Northfolq qui est Conte mareschal heritier. Lesdictz Connestable et Mareschal estoient habillez de leurs personnes de harnaz de Jambes de gourgeron et Journades, le Connestable de drap dor, et le mareschal dorfayuerie, et montez sus destriers houcez, le Connestable dor cramoyssy et le mareschal de soye bleue et violette semees de houppes de soye pendans. Ainsy iceulx mirent leurs gens honnestement entre deux lices, les Archieres, et les hommes darmes contre les pilliers du champ pardedans quant a ce premier Jour Mais laultre Journee apres a pied les feire[n]t entrer entre deux lisses, et chascun retraire[nt], co[m]me il est droict et vsage.

A vng quarre du champ a son lez auoit mons[eigneu]r **[Fol. 59^v]** de Scalles fait dresser vng pauillon de taftaf azure seme de ces lectres dargent de brodure qui estoit

telles .⁵⁷. et borde en goutiere de son mot qui estoit en lectre ancienne blanche sur velours bleu (La nonchailance) Et sur ledict pauillon vng aigle dor tena[n]t vne banniere de ses armes, et autour dud[it] pauillon huict bannieres, et autour du champ de son coustel bannieres, tant quen tout il y en auoit quarante et trois. Dont les xxiiij estoyent differentes lune a laultre, monstrant tous ceulx dont il est yssu, et aucunes de sa femme. Il monstroit en banniere premier Sainct George, Wideuille, Riuiere, priaux, baux, lembourg, Luxembourg, Enghien, france, bauucie, Chastillon, Geneue, Athenes, Brienne, belzigat, scalles, nucelles, bouffort, lille, dowic, beauchamp, et Conuersain.

Ainsy le Champ ordonne fourny et pare Le Roy vint accompaigne de la noblesse et de sa garde par derriere son tabernacle, entrer dedans, entre neuf et dix heures po[u]r la presse du peuple, et estoit vestu dune robe de velours noir courte, chausses de violet, et la gartiere en la Jambe senextre.

Puis apres quant il fust prest assez longuement vint Mons[eigneu]r de Scalles en tel estat. [Fol. 60^r]

Monseigneur de Scalles estoit accompaigne du duc de Clarence monte sur vng Cheual housse de drap dor <j> bleu moult riche borde de frange dor, et de soye noyre, et pourtoit vng armet en la main garny de pierrerie. En apres du conte darondel pourtant aussy armet ou heaulme, son cheual housse dor cramoyssi borde dermine en drap dor blanc, et couuerte ladicte bordure dung volet de soye Monsieur de Riuieres housse de drap dor blanc borde de martres, et vng Cheualier nomme messire Laurent de Rainsfort housse de velours bleu seme en brodure dor de croisette a pied fiche et de bourdons grand nombre, tant de ses freres comme daultres cheualiers et escuyers laccompaignoyent. Il auoit deuant luy Clairons et menestrelz. Si faisoit porter les lances et espees a Cheual deuant luy, et de son estat il estoit en point comme il sensuyt –

De sa personne il estoit arme excepte de teste; et estoit son cheual housse de damas blanc a grandes croix de Sainct George de velours cramoyssi, et estoit le cheual de poil gris.

Il auoit apres luy huict pages vestuz de pourpains de satin noir ayans mantelines [Fol. 60^v] a manches de satin verd semees dorfauerie blanche, et chappeaulx a facon de bicoques, de brun tant bordez de velours noir a voletz de soye entortillees autour en montain –

⁵⁷ Symbol like a capital M.

Le premier cheual housse de velours tane a Campanes dorees. Le second dermines. Le troixiesme de velours violet seme dorfayuerie en facon de morgeaus de ceinture de femme. Le iiij^e de velours gris borde de drap dor blanc a ses lectres. Le Cinquiesme de drap dor nomme bourget, faulx borde dermines. Le sixiesme de satin verd tout seme de haulx atours de dame et longs voletz. Le septiesme de velours bleu a grans descendues dorfaiuerie en facon de huictz plois ensemble de longues robes.⁵⁸ Le huictiesme de drap dor cramoyssi borde de martres. En tel estat vint faire reuerence au Roy, apres que entrer au champ luy fut faicte par les heraulx, et tourna autour du Champ puis descendit dedans son pauillon, et ses Cheualx se pourmenoyent auant le Champ de son coustel. Et led[it] Seigneur de Scalls descendit de son Cheual, et tout desarme de teste se tint a l'entree dudict pauillon Jusques quil heut regarde entrer mons[eigneu]r le b. en tel estat que cy apres sera dict. [Fol. 61^r]

Après la venue de mons[eigneu]r de Scalles appellant vint monsieur le bastard en ordonna[n]ce telle comme il sensuyt. Premièrement vindrent deux et deux ses Archiers vestuz de leurs Journades sans vouges ne bastons. Et en apres le Maistre d'hostel seul son baston en son poing. Puis apres les gentilz hommes par couples, en apres les Cheualiers et chascun au passer agenouillant deuant le Roy, puis suyuoyent trompettes et heraulx.

Et en apres mondect seigneur accompaigne du duc de Suffolk de monsieur de montjoye et de messire Thomas de mongommery, qui enuoyez estoyent pour ce faire de par le Roy. Et estoit ledict duc de Suffolck a grande compaignie de gens tous parez de taftaf ou satin blanc, et luy de sa personne monte sur vng cheual couuert de fin or cramoisie.

Monsieur le bastard faisoit mener deuant luy vng destrier couuert des armes de Bourgongne a la barre, lequel destrier menoyent quatre Cheualiers de sa compaignie. Et luy de sa personne estoit monte sur vng grison a vng harnas pendant moytie de drap dor, moytie de drap d'argent seme [Fol. 61^v] de campanes moytie⁵⁹ blanches moytie dorees et le menoyent a la main six cheualiers de sa compaignie Puis auoit sept cheualx houssez moult richement le premier dermines Le second de drap dor verd le tiers de velours cramoisie a groz yeulx d'argent qui tous semoyent de larmes Le quatriesme de drap d'argent cramoisie borde de velours verd Le cinquiesme a vne

⁵⁸ *Sic.*

⁵⁹ Word repeated.

barde couuerte de fin broquart dor le sixiesme de martres sabelines Le vij^e de velours bleu seme de barbacanes de fin or en brodure Ses pages et vng palefrenier cheuauchoyent lesdictz cheuaultz habillez de pourpains de satin verd barrettes de drap dor en teste reuersees de velours noir ayant Journades de damas bleu et violet bordees de franges de soye Jaune En tel estat moult richement entra mond[it] seigneur ou champ a l'entree duquel le Connestable et mareschal le vindrent querre avec grand nombre d'officiers darmes dangleterre pourtans couronnes en teste et verge longue en la main Si estoit le Roy darmes de Rome et celluy de dannemarque Et nostre coustel Thoison dor Bourgongne le herault lembourg Namur fuzil et la Roche poursuyuant Et dengleterre Richemont Riuieres Nucelles et moult⁶⁰ [Fol. 62^r] et moult daultres, qui tous conduysoyent mondict seigneur deuant le Roy, auquel mondict s[eigneu]r fait la reuerence teste nue tout a cheual. Puis se tira a son coste ou il auoit vng montoir de bois pour le heaulmer, et par armer du heaulme, et des pieces qu'on auoit appourtees en deux paniers de cuyr sur le champ.

Mondict seigneur le bastard ne se voulut oncquis <ar> heaulmer, que premier il neust veu la lance et lespee dont il deuoit besongner. Lesquelles lesdictz Connestable et Mareschal quant led[it] mons[eigneu]r de scalles les enuoya presentarent au Roy. Puis en prist mondict seigneur le choix. Lors se heaulma en my le champ, en tant que lesd[it]z Connestable et Mareschal se retirarent en leurs sieges, et que Richemont le herault cria en Anglois aux quatre<s> quarres du champ les criz accostumez. Lesquelz faiz Gartiere le Roy darmes cria par trois fois Laissez les aller. Alors mondict Seigneur de Scalles partit de son paillon lance en arrest, et mondict seigneur le bastart⁶¹ print la sienne sur la cuisse et la chargea. Si sen vindrent pour rencontrer, mais ilz ne se rencontrarent point. Jacoit que mond[it] s[eigneu]r le bastard croisast tresfort le trauers du champ querant mons[eigneu]r de scalles. [Fol. 62^v]

Le cours de la lance oultre les deux cheualiers se desarmerent tresgtement et soudainement de leurs lances et de leurs pieces monsieur de Scalles de deux et mons[eigneu]r le bastard de quatre Si vindre[n]t brandissant les espees moult fierement Monsieur de Scalles criant en hault par deux foys Saint George et mondict s[eigneu]r le bastard qui estoit en la fourcourse sil heut voulu tourna hors main la teste de son cheual vers son homme et le ferit de lespee sus l'heaume vng cop qui depuis a este veu sur le heaulme de monsieur de scalles en la visiere a coste si auant fendu

⁶⁰ Last two words catchword.

⁶¹ *Sic.*

que de trois doigtz de large et vng grain de ble pouuoit passer parmy la fente dont lespee fut escardee en deux lieux et se recontraient par tel hardement que le cheual de mondict seigneur le bastard se rompit non point seulement la teste mais le corps et le mors en la bouche dont en Jectant le second cop despee ledict cheual sassit sur son cul puis se coucha a tout mondict seigneur le bastard lequel tousiours tenoit le bras et lespee en hault Jusques a ce que le Roy fist leuer ledict cheual Jus de luy Lequel cheual releue sans selle et sans bride tourna cinq ou six tours chancellant et se laissa cheoir iectant sang a tresgrande habondance et le lendemain mourut en la garde des heraulx Si luy trouua [Fol. 63^r] on en la gorge vng grand trou, comme si de lespee de monsieur de Scalles, il heut heu dung estoch dedans la bouche, ce quon ne scait pas au vray. Neantmoins il mourut comme dict est. Mondict seigneur le bast[ard] sen alla deuant le Roy lespee en sa main, requerant de parfournir les xxxvij copz despee, mais le Roy comme Juge, prist les armes sus quant a cheual les declairant accomplies et a lendemain ordonna les armes a pied. Jacoit ce que led[it] Roy heust fait tempter mondict seigneur luy faisant demander sil vouloit parfaire a pied, et quant il repondit que ouy, il ne le voulut point souffrir. Le lendemain questoit le vendredy xij^e de Juing reuindrent les estatz grans et sumptueux en place. Lesdictz Connestable et Mareschal feirent leur debuoir du matin de mectre leurs gens en ordonnance. On auoit tendu pour monsieur de scalles vng pauillon qui par dessus estoit pale de satin figure bleu, et de velours tanne, et dessoub de velours bleu et tanne a vne gouttiere de drap dor broche cramoyis, et les bannieres du Jour precedent, avec vne tresgrande banniere en lance plantee deuant led[it] pauillon.

Monseigneur le bastard auoit aussy fait [Fol. 63^v] tendre vng riche pauillon pale de damas blanc et violet a vng riche pommeau dor la bannerole de bourgongne au dessus a vne gouttiere de velours verd a vne brodure dor de barbicanes et de son mot nul ne si frotte et ses lettres en grosse forme et si estoit deuant ledict pauillon la grande banniere de bourgongne tenue par vng herault Enuiron les vnze heures le Roy vint co[m]me le Jour deuant vestu de drap dor cramoyis court deuant luy le Jeune duc de boquinghen et son frere et les aultres Seigneurs qui sont par cy deuant nommez Car chascun seruoit et si nen y⁶² auoit nulz aultres a court gens de nom Et quant le Roy fut venu treslonguement apres vint monsieur de Scalles arme du corps sa coste darmes vestue accompaigne comme dessus Et estoit a cheual ainsy et comme il sensuyt Le cheual sur quoy il vint Jusques a lentrete du parc estoit housse de velours

⁶² Interlineated.

cramoisy brode de huict escussons de son linaige et sus le cul du grand de ses armes et tout entreseme de gartieres Et sept paiges vestuz de pourpains de satin [Fol. 64^r] cramoisie a Journades de satin bleu bordees de drap noir deccopees semees dorfauierie blanche aux lectres de mondict seigneur de Scalles, barrettes de velours tanne en teste a plume blanche, et auoit chascun vng Cheual harnasche de large harnas de drap dor cramoisie.

On prist la banniere tenue deuant le pauillon, et la pourtoit on deuant luy en tel estat ses gens deuant et pareus clairo[n]s et menestrelz. Les Connestable, et Mareschal le presentarent au Roy, auquel il feit la reuerence, et puis se retira en son pauillon.

Et nest pas a oublier, que il faisoit porter deuant les lances de Ject que nestoye[n]t que Jauellines garnies au milieu de velours cramoisie deux haches a taillant et a rondelle partant et deux courtes dagues –

Tantost apres mondict seigneur le bast[ard] vint a Cheual Jusques a la barriere ses gens deuant en ordonnance comme le Jour deuant, mesmes ses pages a pied, apres les archiers vestuz de camelot violet a deux ploix de sa liuree. Iceulx ploix semez dorfauierie doree et blanche. Mondict seigneur le bast[ard] auoit vestu vne robe longue de [Fol. 64^v] velours bleu fourree dermines. Il fut venu querre comme le Jour deuant du Connestable et du mareschal et officiers darmes, et en tresgrand honneur presente deuant le Roy, puis se retira en son pauillon et chascun en son lieu. On fist les criz en tant quilz se armerent, et allerent les Cheualiers de chascun coustel querre les bastons, dont Mons[eigneu]r de montigny et messire pierre Vasque prindrent le choix pour mondict seigneur. Mais desdictes lances ou Jauelines le plaisir du Roy ne fut point quon en Jectast, et disoit on que les dames lauoyent requis – Si en fait led[it] Roy requerir a mondict s[eigneu]r lequel respondit quil vouloit obeyr a la volunte du Roy, aussy ne portarent ilz que haiches et dagues. Il demeura six gardes en armes sur le champ, et les nobles hommes qui aultresfoys auoyent faitz armes qui sont cy apres nommez.

Tout fait et ordonne on cria Laisses les aller Si feist monsieur de Riuieres trois foyz le signe de la Croix sur son filz, et partit monsieur de Scalles sa hache aucunesfoys au col, aucunesfoys en la main la palmoyant en hault, et mondict seigneur le bastard pourtant la sienne tout asseurement deuant luy, marcha [Fol. 65^r] contre luy Jusques vng petit oultre le Roy. La se rencontrarent moult Cheualereuseme[n]t. Et monsieur de Scalles crioit a monseig[neu]r le bastard en vne

maniere disant, ha, sa sa, sa, sa, et mondict seigneur le bastard respondict, ces paroles ne mesbayssent point si vous ne venes plus pres. Lors sans riens attendre ne barguigner sentreferirent, mons[eigneu]r de Scalles contendit de pointe de hache a la visiere. Mais mons[eigneu]r le bastard le ferit de la queue en la poitrine le premier cop. Ilz estoyent tous deux moult aigres, et dirent les nobles hommes, quonques ne veirent si dru ferir copz de haches. Dont vng cop mondict s[eigneu]r de Scalles perdit la hache dune main, qui tost se re prist, et le feirent tous deux si vaillamment, et si asprement, quon ne scait qui mieulx, sinon que Je scay bien, que du lieu ou ilz commencerent, monseigneur le bastard gaigna terre en marchant sur luy, et faisoit continuellement, quant le Roy iecta le baston. Lors se mirent les gardes entredeux. Mais a grande peine pouuoit on faire abstenir monsieur de Scalles. Monseigneur le bastard despuys quon crya, hola, se fut abstenu, ne fut que mondict s[eigneu]r de Scalles en la main desdictes gardes luy gecta aucuns cops, dont mondict seigneur le bastard fut contrainct de luy gecter vng cop de teste de hache moult puissant en la teste, et le feist, et a tant on **[Fol. 65^v]** fut maistre deulx, qui moult vaillamment sestoyent pourtez comme de la puissance dauoir bien soubstenu. Il apparut soit en la cote darmes de monsieur de Scalles. Laquelle estoit rompue en plusieurs lieux, et monseigneur le bastard auoit en especial la tierce lame de son harnois en bas faillee tout oultre –

La bataille finie, ilz leuerent les visieres se prindrent par les mains, et vindrent ensemble deuant de Roy. Mons[eigneu]r le bastard au dextre coste de mons[eigneu]r de Scalles, et en faisant le reuerence au Roy, et le remerciant feirent de moult gracieuses offres lung a lautre. Si tint le Roy les armes pour accomplies de tous les deux Jours, et les declaira auoir estees fournies a lhonneur de chascune des deux parties –

Ainsy se partit chascun amyablement se retrayant en son logis –

Après ce que les Champions furent desarmez et vng petit rafraichiz, enuiron entre trois et quatre sen allerent deuers le Roy, mons[eigneu]r de Scalles vint premier qui attendit mons[eigneu]r le bastard au pont de Wasmustre, et sen allarent ensemble vers le Roy, lequel leur feist moult grand feste **[Fol. 66^r]** par especial a mondict Seigneur le bastard, pource quil estoit estrangier, et apres la reception ilz feirent partie, et iouyrent a la paulme quatre contre quatre. Cestascauir, le Roy, Mons[eigneu]r le bastard, monsieur de scalles, et le Mareschal Contre mess[ir]e Jehan de Wideuille frere de monsieur de scalles Messire Thomas abouron, Thomas

vacquant⁶³ <que> et mons[eigneu]r de Rabondenghes bailly de Saint Omer, et ny heut ny perte ny gaing. Si commencearent aucuns a luyter, Jusques quil fut nuyct, que monseigneur le bastard prist conge et sen reuint a son logis.

Le Sammedy le Jour fut occupe des armes de monsieur de monnet, lesquelles se feirent a pied ce Jour, et y fut le Roy present –

Le dimenche apres disner, Monsieur le bast[ard] qui encoire nauoit veu les dames sen alla au palais, ou elles estoyent toutes assemblees avec la Royne en vne Salle richement paree, et despuys l'entree de lhuys Jusques au bout ou la Royne estoit deuant vng hault siege tendu, tout estoit plain de dames a vng coustel, habillees les vne dor, les aultres de soye richement comme il estoit possible Monseigneur le bastart,⁶⁴ et tous les nobles [Fol. 66^v] qui se vouloyent auancer furent delles doucement baisees et entretenuz de beaulx motz, les vnes parlant francoys, et les aultres non. Et qui parler ne scauoit, si besongnoit on par signes chascun a son pouuoir. Tant que temps fut de partir pour aller a vng tresnoble bancquet, que le Roy auoit fait preparer a Londres a l'hostel de grossiers, qui du tout est lieu propre a ce faire. Chascun descendit du palais, et se mist on en barques tous seigneurs et dames, et vindrent par la riuere a bort ou milieu de Londres, ou les Cheualx pour les Seigneurs et les hacquenees pour les dames attendoyent au passage. Si monterent et en grande Joyeusetete vindrent audict lieu. La grand Sale de cest hostel estoit tendue dune riche tapisserie dor et de Soye toute nouvelle, contenant selon Josephum le siege de hierusalem. A main senextre de lad[i]te Salle vng hault dressoir a quatre degrez garniz moult richement de vasselle dor et d'argent, si comme potz, tasses, aiquieres draigeoirs, et flacons. En ladicte salle estoyent dressees⁶⁵ trois tables, et droit a l'opposite du droissoir estoit vne chambre tendue de mesme drap dont Jay dict par cy deuant, que le tabernacle du Roy estoit tendu ou champ, en celle Chambre y auoit [Fol. 67^r] trois tables aussy dressees et couuertes sa[n]s dressoir, et dessus celle chambre vne aultre chambre, ou deux tables estoyent couuertes.

Quant le Roy, la Royne, Monseigneur le bastard, et toute la compagnie furent venuz, en tant qu'on dressa la viande, le Roy les mena au Jardin, qui estoit merueilleuseme[n]t plaisant. La commença la dance, le Roy danca, et la Royne, et tous les aultres a tour. Sy auoit au milieu du parc, ou lon dancoit vne maisonette faicte

⁶³ *t* interlineated.

⁶⁴ *Sic.*

⁶⁵ *Sic.*

denglent[ier], ou estoient sonneurs de doussainnes qui Jouoyent tresmelodieusement, avec lutz et guisternes. Quant il fut prest de souper la dance fina, et le Roy se vint seoir au souper en ladicte salle basse, qui estoit sur led[it] Jardin, et madame Marguerite sa Seur empres luy au bout. A laultre bout la Royne empres monseigneur le bastard. Mais pource quelle estoit fort ensainte, elle ne seist guerres, mais se retira. Si demeurerent a table empres mondict seigneur le bastard Madame dexcestre, Madame de Bulifort, et madame de boquinghen laisnee. Aux aultres tables seoyent les dames, et aucuns cheualiers, et gentilz hommes, ta[n]t Angloiz comme des nostres. Et en ladicte Salle bas, a lune table basse, les [Fol. 67^v] Contes darondel et dourcestre, et tout plain de Cheualiers et gentilz hommes, tant des leurs, comme des nostres. A la haulte table monsieur de Scalles mesle pareilleme[n]t et a la tierce mons[eigneu]r le grand Chambellan. Les paiges de monseigneur le bastard empres luy. Loffice darmes apres, et puis tous les archiers de mondict Seigneur le bastard, et aucuns de la Couronne. En ladicte Chambre hault estoient les damoiselles, et peu dhommes avec elles. La souppe fut long, et Jousse pris la peine descripre toutte lesdictes dames, neut este que madame se Scalles me promist de sa grace les me bailler par escript, comme elle feist, desquelles la declaration sensuyt.

Premierement.

La Royne

La duchesse dexcestre

La duchesse de Suffolk

Madame Maguerite⁶⁶

Aultres duchesses. [Fol. 68^r]

Madame la duchesse de bethfort

Madame la duchesse de boquinghen laisnee

Madame la duchesse de boquinghen seur de la Royne

Madame Anne niepce du Roy.

La Contesse de Richemont.

Baronnesses

Madame de mautrauers

Madame de boucher

Madame de veer

Madame de beaumont

⁶⁶ Beside brace over three lines: 'les trois seurs du Roy'.

Madame de Gray
Madame de Scalles
Madame de Stranges
Madame de barners
Madame de stranley
Madame de hastinghes
Madame de Clinton
Femmes de Cheualiers
Madame Catherine Strangwise
Dame Alix fogge
Dame Jeanne Norice
Dame Jeanne darel
Dame Elisabeth odale. [Fol. 68^v]
Dame Anne Chambellaine
Dame Elisabeth darcy
Dame Marguerite Raulay
Dame Janne vesmerche.
Mademoiselle strange
Damoiselle Clinton
Damoiselle hastinghes
Damoiselle donne
Damoiselle prout
Damoiselle holcot
Damoiselle hauarde
Damoiselle Taueran
Damoiselle Gherninghan
Damoiselle gainsforde
Damoiselle Neueton
Damoiselle belknape
Damoiselle hercourt
Damoiselle vendhan
Damoiselle Croxforde
Damoiselle Malpas
Damoiselle moresby

Damoiselle haulte
Damoiselle Wvrege
Damoiselle Ede
Damoiselle boudon
Damoiselle Norbery
Damoiselle Denton
Damoiselle vesmerche. [Fol. 69^r]
Damoiselle hartwel
Damoiselle preston
Damoiselle percy
Damoiselle Croxton
Damoiselle geding
Damoiselle loys
Damoiselle mille
Madamoiselle Denham.

Ainsy garniz de Seigneurs et Dames se passa le souppe, puys alla on dancier treslonguement. Le Roy danca ancorres, et la Royne, et la dance faillie, on appourta espices en sept dragoirs moult riches, comme dor et dargent, et se donna le vin par tout. Le Roy se partit, et les dames sen vindrent Jusques a la Riuiere ou mondict seig[neu]r Le bastard print conge, et le Roy se retira a Wasmustre.

Le lundy on fait apres disner les armes de Monsieur de monnet a cheual, la ou on fut Jusques a soir.

Le mardy on debuoit faire les armes de Philippe bouton, et Thomas de la lande. Mais le Roy les remit au mercredy, et alla [Fol. 69^v] au Jardin des Archiers apres disner, ou mondict Seigneur le bastard se treuua po[u]r tirer. Dont au partir de la compagnie sen alla a lhostel de la duchesse dexcestre, laquelle fist vng bancquet au Roy, et a la Royne, et a monseigneur le bastard, ou furent toutes les princesses souuent nommees. Et de nouuel venue la Contesse de Nortombellant. Et si la feste auoit estee Joyeuse le dimenche, elle ne fut pas moindre le mardy.

Le mercredy enuiron les trois heures apres disner le Roy vint aux armes a cheual de Philippe de bouton, dont on fut en besongne tout le Jour, acause dung arrest trop auantageux, que Thomas de la lande pourtoit. Dont le Roy fut tant courrouce quil ne vouloit estre content Jusques a tant que monseigneur le bastard descendit de cheual et pria au Roy de grace pour ledict Thomas, de quoy le contenta.

Les armes finees, Monseigneur le bastard donna <n> a monsieur de Scalles, et deliura sur le Champ vng Cheual nomme le cerf, A Messire Jehan de Wideuille vng aultre Cheual Roanet qui faisoit moult genteme[n]t et au Roy vng bayard sur lequel il estoit – lequel⁶⁷ [Fol. 70^r] Lequel Roy de sa grace prestement monta dessus et sur Icelluy sen retourna pour le Jour a Wasmustre

Le Jedy au matin Monseigneur le bast[ard] fut mande du Roy pour luy donner a disner Il y alla et apres disner ilz Jouyrent a la paulme Le Roy mond[it] seigneur le Bastard messire Jehan de Wideuille frere de monsieur de Scalles et Messire Jehan hauuart contre quatre aultres Si perdirent cens saluz Allant audict Jeu de paulme apres disner le Roy mena mondict Seigneur le bastard veoir le Roy henry en vne tour ou il estoit a Wasmustre auquel il neust querres de diuises pour cause quilz sen tendoyent a grande peine Apres ledict Jeu de paulme Le Roy vint boire vne foys en la chambre du chambellain puis sen vint en vne petite barquette monseigneur le bastard tousiours avec luy Jusques a vng lieu nomme le Temple La monta le Roy sus vne hacquenee saulne⁶⁸ et sur icelle derriere luy feist monter mondict seigneur le bastard et le porta ainsy a lhostel de [Fol. 70^v] Mons[eigneu]r de Scalles, ou le banquet estoit prepare, et la Roynne ia venue, laquelle auoit fait commencer la dance, que les Seigneurs treuerent au venir. Les chambres estoyent tendues assez gentement, et sy auoit vng riche buffet couuert de vasselle doree, trois tables en vne chambre, ou le Roy souppa deux en laultre chambre pour les demoiselles, et trois en bas, le Roy au premier fut seruy de dixhuict metz, et es tables communes on seruit de chair et de poisson moult largement, boire sans trouuer laviande assise, mais lapporloit on par escuelles de menestrelz de toutes sortes, de folz treppans en Joyeuseté Il ny auoit nul chier temps. Monseig[neu]r le bastard seist par tout tousiours a la table du Roy. Quant le souppe fut fait, on se remit a dancer treslonguement, tellement quil estoit plus de mynuict, qua[n]t la brigade se departit, que le Roy alla a Wasmustre et Monseigneur le bastard a son logis.

Le vendredy se passa la Journee Jusques enuiron deux ou trois heures apres mydy, [Fol. 71^r] que le message vint appourter les nouvelles du trespas de monseigneur le duc Phelippe que dieu pardoint dont lhostel fut trouble il nest pas a dire comment Monseigneur le bastard faisant grand dœuil se retira en sa chambre Et le soir le Roy priueement luy sixie[sme] le vint visiter et condoleoir tellement quil

⁶⁷ Last word catchword.

⁶⁸ *Recte* 'faulne'.

sembloit que son doeuil luy fut mesmes propre Jusques a ploier amiablement Si auoit mondict Seigneur le bastard nouvelles de partir hastiuement pour retourner au pays Le Sambedy Mondict Seigneur le bastard pour son conge vint deuers le Roy secretement et en deuil ou le Roy de recheif luy monstroit grande courtoisie et amytie en tout ce quil pouuoit Si fut le partement ordonne au lendemain qui fut le dimenche Lequel Jour apres la messe dicte du matin mondict Seignuer le bastard secretement quant a sa personne partit par la Riuiere et sa Compagnie tant par icelle mesme Riuiere comme a cheual peu apres et [Fol. 71^v] sen vindrent puy au gist a grazande Icelluy dimenche au seoir par lordonnance du Roy se treuerent audict Grazande Monsieur de Lescalles, Messire Jehan hauart, et messire Thomas de Montgomery, ayans les Archiers de la Couronne, et aultre grand nombre de compaignons pour accompagner mondict seigneur le Bastard. Lequel se partit ledict dimenche, et sen vint au giste a vng lieu nomme Rocestre –

Et doibt chascun scauoir, que se neussent este les nouvelles du trespas de mondict Seigneur le duc. Mondict Seigneur le bastard auoit dispose de faire vng banquet au Roy, et aux dames, qui heust estre a lhonneur de lhostel de bourgongne et de luy, et si estoit le Roy prest de le mener chaser a Winezore, et luy faire plusieurs festoymens. Le Mayre de Londres luy auoit aussy faict requerre de luy donner vng banquet, et sembloit que les cueurs du Roy, de la noblesse et [Fol. 72^r] tout le commun fussent a luy donner tout plaisir et seruice Mesmes disoyent les anciens que lempereur Sigismunde lors qui fut en Angleterre ne fut pas de si grand courage con Jouy et en especial de la commune

Le mardy veille de Saint Jehan baptiste mondict Seigneur le bastard sen vint de Rocestre a Saint Thomas et alla Monsieur de lescalles deuant Lequel faisoit venir les gentilles femmes du pays sur les passages pour veoir⁶⁹ passer mondict Seigneur le bastard sans ce quil sceut pourquoy elles venoyent et ainsy vindrent tous audict lieu de Saint Thomas

Le Jour de Saint Jehan le tresorie fut ouuerte part tout monseigneur le bastard fait chanter sa messe deuant le corps saint puy ouyt la messe des enfans deuant nostre dame en bas Et ses offrandes et deuotions faictes vint disner puis monta a cheual et sen vint coucher a doure ou Monsieur de Scalles print conge [Fol. 72^v] et sen retourna. Et il monta en mer le Jeudy. Et ainsy sans danger (la mercy dieu) toute la compaignie vint arriuer a Calaix.

⁶⁹ 'pour veoir' repeated.

Le vendredy a la porte ouurant ledict Mareschal, et aultres dessusdictz feirent faire ouuerture, et Illec prist Mondict seigneur le Bastard a eulx conge, et prist son chemin vers Gand ou estoit Monseigneur le nouueaul duc.

Fin du voyage de mondict Seigneur [le] bastard a Angleterre – et de ses Joustes y faictes.

[Fol. 73^r blank]

[Fol. 73^v]

Memoires d Olivier de la Marche p. 493. Au lendemain firent armes a pie Messire Jehan de Chassa et un Escuyer Gascon nomme Louis de Bretelles etc.

Ibid. p. 553 mess[ire] Jehan de Chassa Seigneur de monnet un gentil Chevalier Bourgongnon etc.⁷⁰

[Fol. 74^r]

Sensuyent les armes de monsieur de monnet –

Ensuyuant les armes de monseigneur le Bastard, il est raison que Je dye la maniere de celles de messire Jehan de Chassa Seigneur de monnet, qui furent belles et honorables a pied, et a cheual. Dont affin quon puisse entendre plainnement lentreprinse premiere. Je feray declaration des lectres que loys de brutalles⁷¹ Requerant enuoya deuers mondict s[aigneu]r de Monnet, et celles quil luy renuoya, en entreprena[n]t a fournir tout ce quil luy requeroit, en la forme et maniere qui sensuyt – Treshonorable Cheualier Je me recomande a vous tant, et si affectueusement que faire le puis. Pour ce que long temps a mon cueur a este oblige, et prisonnier a vne noble dame de hault pris. Je suis contraint, comme seruiteur et force vous rescripre et faire a scauoir, que a la venue de Bourgongne [Fol. 74^v] Le herault en ce Royaulme moy estant en lhostel de treshault <et> trespuissant et tresexcellent prince le Roy dangleterre et de france mon souuerain Seigneur Entre plusieurs Seigneurs et dames et aultres nobles tant cheualiers comme escuyers a grand nombre entre aultres leurs communications commencerent a parler de Monseigneur le bastard de Bourgongne en louant grandement ses⁷² haultz et cheualereux faitz disans maintenant verrons vous venir en ce Royaulme avec grande noblesse monseig[neu]r le Bastard de bourgongne pour fournir et accomplir les armes avec monsieur de Lescalles et determinoyent entre eulx que puis que tant auroit de nobles hommes dung coustel et daultre quilz ne doubtoye[n]t point que aucuns ne voulsissent esprouuer et maintenir

⁷⁰ This fol. is written in same hand as the marginal notes.

⁷¹ *Sic.*

⁷² Word repeated.

faiz de cheualerie Or aduint ainsy que vng cheualier de grande noblesse prist les paroles et dist Il y a vng cheualier nomme messire Jehan de Chassa qui est selon que lon dict vng des aymes et principaulx de monseigneur le bastard et auquel il se fie moult et sil y a nul que riens faire ce sera celluy Car il a este en plusieurs longtains et [Fol. 75'] diuers royaumes pour acquerir pris et honneur Et aussy a este en ces pais aultresfoys et sans faulte nulle il ne demourra point quil ne viengne avec mondikt seigneur le bastard Et adonc dit celle a qui Je suis prisonnier etc. prist a dire et respondit Vrayment dit elle Jay veu celluy cheualier que vous dictes en cestuy Royaulme et ouy dire de luy ce quon peult dire de noble cheualier Et Je voudroye que aucun gentilhomme luy requist aucunes armes a faire en ce Royaulme pour les accomplir a la venue de monsieur le bastard Et en verite sil y auoit aucun qui le feist Je luy en scauroye tresbon gre Car selon mon aduis Ledict messire Jehan de Chassa est tel par qui tous cheualereux faitz doibuent estre maintenus et accomplis Lors quant Je oys parler celle a qui Je me suis donne et en qui est toutte mon esperance et par laquelle Jentens dauoir tout mon bien et honneur mon cueur tressaillit de Joye et dis en moy mesmes que maintenant Jauoye attaint ce que grand temps a Jauoye pourchasse Cest a scaoir trouuer moyen de faire quelque chose plaisante a madicte maistresse pour acquerir [Fol. 75'] sa grace. Car elle est telle et si plaine de tous biens, que trop chierement sa grace ne pourroit estre acquise. Si pensay Incontinent de faire le plaisir et commandement d'elle, le plus secretement quil me seroit possible doubtant quant un ne se mist deuant moy. Car il ne peult estre, que plusieurs ne desirent estre ses Seruiteurs Et Incontinent ie men allay en la presence du Roy mondikt souuerain seigneur, et luy supplyay treshu[m]blement, quil luy pleut de sa noble, et bonne grace tant pour les seruices que Je luy auoye faitz, comme pour ceulx que Je luy entendoye faire, de moy outroyer et licentier, que Je vous enuoyasse certains chappitres contenans certaines armes tant a cheual comme a pied, pour les faire, et accomplir encontre vous en cestuy Royaulme dangleterre a la venue de mond[i]t s[eigneu]r le bastard de bourgongne –
Laquelle chose le Roy mondikt souuerain Seigneur benignement me outroya, dont treshumblement ie remercyay sa maieste La formes desquelles armes en substance la teneur sensuyt –

Cest a scauoir de courir a cheual onze courses de lance a fers esmoulus sans ar [Fol. 76^r] rest auantageux pourtant chascun de nous tel fer, et telle grosseur de lance que bon nous semblera,⁷³et cest quant aux armes a cheual.

A pied nous nous assemblerons trois foys pourtant chascun haiches, et dagues sans plus telles quil nous plaira. Et chascune des deux premieres foiz nous combatrons Jusques au nombre de treze copz de haches frappez par nous deux, et a trois pas de retraicte. Et a la tierce foys nous combatrons Jusques ad ce que lung de nous deux touche la main dextre a terre, et celluy de nous qui touchera ladicte main dextre a terre sera tenu de donner a son compaignon le gantelet de sadicte main dextre, et celluy qui l'aura perdu ne sera Jamais tenu de porter gantelet en sadicte main dextre, et nul faict darmes, Jusques ad ce quil aura demande conge a sa dame. Chascun de nous arme comme a nobles hommes en tel cas appartient, et tout sans fraude barat ou mal engin. Et pource que a present Je nay pas mis en forme les⁷⁴ Chappitres cesdictes armes. Je lay faict pour deux raisons. Lune si [Fol. 76^v] est que au plaisir de dieu a vostre venue ilz seront faiz en toute bonne forme plaisante a tous deux. Laultre si est affin que sil vous plaist y adiouster et accroistre aucune chose tant a celles de cheual comme a celles de pied, que ie puisse faire vostre bon plaisir et volonte, et de tresbon cueur Jen seray content. Or est il vray treshonneur Cheualier, que comme Seruiteur craintif seulement pour complaire a madicte dame pour acquerir sa grace. Pour laquelle auoir Jay tant traueille, et employe mon temps Je me soumis ad ce. Et ce a laffection et <ho> souhait delle. Laquelle desirant vostre honneur, et lexaltation de vostre nom, vous a expressement nomme. Jacoit ce quelle fut Incertainne, et a present ignore ceste mienne emprise, que pour a elle seulement complaire et aussy pour les grans biens quelle alors en dist en la renommee de vostre vaillance. Jay entrepris sur et pour quoy Je vous enuoye expressement ces presentes Lectres ensemble avec la substance des Chappitres y contenuz. Si vous prie et requiers tant chèrement, et de si bon cueur comme faire Je puis, quil vous plaise moy faire tant dhonneur que pour <auoir> de ladicte dame a laccroissement de vostre honneur tant affectionnee, et affin quen et par ce Je puis [Fol. 77^r] se acquerir sa grace. Laquelle chose ie ne puis faire bonnement sans vostre moyen de recepuoir et accepter les armes contenues en cestes mes lectres, et par le porteur soub le seel de voz armes me adcertener de v[ost]re bon vouloir et plaisir sur

⁷³ <-> on tail of the a.

⁷⁴ Ink mark over 'les'.

ce. Et ce faisant en bonne foy vous me feres plus Joyeux, que si Jauoye gaigne la moytie dung Royaulme, auec ce que pour ce Je me reputeray tenu a vous tout le temps de ma vie, et me treuueres prest de vous faire seruice en temps et en lieu tant qua mon honneur sera possible. Ce scait le benoit filz de dieu Auquel treshonore Cheualier Je prie vous auoir en sa sainte garde et vous donner La Joye de vostre dame. Escrip et signe de ma main soub le seel de mes armes Le xvj^e Jour du moys de Juing mil quatre Cens soixante et six.

Autant vostre commisien

Louys de Brutallis.⁷⁵

[Fol. 77^v] Sensuyt la Responce faicte audict Louys de brutallis, et a ses lectres par ledict messire Jehan de chassa –

Treshonore Escuyer Je me recommande a vous, tant et de si bon cueur que Je puis. Voz tresgracieuses et honorables lectres par vous a moy enuoyees par Nuelles le herault Jay receu Le vingtroisiesme Jour de Juing. Combien que Je ne puisse satisfaire au desir de mon cueur pour vous remercier le grand honneur que par icelles me presentez. Parquoy Je me tiens et sens oblige enuers vous et de corps et de biens tous les Jours de ma vie mon honneur saulue. Treshonore Escuyer, vous reciter le contenu de voz lectres me sembleroit chose superflue, pour ce mesmement, que ie tiens que vous estes bien recors de la teneur dicelles Et comme desirant daccomplir vostre tresnoble requeste; vosdictes Lectres veues. Jay delibere, et conclud de vous accomplir tout ce que me requeres. Et pour mieulx y paruenir. Incontinent lcelles veues Je vins par deuers treshault, trespuissant et tresexcellent prince mon tresredoubte et souuerain Seigneur Monsieur le duc⁷⁶ [Fol. 78^r] Duc de Bourgongne luy monstrant vosdictes lectres en le suppliant treshumblement, comme tenu estoye et suis de le faire que en recompense des seruices que Je luy auoye fait par cy deuant, il luy pleut de sa grace me donner conge de vous outroyer tout le contenu en vostre treshonorable requeste. Mondict Seigneur comme celluy qui tousiours a honnore et prise les faitz darmes, louant fort v[ost]re desir, quil ne doibt en tel cas estre esconduyt, liberalement ma accourde le conge pour aller pardela en la compagnie de monseigneur le bastard de bourgongne, et alors a mon pouuoir accomplir et satisfaire a vostre desir. Treshonore Escuyer, il est verite quil y a enuiron trois ans au temps que mondict Seigneur le bastard de bourgongne auoit

⁷⁵ *Sic.*

⁷⁶ Last word catchword.

entrepris de tenir le pas, quil auoit faict publier par tous les Royaulmes Chrestiens que Je par le consentement et licence dune dame, qui est la chose de ceste vie a qui Je desire plus accomplaire et faire seruice, et aussy par le conge de mondiet Seigneur et prince Jauoye propose et entrepris de pourter vne emprise ou enseigne pour faire armes. Mais pour le voyage de la croisade, ou Jay este, et pour les guerres qui sont sources de <pardela> pardeca mon desir ne sest peu accomplir. Touttesfoys pour auoir ceste accointance, et desirant de tout⁷⁷ [Fol. 78^v] mon cueur, que pour accomplir vostre requeste, Je soye cause et moyen de vous se⁷⁸ paruenir a si grand honneur et bien comme vous maues escript, suis alle deuers madicte dame, et aussy luy ay monstre vosdictes lectres, en la suppliant treshumblement quelle me voulsist donner conge po[u]r aller en ladicte compagnie de monseigneur le bastard de bourgongne, affin daccomplir et saouler vostre tresnoble desir, Non obstant que Je me tenoye oblige par la premiere requeste que Je luy auoye faicte. Mais elle de sa grace me la benignement accorde, comme celle qui en tous cas desire et veult procurer tout bon loz et honorable renommee. Pourquoi treshonnore escuyer Je contrainct de complaire a madicte dame, et a laccroissement de mon honneur tant que possible mest, de ma part vous certiffie, que quant mondiet Seigneur le Bastard passera au tresnoble Royaulme dangleterre Je iray en sa compagnie, et au plaisir de dieu, de nostre dame et de Saint George, macquiteray tellement a laccomplissement de voz armes et chappitres que vous et tous aultres en serez contens. Se nostre Seigneur me garde de mort, ou de tel encombrement que par lcelluy Je soye legitiment excuse Et pour bon[n]e certiffier du point qui dit en v[ost]re lectre, que Je pourray de la substance dicelles [Fol. 79^r] Joindre aucune chose sil me plaist. Treshonnore Escuyer, dieu ne veuille que Jaye volunte ou presumption daccroistre, ny de diminuer sur le fait de vostre emprise aucune chose, puis quelle est faicte et conclue de par vous et de par la dame a qui tant desires seruir et estre en sa grace. Touttesfoys pour ensuyuir lusage francoys, et euitier les dangiers qui aduiengnent souuent en faisant armes a cheual. Je vouldroye si vostre volunte estoit telle, que le commencement de noz armes fust a pied et la fin a Cheual. Car maintesfoys aux a Cheual sont telz encombriers, que celles de pied sont delaissees, et le tout Je fais, et entreprends affin de macquiter, et aussy pour faire le bon plaisir de vostre tresgente et noble dame. A laquelle Je remercy de tout mon pouuoir les haultes louenges et bonne Renommee

⁷⁷ Word repeated on following fol.

⁷⁸ Flourish on the 'e' like an abbreviation mark.

quelle me donne. Laquelle chase⁷⁹ luy meut plus par ses vertueuses meurs, que de prouesse, que soit en moy. Et pleu a dieu que mes faitz et mentes fussent correspondans, ou par droit comparez a lextimation quelle a de moy. Et soyes seur, qui moult Joyeux seroye si par mon moyen elle vous vouloit entretenir en sa grace. Priant nostre Seigneur qui vous doint y paruenir au plaisir de vostre cueur. Treshonnore Escuyer affin que mieulx, [Fol. 79^v] et entierement soyes assure que au plaisir de dieu Jaccompliray tout ce que par voz Chappitres maues requis. Jay mis en ces presentes mon seing manuel et lcelles seellees de mon seel armoye de mes armes. Escript en la ville de Bruxelles le xxvij^e. Jour du moys de Juing mil quatre cens Soixante et six.

Le plus que v[ost]re

Jehan de Cassa.⁸⁰

Ainsy lesdictes armes entreprises a faire a pied et a Cheual, Loys de Brutalles fut content quelles se deussent faire a pie premierement, et demeura la chose Jusques a ce que monseigneur le bastard vint a Londres, et que ledict Cheualier vint en sa compagnie comme promis lauoit pour faire fournir et accomplir la requeste a son campaignon.

Le xiiij^e. Jour de Juing. Le Roy [Fol. 80^r] Dangleterre estant en son palais a Wasmustre, Monseigneur le bastard de bourgongne alla deuers luy, et la luy fut presente de par luy messire Jehan de Chassa requerant qua luy et a son homme Jour fut assigne de combatre. Le Roy leur ordonna de ce faire ensuyuant mondict seigneur le bastard. Ainsy se trouua le Jour dispose au sambedy xiiij^e Jour de Juing pour besongner a pied.

Le Sambedy cy dessus escript estoit le Champ au marche de Londres fait et ordonne comme il dict ou traicte des armes de mondict Seigneur le bastard. Les Connestables et Mareschal vindre[n]t au champ du matin pour mettre en ordonnance leurs gens darmes agarder le Champ. Louys de brutailles appella[n]t auoit fait dressa vng pauillon ou cha[m]p lequel pauillon estoit de toile fait de peinture toutte simple, et a lentrete dudict pauillon faisoit tenir par Nuelles le herault vne grande banniere aymoyee de ses armes. qui estoyent escartellees Dont des quartiers il auoit fait mettre quatre bannieres dessus ledict pauillon. Mais quoy que je le demandasse

⁷⁹ Sic.

⁸⁰ Sic.

assez, nul des heraulx ne men [Fol. 80^v] scauoit dire le nom des Seigneures, sy mest impossible den escripre.

Monseigneur de Monnet auoit faict dresser vng pauillon qui estoit moult riche et heut este pour vng duc. Car il estoit de damas blanc et violet eschequett par tout ou lozenge, quil ny auoit pice plusgrande que demy pied en quarrure, et dessus ledict pauillon auoit vng riche pommeau dore a vng pannoceau des armes de mondict s[eigneu]r de Monnet qui sont de geulles a vng sauloir dargent. Et deuant ledict pauillon appourta Roche le poursuyuant vng grand pennon de ses armes, lequel il planta deuant ledict pauillon –

Enuiron lheure de mydi le Roy vint au Champ en son lieu ordonne pour veoir les armes. On le feist scauoir au s[eigneu]r Loys de Brutailles, lequel asses longuement apres vint accompaigne de Monseigneur de Riuieres de Monsieur de Scalles, et de leurs [Fol. 81^r] amys, en bien grand honneur. <Mais> ayans les Clairons et haultz menestrelz dudict Roy. Si faisoit porter ladicte banniere en lance deuant luy Il estoit arme du corps, et sa cotte darme vestue. Et en tel estat en grande Joyeusete vint ledict s[eigneu]r loys de Brutailles teste nue faire le reuerence au Roy. Puis se retira en son pauillon –

Après la venue dudict s[eigneu]r louys de Brutailles vint mondict s[eigneu]r de monnet. Lequel estoit conduyt par monseigneur le bastard de bourgongne; et de quatre Cheualiers de son hostel, lequel mondict seigneur le bastard ladmena par la bride Jusques⁸¹ a lentrete du Champ ou le susdictz Connestable, et Mareschal luy baillerent lentrete. Puy le mist mondict seigneur le bastard a sa dextre, et ainsy le alla presenter au Roy. Il auoit deuant luy les trompettes de guerre de mondict seigneur. Bourgongne le herault, et la Roche poursuyuant vestuz de ses cottes darmes. Ses gens Jusques a quinze vestuz de [Fol. 81^v] Robes de drap tanne toutes semees dorfayuerie, et de brodure en briuetz Contenans certaine escripture. Et luy de sa personne estoit vestu dune robe longue de velours noir fendue aux coustelz bordee par tout de lectres grecques dorfaiuerie larges dune palme sus le harnas de Jambe moult gentement et richement, et en telle maniere feist au Roy reuerence. Puis se retira en son pauillon pour soy armer et habiller ainsy et comme en tel cas appartient –

Richemont le herault fist les cris accoustumez aux quatre quarres du champ. Les Connestable et Mareschal presenterent au Roy les haches et daghes de chascun

⁸¹ Word repeated.

coustel, qui se trouuerent assez esgalles. Jacoit <ch> que chascun deulx les heut faict faire a son plaisir. Puis leur bailla lon a chascun le sienne, quatre gardes furent laissees sur le champ, et les Cheualiers, et gentilz hommes qui aultresfoys auoyent faict armes. Cest a scauoir Monsieur de Riuieres, messire [Fol. 82^r] Jaicques⁸² messire Simon de Lalaing, messire pietre vasque, monsieur de Thiebaultville, et Gerard de Roussillon, tous ceulx la tousiours y demeurarent, et mondict seigneur le bastard aussy. Si se retira lon, et puis fut crier laisses les aller –

Lors partit premier comme il estoit raisonnable ledict s[eigneu]r louys. Il mist Jus sa bannerole sans en faire le signe de la Croix, puis la reprist, et le feist et marcha auant. Monsieur de monnet le feist par troys foys, puis marcha alencontre de son homme, et se vindrent recontrer deuant le Roy –

De la premiere venue lesdictz deux champions combattirent Jusques ad ce que par eulx deux furent accompliz les xiiij copz de haiche. Si se bouterent les gardes entre deux, et les feirent retraire leurs trois pas mesurez dune lance sans fer qui la estoit – [Fol. 82^v]

A la seconde venue Ilz combatirent enuiron Jusques a vnze copz, et lors Jecta le Roy le baston. Monsieur de Monnet, pource que les armes estoyent longues, pourmenoyt ledict louys, lentretenant de queue de hasche, et contendoit a le mectre hors daleinne voyant que loys le queroit fort de teste de hache, tellement quil faillit vng cop dassoir, la teste de hache alla en terre, et perdit sa marche, et fut merueille quil sy peut oncques remectre. Neantmoins ilz entretindrent si bien lung laultre Jusques au nombre des copz dessusdictz, que nul deux ne fut foudre. Si allerent deuant le Roy, et les visieres leuees se prindre[n]t par les mains amyablement, encoire quilz eussent et deussent faire armes a cheual, dequoy plusieurs illec sesmerueillerent –

Lesdictes armes ainsy faictes pour ce Jour, le Roy sen retourna a Wasmustre, et les Seigneurs chascun a [Fol. 83^r] son logis. Jusques au lundy ensuyuant, que le Jour fut ordonner de besongner et accomplir les armes a cheual a vne heure aprez disner.

Ledict lundy le Champ fut pare, et lesdictz Seigneurs Connestable, et mareschal feirent leur debuoir, le Roy vint tempre assez, et estoit bien pres de quatre heures quant loys vint accompaigne de ceulx mesmes que Jay dit dessus. Il estoit monte sur vng cheual housse de satin aux armes de Saint George. Et apres luy auoit deux Cheualx couuertz lung de drap dargent cramoyssi, et laultre de velours verd. Il feist appourter six lances, et vng bourdon sur le Champ, ainsy ayant deua[n]t luy loffice

⁸² Surname not given.

darmes, les clairons et menestrelz comme le Jour precedent il alla faire la reuerence au Roy.

Ledict louys de Brutailles venu vint monsieur de Monnet accompaigne ainsy comme dessus est dict, pourtant [Fol. 83^v] sur son harnas vne Journade de drap dor cramoyssi monte sur vng cheual housse de ses armes, et ayant apres luy deux Cheuaulx houssez, lung de drap dor verd, et laultre de velours cramoyssi Chargez de lectre Cestassauoir .Y. dorfaiuerie.

Si le presenta mondict seigneur le bastard deuant le Roy, puis se retira au bout de la toile quon auoit faicte depuis le Sambedy, et la se heulma chascun de son coustel en tant que lon fait les criz accostumez. Si osta mondict s[eigneu]r de Monnet sa Journade pour courrir la lance ainsi comme il estoit de raison.

Ce fait et ordonne on cria laisses les aller. Lors prindrent chascun deulx la lance, si vindrent lung contre laultre a grande diligence. Et tellement que mondit s[eigneu]r de Monnet rompit sa lance, et loys de brutailles non. A laultre course ilz se rencontrarent encoires, et a la tier[c]e Monsieur de Monnet assist sus le grand garde [Fol. 84^r] bras par si rude maniere quil rompit la penture du col, emporta tout Jus mesmement la garde qui estoit a rondelle tournant la tresche et le pourpoint plus de demy pied de large, Jusques a la chemise.

Pour ce cop lon demeura treslonguement a rearme ledict Louys de Brutailles. Et puis quant Il fust prest, ilz reuindrent lung contre laultre. A la cinquiesme course mondict seigneur de Monnet auoit rompu trois lances, et a lonziesme en auoit rompu six, dont lune feist encoires si grand effort sur ledict grand Gardebras, quelle le fendit et vint du rebond a coustel de la lumiere de lhaulme dudict Louys. La fust elle rompue, et demeura la petite pointe dedans. A toutes courses led[it] Loys ne rompit que vne lance. Et toutesfoys au plaisir du Roy (Jacoit quilz nen deussent courir que ondze courses <lh> Ilz en coururent dixneuf) Icelluy Louys de brutailles heut aucunes buffes, dont les Jours ensuyuans [Fol. 84^v] Il se douloit fort au visaige. En ce point lon fut a ces armes Jusques a huict heures du soir, que les champions sans aucun dangier de leurs corps aultre que dict est vindrent remercier le Roy et lung et laultre moult honnorablement, puy sen retourna chascun en son hostel. Et depuis par ceste accointance sont et demeurent loyaulx et amyables freres darmes.

Fin des armes de Mons[eigneu]r de Monnet –

[Fol. 85^r-85^v blank]

[Fol. 86^r]

**Nopces de monseigneur Charles duc de Bourgoingne avec dame Marguerite
d'Angleterre.**

[Fol. 86^v blank]

[Fol. 87^r]

Les fais et aduenues louables ne se doibuent des bons souffrir exstaindre mais colliger et mectre par escript, affin de perpetuelle memoire et specialement quant cest chose catholique si digne que sacramentale. On en doibt reciter la solemnite esmouuant les courages des hommes a louer dieu en vertu duquel ce se fait. Pourtant ie moindre entre les plus petitz me suys entremis descripre vne haulte feste et solemnite de mariage que fut celebree le dimenche iij^e. Jo[u]r de Juillet lan mil cccc lxxvij, en lhostel de treshault et excellent prince Charles par la grace de dieu duc de Bourgongne de Brabant etc. Touchant le mariage dicelluy avec noble et puissante princesse Marguerite d'yorc Seur au Roy Edouard d'angleterre. Lequel mariage auoit este pourpale, traicte, et conclud longueme[n]t au parauant entre ceulx des deux parties a grande deliberation de conseil, duquel demene ie me passe. Et commence ad ce que ladicte dame et princesse arriua au port de Lescluse cursiuement selon ma rudesse Suppliant aux lisans, quilz veuillent supplier les faultes et obmissions si aucunes y en a. [Fol. 87^v]

Le xxv^e. Jour du moys de Juing⁸³ dud[it] an Soixante huict, a lheure du matin ladicte tresnoble princesse ma tresredoubtee dame Madame la duchesse Marguerite auantdicte Au gre de dieu par le vent qui luy fut propice sans auoir heu aucun encombrer se treuua a quatre lieux pres de Lescluse en la mer, la ou il fut mestier dattendre la maree qui estoit retraicte, puis avec ladicte maree retournant entra ou hauene dudict lieu de Lescluse entre cinq et six heures du soir a grant et puissant estat. Car elle auoit en sa compagnie xiiij nauieres desquelles y en auoit les sept bien puissans, et par especial les quatre estoyent grandes caraeles moult aptes a la guerre, ausquelx basteaulx estoyent pour laccompagner plusieurs nobles cheualiers escuyers dames et demoiselles, Archiers de la Couronne, Officiers darmes Menestrelz et huict clarons, qui sonnoyent tresmelodieusement. lors quelle arriua et descendit en terre, desquelx seigneurs et dames dessusdictz estoyent les principaulx Monsieur de Scalles, monsieur d'acres, messire Jehan doudeuille, mess[ir]e [Fol. 88^r] Jehan hauart Admiral d'angleterre et messire Thomas de mongommery. Et des dames la duchesse de nortfallc, Madame de Scalles, et Madame d'acres.

⁸³ Note in right margin in a different hand: 'par un Samedi 25 Juin. Mem. D'Olivier de la Marche p. 518'.

En ladicte ville de Lescluse auoit au parauant enuoye mon tresredoubte Seigneur monseigneur le duc pour recepuoir madicte dame, monsieur le Conte de Charny, messire Symon de lalaing, messire Claude de Toulonion Seigneur de la bastie, et messire Jehan de Rembempre, et aussy madame de Charny, madame la vidame damiens et mademoiselle de bergues et si estoit audict lieu de Lescluse Madame de Montigny. Lesquelx dames et grandz seig[neu]rs en grand honneur et reuerence vindre[n]t bien vigner madicta⁸⁴ dame, la conduyre et entretenir. Et vindrent au deua[n]t delle les pourcessions ensemble les estatz et mestiers de la ville pourtans grand nombre de torches en la conduysant Joyeusement iusques a lhostel guy le baeust, ou elle fut par les susdictz seigneurs et dames louer et festoyer la nuyct. **[Fol. 88^v]**

Le lendemain xxvj^e. Jour qui estoit dimenche vint madame la duchesse mere a mondect Seigneur, et Mademoiselle de bourgongne avec grand nombre de dames⁸⁵ et demoiselles visiter madicte dame Marguerite audict lieu de Lescluse, ou elles furent avec elle deuisant par l'espace de quatre ou cinq heures, puis, sen retournerent a bruges.

Le lundy Monseigneur le duc a priue estat alla audict lieu de Lescluse, et luy la venu enuiron l'heure de dix heures de nuyct alla visiter les dames, et sen retourna enuiron la mynuict Et le lendemain sen reuint a bruges

Le Jedy ensuyuant y<l> retourna encoires mondect Seigneur a plus grande quantite de gens, quil ne feist la premiere foys Car il y alla de chascune chambre trois hommes, lesquelx la venus feire[n]t grand chiere de dancier et esbatre la nuyct. Et lendemain vint de rechief mondect Seigneur vers les dames prendre conge puis sen retourna ver⁸⁶ bruges. **[Fol. 89^r]**

Le sambedy enuiron mydi que la maree commenceoit aboutter auant se mist madame en basteaul elle et son estat, et sen vint par eau Jusques en la ville de Dam⁸⁷ a vne lieue pres de bruges, la ou selon la faculte de la ville elle fut treshonorablement recue. Car avec ce que les processions vindrent deuant en grande reuerence, et les bourgeois et maistres de la ville portant grande qua[n]tite de torches et flambeaux, les rues estoient toutes tendues, et parees tresrichement, et

⁸⁴ *Sic.*

⁸⁵ Note in right margin in a different hand: 'avec Mademoiselle D'Argueil et plusieurs autres Dames. Mem. de la Marche p. 518'.

⁸⁶ *Sic.*

⁸⁷ Note in right margin in a different hand: 'Dan est villette située sur le droit chemin de Lescluse a Bruges'.

en grande Jubilation fut menee au logis ou lesdictz de la ville la festoyrent de toute leur puissance –

Le dimenche iij^e Jour de Juillet Monseigneur le duc se partit de Bruges enuiron cinq heures du matin et sen alla priueement en ladicte ville de dam, la ou luy venu ainsy comme vers sept heures en lhostel de madame susdicte en la Salle disposee ad ce, les espousa leuesque de Salsebry qui scait francoys et anglois ouyrent la messe, laquelle [Fol. 89^v] finie mondict seigneur retounoya⁸⁸ iusques a la chambre Madame sa mere, mengea vng petit et puis a priue estat sen retourna a Bruges en son hostel, dont il ne partit, ne se monstra Jusques a sera dict sy apres –

Après le partement de mondict seigneur se partit madicte dame en vne lictiere porter de deux cheuaults richement doree, et estouffe de riche drap dor, laquelle Lictiere estoit conduyte daucuns Cheualiers ta[n]t Anglois, comme de lordre de la Toison du Capitaine de vingt archiers de corps de mondict seigneur a pied. Et estoit en ladicte lettierre⁸⁹ madicte dame assise vestue de drap dor blanc couronne dor en teste, et cheueulx pendans moult honorablement.⁹⁰ Et ainsy ayans tambourins, trompettes, clairons et menestrelz sen vint Jusques a la porte Sainte croix audict lieu de bruges assez legierement, pource que pendant sa dicte venue il feist vne tresgrosse ploye.⁹¹

Au venir de madicte dame se vindrent plusieurs presenter aux champs en grand [Fol. 90^r] point Mais pour ce que partant de laiste porte Jusques a la court chascun tint ordre et sen peult mieulx faire declaratio[n] Jen diray le commenceant ce que Jen vis Premierement a ladicte porte es Rues rengées⁹² les colleges dudict Bruges tant possessans comme mendia[n]s Euesques Abbez et aultres prelatz et gens deglise reuestuz en grande reuerence pour illec recepuoir madicte dame processionnellement et attendoyent aussy les gens de lhostel de mondict seigneur et aultres qui estoyent en court pour lors Lesquelx par Cheualiers commis a ce faire furent mis en ordonnance pour cheminer deuant mad[ic]te dame en la maniere que sensuyt Deuant en ladicte ordonnance estoyent et chascun a cheual premierement les Bailly et escouttette de Bruges et apres aucuns gentilzhommes tant de lhostel de monseigneur de Rauestain de monseig[neu]r le bastard comme ceulx comptiz par les

⁸⁸ *Sic.*

⁸⁹ *Sic.*

⁹⁰ Note in right margin in a different hand: 'uestue dun drap d'or blanc en habit nuptial comme il appartient en tel cas. Mem. de la Marche p. 520'.

⁹¹ Ink smudged across this word.

⁹² Word repeated.

escrotz de mondict Seigneur En apres suyuoient les archiers de corps de mondict seigneur le bastard en nombre [Fol. 90^v] de douze avec leur Capitaine. Iceulx auoyent Journades vestues semees habondamment dorfaiuerie blanche, et au milieu deuant et derriere vng grand arbre dorfaiuerie doree, le tout assiz sur palletez vermeaulx, ayans lesdictz archiers pourpains de satin noir, bonnetz Jaunes chausses de plusieurs couleurs, et chascun pourtoit voge.

Après lesdictz Archiers commencerent a suyuir le demeurant desdictz gentilz hommes comtez en l'hostel de mondict seigneur chascun vestu en la maniere qui sera dicte cy apres tant diceulx comme des cheualiers et aultres –

Ensuyuant lesdictz gentilz hommes cheuauchoyent les<dictz> cheualiers des pays estans a la feste et ce apres les Chambellans de mondict Seigneur le duc.

Après lesdictz Chambellans ceulx du sang de mondict seigneur. Puy Jouyoint tambourins, menestrelz, trompettes de guerre, et clairons en grand nombre tant des n[ost]res [Fol. 91^r] comme d'angleterre, et ensuyuant iceulx les officiers darmes, lesquelx tant dun costel que daultre il en y auoit xxiiij a cheual en cottes darmes, dont les six estoyent Roys darmes, et sey estoyent tous les archiers de corps de mondict s[eigneu]r et les deux Capitaines, avec aussy certaine quantite d'archiers de corps du Roy d'angleterre –

Puis venoit madicte dame accompagnee des Seigneurs qui, comme dict est, vindrent avec elle d'angleterre en especial Monsieur de Scalles, et noz Seigneurs de ladicte Thoison, et apres madicte dame xiiij hacquenees richement parees de drap dor cramoisy dont on menoit les deux en main, et les aultres cheuauchoyent lesdictes dames d'angleterre, et si auoit huict chariotz dorez moult richement, et couuertz, lesquelx estoyent les dames desdictz pays, desquelles mondict Seigneur auoit mande largement a ladicte feste.

En tel estat se partit madicte dame de ladicte porte. A laquelle neantmoins estoyent et bien pres du dam venu querre les nations qui sont aud[it] bruges Cest a [Fol. 91^v] scauoir florentins qui vindrent premiers Espaignars Costrelins Venitiens Geneuoys en grand honneur Mais ilz vindrent en la ville apres ledict estat pour mieulx abreger Si sen vint madicte dame passant lesdictes rues qui estoyent tendues de tous riches drapz et decorees de verdurees et de fleurs habondamment Et si estoit entre ladicte porte et ladicte court en diuers lieux assises dix grandes et louables histoires desquelles Je feray declaration pour autant quelles estoyent seruantes audict mariage et fondees en sainte escripture

La premiere histoire prouchainne de la porte estoit comme dieu conjoindit Eue et Adam ou paradis terrestre selon genese

La seconde deuant les Jacopins estoit moult excellente comment⁹³ Cleopatra fut donnee en mariage a Alexandre et y estoit escript en Latin au dextre coustel Alexander Rex obtenta victoria super demetrium Regem ad Ptolomeum Ægypti Regem legatos destinavit vt Cleopatra[m] eius filiam sibi daret in vxorem Et au senestre coustel estoit escript Qualiter Rex ptolomeus ptolomaidam venit et [Fol. 92^r] Cleopatram eius filiam Alexandro Regi dedit in vxorem primo machabeorum et au dessus estoit escript Gaudeamus et exultemur et demus gloriam deo quia venerunt nuptie agni et vxor eius preparavit se Apocalipsis xix et plusieurs aultres menues escriptures des quelles Je me passe a tant

La tierce estoit des Cantiques de Salomon Et y auoit escript Vulnerasti cor meum sponsa mea et letificasti animam meum filii annunciate dilecto meo quia amore lanqueo

La quatre estoit de leuangille Joannis secundo Nuptie facte sunt in cana Gallilee etc.

La cinquiesme estoit encoire des cantiques Canticorum terio Pulchra es amica mea suavis et decora Inueni quem diligit anima mea tenebo eum nec dimittam etc. La vij^e estoit deuant Sainct donas ou il estoit escript Ciuitas Solis vocabitur vna in die illa erit altare domini in medio terre et titulus d[omi]ni iuxta terminu[m] eius Isaye etc. [Fol. 92^v]

Le septiesme estoit dessoub les prisons, qui disoit. Moyses postquam diutius obsedisset Ciuitatem Saba, Tarbis filia regis Ægypti in eam oculos iniecit quam ipse Moyses postmodum in vxorem duxit. Petrus commestoris in historia scolastica. La viij^e estoit deuant la halle au marche, ou il y auoit vne femme tenant plain son giron de lyons, ou ily auoit escript, Leo et pardus se mutuo Inuenerunt, et amplexi su[n]t luuicem sub lilio etc.

La ix^e estoit en la fin du marche vers la court, le mariage de hester qui disoit. Assuerus Rex persarum, cui hester formosa omnium oculis graciosa placiut, ducta ad eius cubiculum diadema regni capiti eius imposuit, cunctus principibus conuiuium nuptiarum preparavit, hester secundo etc.

⁹³ Word repeated.

La x^e. pres de la court disoit, Benedictio super vxorem tuam, et super parentes tuos, et videatis filios filiorum vestrorum vsq[ue] in tertiam et quartam generationem. Thobie ix^o.

Lesdictes rues aussy, qui ne faict a oublier estoient aucunes maisons en especial decorees [Fol. 93^r] de taintures et riches draps et grandz allumeries de torches. Si comme es maisons des Cathelains, des Siciliens, des Lucois et des portugallois sus le marche. Et si estoient sur ledict marche rengez les seigneurs de la ville et seremens si comme archiers et arbestriers.

Touttes lesdictes Rues passees, histoires et seremens Madicte dame vint a ladicte Court, a la porte de laquelle sestoit fait nouvellement vng riche ouurage de fin or en quoy sont, et demeurent en perpetual les armes tymbrees de mondict Seigneur enuironnees de armes de sesdictz pays tenues de deux grandz lyons, et sa devise dessoub en lectre antique, Je lay emprins. Et a lung coustel desdictes armes est vng archier tirant vin vermeil, et a laultre vng arbestier tirant vin blanc tout le Jour, que le commun recepuoit partant de leur traict. Si entra madicte dame par la porte en lhostel, et tout lestat, et la mist on hors la lictiere, et lemmenerent mons[eigne]r Adolf de Cleues et mondict seigneur de Scalles en cha[m]bre soy retraire Jusques⁹⁴ au disner qui bien fust tost apres –

Et debues scauoir aussy quen ladicte Court estoit vng pellicain moult riche qui par la poytrine iectoit ypocras – [Fol. 93^v]

Madicte dame entra dedens ledict hostel de mondict Seigneur le duc, et passerent par deuant la porte pour monstres deuoir les nations dont deuant est faicte mention en lestat qui sensuyt.

Premierement les venitiens.

Les venitiens estoient eulx dix marchans a cheual vestuz de velours cramoyssi, apres eulx dix seruiteurs de drap vermeil, et alloient deuant eulx trois poursuyans et cinquante hommes a pied vestuz de vermeil pourtant chascun vne torche –

Les florentins faisoient pourter deuant eulx Cinquante et quatre torches. Ceulx qui les pourtoient tous habillez de bleu drap, et quatre paiges vestuz de pourpains de drap dargent cramoyssi, mantelines de satin blanc bordees de satin bleu. Puis venoyent onze marchans, Thomas portinaire premier habille comme Conseillier de monseigneur le duc quil est, et les dix vestuz de satin noir, et au dernier xxiiij Seruiteurs habillez de bleu et tous a cheual.

⁹⁴ Sic.

Les Espaignars estoyent xxxiiij marchans a Cheual vestuz de dammas violet ayans trente et quatre paiges a pied chascun le sien, vestuz⁹⁵ [Fol. 94'] vestuz lesdictz paiges de pourpains de satin noir, et Jacquettes de velours cramoyssi. Si faisoient lesdictz marchans pourter deuant eulx Soixante torches et les pourteurs estoyent vestuz de robes de drap violet et verd.

Les Geneuoys faisoient cheuaucher tout deuant la pucelle et Saint George, vestue ladicte pucelle de damas blanc, son cheual housse de velours cramoyssi, et Saint George arme son cheual couuert de damas blanc a la grande croix de cramoyssi, puis suyuoient trois paiges vestuz de pourpains de damas blanc, Journades de velours cramoyssi. Et si estoyent xviiij marchans a cheual vestuz de robes de damas blanc doublees de velours noir, les six longues et les aultres courtes et pourpains de satin noir, et xviiij varletz a pied vestuz de drap blanc a manche rouge vng Saint George bourde soub.

Les orstrelins faisoient pourter deuant eulx lxxij torches, les pourteurs <de> vestuz de violet et cheuauchoyent apres .vi. paiges vestuz de pourpains de satin violet et robes de damas blanc, leurs cheualx houlez de damas violet, puy suyuoient les marchans en nombre de Cent et huict a cheual vestuz de drap violet – [Fol. 94^v] Et nest pas a oublier, mais est raison que Je die que tous les princes, Chambellans, et gentilz hommes, officiers et seruiteurs de mondict seigneur, mesmes tous ceulx qui furent a court contez, ou non, furent du de⁹⁶ mondict Seigneur a ladicte feste habillez comme il sensuyt. Aussi tous les ancie[n]s Seruiteurs de feu monsieur le duc, que dieu absoille quy y furent, estoyent tous vestuz comme les aultres. Cest ascaoir les Chambellains et princes longues robes de velours noir, pourpains de velours cramoyssi, les gentilz hommes satin noir, pourpains de damas violet. Le conseil velours noir et tous Seruiteurs robes de drap noir et violet, et pourpains de Camelot violet –

Ladicte entree ainsy faicte, et la messe chantee en la Capelle, ou rien ne fut faict touchant les nopces, le disner estoit prest en la Court, et feist on seoir en diuers lieux. Premièrement mondict Seigneur le duc disna seul en la Sallette pres la Chapelle soy faisant seruir comme il est de coustume.⁹⁷ Et madicte dame accompaignee de ma dame la duchesse, mere a mondict Seigneur, et Mademoiselle de bourgongne,

⁹⁵ Last word catchword.

⁹⁶ *Sic.*

⁹⁷ One extra minim on the *m*.

lesdictes dames dangleterre, et grand nombre de celles de pardeca vint en la grande Salle faicte nouvellement pour les nopces en laq[ue]lle [Fol. 95^r] estoit la haulte table, et deux aultres de longueur de ladicte Salle. Si l'aua madicte dame, puis fut menee seoir, a ladicte haulte table, puis sassit madicte dame la mere a sa dextre et au senestre madicte damoiselle. Et oultre madicte dame la mere a dextre Madame darguel, et demeurarent droictes contre le leson derriere madicte dame la duchesse vne dame dangleterre et ma dame de Scalles. Et a l'une desdictes tables a dextre en entrant sassirent Cinquante deux nobles femmes de pardeca, et viij dangleterre. A l'autre table seullement. Si fut seruite madicte dame a grand bruyt desdictes trompettes, clairons, et menestrelz par les maistres d'hostel de mondict Seigneur et delle treshonorablement de moyen seruire.

En vne chambre, qui est ordinairement pour Monseigneur le bastard, furent seruis les Seigneurs dangleterre, les prelates, et gens deglise. En la gallerie ou Jardin Monsieur le Chancelier en vng lieu qu'on dict la baignerie. Et les Chambellans et ceux de la Chapelle en la salle sur la court pres de mondicte Seigneur. En la salle basse les anglois, et les archiers, et en aultres chambres comme desd[itz] m[ais]tres d'hostel etc.

Jusques a douze assiettes ou tresablement [Fol. 95^v] furent seruis premiers et derniers Jusques a cinq heures apres nonne ou plus La grande Salle dont Jay faicte mention estoit moult noblement paree elle estoit tendue de la tapisserie de Gedeon qui est comme plusieurs scauent tresriche dor et de soye Et dessus ladicte haulte table estoit vng hault droisseur fait a trois quarres qu'on dict losenges chascun quarre de quinze piedz de large et neuf <piedz> degrez de hault en estroississant Jusques au point Sur lesquels degrez auoit vasselle dor et d'argent garnie de riche pierrerie autant qui si en pouuoit bouter Et a chascun quarre deux cornes de licornes dressees comme cierges moult longues et sur le sommeron dudict droissoir faisant la fin vne tresgrande et riche coupe dor de laquelle vasselle dicte Je me passe en bref pource quil mest Impossible de declairer la valeur En ladicte Salle y auoit plusieurs chandeliers penduz de boys comme il est d'usage Entre lesquels il y en auoit deux merueilleux qui estoient faitz a facon de fort et puissant Chasteaul assis sur Roche et dessoub chascun vers les gens y auoit sept mirours assis en roches et [Fol. 96^r] lesquels estoient grandz et rondz comme d[u]ng pied et demy en rondeur et la sembloit a regarder en chascun quil y heut dix mille hommes et tournoyent lesdictz casteaulx si den qu'on vouloit Cedit Jour apres disner a six heures ou enuiron sen alla

madicte dame a Chariot vestue dune robe de drap dor cramoyssi en chappeaul dor sans couronne a vng tresriche coulier garny de pierres et toutes les dames et damoiselles tant a chariot comme sur hacquenees a vng pas de Jouste que commenceoit monseigneur le bastard de bourgongne et quil maintint Jusques auoir iouxte contre vintquatre Cheualiers sur le tiltre de larbre dor A laquelle iouxte ie reuiendray pour lcelle poursuyure et aultres faiz darmes ensuyuans en vng traicte a part comme ladicte Jouste fut de menee chascun Jour et les bancquetz qui si feirent qui neantmoins estoyent des nopces Mais Je men passe lcy pour abreger lentrete Puis apres le partement de madicte dame partit monseigneur le duc a Cheual vestu dune longue robe a manches ouuertes Jusques a terre de drap dor fourrer de tresfines martes sabelines Et sen alla a ladicte Jouste Laquelle finie pour le Jour retournerent les Seigneurs et dames a court ou estoit prepare vng bancquet duquel il me semble honneste en faire la declaration [**Fol. 96^v**]

Quant il fut temps Monseigneur le duc Madame la duchesse, mademoiselle, et generalement tous Seigneurs et dames vindrent au dict bancquet, qui se fait a la grande Salle moult excellent en la maniere qui sensuyt.

A la haulte table y auoit assises six grandes nauieres a facon de grandes Carauelles a deux <heures> heues ressemblant a celles de la mer faictes et garnies moult richement et toutes choses quelconques qua nauiere telle peult et doit appartenir. Et sur chascune au milieu estoit assis vng plat de viande, et a chascun plat en bas sur la table y auoit xvj sieutes sans les entremes ayant chascune Carauelle aupres delle quatre botelins plains despicerie ou fructerie, et au milieu a chascun seruice. Cestassauoir entre deux nauieres y auoit vne grande tour, nompas⁹⁸ pareilles les vnes aux aultres, esquelles, et chascune estoit le paste appartenant audict plat Si estoyent lesdictz basteaulx et tours representant pays ou ville appartenant a mondict seigneur pourtant avec les bannieres dicelluy Seigneur, les bannieres et escussons et le nom par escript de ce qui representoit.

Item et a chascune longue table dont il en y [**Fol. 97^r**] auoit deux en ladicte Salle dont Jay faicte mention au faict du disner <y> il y auoit douze desdictes nauieres pareilles a celles dessusdictes, ainsy y auoit trente nef en somme et trente tours. Si debues scauoir qua<uoyent>uec⁹⁹ lesdictes pays que lesdictes nauieres representoyent dont chascun scait les noms. Il y auoit Bethune, Soigny, Ostreuant,

⁹⁸ *Sic.*

⁹⁹ 'uec' interlineated.

faulquemont, Aussoire, Ponthieu, Charloys, Aussonne, boulongne, Mascon, Alot, aerkebe, le gande, leley de la Brielle, Courtray, dourdrech, douay, herlen, Audenarde, Bruge, Lisle, bosleduc Gand, diion, Bruxelles, Louuain, Amiens Rotredan, mildebourg, Lescluse, Arras, Valenciennes, Troth Saint omer, Aelleremare Ainstredan, ypre, et delft. Ce sont les lieux qui estoyent nommez ausdictz Nauieres et Carauelles –

Item au deuant de ladicte haulte table estoit le droisseoir, dont ou chappitre du disner est faite mention, sans estre plus grand ne plus petit. Ainsy led[it] banquet dispose apres lauer sassist mondict Seigneur madicte dame a ladicte haulte table, le legat leuesque de metz, leuesque dutrecht, mons[eigneu]r Adolf de Cleues, Mons[eigneu]r de Scalles la duchesse de nouffolk, mademoiselle de bourgongne, Madame darguel Madame de [Fol. 97^v] Montigny madame darst la vicontesse de furnes et aultres et les aultres seigneurs et dames aux aultres deux tables tous meslez anglois et aultres tant que tout estoit plain Si feist chascun grand chiere Et ne fault pas demander comme toutes manieres de menestrelz faisoient debuoir Et quant ce <j> vint ala fin entra dedans ladicte Salle vne licorne grande et bien artificiellement faite sur laquelle seoit vng liepard tenant en vne patte la bannerolle de mondict Seigneur et a laultre vne marguerite de laquelle deuant la table il fist a lcelluy Seigneur present

Après ladicte Licorne retraicte entra vng lion dedans lequel estoyent deux chantres chantans vne chanson qui disoit bien biengne la douce bergiere Si feist ledict lion son tour puy sen retourna

Tiercement et dernier entra vng dromedaire charge de deux panniens plains de <violles> vollailles¹⁰⁰ menus lequel prenoit dung pie de deuant et puis de laultre lesdictes <violettes> vollailles¹⁰¹ et les Jettoit voller parmy ladicte salle qui fut bien plaisant a veoir Lequel dromedaire retraict fina ledict banquet et puis commença la dance laquelle finie on prist [Fol. 98^r] vin et especes, et enuers trois heures apres minuyct on sen alla coucher –

Les aultres banquetz festes et esbatemens seront Jour pour Jour declairez en laultre traicte du fait des Joustes et tournoiz qui se feront Journallement tant que les nopces dureront –

[Fol. 98^v blank]

[Fol. 99^r]

¹⁰⁰ Correction in right margin.

¹⁰¹ Correction in right margin.

Touchant le fait des ioustes qui se feirent aux nopces de Monseigneur le duc dont la feste sentretint par lespace de neuf Jours elles furent emprinses par¹⁰² monseigneur le bastard de bourgogne soub ombre du commandement dune dame qui se nomme de Lisle celee laquelle pour certaines causes ad ce la mouuans auoit requis audict Cheualier trois choses aussauoir quil se voulsit trouuer pour amour delle en vne Iouste ou cent et vne lances fussent rompues sur luy ou quil les rompist sur aultre Et apres quil se trouuast en vng aultre fait darmes ou Cent et vng cop despee fussent par luy feruz ou quon les feut sur luy Tiercement que vng arbre dor quelle luy bailleroit qui estoit en son tresor fust par ses faitz encoire plus enrichi et plus noblement decore qui nestoit Si luy bailla ledict arbre dor et vng poursuyuant nomme aussi arbre dor Et pour lesdictes armes regarder vng Jayant quelle auoit prisonnier qui se nommoit le geant de la forest douteuse lequel gea[n]t estoit par ladicte dame baille a conduyre tout lye a vng nain quelle auoit et aussy audict nain lesdictes armes a regarder pour luy en faire record Et affin que mieulx lesdictes armes se peussent accomplir en la tresnoble maison de bourgogne que ledict Cheualier auoit esleue [**Fol. 99^v**] ladicte dame de lisle celee en rescripuit au duc en luy requerant que icelles armes voulsist souffrir publier et acco[m]plir desquelles lectres la teneur sensuyt.

Tresexcellent et victorieux prince. Je me recommande humblement a v[ost]re bonne grace. Et vous plaise scauoir tresexcellent prince, que comme des diuerses parties du monde nouvelles vont et courent en plusieurs lieux, est venu a ma congnoissance comment vng noble Cheualier mon Seruiteur et de singuliere recommandation de vous nagueires doibt auoir pris son acces par deuers v[ost]re tresnoble et treshaulte Seigneurie, et ce a cause et en espoir de soy pouuoir descharger en v[ost]re tresfameuse maison Daucunes haultes et glorieuses emprinses, et charges peult estre a luy enjoinctes et dont la execution telle quil plarra¹⁰³ a dieu luy en garder. Il en est en sa mercy, et en lattente de son auanture non congnee. Dont affin, que v[ost]re tresclere, et tresrenommee haultesse soit et puisse tant mieulx informe estre et aduertie de la maniere de cestuy cas, ensemble de la qualite et estat dudit noble Cheualier, et de la cause de son louable et courageux entreprendre ou de son venir vers vous. Jenuoye p[rese]ntement [**Fol. 100^r**] par deuers v[ost]re haultesse vng mien herault nomme Arbre dor avec ces presentes, par lesquelles de v[ost]re grace, et soub v[ost]re princiale benigne humilite pourres

¹⁰² Word repeated.

¹⁰³ *Sic.*

clerement, et tout au vif comprendre, et estre informer de ceste matiere. Tresexcellent prince, Ce cheualier doict cy, comme apres longs, maintz, et diuers voyages par les diuerses parties du monde, et apres multitude de haultz et louables faiz et prouesses en armes, auenture layt mene finalement deuers moy a ma grande Joye, qui par vng cruel et Inhumain tirant longuement suis estee persecutee, desheritee et destruite, et menee a miserable desolation toute confuste. Aduint lors que luy men vng Jour de noble et vertueux esperit, et de singuliere compassion en mon triste cas, tendant a soy esprouuer en vertueuse oeuure charitable et a me releuer de ma ruyne par sa diligence se rendit a moy, me requist de retenance, et dentretienement en ma desolee maison. Et apres soy presentee, et promise de loyaulment me seruir, me promist aussy, et Jura soub mon plaisir perpetuel contendement pour venir a ma grace, laquelle au pois de son noble et franc courage et a la mesure de mon honneur tant que Je pouuoye et debuoye licitement Je luy accorday. Et considerant ma basse et desconfortable fortune, et les estroitiz dangiers esquelx Je me treuuoie glorieuse fille de [Fol. 100^v] Roy le retins mon Seruiteur par condition telle que tout en chief et premierement Il se mectroit en peine et en essay de <pre> me deliurer et releuer hors de la cruelle main dudict geant ramener ma personne en sa franchise et mes terres et possessions remectre et retirer hors de sa tyrannie de laquelle chose toutesfoys louenge a dieu en peu de temps apres dieu la regarda et complent qui de son hault empre[n]dre il en paruint a glorieuse fin et de son valereux executer Jen ay tire leffect de ma desirance dont a Jamais ne sera heure que Je ne soye son oblige et que Je ne labeure en ma pensee comme Je luy pourray satisfaire a son condigne merite dont et comme ce noble Cheualier en mon regard tant en personne comme en meurs et par ses haultz et singulieres fais que Jay appreceu en luy Il me sembloit encoire digne avec ses oeuures passees damour cler et dattraire deuers luy le surplus de lhonneur du monde et de venir en la congnoissance de tous les meilleurs Je luy requis et pour le magnifier tant plus quen la plus cheualereuse maison de la terre il feist tant que Cent et vne lances fussent rompues sur luy Ou que il se mist a lessay de les rompre et autant de copz despee par arrest de bataille lune co[n]tre lautre Laquelle chose faite ou emprise [Fol. 101^r] a faire luy tourneroit et pourroit tourner ce luy dis Je en grand aduancement de sa requeste Comme doncques apres ce second point Je desirasse tousiours plus et plus gloriffier encoires et aggrandir ce noble Cheualier et le pourueoir daucune singuliere retribution pour benefice receu de luy Maisay dung Arbre dor que Jauoye et lequel pour decoration de sa future

entreprinse en aucune glorieuse maison Je conclus de luy mectre en main Par condition telles que luy de toutes ses vertuz et vigueurs se deburoit trauailler de le moy rendre plus digne encoires et plus precieux que receu dont et de la richesse et de la dignite la ou il la voudroit tourner Je mattendoye bien a luy Croyant veritablement que ce seroit il de plus precieuse estouffes que de milles gemmes Or est ainsy tres excellent prince que comme renomme porte ce noble Cheualier droit cy sur et deuant toutes chrestiennes maisons a choisy et esleue la vostre et a conclus Comme Jentens de planter mon arbre dor en vostre cheualereuse court gloriffier droit la et aggrandir Icelluy de precieux et non communs estoremens pourtans mistere et de quoy le geant mon prisonnier sera garde et administrateur Jusques au retour dudict noble Cheualier vers moy que dieu doint tost Si vous prie tres excellent prince et requiers en toute humilite que lauancement de lemprise [Fol. 101^v] dudict noble Cheualier vers vous comparu et en magnification de son arbre dor par la nature que luy est baillee Il vous plaise a luy prester faueur expedition et adresse telle que gloire et exaltation de v[ost]re tres noble renommee et a ma ioye et a son preu il puisse briuevement et bien tost retourner vers moy pour le plus hault de mes desires Et dont de lhonneur de v[ost]re grace vous plaira a moy y faire Jen rendray les louenges a dieu et a vous les remerciemens condignes a vostre noble estat que dieu veuille conseruer et parmaintenir en felicite sempiternelle Escript en mon Chasteaul de bonne esperance le huictiesme Jour de Januier lan lxvij

Ainsy subscribe

La toute vostre tres humble¹⁰⁴ recommanderesse

La dame de Lisle celee

et pareillement superscriptes

A tres excellent tresuictorieux et trespuissant prince Charles par la grace de dieu duc de bourgogne et de brabant etc.

Lesdictes lectres recues de mondict seigneur le duc et presentees par ledict Arbre dor poursuyuant Icelles leues mondict seigneur saccorda a la volente de ladicte dame de Lisle celee Ainsy fut sur le marche de bruges dresse ledict arbre dor auquel pour le decorer et enrichyr selon le desir de ladicte dame furent¹⁰⁵ [Fol. 102^r] furent successiuement penduz les escuz armoyez des armes des nobles Cheualiers et escuyers qui se vindrent presenter a la Jouste pour fournier lentreprinse dudict

¹⁰⁴ *Sic.*

¹⁰⁵ Last word catchword.

cheualier. Et empres ledict arbre vng perro[n] a trois piliers sur lequel durant ladicte Joust seroit ledict Nayn assis en vng riche chaire a tout vng orloge deuant luy, et vng cor pour sonner l'entree et Issue sur le champ du Cheualier a l'arbre dor. Autour dudict perron escript ainsy de ce perron nul ne se preigne merueille. Cest vne emprinse qui nobles cueurs resueille, pour souuenir de la tant honnoree, dame dhonneur, et de Lisle celee –

Au deuant dudict arbre estoit lye ledict gea[n]t Et empres estoit vng grand hourt ouquel estoient les Juges commis pour lesdictz faitz darmes de par mondict seigneur Cest ascaoir Monseigneur de mira[m]mont comme lieutenant de monsieur le mareschal de bourgongne, Messire Claude de Toulonion Seigneur de la bastie, Le bailly de quaen, et monsieur de la Roche, et empres <el> eulx en vng aultre hourt les officiers darmes

Ainsy les choses ordonnees on commença le dimanche Jour desdictes nopces iij^e Jour de Juillet par la maniere que sensuyt. [Fol. 102^v] Monsieur Adolf de Cleues Seigneur de Rauestain fut le premier venant pour iouster contre le cheualier de la dame de lisle celee, qui est monsieur le bastard. Si debues scauoir que quant vng combatant venoit a la porte du parc Arbre dor le poursuyuant venoit parler a luy lors quil auoit busque du maillet dor qui pendoit a ladicte porte luy demandoit son nom, et puis lalloit dire au deffendeur, et de la sen reuenoit querre le nayn et le geant qui venoyent mectre dedans led[it] assailant. Ainsy vint hurter a ladicte porte mondict Seigneur de Rauestain, laquelle luy fut ouuerte apres lesdictes solemnitez –

Mondict Seigneur de Rauestain entra au Champ moult richement en vne lictiere pourtee a deux cheuaulx, ladicte lictiere painte de bleu et blanc qui sont ses couleurs et armoyrie de ses armes couuerte dung drap dor cramoisy garnies de plusieurs groz po[m]meaulx tous de fin argent. La dedans estoit il couche sur deux grandz coussins de drap dor cramoisy, et estoit arme, et sur son harnoys vne robe de Camelot de soye fourree dermines. Les deux cheuaulx de ladicte lectiere¹⁰⁶ harnachez de velours bleu garny de platines d'argent, deux paiges sus vestuz comme ses aultres pages cest a scauoir de paletoz de velours bleu, la moytie [Fol. 103^r] semee dorfayuerie blanche a vng coulier dorfayuerie doree. Avec ladicte lictiere estoit mene vng Cheual en main pour monter ledict Cheualier housse de drap dor bleu charge de grosses campanes d'argent. Et vng aultre Cheual pourtant deux panniens couuert de velours noir vng petit

¹⁰⁶ Sic.

fol dessus habille comme les paiges. En tel estat le conduysit deuant les dames, et la lisit vne l[ect]re messire Oliuier de la marche vestu dune longue robe de velours bleu.

Puis sen alla ledict Cheualier heaulmer, et reuint faire son debuoir. Auquel le seruirent de lances messire Anthoine et messire Josse de lalaing, mons[eigneu]r de perwez de haynault, mons[eigneu]r de derchoweze, led[it] messire Oliuier, habillez tous de mantelines de velours bleu bordees de blanc tous chargees de campanes dargent, et le seruoit aussy le bastard de Sauenses son escuyer descuyrie habille de velours bleu.

Quant Jay dict de monseigneur Adolf a ce commencement Je doibs dire de n[ost]re Cheualier a larbre dor comment il vint po[u]r le recepuoir treshonorablement Windant hors de la porte doree a vng arbre dor qui estoit a laultre part du champ. Mondict Seigneur le bastard se feist admener au champ en vng riche pauillon de **[Fol. 103^v]** damas blanc et Jaulne a vne gouttiere de drap dor violet borde par bas de velours verd. Et si fut lors seruy de monsieur de Colzen, mons[eigneu]r de mocant, messire hues <l> de lannoy s[eigneu]r de bummont, messire philippe de cohen et messire Josse de Wassenare, ayant chascun vne hosseure de velours violet bordees de cresee blanches chargees de grosses campanes dargent, et de Jehan de maulpas et Alardin bournel ses escuyers descuyrie hayans¹⁰⁷ harnaz de cheuaulx, chargees aussy de pareilles campanes dargent. Et mondict Seigneur estoit ayant son cheual couuert dune riche hossure dorfayuerie a vng arbre dor et pourtoit vng escu verd et toute la feste durant.

En tel estat sassemblerent ces deux nobles cheualiers et Joustarent trespuissamment lung contre laultre par lespace de demye heure, qui estoit le temps ordonne pour chascun et non plus mais des lances, quilz, ne aultres rompirent. Je nen feray aucune mention affin que mon escript ne soit a nul desplaisa[n]t Aincويس Pursuyuray de Jour en Jour sur <de> le faict de leurs estatz a venir –

Et quant au faict aussy des heraulx tambourins et trompettes qui venoyent accompagner les Jousteurs, vous debues scauoir vne foys pour toutes que chascun qui venoit en estoit grandement accompaigne, les **[Fol. 104^r]** accomp les vngs pource que eulx mesmes appartenoyent, les aultres pour les dons quilz en esperoyent, si men remect en la consideration des lisans –

Ledict temps de demye heure passe le Nayn courna, les dessusdictz coururent les plancons pour les dames comme chascun fist selon que les chappitres

¹⁰⁷ *Sic.*

contenoient. Et ce fait se departit la Seigneurie et sen reuint on en court, ou le seoir lon fist le riche et solemnel banquet dont deuant est fait¹⁰⁸ mention. La se treuua chascun fort en point. Mais Je seroye trop prolix a declairer les riches robes et habillemens dorfayurerie, de brodure et de drap dor, de diuerses sortes et grosses chainnes que chascun pourtoit a ces haultz estatz. Sy ne me y suis point arreste fors seulement aux houssemens et parures desdictes Joustes et declaration des bagues –

Le lundy iiij^e. Jour Monseigneur le duc les dames et les Juges vindrent sur les rens. Si vint hurter en soy representant a la porte monseigneur de Chasteaul guyon frere au prince doreng moult gentement en point. Il auoit sept seruiteurs de lances habillez de pourpains de dammas violet et mantelines de satin verd chascun trois [Fol. 104^v] tours de chainne dor au col et plumes blanches. Son cheual estoit housse de drap dor bleu, et auoit apres luy deux pages portans pourpains de satin noir mantelines de velours verd, berrettes de velours noir et plume blanche, lung des cheualx housse de drap dor cramoyssi, laultre de drap dor violet

Alencontre de mondict seigneur de Chasteau guyon vint monseigneur le bastard tousiours seruy desdictz escuyers descuyerie, en especial son cheual housse de drap dor cramoyssi –

Le tiers de ce Jour fut monseigneur de fiennes lequel seruoyent Monseigneur de Roussy Jaiques de Luxembourg son oncle, messire Jehan de Luxembourg son frere monseigneur le Marquis de ferrare habillez de hoctons de velours noir tanne et blanc a vng colier dor en brodure, et deuant et derriere aussy brode de fin or ayans dessoub vestuz pourpointz de satin <noir> cramoyssi. Et auoit sept cheualx moult richement houssez que cheuauchoyent quatre paiges, et son pallefrenier vng en main et le sien lesdictz paiges et palefrenier habillez de palletotz chargez dorfaiuerie blanche et gros boutons de brodure [Fol. 105^r] dor fin a vng large coulter de pareille brodure capron<o>caulx en teste de satin tanne et noir brodez en semence de rosettes Sa houssure de velours noir a grandes descendues de brodure de fin or pourtant dessus la croppe Jusques a la brodure qui estoit de pareille brodure grossement esleuee Le ij^e de velours bleu seme de campanes blanches le iiij^e dermines bordee de drap dor bleu le iiij^e semee de taloches en brodure dargent La¹⁰⁹ v^e dorfaiuerie blanche le vij^e non brodee et entresemee de billons dargent le vij^e de drap dor cramoyssi

Alencontre de mondict Seigneur de fiennes vint monseigneur le bastard housse

¹⁰⁸ Sic.

¹⁰⁹ Sic.

de drap dor verd brode dorfayuerie dargent Deuant mondict Seigneur de fiennes vint sur le champ Charles de visaen accompagne des capitaines et archiers de corps de Monsieur le duc chascun a pied vne branche de May en la main et nauoit <vestu> qung seruiteur vestu de palletot dorfayuerie et luy auoit son cheual housse dorfayuerie bla[n]che et doree assise par facon des chiffres quil a accostume de porter Contre led[it] Charles de visaen vint monseig[neu]r [Fol. 105^v] le bastard harnasche dorfaierie <da> a campanes dargent pendantes.

Ce sont les trois Jousteurs du lundy lesquels ayant fait leur debuoir mondict seigneur et chascun sen reuint a court ou len feist ce Jour vng bancquet de xxx platz de viandes furniz de xiiij metz sans les entremets et si estoit nouveau dressoir et de nouvelle vasselle, pendant le quel bancquet. Il vint en salle vne grande beste comme vng griffon faire vng tour seulement pour resiouyr la compagnie, et si Joua on audict bancquet vne partie de lenfance dhercules comme il est en la poesie traictant dicelluy, puis se feist la dance en fin dudict bancquet Jusques que lon alla coucher –

Le mardy .v^e. Jour vint a la Jouxte mondict Seigneur, cest assauoir en vne maison sur le marche, ou luy et les dames tant ce Jour comme les aultres regarderent lestat, le quel venu, et lesdictz Juges se vint presenter mons[eigneu]r darguel filz au prince dorenge nepueur¹¹⁰ au duc de bretagne, le quel auoit ses seruiteurs vestuz de pourpains de satin noir, et hoctons de velours verd, ayant chascun son harnaz de cheual charge de campanes dargent a facon de poires, entre lesquels en estoit mons[eigneu]r de Rauestain. Il estoit housse de drap darge[n]t cramoyssi charge de campanes Son escu estoit [Fol. 106^r] cramoyssi blanc et verd et auoit groz plumars sur son heulme et apres luy estoyent trois paiges vestuz de robes de velours verd a deux ploix de velours cramoyssi et deux blans barrettes de velours cramoyssi en teste rebrassees de velours noir Lung de leurs cheuaults housse de drap dor cramoyssi et laultre de drap dor bleu et les trois de drap dor de violet –

Contre mondict seigneur darguel vint mondict seigneur le bastard housse de damas blanc borde de velours cramoyssi a sault[oir]s de mesmes de damas seme de larmes dor a vne grosse sole dargent qui les espandoit.

Le second de ce Jour fut messire Antoine de hallewin qui fut seruy a la Jouste du visconte de furnes de monsieur de hallewin mons[eigneu]r de haines et monsieur descoures vestuz de pourpains de satin cramoyssi Journades de velours noir et tanne a vng y deua[n]t et derriere de brodure dor Luy monte sur vng cheual housse de velours

¹¹⁰ *Sic.*

charge de grosses campanes d'argent a facon d'acoulye bourdee de broudee vmbrue de gans¹¹¹ y Et si auoit trois paiges vestus de pourpains de velours noir palletotz dorfaiuerie Le premier cheual housse de velours violet brode de drap d'argent, Laultre de [Fol. 106^v] drap dor verd Laulte de velours seme de bouillons d'argent dore borde de fin or ataches de cramoyssi frangees a Lenuiron.

Et vint monseigneur le bastard alencontre de luy ayant vne housseure dorfaiuerie a facon de drap d'argent y assise.

Ce Jour fut le tiers Jousteur messire Jeha[n] de Luxembourg Lequel seruient monsieur de Roussy monsieur Jaicques son oncle monseigneur de fiennes et monseigneur le marquis de ferrare vestuz de hoctons de satin bleu a vne fleur dor deuant et derriere vng fol deuant eulx vestu dorfaiuerie et si auoit quatre pages et son palefrenier vestuz de palletotz dorfayuerie blanche a berrettes de satin verd rebracees de velours noir a grandes coiffes dor deuant et derriere ledict messire Jehan ayant housseure toute dorfaiuerie doree tresriche son escu violet. Lung desdictz aultres cheualx housse de velours cramoyssi borde de drap d'argent, le ij^e dorfaiuerie blanche en diuerses facons Le iij^e de martres, Le iiij^e de drap dor cramoyssi, Le v^e de velours noir seme de grandes lectres dor. Ce sont ceulx qui Joustarent ce Jour et non aultres

—

Mondict Seigneur le bastard venant contre [Fol. 107^r] ledict messire Jehan estoit housse de velours tanne charge de brodure en barbacannes et ses lectres avec son mot a bordure de velours.

Après ladicte Joste que les Seigneurs et dames furent retournez a court, Il y auoit en la grande Salle vng riche bancquet prepare aux deux grandes tables et a la haulte estoyent assises en maniere que furent les grandes naues pour les platz de viandes, grande tours de soye a deux mas bannerolles dessus, et pour le paste pauillons parez dorez et Joylez richement. Et si fut le seruice de quinze metz de cuisine, et y auoit encoire nouveau dressoir assis et nouvelle vasselle a la dextre partie de ladicte haulte table, et droit deuant icelle estoit vne grande puissante et haulte tour representant celle de Goor[in]ghen a facon de pierre <p> bleue, bachicolemens, faulses brayes et tout, sur laquelle tour en lescharguette auoit vng homme qui feist plusieurs remonstrances seruans au propoz tant desdictes tentes et pauillons comme de ladicte tour Et aux fenestres dicelle tour se monstroyent premierement grans senglers sonans trompettes de guerre bien et par ordre Puis

¹¹¹ Recte grans.

apres Iceulx retraiz, lors que led[it] guet ledict se monstrerent chievres Jouans comme menestrelz tresmelodieusement, Tiercement [Fol. 107^v] hours Jouans de fleutes et quartement asnes qui chantarent vne chanson tres plaisante Et en la fin saillirent hors de ladicte tour six hommes en guige de cinges qui dancierent et feirent merueilles.

Le merquedy le premier venant sur les rens fut messire Jehan de chassa Seigneur de monnet, suyt de quatre gentilz hommes habillez en guise de turcqs bien richement, et venoyent deuant luy quatre moriennes et sur vng cheual a panners en auoit deux et vng fol qui leurs tournoyt le doz, ledict cheual housse de velours bleu borde de mariz dor en brodure moult riche, et <Jouyo> Jouoye[n]t lesd[ites] moriennes et fol de diuers instrumens Puis suyuoit vne bien gracieuse damoiselle qui menoit ledict Seigneur, lcelle habillee aussy a la morisque montee sur vne hacquenee houssee de velours cramoisy bourdee aussy de riche brodure dor, Et si auoit a pied deux paiges qui la menoyent a robe et chausses dorfauierie dargent. Lequel Seigneur sur son harnois estoit habille a mode de turcq, et si auoit derriere luy quatre vestuz de long a guise de turc aussy, aya[n]t et ceulx de deuant chascun vng dard en la main. Si estoit ledict seigneur de chassa housse de velours noir bourde de lectres estranges en brodure dor montans sur la [Fol. 108^r] croupe du cheual et seme dorfauierie branlant qui estoit moult riche et nouvelle chose a veoir Alencontre dudict monseigneur de monnet vint mondict Seigneur le bastard housse de drap dor borde dermines –

Le second de ce Jour fut monseigneur Jaicques de Luxembourg, lequel fut seruy de monseigneur de Scalles, messire Jehan de Weduille son frere, monsieur de Roussy monsieur de fiennes, messire Jehan de Luxembourg, monsieur de Renty et monsieur [le] Marquis de ferrare pourtans hoctons de satin bleu. Ledict monsieur Jaicques auoit quatre pages et le palefrenier vestuz de pourpains de damas noir, mantelines de velours bleu chausses de violet et bonnetz verdz, Mondict Seigneur Jaicques housse de drap dor pers, plumas pers et chanfrain de brodure, Lung paige housse de velours cramoisy borde dermines, Ladicte houssure ayant vne branche lestoc sur la croupe du cheual de brodure dor sependant aual le feuillage groz esleue entreseme de feuilles de chesnes dor, Laultre de noir et violet a larges feuilles dorfauierie semee de bouillons dargent, et bordee de velours noir seme de grosses Larmes de fin or en brodure, Le tiers housse [Fol. 108^v] de velours charge de chiffres dud[it] Seigneur et de .y. les chiffres dorees, les .y. blancs et largement, campanes a

demy dorees, La¹¹² quatre de taffetas changeant seme de cardons dorfauierie borde de franges dor, Le v^e. de drap de damas noir a chiffre de chardons de mondict seigneur en brodure semee de campanes dorees bordee de damas blanc semee de campanes pareilles, Le vj^e que menoit le palefrenier en main estoit housse de drap no¹¹³ dor noir et violet cramoyssi. En tel estat entra sur le cha[m]p.

Alencontre dicelluy vint monseigneur le bastard housse de drap dor noir, sur croupe et crine ayant vng rabot, et la houssure seme de rabotins dargent.

Le tiers venant fut messire Philippes de Poytiers Seigneur de la fieue seruy de monseigneur de dormans son frere, le visconte de furnes, messire Antoine, et messire Josse de Lalaing pourtans palletotz de satin cramoyssi et blanc Et estoit admene dune filliere sur le champ par vne damoysselle vestue de satin blanc cheueulx pendans, chapeau de roses en teste, son cheual tout seme de violettes. Ledict seigneur ayant escu blanc luy housse de satin cramoyssi broche dor seme de campanes de baghe [Fol. 109^r] dargent. Et auoit deux pages habillez de robes volans, le Corps de satin cramoyssi les manches de satin noir, et petites chappettes de satin noir luy housse de velours noir a vne descendue sur la croupe de velours cramoyssi violet, le second housse de drap dor bleu.

Si vint monseigneur le bastard contre led[it] poytiers housse de velours noir seme dorfayuerie blanche –

Le quatriesme cedict Jour fut messire Claude de vauldrey ayant dix seruiteurs habillez de doctons de damas deuant verd et derrie[re] violet, sa houssure de velours violet et verd semee de cocquilles dor en brodure, et entresemee de campanes dargent –

Contre ledict vauldrey Jousta monsieur le bastard housse de drap dor cramoyssi bordee de creste blanche –

Celluy Jour se feist le souppe en court, et ny heut point de banquet Jusques au lendemain

Le Jedy Jousta le premier monsieur le Conte de Saulme, lequel seruirent quatre [Fol. 109^v] nobles hommes habillez doctons noirs et verd. Si estoit ledict conte housse de drap dor bleu, vng paige vestu de damas noir et violet housse de velours violet seme de grosses campanes dargent

¹¹² *Sic.*

¹¹³ 'no' not scored out.

Le deuxiesme fut messire baudouin bast[ard] de bourgongne, qui fut seruy ce Jour de monseigneur de montferrant, le bailly de Bruges Guillaume de ternay et Guyot de Sogny vestuz de mantelines de velours bleu a lectres de bordures deuant et derrie[re], pourpains de satin cramoyssi les trois ledict montferrant de drap dor, et chascun harnas de cheual charge de campanes dargent chapeletz de satin verd et plumes blanches, led[it] messire baudouyn housse de velours bleu seme de plumes de brodure, qui sont sa liuree aya[n]t vne longue bannerolle de satin verd sur le heulme. Et apres luy trois paiges vestuz de robes de velours bleu plumars brodez dorfaierie deuant et derriere Chapeletz et plumes que dessus, luy housse de velours noir seme de chiffre dorfaierie blanche et doree. Le second de drap dor cramoyssi bordee de satin figure noir les figures rouges. Le tiers de velours violet seme de campanes dargent, et vne tresgrosse sur le doz du cheual.

Monseigneur le bastard Jousta contre messire¹¹⁴ [Fol. 110^r] messire Baudouin pourtant harnaz de cheual de damas blanc, charge de brodure entresemee de campanes dor –

Le tiers de ce Jour fut monseigneur de Renty seruy a la Jouste de monseigneur Adol¹¹⁵ de Cleues, monseigneur Jaicques de Luxembourg, monseigneur de beures monsieur de fiennes et messire Jean de Luxembourg vestuz de mantelines de satin blanc. Et auoit trois paiges pourtans pourpains de satin noir a mantelines de satin blanc, lung housse de drap dor cramoyssi, et laultre de velours bleu seme de tout .a. b. c. d. etc. en bordure dor, et laultre de drap dor verd –

Et alencontre dudict monseigneur de Renty Jousta mondict Seigneur le bastard housse de velours tanne charge de portes ou aneaux dargent et bordee de taffetas verd –

Ledict Jour mesmes apres que Monsieur le duc <heure> et dames eurent veu les Joustes ilz vindrent a vng tresgracieux bancquet qui estoit prepare au lieu que dessus est dict. Lequel bancquet [Fol. 110^v] touchant le seruice fut tresgrand et bien sumptueux. Car on y seruit de vingtquatre metz. Et pour nouuellete y heut sur les tables au parauant dictes assis Elephans, licornes, dromedaires et Cerfz grandz et tresrichement faitz chascun pourtant coffre sur le doz plains despicerie, et hommes dessus cheuauchans lesdictes bestes armoyez des armes des Seigneurs de la toison dor et de plusieurs aultres nobles. Et entant quon estoit assis audict bancquet furent

¹¹⁴ Last word catchword.

¹¹⁵ *Sic.*

parjouez encoire certains faitz dudict hercules. Si comme quant il alla requerre sa dame aux enfers etc.

Audict bancquet fust on Jusques a deux heures apres minuict.

Le vendredy suyuant y heut tresnoble assemblee sur les rens. Car monseigneur de Scalles Anglois y vint pour ladicte Jouste. Mais a cause que mondict seig[neu]r le bastard et luy sont freres darmes, Monseigneur Adolf de Cleues soubstint le pas, dont il aduint que mondict seigneur bastard estant en robe sur les rens regardant sondict frere darmes¹¹⁶ heut de male aduventure vng cop de pied de Cheual qui luy mist tresvillainement le [Fol. 111^r] genoul hors du lieu, dont il ne peut faire plus auant, mais fournirent ceulx que cy apres seront dict –

Mondict seigneur de scalles vint donc sur les rens treshonorablement accompagne. Car premierement il auoit seruice de tous les Anglois, et les nostres de grand courage luy faisoyent compagnie. Ses Seruiteurs doncques estoyent monsieur Jayques de<c> Luxembourg y estoit, et Monsieur de fiennes et messire Jehan de Luxembourg, et monsieur le marquis et les aultres Anglois pourtans palletotz verdz a vne acolie de brodure, aucuns de damas, et aultres de satin figure –

Et auoit led[it] s[eigneu]r de Scalles six paiges vestuz de pourpains de satin noir, et mantelines de satin figure verd semees dacolies dargent, barrettes de velours noir rembracees de drap dor cramoyssi a plumars Jaunes, houseaulx blans a rebras de velours noir. Ledict seig[neu]r de scalles auoit son escu de drap dor cramoyssi et bleu housse de drap dor bleu Lesdictz paiges, lung housse de velours tanne seme de grosses campanes et grosses accolies dargent, laultre de drap dor cramoyssi bourde de velours noir seme dorfaiurerie blanche. Le tiers de drap dargent violet borde de drap dor bleu a [Fol. 111^v] grandes descendues de velours cramoyssi semees de campanes. Laultre de velours cramoyssi seme de ses chiffres, en brodure dor a grandes descendues de drap dargent et velours noir semees de houppes dor. Laultre de velours griz semee de grandes pieres de drap dor noir et de Campanes dargent bende partout dermines Laultre de velours bleu seme de larmes dargent bende par tout dermines borde de damas gris seme de ses chiffres en brodure dor.

Item contre le Joustant vint monseigne[u]r de Rauestain housse de velours cramoyssi charge dorfaiurerie dor et dargent

Le second de ce Jour fut monseigneur de Roussy, lequel se fait amener sur le champ en vng tresgrand Chasteaul de quatre tours et vne grosse au milieu, et estoit

¹¹⁶ Circular mark after this word.

ledict chasteau quarre a maconnerie de Pierre noire bien faict et garny de tout ce quil appartient a veue de chasteaul. La dedans vint Jusques sur le champ deuant les dames ou Il saillit dehors arme et monte. Si estoit a son deuant le Nain dangleterre vestu dune robe de velours noir a vng ploy blanc et quatre Cheualiers qui le serurent – [Fol. 112^r] Cest assauoir monsieur de fiennes mess[ir]e Jehan de Luxembourg monsieur le Marquis de ferrare et messire Antoine de hallewin vestuz de pourpains de satin cramoyssi et hoctons de samis noir et auoit ledict Seigneur de Roussy sept cheualx couuertz Le sien estoit housse de damas blanc traille de filz dor seme de A E partout en brodure Et auoit sur son heaulme vng volet Puis auoit quatre paiges et vng varlet a pied menant vng destrier vestu led[it] varlet de velours noir borde de velours cramoyssi charge de campanes dargent Le secont¹¹⁷ charge a force dorfauierie blanche le iij^e de satin cramoyssi a vne grosse branche ou estoit la brodure dor haultement esleuee iectant ses feuillaiges tout autant la housure Laultre estoit aussi de brodure dor entierement toute faite de gauffure quarreee comme maconnerie entresemee de larges larmes dargent et de fenestrelles a deux testes vne <dh> de dame et laultre dhomme et desoure A E tousiours brodure bourdee ladicte housure dune gallerie de brodure faicte a groz piliers en chascun parquet vng groz pot de violieres ou lectres et tout de brodure dor dargent et de soye entresemee aussi de larmes Laultre encoire estoit de brodure dor haultement esleuee de grandes feuilles entresemees de lectres et [Fol. 112^v] de larmes dargent de brodure, ayant sur la croupe et en la crine vne grosse fleur dor faicte a lesguille bordee de satin cramoyssi entresemee comme dessus et frangee de noir. Le destrier en main housse dor cramoyssi, et debues scauoir que lesd[it]z paiges et palefreniers auoyent vestuz mantelines de pareille estoffe chascun a sa housure, pourpains de satin noir et barrettes de velours noir decoupees dessus de drap noir et blanc.

Alencontre de mondict Seigneur de Roussy Jousta pour monseigneur le bastard Charles de visaen housse de soye blanche semee darbres dor.

Le tiers pour ce Jour fut Jehan de Rochesay dict Rousquin premier escuyer descuyererie a monseigneur le duc, et fut seruy de monsieur daussy, messire philippe de Creuecueur, Andrie de humiveis et Simon frere audict Rosquin vestuz docquetons de velours verd semez dorfayuerie blanche, lescu dudict Rosquin et la housure pareille et nauoit aucuns paiges –

¹¹⁷ *Sic.*

Ledict Charles de visaen Jousta encoires [**Fol. 113'**] pour mondict Seigneur le bastard contre ledict Rosquin housse dermines a bordure de martres. Ainsy la Jouste finie pour ce Jour, lon sen retourna soupper a Court. Et ny heut ce vendredy ny le sambedy suyuant point de bancquet –

Ledict sambedi reuint monsieur le duc sur les rens, les dames aussy et lesd[itz] Juges. Puys vindrent ou champ deux Cheualiers ensemble, dont lung estoit nomme messire Jehan delingue Seigneur de Roly, et laultre messire Jaicques de harchiers. Ces deux sont compaignons. Si se habbilarent dune mesme soite. Cest ascauoir quilz auoyent six Seruiteurs po[u]r la Jouste vestuz de hocquetons le dessus de velours violet, et le dessoub de velours noir a vne chiffre dor deuant et derriere leurs houssures de velours violet borde de velours noir et chargez de campanes dargent, et estoyent leurs escuz noirs a la chiffre deuandicte –

Phelippe de poytiers Jousta pour mondict Seigneur le bastard contre ledict Messire Jehan de lingue, lequel auoit harnaz de cheual dorfaiuerie dargent – Et contre messire Jaicques de harchiers [**Fol. 113^v**] le mesmes de poitiers housse de Samis changeant a grosses feuilles dargent pendantes, et au col du cheual vng coliers de campanes dorees.

Après ces deux vint au champ messire philippe de Creuecueur ayant douze compaignons a pied deuant luy vestuz de palletotz de taffetas blanc et verd. Et pour Seruiteurs auoit monseigneur daussy, monsieur de la Roche, Guillaume Bornel, et le susdict Rosquin pourtans pourpains de damas tanne et hoquetons de drap dor cramoyssi ayant trois paiges vestuz de pourpains de satin cramoyssi mantelines de damas blanc semees de larmes dorfaiuerie doree a vn colier dorfayuerie doree en facon de gorgerin barrettes de velours verd, et plumes verdes et blanches, lung housse de drap dor verd, laultre de drap dor griz, le tiers de drap dor bleu, et luy de drap dor cramoyssi, et son escu de drap dor verd.

Item contre ledict messire philippe de Creuecueur Jousta ledict poytiers housse de velours bleu, et charge de campanes dorees et blanches

Le quatesme Jousteur de cedit sambedy fut [**Fol. 114'**] Messire Jehan¹¹⁸ de Wideuille frere de mondict seigneur de Scalles, lequel y fut admene avec toute solemnite, tant des nostres comme des Anglois Et le seruirent ledict monsieur de Scalles son frere, Monsieur Jaicques de Luxembourg, monsieur de Roussy et sept Anglois vestuz de satin figure par moytie ressemblant drap dor, et laultre moytie a drap

¹¹⁸ *Sic.*

dargent Si estoit ledict Seigneur de Wideuille housse de drap dor blanc borde de drap dor Cramoysi moytie bleu, le deuxieseme de drap dor noir, le tiers de drap dor cramoyssi, le quart de drap dor bleu borde drap dor cramoyssi. Item on luy¹¹⁹ menoit en main vng destrier couuer¹²⁰ de tresriche drap dor la selle garnie de drap dor bleu a chanfrain de brodure dor fin. Celluy qui le menoit vestu dune longue robe de velours noir et son cheual housse de velours violet seme de campanes dorees et blanches –

En tel estat fut ledict messire Jehan de Wideuille receu a la Jouste du susdict philippe de poytiers housse de martres et bordees dermines.

Le cinquiesme ce mesme Jour fut monsieur de ternant seruy de monsieur darguel [**Fol. 114^v**] messire mile de bourbon, messire Jehan de bourbon Cheualier de Rhodes et philippe Copin pourtans paletotz de satin violet Ledict seigneur housse de drap dor cramoyssi charge de campanes dargent et dessoub la houssure vng harnaz de cheual pareil qui demeura au Jousteur quant on hosta la houssure

Contre icelluy seigneur de Ternant Jousta ledict poytiers ayant vng harnaz de cheual dorfaierie dargent a rennes pendantes. Ainsy fina la Journee Car il estoit bien tard, quant les seigneurs et dames reuindrent a Court et bien largement heure de soupper

Le dimenche apres disner a lheure accostumee, les Seigneurs et dames venuz, vint soy presenter a la Jouste Pierre de bourbon Seigneur de carensy lequel seruirent philippe de bourbon son frere, Messire Antoine et messire Josse de Lalaing, et Mile de bourbon vestuz de paletotz de satin cramoyssi a grandes baiones de beste deuant et derriere en brodure dor, bonnetz blancz en teste. Son escu de velours cramoyssi a vne baione et vng .O. dor, et estoit housse de velours cramoyssi borde de drap dor noir [**Fol. 115^r**] Si auoit trois paiges habillez de pourpains de satin noir, mantelines de satin figure bleu, et bonnetz blancz houssez assavoir lung de drap dor noir, et laultre de velours bleu charge de tresgrosses campanes dargent aussy grosses comme testes denfans et grandes baiones dargent. Et le tiers estoit housse de drap dor bleu –

Ainsy fut led[it] s[eigneu]r pierre de bourbon receu par ledict philippe de poytiers qui estoit housse de drap dor bleu a vng <saultour> saultoir et bordures de velours violet –

Le second de ce Jour fut monseigneur de Contay, ses Seruiteurs habillez de velours noir en hocquetons, et luy estoit housse de drap dor noir, ayant deux paiges

¹¹⁹ Ink smudged on *u*.

¹²⁰ *Sic*.

houssez, assavoir lung de drap dor noir, et laultre de velours cramoisy Lesdictz paiges vestuz de velours noir. Et de la premiere course que ledict monsieur de Contay corrut contre le susdict philippes¹²¹ de poytiers, Il le desarma et fut blece au corps telleme[n]t quil luy conuint cesser la Jouste. Et par ainsy demeura au champ mondict Seigneur de Contay, Jusques ad ce [**Fol. 115^v**] que bien tost apres entra audict champ Monseigneur le Marquis de ferrare –

Mondict Seigneur le Marquis de ferrare a sa venue estoit bien gentement en point Il fut seruy de monseigneur de Roussy de monsieur Jaiques de Luxembourg monsieur de fiennes et de messire Jehan de Luxembourg vestuz de palletotz de satin bleu ayant A E M en brodure dor capronceulx rebracez de velours noir decopes de drap dor violet ayans Douze cheuaultx parmy le sien quil cheuauchoit Les <sis> six houssez et les aultres harnachez Ceulx qui les cheuauchoyent vestuz de robes toutes chargees dorfauierie blanche a manches de velours noir capronceaulx telz comme dessus et pourpains de velours Les six harnaz de cheuaultx tous de brodures et les houssures La sienne de satin bleu semee de seruiettes dor et de brodure de miroirs et fleurs pareilles entrefournie dorfauierie blanche bordee de grans chaffres¹²² dor et brodure pareille treslarge et haulte Lung de ses paiges housse de velours violet chargee de roses dorees boutans hors gros aneaux dargent a trois neux dorez [**Fol. 116^r**] Laultre de velours noir semee de grosses pommes dargent, aquoy on Jecte feu eo¹²³ bateaulx en la mer, de nuees et campans dargent, Le tiers de satin figure gris charge de rechauffoirs dargent a de nue dourure Jectans flamme en hault, et semez en la bordure de chardons dor, La quarte de dammas Jaune semee de Lunes Jectans raiz et larmes dargent, la quinte de velours verd semee de chardons dorez de campanes de¹²⁴ et de feuilles de chardons dargent. En tel estat Jousta mondict Seigneur le Marquis de ferrare contre ledict monsieur de Contay lequel ne changea point sa houssure –

Après la retraicte de mondict Seigne[u]r le Marquis, lon fist armer mons[eigneu]r Claude de vauldrey pour Jouster pour larbre dor contre ledict monsieur de Contay, et vint ou champ ledict messire Claude housse.

Ledict Jour du dimenche apres ladicte Jouste finée, Il se feist vng bancquet [**Fol. 116^v**] a la Court, ou les Seigneurs et dames furent seruiz tresplantureusement,

¹²¹ *Sic.*

¹²² *Sic.*

¹²³ *Recte 'et'.*

¹²⁴ *Sic.*

seulement en vasselle sans personnaiges, et y fut seruy tant de cuysine, Comme de fruyterie, et despicerie de vingtquatre metz, Et pendant icelluy banquet se parioua l'histoire d'hercules qui ia auoit estee commencee par auant – Le lundy onziesme Jour nul ne Jousta que monseigneur le duc, lequel comme auoyent faict les aultres Cheualiers vint au champ en tresgrand estat. Car avec loffice darmes quil auoit deuant luy, et de toutes sortes de menestrelz trompettes, et clairons, dix Cheualiers de son hostel estoyent vestus richement de Journades toutes chargees dorfaierie dor sur champ violet, et dix paiges habillez de mantelines pareilles a barrettes de velours bleu, et plumes blanches, Lequel mondict Seig[neu]r le duc estoit housse d'une housure de menue orfaierie dor en brodure borde de deniers dor assiz en <bl> branlant. Vne aultre de velours cramoyssi a grandz fusilz dor en brodure, et le feu par tout seme largement, Item vng de velours bleu faict dorfaierie dor [Fol. 117'] en facon de drap dor. Item vng aultre de drap dor noir, laultre de drap dor cramoyssi, laultre en brodure de petitz fusilz. Et le destrier en main de velours cramoyssi plain de deniers dor branlans Les aultres cheualx tous houssez dorfaierie en plusieurs facons, et le pallefrenier quil le menoit a main habille comme estoyent les paiges, et chascun cheual avec chanfrain de brodure de mesme sorte questoit la housure avec plumars de la mesme couleur –

Ainsy mondict Seigneur le duc estant venu sur le champ, vint alencontre de luy, monseigneur Adolf de Cleues Seigneur de Rauestein faisant porter sur luy vng riche pauillon pale de damas blanc et violet, duquel il vuyda pres de la toille prest pour courrir Si auoit ledict Seigneur Adolf sept paiges, et aultres tant Cheualiers comme escuyers en nombre Jusques a vingt Cheualx pourtans les mesmes housures ensemble, qui lune apres laultre auoye[n]t seruiés a la Joste precedente Et en tel estat saillant led[it] Seigneur du pauillon Josta contre monseigneur le duc. [Fol. 117'] Si debuez entendre que cedit Jour dois deux heures apres midy se feist appourter audict champ mondict Seigneur le bastard de bourgongne qui auoit comme dict est dessus le genoul hors du lieu en vne riche lictiere peinte comme drap d'argent et couuerte de drap dor lequel seigneur bastard estoit vestu d'une riche robe dorfaierie dor Quant mondict seigneur le duc et monsieur de Rauestain eurent Joste leurs temps Le Nain corna et lors Ilz Joustarent pour les dames et puis se retrairent Et Incontinent ce faict et accomply vint hors de la porte de l'arbre dor vng destier bay charge de deux panniers de cuyr plain du harnaz et lescu dessus sur quoy et en quoy Josta mondict Seigneur le bastard contre monseig[neu]r darguel Ledict destrier estoit

housse de velours noir et lesdictz panniens couuertz dung velours violet Lequel destrier couuertz harnaz et escu les officiers darmes le Nain et le geant apres grand deliberation et plusieurs aultres manieres obseruees presentarent sur le¹²⁵ [Fol. 118^r] sur le Champ deuant les dames a mondict Seigneur darguel pour celluy qui auoit plus rompu de lances auxdictes Joustes –

Ladicte Joste faicte mondict Seigneur le duc sen alla desarmer et pendant que lon deffit la toille, et despecha on tout le Champ. Si se alla chascun arme pour le tournoy, mesmes mondict Seigneur le duc, et habillez chascun dex¹²⁶ vingtsix deuant nommez en la Joste de larbre dor de diuerses housseures de violet, aucunes de velours aultres de damas ou satin tous semez darbres dor, Car les Chappitres estoyent telz quapres auoir Joste ilz debuoyent accompagner le Cheualier entrepreneur oudict Tournoy –

Ainsy enuiron lheure de six heures et demye vingt et six nobles hommes de dehors, desquelx estoit Capitaine monsieur de Joigny lesquelx se renegerent sur le champ comme pour bataille, et furent presentees a chascun lances ressemblant a fers esmouluz, at auoyt vng chascun espee rabatue et sans [Fol. 118^v] pointe lesquelles ilz presenterent aux Juges pour dechasser toute vilennie, et puis les reprindrent. Et tantost apres vindrent les vingtsix de larbre dor Windant hors de la porte dont Windoit hors le Champion, et se renegerent pareillement que les aultres enuoyerent leurs espees et prendrent leurs lances, Ainsy regardoyent lung laultre. Et monseigneur le bastard les regardoit aussy en sadicte lictiere –

Et en tant qui touche de la venue de mondict Seigneur le duc sur les rens pour ce tournois, Il estoit de sa personne habille comme les aultres, Mais apres luy il y auoit dix paiges, et vng destrier quon menoit en main, lesquelx paiges varlet de pied et palefrenier estoyent vestuz de robes de velours Cramoyssi, le dessoub brale de fin or. Et lesdictz paiges a cheual pourtant chascun coulrier de grosses roses de fin or au martel pendans au derriere Jusques sur le cheual a deux fillandres de feuilles de chesne dor, leurdictz cheualx ensemble ledict destrier que lon menoit a main estoit housse de velours cramoyssi seme chascun de cent Campanes de fin or lesquelles menoyent vng merueilleux bruiet – [Fol. 119^r]

Lesdictz Cinquante deux nobles hommes ainsy assemblez lung deuant laultre la trompette de guerre sonna et lors ilz se ferirent lung en laultre des lances

¹²⁵ Last two words catchwords.

¹²⁶ Recte 'des'.

tresuictorieusement Puis ferirent des espees lung sur laultre chascun a son pouuoir vne bonne espace a tous coustez du camp¹²⁷ et iusques atant que le Nain corna Et les dames faisoient signe dung volet Apres quoy a grande peine on les feist abstenir et retraire chascun a son renc Lors osta mondict seigneur le duc son habillement de teste et vint dun renc a laultre si en feist plusieurs par couples venir lung contre laultre corps a corps qui se battoient desdictes espees vaillamment tant que le plaisir de mondict Seigneur le duc fut de les faire retraire Et lors Iceulx deux a deux rentrerent en la porte de larbre dor et passerent deuant les dames en ce point et remenerent mondict Seigneur le duc a Court et mondict Seigneur le bastard en sa lictiere puis sen alla chascun desarmer en son logis pour retourner au bancquet et aux dances Et en tant quil touche desdictes Joustes et tournoy la chose en la maniere que dict est fut moult et bien honnorablement [**Fol. 119^v**] conduyte en toute douceur et en plusgrande richesse quil ne mest possible descripre que Je ne fusse trop long et prolix Car Il ne fut oncques Jour que sur les reings ausdictes Joustes tournoy et aux bancquetz plusieurs ne fussent habillez de riches vestemens dorfayuerie de brodure de pierrerie de riches drapz de houssures de harnaz de cheuaulx vng Jour lung aultre Jour laultre Et pareillement aux bancquetz et aux dances Mesmes mondict Seigneur le duc et monseigneur le Bastard et leurs paiges chascun Jour nouveau et en ensuyuant les aultres princes et Seigneurs pensez qun chascun se monstroit autant quil pouuoit dont Je me passe den faire declaration excepte du fait des armes et ce que y seruoit Le Jour dessusdict apres le tournoy lon auoit prepare en Court vng bancquet lequel fut bien gracieux et fort Joyeux Premierement lon auoit dresse vng riche dresseoir garny de bien riche vasselle Et sur les trois tables de ladict grande Salle et dont Jay cy dessus faicte mention il y auoit assis trente Arbres de Cire pourtans de touctes manieres de fruitz et a lentour de la racine desdictz arbres la¹²⁸ [**Fol. 120^r**] viande estoit mise dont il y auoit vingt metz de cuisine Et pour les entremetz <y> il y auoit personaiges dhombres et de femmes entresemez qui pourtoient lung en vne houcte laultre en vng chappeaul laultre en son giron fruyteries et espiceries de diuerses sortes et lesdictz personaiges panniers de fin or et de fin argent et azur tresrichement faitz Et deuant mondict Seigneur le duc a sa table y auoit vne tour sur laquelle estoit vng homme tenant vng dard et de laidicte¹²⁹ tour

¹²⁷ *Sic.*

¹²⁸ Word repeated on following fol.

¹²⁹ *Sic.*

comme dune fontaine souroit eau rose tresabondamment Et dedans lung des chandeliers pendante miroir dont iay amplement parle au premier bancquet il y auoit vng dragon et la roche qui iectoit feu et de ladicte Roche respandoit eau <rose> et feuilles de roses sur les gens

Item deuant ladicte table vint vne tresgrande balainne gardee de deux geans Laquelle baleinne auoit dedans son ventre deux Seraines et douze ou quatorze hommes habillez bien estrangement Lesquelx hommes et serainnes Windarent hors de ladicte balaine pour dancer chanter et esbatre et desdictz hommes y en auoit qui se combatoyent et les aultres dancoyent [Fol. 120^v] En la fin dudict bancquet se commença la dance par les dames <et> par <lisq> lesquelles, le pris de ladicte dance <fut> et du tournoy fut donne a messire Jehan de Wideuille frere a monseigneur de scalles.

Et apres furent quatre Cheualiers aduenteux qui feirent crier vne Jouste pour le lendemain, puis sen alla on coucher enuiron a trois heures –

Le lendemain apres messe dicte mondict Seigneur le duc fist en ladicte grande Salle vne tresriche disne, Auquel seoit avec luy le legat de nostre Saint pere le pape et les prelatz, princes et seigneurs aux aultres tables apres – Lequel disne fut plantureusement, et treshonorablement seruy, et lequel disne dura bien longuement.

Mondict Seigneur le duc donna aux officiers darmes trompettes et menestrelz six cents frans en monnoye, Et lors ilz commencearent acrier largesse largesse a puissance. Et si donna mondict Seigneur a Cestre <he> herault Anglois vne longue robe dung riche drap¹³⁰ dor verd fourree dermines. [Fol. 121^r]

A lapres disner on alla a la Jouste laquelle tindrent monseigneur darguel, et Monseigneur Jaicques de luxembourg, Monseigneur de Renty, et monseigneur de Lens, Mais il ny vint guerre de Jousteurs que monsieur de Roussy et le forestier de bruges nomme monseigneur duncquerque, Ainsy Je me retrays et cessay describe Car au lendemain ainsy comme lon disoit se debuoit la feste rompre et mondict Seigneur partir de Bruges –

Fin des nopces de mondict Siegneur le duc de bourgongne, et des Joustes et tournoiz y faitz –

[Fols 121^v - 126^v blank]

¹³⁰ Word repeated.

**The Medieval Tournament:
Chivalry, Heraldry and Reality
An Edition and Analysis of Three
Fifteenth-Century Tournament
Manuscripts**

Volume II

Ralph Dominic Moffat

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[Fol. 1^r]

[Top right corner nineteenth / twentieth-century cursive hand in pencil]

228 / Paper

[Watermark (inverted)]

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Jousts of the Great Bastard of Burgundy in the town of Bruges in the year 1468 described precisely by Jean Lord of Haynin.

[Nineteenth- / twentieth-century cursive hand in pencil at an angle]

This is the Writing of J[oh]n Anstis Garter King of Arms¹

[Fol. 2^v blank]

[Fols 3, 4 and 5 blank]

[Fol. 5 watermark (inverted)]

[MS 1]

[Fol. 6^r]

Philippe de² Bouton's Challenge

In honour and in reverence of my creator Jesus Christ, of the most glorious Virgin Mary His Mother, my lady Saint Anne, and my lord Saint George, in order to maintain and ensure the most noble skill of arms in this time of inactivity and for all good and honourable works that I am able to exercise, I Philippe Bouton native of the land of Burgundy first squire of the most high and revered lord the Count of Charolais³ (without being constrained) by my clear desire have today the first day of May – by the good leave and licence of my most revered sovereign lord the Duke of Burgundy and of my lord and master forenamed – charged and chosen the emprise of a pansy flower attached to my right arm which I shall openly wear until (with God's aid) I shall defend it in the most renowned realm of England in the company of the most honoured lord the Bastard of Burgundy Count of la Roche.⁴ And then I shall unveil my pansy by the good leave and licence of the most high and excellent and victorious prince the King of England who (by his grace) has given me leave. I have charged and chosen this emprise with the intention that, under its cover, I might do, fulfil, and accomplish certain feats of arms according to the contents of my *chapitres* explained hereafter and the intention and conduct of this follows:

The first *chapitre* is such that I have charged and chosen this pansy as an emprise with the intention that only a nobleman of the condition suitable to exercise these noble works who is English or of their allegiance will wish to touch [the emprise] and fulfil and accomplish the contents of my *chapitres*.

¹ John Anstis (1669-1744), herald and antiquary, Garter from 1714.

² Throughout the remainder of the text he is simply referred to as Philippe Bouton.

³ This was the title held by Charles the Bold (1433-77) during the lifetime of his father Duke Philip the Good of Burgundy (1397-1467).

⁴ These are two of the titles of Duke Philip's eldest natural son Antoine (1421-1504). He is referred throughout as the Bastard of Burgundy.

The Second *chapitre*. Whichever nobleman shall touch my emprise shall be obliged to fulfil and accomplish the contents of my *chapters* within six days of the accomplishment of the feats of arms of my lord the Bastard.

The third *chapitre* is that we shall appear at the place, hour, and day that shall be granted us by the conditions aforesaid by the King or his delegate; each of us mounted and armed as is suitable for [Fol. 6^v] noblemen in such a case, bearing arms or helms according to our choice and pleasure in war saddles and without attachment of the man to the saddle. And we shall run every day at the tilt fifteen lance courses with sharpened lanceheads.

The fourth *chapitre*. By express charge I alone am held and obliged to supply the lances equipped only with lanceheads and shafts of which my companion shall have the choice. Two of these lances shall be sent to my companion. He shall choose one of them and I shall run [the courses] with the other. And we shall run with these lances until one or both shall be in need of renewal; that is by the lances being broken or having the lancehead split – [both] at the discretion of our judge. And if the rests of the lances are broken or un-nailed they may be renewed to the appropriate degree and without malengin;⁵ and at each renewal my companion shall then have the choice of the lances as aforesaid and he can equip the lance with vamplates as well as contra-rondels⁶ of his choice and pleasure.

The fifth *chapitre*. We may not have rests of advantage, nor rests, or anything of malengin whatsoever which is not licit and reasonable to bear and have between noblemen under pain of being punished at the King's (or his delegate's) total pleasure.

The sixth *chapitre*. And if it should happen (which God forefend) that in fulfilling these feats of arms one of us is thrown to the ground out of his saddle by a clear attaint of the lance (without his horse falling to the ground) then the feats of arms shall be deemed accomplished.

The seventh *chapitre*. And if it should happen (which God forefend) that one of us in doing the feats of arms is injured to the extent that he is unable to fulfil his emprise, in this case the feats of arms shall be deemed accomplished.

The eighth and last *chapitre*. Once our feats of arms have been accomplished, immediately and in the ring, the one who shall have broken the most lances shall have

⁵ 'Evil machination, ill intent; fraud, deceit, guile', *OED*.

⁶ For these pieces of equipment and those in the following *chapitre* see the discussion of this item.

of his companion an honest ring to present to his lady. I pray that all the noblemen of the most renowned realm of England take and understand this my emprise to be without presumption or outrecuidance⁷ for (by the faith which I give to the things of the world that I most believe in and love) I do not give it save in good and free intention [Fol. 7^r] and for the aforesaid reasons. Principally, I do this in the hope of winning and conquering the grace of her for the love of whom I bear my emprise and to acquire the perpetual fraternal acquaintance of the nobleman who shall give me this honour and pleasure as to fulfil my emprise. And I shall forever be servant and brother to whoever shall discharge me of my charge. And, as a sign of truth and that I desire to fulfil and accomplish the feats of arms in the manner aforesaid (if God keeps me from encumbrance) as a signature, I thus sign these present *chapitres* with my hand and seal them with the seal of my coat of arms on the first day of the month of May in the year one thousand four hundred and sixty-seven.

The Beginning of the Declaration of the *Pas d'armes* of the Golden Tree

In honour of God Almighty (and under his grace and bounty) I, a poor knight called Golden Tree, have travelled through various distant regions. After much strife and dangerous adventures had passed, one adventure in particular in these last days not long passed has not failed to have been a cause of particular regard and of great rendition of praise to God in recognition of it, and concerning which, without further superfluous repetition of the things said above, the most high and noble princess the Lady of the Secret Isle (my mistress and my lady) has, by these present missive letters, informed and advised in my favour the most excellent and puissant prince the Duke of Burgundy my revered lord here present. And these letters are set down word-for-word right here at the start of my present *chapitres* to declare sufficiently all the causes and circumstances which can motivate and have motivated me to have arrived right here in this glorious house of Burgundy and to have prayed and asked for the grace and license to have the amiable acquaintance of the house of Burgundy's noble chivalry under gracious communication and assay of arms in single combat. The order given me by my emprise, which may be beyond my valour and abilities, may be unwise but is well worthy. Let it be known to all high and noble princes, barons, knights, and squires of this most noble and famous house of Burgundy, today (in all

⁷ 'Excessive self-esteem; overweening self-confidence; arrogance, presumption; conceit', *OED*.

humility) all that follows is done according to certain requests made of me by the most high and noble lady the Lady of the Secret Isle by the ceremony of a precious [Fol. 7^v] rich Golden Tree⁸ that has been placed in my hand by her. On certain conditions, however, and in very difficult circumstances for me, I shall have this Golden Tree (under the grace and humble consent of the most excellent prince my lord the Duke of Burgundy) planted and guarded in the middle of his town of Bruges in the marketplace so that the ceremonies having been done and kept according to the ordinance imposed on me that are carried and contained in this. And, as distinctively by my *chapitres* hereafter and very plainly shall be boldly declared, so as to be general public information of which everyone can be satisfied. The nature of this rich Golden Tree thus planted and curiously guarded carries the effect of arms and of the knight's skill by my emprise not by presumption but in order for me to maintain and to augment and increase my honour through my poor emprise.

I beg in all humility all noble and high princes, barons, knights, and squires of this glorious house that it please them, after hearing the contents of my *chapitres*, to show favour and acquiesce to my humble prayers. They might be generously prepared to give themselves over with good courage to my deliverance and to the secret of my emprise which, as a model and everywhere, is motivated by true noble love and honour for nobility because as I am informed of the profoundest honour and virtues which these represent with marvellous clarity so much so that I also crave and dare to hope for my imminent release from my burden by your noble hands (which God preserve).

Here follows the form of the *Pas d'armes* of the Golden Tree

The Knight of the Golden Tree makes known to all princes, barons, knights, and squires and generally to all those to whom this noble *pardon d'armes* appertains that, in order to accomplish the desire and will of his beautiful lady as far as it lies in his power he has undertaken (under sufficient leave) to do and hold a *pas d'armes* with both joust and tourney. And this *pas d'armes* shall begin with the joust and be completed by a combat with rebated swords without points by the *chapitres* and under the conditions here underwritten. And in the hope of breaking one hundred and one lances or one hundred and one lances be broken in this emprise. By this I mean that

⁸ In another account (BM Valenciennes MS 776, fol. 11^r) it is described as 'a very fair pine completely gilded with gold except the leaves [needles?]' ('vng moult beau pin tout dore dor excepte les foelles').

he [either] break one hundred and one lances or that one hundred and one lances shall be broken on him. The said defending knight on this side intends to deliver himself to run [the lance courses] for eight days in a row beginning on Sunday the third day of this present month of July in the year [fourteen hundred and] sixty-eight. And because this Knight of the Golden Tree asks and desires with all [Fol. 8^r] his power to have the acquaintance, love, and familiarity of the princes, knights, and noblemen of this triumphant and renowned house and, in order to prove the chivalry and prowess of several, he has, to this end, comprised and compiled his said *pas d'armes* and emprise in such manner that he shall run every day for half an hour of the sandglass against four noblemen; without counting in each half hour the complications, delays, or other time lost as it shall be more plainly declared hereafter.

Here follow the *chapitres*

The first *chapitre* is that the lists shall be found ready as is appropriate; and a rich Golden Tree shall be planted in the middle. There shall be a giant chained to this tree and, nearby on a pillar, a dwarf shall be sitting. He shall have a horn round his neck and a sandglass before him with sand that runs for half an hour. And when the first lance is couched this sandglass will be started. The giant and dwarf shall guard the entrance to the Knight of the Golden Tree's list; he shall be in a pavilion.

The second *chapitre* is such that whichever knight or squire who wishes to come to this *pas d'armes* will be obliged to be at the entrance to the lists at such hour that Golden Tree shall say and signify, mounted and armed as is appropriate in such a case accompanied by six men on horseback and four on foot and no more, except pages on horseback if he have any, who shall enter as long as the joust has begun. There shall be an officer of arms [processing] before the knight or squire who shall carry a shield blazoned with this knight or squire's coat of arms to hang on the Golden Tree.

The third [*chapitre*] is that none shall be able to lead more men within the lists than is said except for princes who may lead as many as they see fit.

The fourth is that, at the entrance to the lists, the said comer to the *pas* shall strike three times with a great wooden hammer which shall hang from the barrier. Then Golden Tree knight shall come out of his pavilion and demand: "Who is it?" And then, having heard the answer, he shall return to the dwarf who will unchain the giant who will go to open the barrier and lead the knight into the lists to present him to the ladies.

The fifth is that when the knight has made a tour of the tilt he shall return to his end. And then the Golden Tree knight shall send two fully equipped lances of which the knight shall take his choice. And then, when he is ready, the dwarf shall blow his horn. And, after this, [Fol. 8^v] the Knight of the Golden Tree shall then come to the other end through a gate where he shall be given his lance. They shall be obliged to run with these lances until they are broken in which case they shall be given others and run thus for half of the half hour.

The sixth is that, as soon as these knights begin to run, the dwarf shall attend to them in case one of them is disarmed, in which case the knights shall be held back from running from that time; and it shall be done in this manner.

The seventh is that should it happen (which God forefend) that one of the knights be injured or disarmed to the extent that he is unable to run any more for that day, if it be the case that this happens to the Knight of the Golden Tree he may place another in his stead as he sees fit in order to fulfil his *pas*. But, if it be the case that it should happen to the challenging knight of the *pas*, he shall be deemed accomplished of his person without doing anything more.

The eighth is that he who breaks the most lances on his companion during the half hour in the manner hereafter declared shall win a golden sceptre; that is to say he who has had the lances broken upon him shall be obliged to present his adversary with the sceptre before leaving the lists as both shall see fit.

The ninth is that should it happen (which God forefend) that one of the two should be borne to the ground by an attaint of the lance (either with the horse also being borne down or without) he who will have thus struck shall win a ruby set in a golden sceptre which shall be similarly presented to him in the ring.

The tenth is that no lance shall be considered broken if it be broken on the saddle, nor by an attaint below the saddle but it must be broken at a point between the coronal and the graper at least.

The eleventh is that the Knight of the Golden Tree shall deliver all the lances equipped with coronals, grapers, and vamplates with which this *pas* shall be run and none shall run with any other [lances]. And the challenging knight shall have the choice of these lances each time.

The twelfth is that when the half hour shall have passed and the dwarf's sandglass has run, then he shall sound his horn and two *plançons*⁹ shall be carried in by Golden Tree [Herald]. The knight from without shall have the choice of these two *plançons*. They shall be obliged to run one course, no more, for the love of the Lady of the Secret Isle to one attaint and no more.

The thirteenth is that there shall be two or three noblemen appointed by my lord [the Duke] on a stand in the middle of the ring with four officers of arms who shall judge the lance breaks and judge who shall have broken the most lances and [Fol. 9^r] broken them the best. And also judge all other debates which might arise during this *pas* in order to justly know and give the prize without favour to whomsoever shall have won best; and they shall confirm this by their oath.

The fourteenth is that he who has broken the most lances on the Knight of the Golden Tree during the *pas* in his half hour in the manner here above declared shall be presented the prize of the trappered¹⁰ destrier on which, together with the harness in which, the Knight of the Golden Tree has run for that day. This trappered destrier and harness shall be presented to him in the ring before the ladies.¹¹

The fifteenth and final *chapitre*. Because the Knight of the Golden Tree is a foreigner and meagrely accompanied by men and counsel, he asks, in the name of the Lady of the Secret Isle his mistress in all humility, all the knights, princes, and noblemen who shall have run at this *pas* (if it please them) to do him such honour and courtesy, that they who shall have run against him will accompany him the following day; that is to say four by four, just as they shall have been at the *pas*; once more he asks most humbly that he might be thus accorded this thing etc. Provided always that none may change horse under pain of losing the prize.

Here follow the *chapters* of the tourney

The first *chapitre* is this: all noblemen who shall have run against the defending knight shall be held personally to join him and associate with this knight in order to fulfil the tourney with him and undertake the feats of the sword bouts against all those who

⁹ Probably a type of lance. See the discussion of this item.

¹⁰ A decorative fabric horse cover. See gloss.

¹¹ Another account (BM Valenciennes MS 776 , fol. 39^r) describes:

Lequel pris estoit vng dextrier couuert dune couerture de satin figure noir [...] Et dessus le dextrier auoit deux penniers Esquelz estoit le harnois de Jouste de mo[n]dit s[eigneu]r le bastart tout co[m]plet Et a la verite le harnas estoit vng des beaux harnois de Jouste que on peult veoir.

wish to come. And they shall all wear, like the knight, the decorations and insignia of the Golden Tree in remembrance of the Lady of the Secret Isle.

The second *chapitre*. All who wish to tourney at this noble *pas* shall be obliged to present themselves to the most high and victorious prince the Duke of Burgundy etc. at the day and hour which he shall have appointed for them.

The third is that they shall be obliged to present their shields all at the same time at the hour that shall be signified; in order that they may be placed [Fol. 9^v] on the Golden Tree thus and in the same manner as those [shields] of the joust.

The fourth is that none may carry swords unless they are without points and rebated such as reasonably appertains to a noble and free tourney. These [swords] shall be presented to the judges by the officers of arms for them to inspect. And, after this, the dwarf shall carry in several lances. The chief of the challengers from without and his companions may each choose one of these and the dwarf shall carry the others to the defending knight and his companions.

The fifth: When both sides have been equipped with lances and swords, the dwarf shall return to the foot of the Golden Tree and blow his horn. Then each shall immediately begin to run one course of the lance only – and all at the same time. And then taking the swords from the dwarf and striking with all their arms' strength as much and as long as, by the judgement of the ladies, the prowess promised to the Lady of the Secret Isle by the Knight of the Golden Tree might have been accomplished. And that it is at the ladies' pleasure to end the *mêlée*.

The sixth: As soon as the fight has ceased, the defending knight shall ask the ladies and judges who are at this festivity who, of either side, has used his sword best on this occasion. And Golden Tree Knight shall present the winner with his trappered horse and his harness as the prize of this tourney before leaving the ring.

The seventh: In order that all things shall be best done and understood during this noble emprise both in the joust and in the tourney, my revered sovereign lord shall appoint noblemen well known to him who shall have power over everything as though they were my lord himself.

The eighth and final *chapitre*. After the prize of the tourney has been granted by the defending knight, at such time he shall send Golden Tree Herald, the combatant knight, the great prisoner, and his soldiers.¹² And he shall send his Golden

¹² Regrettably, the other MS copy (BM Valenciennes MS 776, fols 10^v-11^r) only contains four *chapters* for the tourney and thus sheds no light on this.

Tree by them to the Lady of the Secret Isle enriched with the aforementioned noble blazons. And thus and in this manner the adventure of the Golden Tree shall be achieved. And the defending knight, accompanied by all those who have jousted and tourneyed with him, shall accompany the ladies to their *hôtel*. And then they shall retire to put an end to this emprise. [Fol. 10']

The Knight of the Golden Tree, this party's defender, in this case prays and asks in all humility to you most excellent and victorious prince and revered lord the Duke of Burgundy that for accomplishing this emprise you deign to accede to my humble request and that it should be your pleasure to give judgement in the matter. And be ready to grant favour and nobility for providing this. And if God gives such blessing to this supplicant that you, who so many times have found yourself in the exercise of arms, should personally condescend to work to accomplish the wish of the beautiful lady this knight would take it as the greatest blessing which could happen to him. He asks and begs all other princes, barons, knights, and generally all noblemen that it be their wish to work in this matter as if for themselves so that he should be released. He also asks most humbly of all princesses, ladies, and damsels to take pains to see the assay of the test of chivalry which will come against him and also that they might wish to lead and exhort their friends and servants to accomplish the request of this supplicant who shall beg the god of love to give you that which you most desire. Amen.

Here ends the *Pas d'armes* of the Golden Tree

The Statute of Arms Concerning Tourneys by the Parliament of England

It is provided and confirmed by statute by the request of all the bannerets of England from now on that no one who should come to tourney might be so bold as to have more than three squires to serve him wearing a cap of the coat of arms of their lord whom they shall serve for the day as a badge. And that no knight or squire who serves at the tourney shall bear sharpened sword, knife, baton, or mace, except a broadsword for tourneying. And that all the bannerets who shall bear arms be armed with mustilers, cuisses, and spaudlers, and with bascinet¹³ – nothing more. And if it should happen that any earl, or baron, or other knight contravene this statute then this

¹³ Defences for the lower leg, thighs, shoulders and head respectively. See R. Moffat, 'The Manner of Arming Knights for the Tourney: A Re-Interpretation of an Important Early-14th Century Arming Treatise', *Arms & Armour*, 7 (2010), 2-29.

knight, with the assent of all the baronage, shall lose horse and harness and be cast into prison at the pleasure of my lord Edward,¹⁴ brother of the King, the Earl of Gloucester, and the Earl of Lincoln. And if a squire should contravene this statute in any way he will lose horse and harness and will spend three [Fol. 10^v] years in the King's prison. And if anyone drags a knight to the ground, save for those who have been armed in the service of their lord, so that the knight might recover his horse then he shall be forfeited as the foresaid squires. And that none except the great lords – that is to say: earls or barons – shall be armed save for mustilers, cuisses, spaudlers, and with bascinet – nothing more. And let them bear neither sword, nor sharpened knife, nor mace except a broadsword. And if anyone contravenes this statute he shall lose the horse on which he is mounted and he shall spend a year in prison. And that those who come to watch the tourneying shall not be armed in any manner of armour nor bear sharpened knife, sword, baton, or mace under the forfeiture of the foresaid squires. And that no page or footman bear sword, knife, baton, or spear and that none shall be found about their person under the forfeiture or they shall spend a year in prison. And if a great lord or others hold a feast he shall not bring squires save those who carve for their lords. And that no king of arms or minstrel shall bear private arms or others save for their sword without a sharp point. And the kings of arms shall wear their coat armours – nothing more etc. John Paston.¹⁵

A Copy of the *Chapitres* of Certain Feats of Arms both on Foot and on Horseback done by Two Gentlemen of Germany Touching a Certain Emprise as follows:

In the name of God Almighty, His glorious Mother, and of my lord Saint George, I Guillaume de Boursset squire have undertaken to bear an emprise in order to do feats of arms on horseback and on foot as here follows:

Item, the first *chapitre* is that whoever shall touch my emprise is obliged to fulfil and accomplish these feats of arms both on horseback and on foot. And none may touch the emprise unless he be a gentleman without reproach.

Item, the second *chapitre* is that whosoever shall touch my emprise shall be obliged to fulfil and accomplish these feats of arms on horseback at the tilt until one of us two shall have broken four lances; that is to say, from a foot and a half before the rest to two or three inches behind the lancehead.

¹⁴ There is a copying error here. See the discussion of Item 3 in Chapter 3.

¹⁵ Sir John Paston (1442-1479).

Item, the third *chapitre*: When one of us shall have first broken four lances above the girdle in war harness and saddles on horseback as each pleases and with war lances with sharpened lanceheads this day's feats of arms [Fol. 11^r] shall be accomplished. And a lance measure shall be placed in the ring a day before these feats of arms shall be done. And, should it happen (which God forefend) that one of us injures the other's horse so that it results in its death or maddening, he shall be obliged to submit to the opinion of the judge and the knights and squires who shall be present.

Item, the fourth *chapitre* is that once the said feats of arms on horseback have been done, the said defender shall be obliged to fight me on foot on the day after armed with such harness as pleases us to take for the surety of our bodies; and to fight me until six sword strokes shall have been accomplished. I, as challenger, shall be obliged to deliver these said swords, all of a size, and grant the defender the choice.

Item, the fifth *chapitre*: After these sword strokes have been dealt and accomplished, we shall retire and take five paces back from each other and each take an axe. Having done this, we shall come back together until twelve strokes have been dealt and accomplished. And I shall likewise supply these axes of a size and give the choice to the defender.

Item, the sixth *chapitre*: Once the feats of arms have been done and accomplished both on horseback and on foot, if I the challenger have done better than the defender, this defender shall be obliged to give me a jewel which is as good as my said emprise which he will have touched. But, if the defender does better than I do, my emprise which he will have touched shall be his to do with as he pleases. This feat of arms which was written in these *chapters* has been done and accomplished according to the contents of the above said *chapters* in the place and in the presence of the judge named in them.

The Tourney between the Lord of Jonvelle and the Lord of Commines

Hear ye, hear ye, lords, knights, squires, ladies, and damsels: you should know that a very great and noble *pardon d'armes* of a great and noble tourney will be held in the most noble town of Bruges on the eighth day of May by a most noble baron the Lord of Jonvelle of the French allegiance and by the most noble baron the Lord of Commines of the Flemish allegiance. These tourneyers will be in their lodgings on the

second day before the tourney. And on the second day before this tourney the two barons will each nail their coats of arms and place their banners within the square before their entry. And each of those who wish to tourney will likewise hold their entry. And on the day at vespers the banners will be shown in the square and they will place their helms in their windows. Afterwards they shall go [Fol. 11^v] to revel, dance, and make merry. On the following day, by the order of the Lord of Robois and the Governor of Flanders – the judges of the said tourney – they will be in the square at the tenth hour. And he who will have best fought and will best fight from the French side shall have a very rich sword. And he of the Flemish side shall likewise have a very rich helm.

Also all knights and squires of this tourney each ought to have an armed valet in the square without a baton of defence to give to their said masters swords or batons as needed or if they need any harness in the square to mend it as needed.

And on the following day they shall each nail their coats of arms before their entry and likewise place their banners and helms on the square. And the said judges will be in the said square at ten o'clock to spread their coats of arms as they shall see fit and as it might please them. And each will re-nail their coats of arms where he is ordered. And then the first banneret will place his banner in the order of the said blazons and will nail the blazon of his coat of arms at the other side. And he who does not come [to stand] before the nailing [of the blazons] shall not tourney at all.

This will also be done likewise by the other baron. And it is the right of tourneys such that, as the tourneyers are enclosed and on account of dehydration, they may un-helm at their pleasure and they shall not be touched nor struck until they have re-helmed.

By the order of the judges, the kings of arms and heralds shall ride throughout the town of Bruges from lodging to lodging shouting: "Attention knights and squires, attention knights and squires!" And afterwards, by the order of the judges, the kings of arms and heralds shall ride from lodging to lodging shouting: "Out knights and squires, out knights and squires!"

Afterwards the two said bannerets shall each come to the square before their side and all the tourneyers who wish to tourney shall each come after their banner. And two cords will be stretched within the square and they shall remain there until such time as it please the judges and they shall tourney with rebated swords without points and each tourneyer shall have a baton hanging from his saddle and these

swords and batons shall be either long or short such as is pleasing to the judges. It shall be cried: "Laisser les aller!"¹⁶

After they have fought well the judges shall order the king of arms and heralds to bear these banners and pennons [**Fol. 12^r**] and fold up your [*sic*] banners. After this has been done each knight and squire shall retire to their *hôtel* and, after vespers, the knights, squires, ladies, and damsels shall assemble to revel, sing, dance, and make merry.

And, after the noble supper and dance, the judges shall assemble the kings of arms and heralds. And the French side shall demand of the Flemish side who from the French side has fought the best. After watching the ladies and damsels shall ask who of this French side is most deserving of the sword. The sword was presented to the high and mighty prince the Duke of Burgundy by two maidens. And thus the helm was similarly presented to the Lord of Masmines from the Flemish side.

The Lord of Jonvelle was the first banneret

The Duke of Burgundy, banneret

The Count of Saint-Pol, banneret

And four other lords bannerets

Knights

Sir Jehan de Hornes

Sir Jehan Rochefort

And six other knights

Squires of the pennon

The Bastard of Burgundy, pennon

Sir Jehan de Robois, pennon

And the Lord of Jonvelle was accompanied by the French side to the tourney on this day by sixty-eight helms

The Lord of Commines, banneret

The Lord of Trazegnies, banneret

Knights

Sir Pierre des Hornes

Sir Josse Halowin

¹⁶ That this cry would be in French is evident from Thomas Duke of Gloucester's (1355-1397) 'Ordenaunce' for judicial combat: 'the conestable shall say with high voice as folowes Laissez lez aler et fatre loure deuoir dep[ar]dieu that is to say late them goo and doo their deuoir in Goddis name', BL MS Lansdowne 285, fol. 11^r.

And three other knights

Pennons

Loys de Hanesquerque, pennon

[Fol. 12^v] George Loste, pennon

And two other pennons

And the Lord of Commines was similarly accompanied this day by the Flemish side by sixty-eight helms.

Here above are the names of the lords, barons, knights, and squires who were at this noble tourney in the town of Bruges. Hereafter follow the names of the ladies and damsels who were at this noble tourney in the said town of Bruges:

My lady of Brussels Viscountess of Meaulx

My lady of La Gruthuyse

And eleven other ladies and damsels

These are the names of the kings of arms and heralds who organized this tourney.

The king of arms or herald who shall cry the festivity of the tourney shall wear the blazons of the two bannerets who will cry the tourney. And also the two bannerets shall be beholden to give the king of arms or herald six ells of scarlet and ought to cover his expenses up to the end of the tourney. And also the kings of arms or heralds ought to each have a bond of six Parisian shillings. And they also ought to have the banners of their masters and their coat armours and the drapery of their arms which were on their helms. And it is seemly that they ought to have the blazons of their coats of arms of those who tourneyed at the tourney.

The Lord of Jonvelle

Also Bedford Herald otherwise called Exeter shall bear the banner of the first banneret. Namur Herald shall bear the banner of the Lord of Commines. Flanders King of Arms shall bear the banner of the high and mighty prince the Duke of Burgundy. Saint-Pol Herald shall bear the banner of the said Count of Saint-Pol.

And thus following all the other lords and barons of the tourney were served. And the kings of arms and heralds also ought to have the right to all the helms of the new tourneyers etc.

This is the end of the tourney

[Fol. 13^r]

To Cry a Joust

Hear ye, lords, knights, and squires, know ye that a most grand feat of arms and most noble jousts shall be held by a knight who shall bear a shield [charged] *gules* and over this a white hart with a crown around its neck with a hanging chain *or* on a tress *vert*. And this knight shall be accompanied by twenty knights all arrayed in the same colour from Sunday the ninth day of October next in the new abbey near the Tower of London. These same knights shall be led to this place by twenty ladies dressed in a livery of the same colour and suit as the knights' right out and through the noble city of New Troy, otherwise called London.¹⁷ And all out of this same gate the knights shall take the field called Smithfield by the residence of Saint John called Clerkenwell. And there they shall dance, revel, and make merry. And, on the following Monday, the twenty knights in one livery as aforesaid shall appear in this same field of Smithfield armed and mounted in the ring within the hour of high prime to deliver all manner of knights who should wish to come there to joust. Each of them shall have six lances such as they shall find in the ring. These lances shall be carried to the standard which shall be in this same field and all the lances shall be measured by this standard; and all shall be of a length. And these twenty knights shall joust in high saddles and the lances shall have reasonable coronals. And the knights' shields shall not be covered in any manner of iron or steel. In these jousts the noble ladies and damsels shall give to the knight from without who jousts best a horn garnished with gold. And a white greyhound with a golden collar round its neck to he who shall have jousted the best from within. And on the following Wednesday the same twenty knights forenamed shall be in the said field to deliver all knights and squires whosoever [and] to joust with whatsoever type of lance as they please. And on this day there shall be given there a golden circlet to whoever jousts best from without. And to whoever jousts best from within a gilt girdle. And to the lady or damsel who shall dance best or who shall make most [**Fol. 13^v**] merry during the three days aforesaid – which is to say on the Sunday, Monday, and Tuesday – shall be given a gilt brooch by the knights. And to the lady or damsel who shall best dance and revel after her – which is to say the second prize of these three days – shall be given a gold ring with a diamond. And whosoever shall have jousted for these three days with a lance that was not of the measure of the standard shall not carry away, nor shall he be given, any manner of prize or praise. And he who shall have jousted with unreasonable coronals for these three days shall

¹⁷ An allusion to the Trojan origins of the city, see John Clark, 'Trinovantum – The Evolution of a Legend', *JMH*, 7 (1981), 131-51.

lose his horse and his harness. And, on the following Wednesday of these three days of the jousts, sixteen squires bearing shields ([charged] *gules* a griffon *argent*) mounted, armed, and riding in high saddles with white *secotz*¹⁸ and shields as aforesaid shall hold the field and deliver all knights and squires who might wish to come with such lances as they see fit. And in this same field a noble courser with saddle and bridle shall be given to whoever jousts best from without. And a beautiful chaplet well worked with silk to he who shall have jousted best from within. And there shall be surety to all foreign knights and squires who wish to come to the above said festivity by the virtue of this noble *pardon d'armes*. And to remain and spend eight days before the festivity and twenty days after by the virtue of the truce granted and accorded by the two kings without giving any impeachment to them. And under this to have safe conduct to all men who wish to have it of the King our sovereign lord.

Explicit

[Ordinance of Thomas of Lancaster, Caen, 3 Spetember 1408 [*recte* 1417]]

We Thomas of Lancaster, son and brother to the most noble King of England and France, Duke of Clarence, Earl of Aumarle, Great Steward of England, and Constable in the host of my lord the King, considering that, as the office of arms was founded in antiquity by the most noble victorious emperors, kings, and princes, the officers and servants exercising this said office were attributed by them several privileges in the right of arms of the abundance of chivalry. And, in doing this exercise before this time, they ought to have noble payments from my lord the King as much as it was in the time of his noble predecessors. It is concerning this that we have come most humbly to supplicate Garter King of Arms of the English accompanied by all the other kings of arms and heralds of the obedience of my lord the King to testify to our sealed letters. [Fol. 14^r] And by these [letters] it is signified to all estates the rights which appertain to the said office for the fiefs of the banners and what each of this office are due from the princes, earls, barons, and knights bannerets for their banner. And as perpetual memory has been accustomed to signify to all those who may see or hear these present [letters] that these said [men] of the office of arms ought to have the right to ask their princes, earls, barons, and bannerets to do their duty; that is to say: a duke who shall unfurl his banner owes twenty pounds Sterling to the serving officers of arms for his banner to be unfurled. And, likewise, a baron who shall unfurl his banner

¹⁸ 'Surcoat' only appears in English in a heraldic context in 1603. See *OED*.

owes one hundred shillings Sterling to those of the aforesaid office. And a knight banneret who shall raise or unfurl his banner owes five marks Sterling for his banner. And because the aforesaid estates truly know that they only give this to the kings of arms and heralds to exalt their honour as is aforesaid, these said [men] of the office shall not demand any other right that does not appertain. In witness of this, as has been mentioned above and because the above should be more truly approved, we have affixed our seal to these present [letters].

Given at my lord the King's royal siege before his town of Caen in his duchy of Normandy on the third day of September in the year one thousand four hundred and eight.

Chalons [Feats of Arms at Tours, 5 February 1446/7]

In the year of grace 1446 the honourable squire John Chalons (native of the realm of England) came to the noble town of Tours in Touraine to accomplish certain feats of arms between him and Louis de Bueil who adhered to King Charles as and by the form contained in the articles following hereafter between the two squires. And so, the said Chalons arrived at the town of Tours on the nineteenth day of January and did these feats of arms on Sunday the fifth day of February. And he thus entered the lists around twelve o'clock in great honour issuing forth with incomparable grandeur. There, there was King Charles as judge with the Queen; and many notable princes, dukes, counts, barons, knights, and persons of note, and several ladies and damsels were in his entourage.

The King of Sicily

The Duke of Orleans

The Duke of Brittany

[Fol. 14^v] Lord Charles of Anjou

The Count of Angoulême

Lord Pierre the brother of the Duke of Brittany

The Count of Vendôme

The Count of Dunois

The Count of Foix and his brother

The Count of Laval

The Count of Clermont

The Count of Eu

The Count of Tancarville
The Count of Dammartin
The Lord of Gaucourt
The Lord of Estouteville
The Lord of Bueil
The Lord of Précigny
Sir Prégent de Coëtivy, Admiral of France
Sir Pierre de Brézé, Seneschal of France
Lord Précigny

Lord Culant, one of the marshals of France

And several other persons of note of whom we do not have the names.

And of the common people ten to twelve thousand came on foot and on horseback to see the accomplishment of the said feats of arms. And moreover there were:

The Archbishop of Tours
The Bishop of Maguelone
The Bishop of Vienne

And so, the said Chalons came to the field and made his entrance to the lists about an hour before Louis de Bueil and there he presented himself before the King and Queen and the notable lords, ladies, and damsels who were there; among whom were the two daughters of [the King of] Scotland.

And furthermore, the said Chalons was accompanied there by Lord Dudley, Lord Camoys, Matthew Gough and harnessed¹⁹ squires, ten of whom each carried a lance in front of the said Chalons and several notable pursuivants wearing the said Chalons's coat armour. **[Fol. 15^r]** And there were four trumpeters who each carried a banner of his coat of arms into the field in front of him, of whom the names follow:

Coller pursuivant of our lord king
Nucelles pursuivant of Lord Scales
Leon d'Or pursuivant of Lord Dudley
Beul pursuivant of Matthew Gough

Chalons was mounted on a courser trappered with black satin with a red cross in front and behind. And, after his presentation before the King and Queen and the nobility who were there, he circled the entire lists accompanied as is said below. He

¹⁹ A contemporary term for being armed in plate armour. See gloss.

had three pages [processing] after him on three coursers richly dressed in cloth of silver each with a rich plume on his head. The first of these bore the order of our lord king and led two coursers with his right hand which were richly attired. The first courser was trappered in a rich cloth of silver the same as the pages' horses and the other with a cloth of purple-coloured figured velvet. And in this manner he returned to his lodgings accompanied as stated. After about an hour Louis de Bueil came before the lists accompanied by great and notable lords. In front of him were two mules which each carried two coffers covered with vermilion velvet cloth and banded with gilt bands. After the said mules came three coursers trappered with his coat of arms and on each horse a man dressed in the guise of a fool. Their hoods were sewn to their robes which were parti-coloured white and perse²⁰ with big bells on their hoods. Each horse had a collar round its neck covered with silver bells half gilt and half silver. After them came two minstrels and a trumpeter giving great cheer, and, after them, a banner with his coat of arms and three banners each quartered²¹ with the coats of arms belonging to him, proving that he was four times a baron and that he was the issue of a noble house to the King and to the Queen and to the nobility who were there. Accompanying him were many notable people and lords the names of whom follow:

Firstly

At the very front was Poton de Xaintrailles who carried one of the six lances

[Fol. 15^v] The Count of Dunois carried another

Lord Pierre the brother of the Duke of Brittany carried another

The Count of Foix carried another

The Count of Clermont carried another

And Lord Charles of Anjou carried the sixth lance.

The King of Sicily carried his helm in front of him richly arrayed.

Louis de Bueil was mounted on a very richly arrayed courser. And on the crupper of his horse was a very rich white plume and the horse was trappered before and behind with silver plates as a full harness and on this were many precious stones and pearls. On the haunches was a very rich silver sash. After him came three very richly arrayed coursers with three pages mounted upon them each of whom had a very rich helmet and upon each one a white and perse plume. The pages were dressed in

²⁰ 'A dark blue, bluish-grey', *OED*.

²¹ '*Heraldry*. Of a shield of arms: divided or arranged quarterly', *OED*.

robes arrayed with fair goldsmiths work and after them came a courser similarly splendidly trappered. Then Louis sent Sir Pierre de Brézé before the King because although he wished to come to the field he would not enter it, declaring to the King and Queen and nobility who were there how he had displayed four banners of the four lineages from which he was descended and a banner of his entire coats of arms, he humbly beseeched the King (if it please him) to enquire if the Englishman John Chalons was a gentleman and noble as he had said and if the coats of arms that he had raised for the day appertained to him or not and if he had sufficient rank that he, Louis, ought to have anything do with him. Then the most noble and puissant prince the Duke of Orleans (who was there near the King) answered and certified to the King that he was indeed noble and came from a noble house and that the coats of arms that he had truly belonged to him and that he knew many of his kin and that he was a nobleman suitable to do feats of arms against Louis. Notwithstanding this the King was not happy with his report and summoned Garter King of Arms of England in order to know for certain; and he certified that it was true. Then the Seneschal, Pierre de Brézé, returned to Louis de Bueil and showed him that the King had been assured that Chalons was a nobleman and worthy to do his feats of arms against him.

[Fol. 16']

Then Louis came to the field and entered the lists and went to do reverence to the King and Queen and the nobility, then went to his pavilion which was at the end of the lists. The pavilion was covered with Arras cloth and at each corner of the pavilion was a banner of his coat of arms. He was accompanied by several notable heralds and pursuivants of the French side and also Garter King of Arms of England and the above named pursuivants. Firstly, before Chalons wished to do his feats of arms or enter the field to do feats of arms against Louis de Bueil, he sent to the King and humbly beseeched him of his noble grace (if it please him) to send a noble man or two of his host to come and see his harness, horses, and saddles so that there might be no deficiency on his part nor deception. Then, by the order of the King, the Count of Dammartin and the Lord of Blois were sent to be of his council for the day and re-examined his equipment that appertained to the feats of arms for the day.

Soon after Chalons had entered his pavilion he returned to the field and the lists very notably accompanied as aforesaid to accomplish the articles that he had given before which were mentioned in the *chapitres*.

Item, on the first course that they ran against each other they both valiantly broke their lances on each other in front of the King. And Chalons attained Louis de Bueil in the middle of his pauldron²² and there broke his lance and broke the lancehead a good inch clearly as it appeared. And Louis struck Chalons on the bottom of his helm at the side of his neck and damaged his double harness²³ and slightly split his lancehead and Louis was knocked backwards onto the crupper of his horse.

Item, they ran the second course and scarcely made any attainment upon each other and they did nothing in this course.

[Fol. 16^v]

Item, on the third course that they ran against each other they broke their lances on each other and Chalons struck Louis de Bueil within the pauldron two inches away from where he had hit on the first course and broke his lance and damaged a half-inch of his lancehead or thereabouts. Louis struck Chalons on the sight of his helm and broke his lance there leaving the point of the lancehead in Chalons's helm.

Item, on the fourth course that they ran together Chalons's lance glanced off the top of Louis's helm and Louis broke his lance on Chalons's saddle and pierced his gauntlet breaking the hinge of the vambrace near the hand which gave him a numb hand.

Item, on the fifth course that they ran against each other Chalons attained Louis in the hand and pierced the guard of the gauntlet and the gauntlet and severely injured his hand which bled a great deal; and it was his right hand. Then Poton [de Xaintrailles] sent to the King entreating him that Louis and Chalons should not do any more for the day as Louis had broken a piece of his harness which should be changed. To which the King answered that he must consult the *chapitres* to decide if it could be done or not and he had the Lord of Précigny called who guarded the *chapitres*. He answered that they could well leave things thus. To which Chalons, like the valiant person he was and full of great courage, being displeased to leave the day to pass thus without performing the feats of arms for which he had come, took a big lance in his hand and set himself to his duty. Then Louis similarly took another [lance] and they ran together.

²² Shoulder defence. See gloss.

²³ See gloss. under *harness*.

Item, on the sixth course that the squires ran against each other Chalons was towards Louis's pavilion and on this course Chalons struck Louis in the place of the rest and broke the edge of his harness and he thrust the lance right inside his body through and through and broke his lance there and Louis was left with the shaft and lancehead, and carried it a good ell to the end of the list and wrenched it out himself so that the blood spattered from one side and the other. Then he was carried to his pavilion and he died there around the sixth or seventh hour of night.

[Fol. 17^r]

And then, when the King heard the news of the blow, he ordered Chalons to retire to his lodgings. Then Chalons sent Garter King of Arms accompanied by the aforesaid pursuivants before the King humbly beseeching that his departure from the field should not carry any prejudice at all against him, since the King ordered him to leave the field first. He did not know at the time what state Louis was in because Louis had not even touched Chalons on this course. To which the King said that he would not do anything to him. Then Chalons came to take leave of the King and Queen and of the nobility who were there and circled the entire lists accompanied by the lords and gentlemen aforesaid and by Garter King of Arms and pursuivants and they led him to his lodgings which were nearby. On the seventh day of February Louis was buried and his funeral service was notably made in the great church of Tours and there were many nobles and great lords at the service. The English ambassadors were at the service and the offertory; and the Lord Privy Seal of England sang the high mass. After the service the corpse was placed in a hearse accompanied by fifty torches all with an escutcheon of his coat of arms and four escutcheons at the four corners of the corpse.

Explicit

**[Chapitres of the Bastard of Burgundy as the Knight of an Oppressed Lady for a
Pas d'Armes, 25 Febraury 1462]**

On Thursday the third day of February in the year 1462 my lord the Duke of Burgundy was in the town of Brussels in the *hôtel* of my lady of Berghes accompanied by my lady the Duchess of Bourbon his sister, the Count of Charolais his son, and by several other princes and princesses, counts, barons, great lords, and accompanying ladies and damsels. As the festivity was beginning, Artois King of Arms and Fusil Herald

entered the hall and came to present a gentleman to my lord of whom it was said he was a foreigner carrying with him certain letters of credence from a noble lady his mistress which my lord then very humbly received and had them read out loud in the presence of all those who were there; of which the tenor follows.

[Fol. 17^v]

Letter of credence

To the most excellent and most puissant and my most revered lord my lord the Duke of Burgundy and of Brabant etc.,

Most excellent and most puissant prince and my most revered lord I most humbly commend myself to your good grace. And (if it please you) know that my mind has been very discouraged for a long time because as a poor lady I have been sorely oppressed by one of my powerful neighbours who has sworn legal oaths against me which I cannot then defend as he always perseveres in his harshness against me. Thus, because I have been advised that by complaining to you that all shall be done fairly of this matter, I wish to reveal myself to you before all the other Christian princes as this is a relatively close neighbour of yours and also as you bear the grace for being the prince of pity and compassion towards all noble ladies. Trustful of your bounty, I send before you one of my servants to recount in full for you a dolorous case to which, most excellent and most puissant prince, I beg that it please you to adjudicate faith and credence and benignly listen to my cause. I pray to God that He might wish that your most noble person, together with your excellent dominion and power, shall be always maintained and kept established in prosperity and health. Your most humble and obedient servant,
The Lady etc.

After the letters had been seen [*sic*] my lord demanded the credence [be granted]. Then the said gentleman spoke to the officers of arms who said to my lord that he had told them he did not understand any of the language of the land and because this was a matter of great importance he had caused his [letter of] credence to be written in two parts which he prayed to my lord that he might especially wish to have them read. This was thus done. The declaration of the first [part of the letter of] credence thus follows.

The first part of the [letter of] credence

My most revered lord,

In putting up with my baseness it is true then that this lady (who has sent me thus before you) is of most high and noble parentage, rich in goods and in possessions and without any close relations who could conduct her affairs. Thus she suffers much and is aggrieved due to one of your most puissant neighbours who is proud and of great courage and a great lord of the land who [Fol. 18^r] persists in wanting to disinherit her and deprive her of her inheritance. Despite all the pleas made several times to him to agree with her, he has thus answered her completely against her will. Concerning this answer this lord, who is proud and of great courage, was unhappy with this, and refused even more than before and has given it to be understood that he will put my said lady in such constraint that she shall fairly dearly buy her duress towards him so much that the said threats had come to the point that she – being well advised – has sent to him to inform him that it should be that a high nobleman by nature and duty must guard the honour of all noblewomen and not abandon them. And (bearing that in mind) she prayed to him that in order to prevent anything that is reproachable or against her honour that, firstly, he might well wish to balance the undertaking – for it would be a very poor thing to gain the reputation for wanting to disinherit a noble woman by force. To which the said lord answered that he shall never desist in his pursuit to suffer death but set himself to his duty and to make it known that it is not at all at his will but in the hands of fortune to settle her cause. He made it known to my lady that she had the choice of two things. She might accept his long pursuit, or, she would be obliged to find, before the first day of May next in a year's time, a knight who would put his body against his [the neighbour's] to fight in closed lists to defend her cause. And it should be on condition that, should the said lord be able to overcome by force of arms and vanquish her knight, she and her land shall then be at his mercy. But, if this knight be able to overcome this lord by combat, he would similarly desist from pursuing his cause. And, in honour and in reverence of her and of the victorious good knight, he shall become her man and vassal of her person and her lands and he shall bear her perpetual honour and service. My lady, having heard these things and being always desirous to avoid the inconveniences of war and all human tribulations, finally decided on the choice of combat in the certain hope that – not by some chivalrous hand but by God's grace and gift – she would gain her freedom. Now it is thus, my most revered lord, that the aforesaid lord is a most renowned [Fol. 18^v] knight and one of the best known in all the neighbouring marches and that none would want to take him on nor hold their ground [against him]. And so

thus it is that my lady considers the case which she has had me describe to you and the danger in which she prays and asks of you a favour which I most humbly beg of you on her behalf (if it please you to grant me). Then my lord gave his approval to the favour and request made of him by the lady saying that he was most displeased by the grief and displeasure of his [the foreign gentleman's] lady and mistress. Then this gentleman immediately presented the following part of his [letter of] credence; the tenor of which follows.

The last part of the [letter of] credence

Most noble prince,

As I hope that you have heard well the case of my lady who has submitted her life and her honour and goods to the combat which is a great thing and of very great danger. As she has placed herself in the hand of a sole knight without having knowledge of his valour, she begs you that it should come to the knowledge of the good and best of the land (if it please you of special grace) and, at her request, that three knights of your household such that you might wish to offer to give grace and leave to hold a *pas* [*d'armes*] within your dominions by order and commission which she has revealed to me. It is because my lady hopes that the three knights who shall offer themselves to her service shall be of the realm of France she shall ask and write to all other kings and Christian realms who favour her cause (if it please them) to send any nobleman of their realms against those of the *pas* to exercise in arms against them so that, by the experience, one might then be able to ascertain the valour of each in so high a test. Afterwards she could more be assuredly able to place herself in the hands of one of whom it could only be that one is better than the other. And then, when the said *pas* had been accomplished, a record could be made of each and my lady given to know his name and shall ask of the best (if it please him) to attempt the combat for her (save with his agreement) and that thus it might please him to do so for otherwise none of those who come to the said *pas* shall be held and obliged to place themselves in this danger – if not for her noble freedom and bounty. And she shall repute herself to hold to him all her life in all worthy recognition to give as an example and encouragement to all other knights to uphold ladies' causes.

[Fol. 19']

Most noble and most excellent prince, this here is the favour that my lady asks of you through me and which you have accorded me by your good grace. There remain three more requests that I must make of you. They are (if it please your grace)

to hold the place secure to all those who wish to come to the said *pas* and to be their judge. And, should it occur that your noble person cannot undertake it due to the multitude of your high affairs, that my lord of Charolais your son may be able to take your place, or, if he has any encumbrance (if it please you), to appoint one of my lords your nephews. The second request, most high and most excellent prince, that my lady makes of you is (if it please you) to appoint four officers of arms wearing your coat armour to go before all the Christian kings to inform and certify that this *pas* shall be held by your knights at my lady's request and that you shall hold the place secure for all who wish to come and that you shall be present and offer to be their judge in the devised manner and condition and to hold each in reason and justice. The third request she makes of you, most excellent prince, is that you (if you please) give and grant safe conduct to all those who wish to come to this *pas* or advance this present task and in the surety of all various foreign nations so that they shall be able to travel there for this cause.

And, after all the [letters of] credence had been read, this gentleman made to say these words through the said officers of arms: "My most revered lord, in order that the noblemen who (of their bounty) shall wish to employ and put into effect the request of my lady so that they might better understand and be advised that these things shall have been done, she has given me *chapitres* in writing of the manner of this *pas* which (if you please my most revered lord) you shall cause to be read out loud so that, after these *chapitres* have been read, if there be any noblemen who might wish to present themselves they shall be able to do so and so that they can be thanked by my lady". The declaration of these *chapitres* follows.

The *chapitres*

Firstly, and because my cause arises from harm done to which justice in the end cannot fail, I commend my cause to Him who is Sovereign King of Justice in heaven and on earth as one who is in danger and undeservedly held by constraint. I declare that these noble knights who (of their freedom and bounty) shall wish to do me such honour as to undertake this *pas* shall be obliged to do feats of arms in the manner [Fol. 19^v] hereafter declared. They shall do these feats of arms in closed lists against all those of various realms who come to this *pas* with the will and consent of each of their kings (those who do otherwise I neither invite nor would wish to ask).

For the second point, let it be known that, to ensure the condition of the feats of arms of this said *pas*, each of the knights – both those from without as well as those

from within – shall be armed in such harness as they see fit for the surety of their bodies.

For the third point, it is to say that the three knights of the *pas* on the first day and for the beginning shall be armed on horseback and obliged to run against three other noblemen come from foreign realms; that is to say: each with the same war lances with sharpened lanceheads up to the number of nine courses and no more.

Item, and for the fourth [point], if it should happen that any of these knights in completing the said number of nine courses should be disarmed or any piece of harness be damaged, in this case he may replace it with another piece as he sees fit to perform the rest of the courses. And if it should happen that any of the lanceheads of the said lances be damaged, in this case the lance shall be changed and none may have advantageous rests or counter-rests.

For the fifth article, it is to be noted that the lady shall have placed at one end of the lists a number of lances all equipped in the same manner and of a just measure for running on horseback. And the foreign knights who have come to do feats of arms shall have the choice of these lances and the other knights holding the *pas* shall have the others. And they shall be obliged to each run nine courses and if it should happen (which God forefend) that during these nine courses one or the other [knight] be wounded in such manner that he be unable to strike or accomplish his said number of courses, in this case this feat of arms shall be deemed accomplished.

Item, the manner of the foot combat shall be such that each shall be armed as they thus see fit and, on leaving their pavilions, they shall each have a spear in one hand and a sword and targe in the other. There shall be one throw of the spear and, after this throw has been made, they shall fight with the swords until such time as he or the other shall have touched their knee or hand to the ground or lost his sword from one hand or his targe from the other. And, in each aforesaid case, this feat of arms shall be deemed accomplished.

Item, I the said lady shall have placed the throwing spears and the said war swords [Fol. 20^r] in this same end of the lists to give the choice to the said foreigners.

Item, this *pas* shall begin on the first day of the month of October in the year of Our Lord which is written 1463. All shall be obliged to present themselves within this month and all those who wish to come to this *pas* must not exceed the number of three from each realm, of whom, they who first offer themselves and appear shall be the first to be delivered of them; and likewise the others, each according to the order

of his presentation. And, if there be any who are so far away who might not attend on this day nor appear at this *pas*, in this case the three defending knights shall be ready to complete the *pas* and to restart it on the first day of the month of April following which shall be in the year 1464.

Item, and I the lady holding to myself the power, that when the knights of any foreign realms shall have come to do feats of arms against the three knights of this *pas*, to grant to each of them such knight of the *pas* as I see fit. And should it happen by some circumstance or other that any of these realms shall only be able to provide but one or two noblemen, similarly I shall grant to each such knights of this *pas* as I see fit.

Item, finally and for the last article, the most high and mighty prince the Duke of Burgundy (of his benign grace and to better attract and assure all foreign noble knights) has accorded and promised me to secure the place and to present himself as judge together with granting safe conduct to all those who shall wish to come to this *pas*. And this shall be done and certified to all the kings and Christian realms aforesaid by the officers of arms. I send my letters to these aforesaid kings and Christian realms to pray and inform, begging in all humility, that in favour and through pity of my cause and also to glorify their high and noble names in meritorious works it might please them to order, dispose, send, and suffer some of their noble knights to come to this *pas* so that, once they have recognised they might know and have tested their mettle against the knights who shall hold my *pas*, I can, with much greater assurance, place myself in any of their hands to fight my [Fol. 20^v] combat which I dread doing. And I shall put myself at pains with all my power to ensure that your high, noble names are glorified. And I shall pray to God that both in heaven and on earth due recompense shall be given to you for the protection of everything, and that the *pas* shall be held on the day and month aforesaid. The three knights who shall hold the *pas* will sign and seal with the seals of their coats of arms that they will maintain and accomplish (with God's help, and with that of my lord Saint George) all that is said and written here above.

And, as soon as the said *chapitres* had been read, there came three knights to present themselves to my most revered lord humbly begging him that of his benign grace (if he please) to do them this honour to accord them and give grace to perform and accomplish the contents of these the said lady's *chapitres*. Of these three knights one was my lord the Bastard of Burgundy, one was Sir Philippe de Crèveœur, and

the third was Sir Pedro Vásquez de Saavedra to whom my lord liberally accorded them all for surety that the *pas* should be held on the month and days aforesaid thus and by the manner which is contained in the *chapitres*; these present *chapitres* have been signed with our signatures and sealed with the seals of our coats of arms on the twenty-sixth day of February in the year of grace 1462 thus:

Antoine Bastard of Burgundy, Philippe de Crèveœur, and Pedro Vásquez

[Fol. 21']

[Sir Philippe de Lalaing's *Pas d'armes* of the *Perron Phae*,²⁴ Bruges 1463]

My lord Philippe de Lalaing son and heir of the Lord of Lalaing in the county of Hainault who of his age was a great historian of the high feats of arms which are done and which are set down in several notable books in which he [Sir Philippe] very willingly occupies himself when he has the leisure in order to avoid sloth. There are, among others, in the Bible, the Books of Kings which contain the valiant [feats] of David, Judas Maccabeus and his brothers, and several other valiant Jews; also [books] of the great and puissant King Alexander of Macedon and his conquests; of the most valiant Hector of Troy and his brothers; and others who were at the destruction of Troy, of Thebes, of Athens, and of Carthage together with the Romans who were then heathens²⁵ who did not fear death to expand their realms and defend them for the good of the public weal, and so much and as long as they kept it up they prospered. The Christians who came after, in order to exalt the faith of Jesus Christ, expunged the evil customs that had been put in place before by the infidels. Among others of the Christian faith who first worked for this were the noble kings Perceforest, Uther Pendragon, King Arthur, Ban of Benoit, and Bagdemagus of Gore,²⁶ and those who are the descendants of all those Knights of the Round Table and others without number. For in their time demons – by divine permission and not otherwise – had such great power over humans through the lack of faith because they were given

²⁴ Perron: 'a large block or other stone structure, with or without steps, used as a platform', *OED*. For an in-depth examination see Sydney Anglo, 'L'Arbre de chevalerie et le Perron dans les tournois', in *Les Fêtes de la Renaissance*, ed. by J. Jacquot (Paris: CNRS, 1975), pp. 283-98. *Phae* shall remain un-translated as it is very akin to the English *fey*: 'possessing or displaying magical, fairylike, or unearthly qualities', *OED*. It can also have sinister connotations such as in the name of the Arthurian character Morgan le Fay.

²⁵ *Sarrazins* is the word used in the text. For a fascinating insight into the use of this term for non-Christians see Alan V. Murray, 'The Saracens of the Baltic: Pagan and Christian Lithuanians in the Perception of English and French Crusaders to Late Medieval Prussia', *Journal of Baltic Studies*, 41 (2010), 413-29.

²⁶ Note in right margin in a different hand: 'perceforrest vterpendragon Artus de benouis [*sic*]'.

nothing by way of instruction except by hermits and other holy people (but they did not hold them in high esteem) so that illusion, fantasy, *phaerie*, and deceptions so reigned over the earth that it was a great wonder. And by their great valiant feats with the very good Galahad, son of Lancelot of the Lake, they brought most of this trouble to an end as is told in the books of Perceforest, Lancelot, Tristan of Cornwall, [and] Guiron the Courteous. And several full volumes recount tales of the great and puissant King Charlemagne of France, of his kings, princes, barons, and knights who quested so much in Germany, Spain, Italy, Lombardy, Guienne, and elsewhere in several diverse places in order to convert the heathen to the faith of Christ. [Also they tell] of King Godfrey of Bouillon who conquered Jerusalem and of which he was crowned its king, and after him Baldwin his brother. Of the kings, princes, and barons who accompanied him to make his conquests in eastern parts over the Saracens and the great feats of arms which were done [Fol. 21^v] on both sides. And of the fine and fair feats of arms which the Lord of Lalaing's eldest son the fair and good knight Sir Jacques de Lalaing performed twenty-six times on foot and on horseback in Spain, Scotland, Burgundy, and Flanders whence he emerged to his great honour and praise. I imagine that, after reading of these great feats of this good knight of Lalaing, he [Sir Philippe] conceived in his imagination that he would like to follow, according to his power, in any manner the good knights aforesaid without wishing to presume himself to be as good as the least of them. But, so that some little memory of himself should survive, he undertook by the licence and leave of the most high and mighty prince his sovereign lord and patron Philip, Duke of Burgundy and of Brabant, to hold a *pas d'armes* under the fiction of *phaerie*. That is to say of a great and puissant lady having several fastnesses and castles in her dominion and, among others, there was a perron wondrously situated on a fair rock and which variously changed colour by time and day as the lady wished. Because of this it is called the Perron Phae for the great wonders which were outside and inside it. And, amongst all the titles she held for the other dominions, she was called above all the Lady of the Perron Phae and none other. When I speak of her henceforth I shall call her only the Lady of the Perron Phae. This great lady had several knights and others of great valour held as her prisoners in this perron and she and no one else held the key to it. And, among the other knights (as fortune would have it) was this good knight of Lalaing. He was held prisoner thus by this lady for a span of time. However, as all things must come to an end, it came to pass somehow that this lady came to visit this good knight and she said to him: "As you know, Sir

Philippe, you are my prisoner and you cannot leave this place without my leave". And he answered: "Thus it is my lady, but when shall it please your ladyship to give grace, that you will do so, for that which I humbly beg? For you know and see that I am of an age, if there were any quality in me to warrant my presence in those places where the other knights presently occupy themselves in the household of my prince, master, and lord who have no other impediment where they are, as he is renowned [Fol. 22'] throughout the world for such great and honest loyalty that their names shall be exalted. Yet, because of my imprisonment, I am not able to appear there which displeases me and not for any other cause. For I thank God and you that for as long as I have been here I have been shown nothing but courtesy according to this place's custom – for which I most humbly thank you". When the lady heard him speak so virtuously and graciously she was moved by pity and courtesy and, without wishing to acquire a reputation for being cruel, she said to him: "Sir Philippe, I am well aware by reputation of your good chivalry and of those from whom you are descended. This is why I shall offer you a choice. Namely, if you wish to escape this prison you must hold, for love of me, a courteous *pas d'armes* without quarrel save for love in the form and manner which I shall bring you tomorrow the *chapitres*, set out as I desire their accomplishment. And if you complete them to your honour I assure you, by my faith, that I shall entirely release you from your prison. But if you are unable to do them thus you shall remain imprisoned forever". When the good knight heard the offer that the lady had made him he had never felt such joy, for she spoke to him of the one thing in the world which he most loved to do and he thanked her most humbly. Afterwards he said: "My lady, does it seem to you that I am good enough to be able to do and accomplish your noble intention? For, without excusing myself, if it is possible for me to do the things which are agreeable to you I will employ such power as God and Nature have given me. And, when it shall please you to grant me the said *chapitres* and to assign the time which shall be pleasing to you, then I shall accomplish them and (if God grant me fortune) I shall do them". The lady said to him: "Since you have assured me, I shall return here tomorrow morning. But also be warned that until the accomplishment of your said *pas* you shall return every evening to sleep in this perron until it has been fully accomplished. You must return at the sounding of the horn that my dwarf shall blow with a knight whom I shall send with you to serve and accompany you. For, as I cannot be there in person, it shall suffice that the said knight with certain officers of arms shall report to me each evening of you and your progress. And to

report to me only the blazons of the coats of arms [**Fol. 22^v**] of the noblemen who shall have desired to come against you each day. And so on for the other days until your *pas* has been accomplished at all points. And I assure you that there shall be no one who shall not be given a little ring as a keepsake by me for their pains and good will. And three principal prizes shall also be presented to the three knights or squires who shall have done best according to the contents of the *chapitres* and of the shields that shall be presented by the ladies and damsels of the most puissant Duke of Burgundy or of the Duchess of Bourbon his sister. Humbly commend me to them and ask that they might thus wish to do this when you see them. And the day on which they shall have them given, they shall also be asked by my delegated knight. And if you want to know who the knight will be, I say to you that it shall be Ernoul de Crequy who, I am advised, is of your lineage.²⁷ And this is why I have so instituted him, for in addition to his own enthusiasm to serve you, I have expressly commanded that he should do this. Reflect tonight on that which I have said to you and tomorrow morning I shall return here, bearing the *chapitres*, to hear your answer to everything. And reflect above all on your answer in order that I can have time to provide all things necessary for your feat. Then the good knight said to her: “My lady, you ascribe to me such honour and courtesy that I scarcely know how to thank you and God give me the grace to deserve it”. Whereupon the Lady of the Perron departed and left the good knight who could think of nothing all night long save for what the lady had said to him and of how he would give her such an answer the next day that she might find to be agreeable. When the night had passed and the day broken the lady returned to the perron nobly accompanied just as she had said holding in her hand the *chapitres* which she had spoken of and gave them to the good knight who read them all the way through so loudly that all who were within heard and understood them; and then he said: “My lady, since it is your noble pleasure that I should enact the contents of these *chapitres* I promise you as a noble knight to accomplish them to the best of my ability”. The lady thanked him for this and said: “And I assure you that I shall provide you with all things which shall be necessary for you to hold your *pas*. You shall be totally provided in this place with horses, harness, weapons [**Fol. 23^r**] and the rest. And thus I ordain that it shall please me and that you will find it all to your liking (have no doubt about this) so I

²⁷ Sir Philippe’s mother was Jeanne de Crequy. M.-T. Caron, *Les Vœux du faisan, noblesse en fête, esprit de croisade. Le Manuscrit français 11594 de la Bibliothèque nationale de France* (Tournhout: Brepols, 2003), p. 288.

advise you to be ready in person to begin on the first day of January which will be 1462 in the town of Brussels in Brabant before the most high and mighty prince Philip Duke of Burgundy and of Brabant who shall be your judge; or before others whom it shall please him to appoint. And in the presence of the high and noble princesses, ladies, and damsels of his household who, at present, I am led to believe, are the Duchesses of Bourbon and of Guelders and other daughters of Bourbon highly and nobly accompanied for which I am very joyful for the love of you; or else he may appoint it to be held in another place at the good pleasure of the duke and it may be at such time as should please him". The good knight greatly wondered at this speech and said in all humility to the lady: "You have said the most wonderful thing in the world to me and be not displeased with what I will ask of you". And the lady said to him: "Sir Philippe, say whatever you please, I entreat you". And then he said: "My lady, I say to you that I do not know if I am asleep or awake nor by what fortune I come to be in this place or if I am here only in spirit or in reality. Nor do I know in what place this prison is, nor in what land, except that I understand well what you and all those who are with you say. Therefore I presume to be in France. And you have told me that I must soon be in Brussels, a complete prisoner as I am, and in this particular place. Thus I cannot conceive how I could do this, pardon me for having so rudely asked it of you". The lady smiled at these words and said courteously to him: "Have no doubt, Sir Philippe, that those things that should come to pass *can* come to you. And think nothing of it but have good cheer and accomplish your *pas*. I say and answer to you that the fortunes of the world are very diverse and wonderful; and by God and fortune (as one in one manner and the other in another) it is fortune's will that you should be my prisoner, whom I thank, and that you should be in this perron which is of such a nature and under such power and dominion that I can [Fol. 23^v] transport, move, or keep it wherever I please in an instant with you inside it without any danger to your body. And it shall also be whatever colours I wish it to be. On the days when you need to be shown honour and to be adorned it shall be richly covered with gold, silver, green, and red and shall remain thus without otherwise changing until your *pas* shall be completed and accomplished. And let this suffice without your needing to ask any more questions, for there shall be no point of fault by me in all that I have said to you. And so, make it so that there shall be no point of fault by you if you wish to escape my prison". The good knight did not know what more to say to these words and dreaded the lady's anger and of doing anything that might make her unhappy

save for telling her of all the resolutions that he waited on of all points of her good grace. And, at this point, the Lady of the Perron, taking leave of the good knight, left and she said to him: “Sir Philippe, I pray to God that He grant you the means to do so well that you may acquire approval and praise throughout the world and the good grace of all ladies who shall hear tell of you. And I say to you that you shall no longer see me in this place until I shall see you delivered and released from your prison. But I shall leave you Limbourg Herald and my dwarf to do you service of that of which you shall have need. They know where I shall be most of the time and they will inform me daily of your news and affairs for they shall provide it according to the case that it shall be asked and desired – and adieu”. When the good knight heard what the lady had so highly and honourably said he was so faint with joy he did not see or hear the lady say any more which made him very sad. Nevertheless, as a virtuous knight he composed himself to speak to Limbourg Herald in this manner: “Limbourg, since you have the grace of my lady to go where you please, I pray you, go in haste to my most revered and sovereign lord the Duke of Burgundy and beg him most humbly for me that (if it be his noble pleasure) you might proclaim in his household and elsewhere where it pleases him these *chapitres* which my Lady of the Perron Phae has granted me in your presence and assign such days [Fol. 24^r] that shall please him. And also ask that he pardon me that I have not come myself before his lordship, excusing me, as you know of my misfortunes”. Limbourg was completely ready to do this and left the good knight whom he left alone in the perron with the dwarf and went to Brussels where the duke was at this time. He made most humble commendations to the duke and gave him a word-for-word account of the misfortunes and imprisonment of this good knight in the presence of all the chivalry of his household which filled them with wonder. And then the duke asked Limbourg where this perron phae was and in which land and said that he had never heard tell in his time of *phaee* ladies having power to reign or have dominion in these lands and that he thought that the ancient times had returned as it was in the time of King Arthur. And the other knights said the same. “I do not know if this is the case”, said Limbourg, “but this much I say to you, the lady is full of great honour and bounty and she speaks very fair French but, were I to venture to tell you just where the perron is to be found, or how it came to be there, well – I just cannot do so, but (if it be your noble pleasure) may I proclaim these *chapitres* which you see in your presence and all they contain? My master the good knight of Lalaing most humbly begs it of you”. Then the duke said: “Read the *chapitres* and I will make my

decision". Limbourg read the *chapitres* out loud and all the way through. They were so honourable that there was neither prince nor lord who heard them who could not say: "This lady is of great honour. And we understand well that she wishes to awaken the sleeping and corrupted hearts among us and may she be blessed for she has chosen a knight from among the others of our household who will strive to accomplish the contents of the *chapitres* to the end; and may God grant him the fortune". [The Duke said:] "Then I am happy for you to proclaim these *chapitres* here and elsewhere or wherever you have been asked. And to those who shall touch the three shields, or one, or two of them, you shall assign the day when they shall be ready and arrayed with all things to prove the emprise of the land according to the *chapitres* of the Lady of the Perron Phae in this our town of Brussels on the first [Fol. 24"] day of January which shall be the year 1462. And if our affairs should be such and so great that we be unable to give our personal attention to this matter, we would have the knight prisoner informed through you, Limbourg, in good time and similarly inform those who shall have touched his shields. And say this to him on our behalf as you greet him when you get there". After the herald had most humbly thanked and taken leave of the Duke, several knights and squires came before Limbourg and asked him where this perron was and where the shields were which they must touch in order that they might be able to go and touch them in time. Limbourg answered them: "My lords, truly I know not what to say to you as I have not spoken to my lady who is in charge, but I shall return to her very shortly and I'll know what to tell you". And, on having said this, he took his leave and returned to the lady to know where it would please her for the perron and the shields to be placed and so that he could tell the noblemen who wish to come to it. The lady said to him: "Limbourg, it shall be tomorrow morning in Brussels with Sir Philippe inside enclosed within a rock of hard, grey stone and with the three shields – black, violet, and grey – hanging from the perron which my dwarf shall guard. And there shall also be a hunting horn hanging from the perron which must be blown by all those who wish to touch the shields. And, when they touch it [the shield], they shall tell the dwarf what he will have to say. And you, [Limbourg], go and tell Sir Philippe all that you have found in the Duke of Burgundy's household. And it is also my wish that he have good cheer and greet him on my behalf".

Limbourg returned to the perron where he found the dwarf outside who let him inside straight away. And he greeted the good knight on behalf of the Duke of Burgundy and the princes of his household with fraternal commendations on behalf of

the knights, squires, ladies, and damsels who greatly desired to see him quitted and delivered from his misfortunes. Also on behalf of the Lady of the Perron who wished him to know that the perron with him inside it, would, without fail, be in the town of Brussels early the following morning and that three shields (that is: one black, another grey, and the third violet) would be hanging from the said perron with a hunting horn which will be blown by all those who wish to come against you [*sic*] according to the shield which they shall have touched. And my lady's dwarf [**Fol. 25'**] who is here shall thus put in writing those challengers who come and which shields they touch. He shall explain of the deeds of each shield and of those things which they should do. "And thus, Sir Dwarf, you are commanded by my lady to do this so well that none will have anything bad to say about your doings under pain of being punished at her good will". The dwarf answered him proudly saying: "Limbourg, on other occasions I have been well delegated to do greater things than this when I have had no point of fault and I shall do as well again with this person". Sir Philippe was so joyful at these words that he could do no more and desired nothing but to find himself with these noblemen that he knew and to do that which the lady had ordered and that which he had promised her. So they spent most of the night in joyful plans. The next day he found himself and his perron in Brussels completely appointed just as the lady had said to the herald. When the princes, knights, and squires found out that the perron was there each of them went to see it and were filled with great wonder. And they saw the three shields and the horn hanging from the perron which the dwarf guarded with great diligence. And each of them asked, one after the other, what the shields and the horn were for. And the dwarf answered them on each point saying to them: "Are you such that you speak of touching that of which I speak?" "We do say so", they said, "In God's name, Dwarf, since you are delegated, speak to us (if you please) of what this horn and these three shields are for and then we shall take counsel as to what we ought to do". "In the name of God", said the dwarf, "there are many in the company who wish to touch [the shields] whom I may not receive, indeed any of them". And the dwarf said "The *pas* is to be held against a knight who is a prisoner here and it is so highly and nobly commanded by my lady and mistress that none may undertake [the *pas*] lest they be a nobleman – this is the first point".

"As well as this, he who blows the horn must touch one of the three shields. And I say to you whoever touches the black shield (which is the first) he must run one [course] with a war lance with sharpened lancehead the point cut to an un-jagged

curve and afterwards to fight with swords with rebated edges and the point ground down from the top, along, and across [**Fol. 25^v**] and without an *estoc*²⁸ under pain of losing honour and losing the prize, such and until twenty-seven sword strokes have been dealt and accomplished by one of them, mounted and armed in saddles and war harness and on such horses as they please. As soon as I have blown the horn it will be deemed accomplished and each must stop fighting and retire to their place.

Next, he who touches this violet shield must run thirteen courses with lances armed and equipped with coronals of courtesy, vamplates, and grapers which my lady will provide at her expense to all comers whether or not they are broken and of no more use. And they shall be mounted and armed in war harness and not otherwise. And after their courses have been accomplished they must both retire to their place.

Next, he who touches the grey shield must fulfil and accomplish against the knight prisoner seventeen courses with lances equipped as is said before mounted and armed in jousting harness with war saddles. And once these courses have been accomplished they must retire as is mentioned above.

And understand well this which I say to you in order that you make no mistake or do anything for which you could be reprimanded. And furthermore, it is necessary that those of you who touch [the shields] shall promise the faith which you owe to God and to Our Lady that unless you have a true and just cause you will appear on the days which will have been assigned to you by Limbourg Herald and in the place which you will have been told. And if what I have said satisfies you, he who wishes to touch, touch, but he must be such as is aforesaid and not otherwise. They are at the beginning of their perils and adventures. And let none forget to name themselves in order that I can tell them to my lady”.

The first to touch was a Burgundian nobleman called Henry de Stice squire.²⁹ And then the others touched to the number of eighty-six. But, because of the Duke’s affairs – that is a great embassy which he sent to the King on which my lord of Croy and others led many others in their company. Also concerning my lord Deveners who was away who had several gentlemen with him who had touched [the shields] and were thus not able to be there because of this, there were only sixty-one, both knights and squires, of whom the names and their feats of arms shall hereafter [**Fol. 26^r**] at

²⁸ A thrusting point. See gloss.

²⁹ In other contemporary accounts (BnF MS fonds français 5739 and BM Cambrai MS 1114) his name is given as ‘henry de cycey’ and ‘de cicey’.

length be described together with the blazons of their coats of arms and all their apparel. The dwarf said to him: "Henry de Stice, I say to you that as soon as you have gone against the knight prisoner which you have promised me to do, your blazon of your coat of arms shall be taken away by Limbourg and carried by me to my lady for thus she has commanded me to tell you and all the others. But do not be unhappy at this for she only does this to have a completely true understanding of you. And they will never be put in a position where you, or others, might have blame but she has the good intention to place them in such a place where they shall be to the exaltation of your names and of your arms forever and have no doubt about this".

When Henry de Stice (and all the others) heard the dwarf speak thus of all the things with which he had been charged by the lady they were greatly happy and joyful and promised the dwarf that they would be ready to do all that he had said and promised to the best of their ability to be at the places and days which they would be assigned and to say thus to his lady, to whom they humbly commended themselves, and also to say to the knight that they desired to see him very much and to see his deliverance from prison and to see God effect this to his honour. The dwarf left at these words and said he would make a good report to his lady of all he had seen and heard, and carried all their names off in writing.

When the first day of January came my lord the Duke declared and made it known everywhere that he was unable to be at the *pas* that had been cried at Brussels and it was postponed to the day of the sixth day of February in the said place of Brussels. Limbourg made it known to the Lady of the Perron and thus she informed the knight prisoner which gave him some great displeasure. But his great virtue and valour made it pass fairly lightheartedly. Again, my lord the Duke ordered the aforesaid *pas* to be held on the said sixth day of February so it was postponed until the following twenty-eighth day of April which was in the year 1463 and assigned it to take place in the town of Bruges and thus it was proclaimed in his household and thence in all other places. When the Lady of the Perron Phae knew that the day had been postponed and relocated to Bruges, she made it known to her prisoner the good knight and gently comforted him and encouraged him so that he would [Fol. 26^v] take it in good grace as the delay had not been caused by him but it was the Duke's pleasure that it should be thus. And that he should be assured that his needs and affairs would be carried out even better in all ways. When this good knight heard the gracious words that the lady had sent to him, his heart leapt and his joy redoubled; his

prison did not matter to him but only the wait. But then, since he was unable to do anything else, he was happy and most humbly commended himself always to the good grace of his lady praying to her that concerning all his feats of arms she might hold him in her noble memory, and being that his feat had been so well prepared that he could issue forth with honour – that touched him more than anything. Concerning this, the lady's messenger said: "Have no doubt, for I assure you that she dwells on the matter with all diligence. And where you must test yourself and those whom she has ordered to keep you company and give you service so you shall have all that you should need as she has promised you, be always ready in person on the days which shall be signified and assigned to you".

During this time my lord the Duke left Brussels and went to Bruges and had it proclaimed to the lords and governors of the town that he wished Sir Philippe de Lalaing's *pas* to be held there and that they should prepare the marketplace with high lists. And, at the sides, make great rich wooden stands among which there should be one for my lord the Duke to be where he wished or for others that he might delegate. And each one of them took thought to do well and to receive fittingly all those who were to come to the event. And so you can say that all had been well ordered for Bruges is a town amongst all the others of the world where it is easiest to find all that is needed to have a great festivity with all goods and merchandise because it is so well served by the sea due to its great and rich merchants who live there and those who come from all parts.

When the twenty-eighth day of April had come, at first light you could see at the north end of the marketplace the grand and wondrous Perron Phae which was of four colours just as the lady had promised (that is: gold, silver, red, and green). And the good knight was within it safe and sound. And at the four corners there were four great griffons each attached by a golden chain. The lady's dwarf was before the perron [Fol. 27^r] seated on high. He held a thick club in his hand and was dressed in rich blue cloth of gold and [wore] a black velvet berretta. There, from the tree, hung the three aforesaid shields – black, violet, and grey – and the hunting horn which was of gold. And before the said perron on high were all the blazons of coats of arms of the noblemen who wished to take part affixed and placed in the order that they had touched the shields. They had to be placed without regard to rank or grandeur for it had been ordered thus by the duke, the princes, and great lords of his household to remove any jealousy or hatred which might arise. The knights and squires and the

officers of arms who had been ordered to accompany and serve the good knight prisoner were all ready and awaited the time that the duke and the ladies would come to the ring. On this day they came after dinner but, because my lord the Duke was indisposed, he delegated my lord of Morveil, Sir Philippe Pot Lord of La Roche in Burgundy, and Golden Fleece King of Arms to take his place as judges in his stand; who would do this for all the necessary time until the end. And my lord the Duke stayed with the ladies in a burgess's *hôtel* on the other side directly opposite the delegated judges in order to see them better and all the goings on at his ease. You would have seen the Duke, princes, and great noble knights coming into the ring mounted on coursers which made great leaps. My lady of Bourbon and her daughters and other ladies in great abundance and damsels came in carriages and on hackneys and, behind them, knights and squires richly arrayed. And you would think that you were imagining at this *pas* all manner of other people both on horseback and on foot. There were so many in the streets that one did not know where to walk. All the houses above the marketplace were full and all the stands were so full that it was an inestimable thing. When everyone was in their place and the noise of the people had abated, Henry de Stice came just as he had promised most finely mounted and armed. For his livery he had a white and blue plume on his head protection. And he had a black velvet horse harness charged with silver bells and leaves. When he came [Fol. 27^v] to the entrance of the lists he found them closed and well guarded by Sir Morlet d'Arenty Captain of the Duke's archers accompanied by a great number of archers. And there he halted until Sir Ernoul de Crequy the knight delegated by the Lady of the Perron Phae accompanied by two kings of arms – that is the Flanders King and Artois King – who went before Henry at the entrance of the lists. Then the delegated knight asked this knight who he was and he answered: "I am Henry de Stice. I come to present myself to do and accomplish with all my power that which I have promised the Lady of the Perron Phae just as she has commanded through her dwarf". So the delegated knight had the gate opened and made him and his followers enter inside and then he said: "Henry, you are welcome and make a tour of the ring making reverence to the duke and to the princes, and princesses, and to the judges delegated by the duke and then take your place until you see the knight prisoner issue from the perron completely ready to receive you just as my lady has told you through her dwarf in Brussels". After these words had been said, the four griffons who were at the four corners of the perron pulled against each other with such great force that the

middle of the perron was opened wide enough that the knight prisoner mounted and armed issued completely at his ease. And those who were with him carried two lances and two swords which they gave to the two kings of arms and the two swords were given to the delegated knight who carried them to the judges so that they would know that they were equal; and they were adjudged as such. And, after the judgement had been made, the knight and the kings of arms carried them to Henry de Stice for the choice of each. He took one lance and one sword and the others were brought back to the knight prisoner who was set apart ready to fight and he gave them to my lord of Boussut his brother-in-law – his sister's husband. Firstly, he held the sword in his left hand (the hand with which he held the reins of the bridle of his horse) until he had accomplished the course with his lance. Afterwards, he gave my lord of Boussut his lance. The brothers Sir Josse and Simon de Lalaing, Le Galoys de Crequy, my lord D'Anelin and several other gentlemen of Hainault accompanied him into the ring. For his livery he had a horse bard³⁰ covered with black velvet strewn with roman letters embroidered in gold thread and on [Fol. 28^r] these letters were strawberries of gold embroidery. And it was bordered with fringes of alternating gold and black silk. Once this had been done, each drew apart then the knight and Henry spurred their horses and came against each other with lances lowered but neither broke as they passed by and they threw the lances down. Then they came again with the swords in their fists and approached and the swords rung out very harshly to such an extent and until such time as Henry had accomplished these twenty-seven sword strokes and the knight prisoner had dealt nineteen and no more. When the dwarf saw that Henry had dealt and accomplished his twenty-seven sword strokes he blew the golden horn to end the fight which they did straight away without doing anything more. And the knight prisoner retired to his perron (which the griffons had opened) and Henry to his place. Then, having taken off his helm, he went to take leave of the duke, the ladies, and the judges. He went before the knight prisoner, to whom he did reverence, and shook his hand and then went to his *hôtel* accompanied by those who had brought him. And when he was outside the lists the knight prisoner returned to the said perron completely armed – but not before the said Henry had left. Limbourg went up to where the blazons of coats of arms were and removed that of Henry de Stice then carried it to the duke and presented it to him. And the duke had him carry it to the dwarf who kept it in order to carry it to the Lady of the Perron Phae just as it had been said and

³⁰ Horse defence of solid material. See gloss.

ordered according to the *chapitres* that the lady had granted. And this was how Henry's feats of arms were carried out.

It was all done thus to Henry de Stice and similar ceremonies were made to all the others who had touched the black shield as in their arrival and reception, in the granting of weapons, in having the combats and retiring as otherwise except when they had not properly heard the golden horn which the dwarf blew mischievously, because they were eager to engage in combat. As soon as the delegated knight heard the horn's blast, he would go to take and separate them and lead the knight prisoner back to his place – even if he did not always go back into his perron; but did such to each and for that reason I shall not retell any more of the above said things for the first day. And I shall proceed [**Fol. 28^v**] diligently to put in writing those who came on the first day and only how they were dressed and the combats.

My lord of Grimberg, the second of those who had touched the black shield, came nobly accompanied and richly mounted and armed. For his livery he had a black plume on his head protection. On his horse he had a harness of black velvet embroidered with teardrops of gold thread. On the second horse was a page most handsomely dressed and he carried a war lance in his hand from which hung a very long valence³¹ with a harness of black velvet with a silver rosebush covered in roses. And there was a big silver unopened rosebud on the crupper of this horse. The harness was embroidered with silver pears. On the third horse was another page carrying a vouge.³² This horse had a harness of black velvet charged with silver bells. He entered the lists with all his livery and those who accompanied him and did reverence to all whilst taking a tour of the ring. Then the lances and swords were carried to him by the delegated knight and the kings of arms as they had been to Henry de Stice. And likewise the knight prisoner, of whom I have already spoken, issued from his perron mounted and armed as he had been the first time without changing anything. He was given his lance and sword by my lord of Boussut which he thus did as he had done the first time before. And it was ordered, because a great crowd of people had entered the lists, that there should only be three men remaining with the foreigner to serve him and the rest should go outside. Thus it was done from then onwards to all the others. When this was done the two knights drew apart and

³¹ 'Probably the name of the French town of *Valence* on the Rhone. Some thin woven fabric', *OED*. 'Cloth which covers a helmet', *MED*.

³² A long-bladed staff weapon. See gloss.

lowered their lances which were not broken at all and they cast them down. Then they came hastily to fight with swords to such an extent and until such time as the knight prisoner had dealt twenty-six sword strokes and the Lord of Grimberg twenty-seven. The dwarf blew the horn and the delegated knight took them and led the knight prisoner to his place and the Lord of Grimberg retired to his where he had his helm removed and then went to take leave of the duke, the ladies, and the judges, and of the knight whom he found completely armed with his sword in his fist. [Fol. 29^r] But when he took leave of him he shook his hand and cast down his sword. Then my lord of Grimberg retired to his lodgings and the knight remained outside the perron without re-entering it for this time he was waiting on another. And thus the Lord of Grimberg carried out his feats of arms.

Sir Philippe the Bastard of Brabant had a white and violet plume on his head protection and a horse harness of white damask with three hangings embroidered with roses enriched with Venetian gold thread. His page's horse had a trapper of violet figured satin broché with gold thread throughout embroidered³³ with dagged white cloth. And this page carried a lance from which hung a valence. He had four gentlemen to accompany him in white and violet parti-coloured aketons and horses trappered in figured violet satin bordered with dagged white cloth. And they did not break their lances at all but the Bastard accomplished the twenty-seven sword strokes and the knight twenty-four.

My lord Jehan de Luxembourg came accompanied by my lord of Saint-Pol, my lord Jacques his brother, my lord the Count of Brienne (eldest son of the Count of Saint-Pol), my lord of Fiennes, and several other knights and squires. The trapper of his horse was but a harness of velvet and gold thread. His first page carried a war lance and his horse's trapper was of black velvet bordered with tawny velvet. The trapper of the second page was of crimson cloth of gold bordered with black velvet. And the knight broke his lance and my lord Jehan did not but he accomplished his twenty-seven sword strokes and the knight dealt only six. And it may be presumed that because of the youth of my said lord Jehan the knight, who was full of all courtesy, forebore and refrained from any more.

My lord Jacques de Bourbon came accompanied by my lord of Charolais, my lord Jehan Duke of Clèves, my lord Adolf of Clèves Lord of Ravenstein, my lord of Saint-Pol, and several other great lords, knights, and squires. And he had on his head

³³ This should be 'bordered' but the MS has *brode*.

protection, called a barbute,³⁴ [**Fol. 29^v**] a great valence hanging down to the ground and a plume of vermilion velvet bordered all around with gold thread. On his horse was a trapper of blue velvet enriched with little silver leaves hanging from little golden buds. And they did not break their lances at all but my said lord Jacques accomplished the twenty-seven sword strokes and the knight twenty-one.

Sir Josse de Lalaing had on his barbute a white, vermilion, and black plume charged with gilt goldsmiths work and a long trailing valence hanging behind. And on his horse a trapper of crimson velvet and on its shaffron the same plume as the helm. And they did not break their lances at all and the said Sir Josse accomplished twenty-seven sword strokes and the knight twenty-one.

Jehan d'Arsson had on his helm a violet banderol³⁵ and below teardrops embroidered in silver and a trapper on his horse of white satin on which there was embroidered a cloud from which came black teardrops which spread all over the said trapper and these teardrops were charged with goldsmiths work. And they did not break their lances at all but they both accomplished twenty-seven sword strokes.

Jehan de Saint Marcel had on his helm a violet banderol with a black bar through the middle charged with silver and on his horse a black velvet harness with a hanging on which were written letters in gilt embroidery. And they did not break their lances at all but the said knight made him lose his sword which my lord Adolf of Clèves returned to him by the order of the said knight as had all been passed by the Lady of the Perron. And the said Jehan accomplished the twenty-seven sword strokes and the knight twenty-four.

Ehinot de Songny had a valence on his helm hanging to the ground embroidered with golden roman letters and entirely fringed around with white silk alternating with blue. And on his horse a trapper of grey and violet taffeta and above great letters embroidered in gold and on its shaffron a grey and violet plume. And Ehinot had his gardebras³⁶ struck off in the course of the lance but they did not break their lances and each accomplished twenty-seven sword strokes.

Charles de Courcelles had a trapper of black taffeta and teardrops of velvet the same and on the shaffron a black and red plume [**Fol. 30'**] and they did not break their

³⁴ See gloss.

³⁵ 'A small ornamental streamer', *OED*.

³⁶ A secondary reinforcing shoulder defence. See gloss.

lances and each accomplished twenty-seven sword strokes. That is all for the second day.

The third day was the last day of April. Nothing was done because the men of my lord of Charolais were not ready and, on the first day of May, the *pas* continued until the following Thursday the fifth day of the said month for the solemnity of the procession of Bruges and other things. On this fifth day the said knight had a bard covered with black velvet edged with gold embroidered with batons and firebrands strewn over the said cover and fringed with gold dagged with black silk.

Sir Antoine de Croy had a valence on his helm hanging to the ground and a black plume and on his horse a trapper of green cloth of gold bordered with crimson velvet and above teardrops of white satin attached with embroidery and a black plume on his horse's shaffron. And they did not break their lances and the said Sir Antoine de Croy accomplished twenty-seven sword strokes and the knight twenty-one.

Philippe de Bourbon had a trapper of blue taffeta fashioned like a bard and loops above emanating from a bud of gold and silk and embroidered throughout with gold thread and, on his horse's shaffron, a black plume with a little red above. And on the second course the knight aimed his lance below [Philippe's] arm but they did not break their lances and each accomplished twenty-seven strokes.

Sir Antoine Bastard of Brabant had a man on horseback before him dressed in yellow and a great giant leading him and two wildmen who accompanied this giant. And he had a crest of down on his helm and above a crest of crimson charged with gilt goldsmiths work and, on his horse, a harness of blue velvet embroidered with gold thread and with teardrops and little silver bells fashioned like pears and above the crupper of the horse a big round bell. And the knight broke his lance whilst Sir Antoine did not and the knight accomplished the twenty-seven sword strokes and Sir Antoine fourteen.

On this day the knight took a new horse and had a valence on his helm hanging very low and on his horse a trapper of gold on gold fashioned like a latticework of embroidery and above lozenges of silver embroidery strewn over the said trapper and within these [Fol. 30^v] lozenges little 'y's formed of violet silk and bordered with violet velvet embroidered with gold and silk in the manner of jennets³⁷ and fringed with blue silk below the border.

³⁷ 'A small Spanish horse', *OED*. There is also mention of the *jennet-bit* as 'a kind of bit with a small port'.

Then my lord of Charolais's men came after of whom the names follow. Accompanying my said lord and my lord Jacques de Bourbon were: my lord Jehan, Duke of Clèves, my lord Adolf [of Clèves], and several other knights and squires dressed in aketons of violet cloth of gold and below dagged black cloth save for my said lord of Charolais and the princes.

The Lord of Saint-Pol had five horses with trappers and a barded horse which was led by hand. And he had on his helm a black and violet plume on a silver unicorn and this was entirely fringed around with gold and, on it, a golden sash hanging to the sides of the horse which was trappered with black and violet velvet charged with gilt and silver goldsmiths work fashioned like leaves and loops of gilt embroidery of his device and charged with half-silver half-gilt bells fashioned like pears fringed with gold alternating with black silk – and a black and violet plume on the shaffron.

The second trapper was of black and violet cloth of gold and fringed with gold alternating with black silk. The third was of crimson and black cloth of gold and furred and bordered with marten. The fourth was of blue velvet and charged with gilt and silver goldsmiths work and gold embroidered letters of a device in a bend³⁸ on the said trapper and furred and bordered with ermine.

The fifth was of grey cloth of gold in front and of crimson behind charged with gilt and silver goldsmiths work and bordered with black velvet embroidered with gold letters. The bard of the horse, which was led by hand, was of crimson cloth of gold furred with letuse³⁹ and plumes of the same colours as the trappers which the other horses wore. And they both broke their lances and the Lord of Saint-Pol accomplished the twenty-seven sword strokes and the knight twenty.

Lord Jacques de Luxembourg had a black and violet plume on his helm and a horse trapper of black and violet cloth of gold charged with gilt and white goldsmiths work fashioned like great leaves and letters of his device. And on the neck and the crupper of the said horse were fringed with gold thread and, over the whole trapper, silver bells [Fol. 31^r] fashioned like big pears and fringed throughout with gold thread alternating with violet silk. And they both broke their lances. On his horse's shaffron was a violet plume. Lord Jacques dealt the twenty-seven strokes and the knight twenty-one.

³⁸ 'Heraldry. An ordinary formed by two parallel lines drawn from the dexter chief to the sinister base of the shield', *OED*.

³⁹ 'Skins of the snow-weasel'. Elspeth M. Veale, *The English Fur Trade in the Later Middle Ages* (Oxford: UP, 1966), pp. 23 and 220.

Drieu de Humieres had a trapper of black and violet damask. And they did not break their lances and the knight accomplished twenty-seven sword strokes and Drieu sixteen.

Jehan de Damas had a trapper of black and violet velvet and a white and blue plume on his horse's shaffron and he did not break his lance. The knight broke his, and through the force of the knight's horse Jehan and his horse were knocked to the ground and the knight accomplished twenty-seven strokes and Jehan de Damas nineteen. After this Jehan de Damas remounted his horse and continued with his sword strokes. And that is all for the third day of the said *pas*.

Charle [*sic*] de Happlaincourt had a trapper of black and violet damask and the said Charle had his gardebras struck off in the lance course but they did not break their lances and when they came to swords the knight lost his through his own stroke without the said Charle causing it and, by the judges' decision, the sword was returned to the knight by the officers of arms and he took it. But immediately the knight cast the sword far from him and came with his hand against the said Charle who held his own [sword] with which he defended himself from this knight. Some said that when the said Charle saw that the knight was without his sword he cast his own down and did no more. But in any case he constrained him to such an extent that he made him lose and they did no more.

On Friday the sixth day of this month the knight had a bard on his horse painted gold and azure and other colours and fringes of blue silk with the neck armed with steel mail.

Guillaume de Fally had a trapper of black damask bordered with white damask and a silver bell on the crupper and a black and white plume on his horse's shaffron and, beneath his horse's trapper, a harness of black velvet with a hanging embroidered with gold letters [**Fol. 31^v**] and these letters were fringed with gold and another big bell on a silver stripe on the crupper. And the knight broke his lance and Guillaume did not and each accomplished twenty-seven sword strokes.

Jehan de Vellu had a trapper of black satin bordered with white satin and they did not break their lances and each accomplished twenty-seven sword strokes.

Sir Frédéric de Witthem had a knight and squire to accompany him dressed in violet satin and each had horses with trappers of black satin bordered with dagged violet cloth and black and violet plumes on the shaffrons. And Sir Frédéric's horse

trapper was of white damask embroidered⁴⁰ with blue damask and, on the horse's crupper, was a tuft of gold thread which spread throughout the trapper and a violet and black plume and a white and blue plume on the shaffron. And they did not break their lances but the said knight made him lose his sword twice and, by the judges' decision, it was returned to him to perform his strokes and the said knight made him lose his sword once more before they had finished. The knight dealt twenty-seven strokes and the Sir Frédéric de Witthem twenty-two.

Sir Gille de Bellemont had my lord [Jehan, Duke] of Clèves, my lord Adolf [of Clèves], and several other knights and gentlemen to accompany him. His horse had a black and violet velvet harness and above silver leaves and bordered with gilt bells all fashioned like pears and, on the horse's crupper, a big bell like that of a chapel hanging from four little silver pillars covered with black and violet velvet fringed with gold and above a loop of gold and black silk. There was a page [riding] after him dressed in violet with gold embroidered sleeves carrying a targe and a lance from which hung a valence, and a trapper on his horse of black velvet embroidered throughout and above with gold letters, teardrops, and upon the page's sallet⁴¹ was a loop of gold thread and black and violet plumes. And the knight broke his lance whilst Sir Gille did not and each accomplished twenty-seven strokes.

The Lord of Walham had a valence on his helm on which were gold letters and, on his horse, a trapper of black velvet and above were attached letters with gold fringes and [the trapper was] fringed with gold. And they did not break [Fol. 32^r] their lances and the said [Lord of] Walham accomplished the twenty-seven sword strokes and the knight twenty-two.

Simon de Lalaing had a black taffeta banderol on which were embroidered teardrops and an 'A' in the middle on his helm and his horse's trapper was of black velvet and he had a black plume on his horse's shaffron. Simon had both his pauldron and gardebras struck off in the lance course and they did not break their lances. And Simon brought to a close the *pas* of the shield of swords.⁴² The knight dealt twenty-seven strokes and Simon twenty-two.

On Sunday the eighth day of this month the knight had six – both knights and gentlemen – dressed in violet aketons to serve him for the joust in war harness and

⁴⁰ This should be bordered.

⁴¹ A type of helmet. See gloss.

⁴² That is the black shield struck by the challengers. See fols 25^r-25^v.

saddles. His horse had a trapper embroidered with gold and silk fashioned like wafers fringed with white silk alternating with violet. Jehan de Bourgoigne son of the Bastard Cornelius Lord of⁴³ had a black velvet horse harness embroidered with gold letters and those who served him were dressed in black taffeta aketons and yellow bonnets. And the knight broke four lances and Jehan one.

My lord Adolf [of Clèves] had my lord [Jehan Duke of Clèves] his brother and several other knights and squires to accompany him dressed in velvet with one [set] with a white pleat and the other fashioned like a sleeveless robe above the girdle and beneath [the girdle all had] blue cloth slashed [to reveal] white cloth beneath this blue. And on the sides from the armpit to the girdle was white and blue dagged cloth. Before them came trumpeters and clarioners dressed in robes of the same colour and, moreover, before these trumpeters came two tabor players arrayed as Turks one playing two flutes and the other two tabors and all [wearing] red taffeta berrettas save for the tabor players and trumpeters. Lord Adolf had a white and blue damask trapper embroidered with gold and a white, blue, and vermilion plume charged with goldsmiths work. After him came four pages dressed in white and blue velvet robes and [Fol. 32^v] with white and blue cloth beneath and each [wore] a vermilion taffeta berretta and silver chains, and a big tuft hanging behind and with shimmering leaves around it and bells and on each horse a harness all in silver fashioned with leaves and bells and above the said horse oak leaves fashioned like a cup and after the four pages came another [*sic*] little fool who led a destrier covered in a trapper worked in silk to imitate mail upon which there were embroidered golden teardrops and a cross of Saint Andrew embroidered in white silk and all the plumes on the shaffrons were white and blue. The harnesses of those who served him were decorated with white and blue cloth with a fairly broad hanging dagged on leather. And he broke four lances and the knight seven.

Loys Bonnel had a valence and a tawny camlet trapper with a white taffeta Saint Andrew's cross embroidered⁴⁴ with violet velvet on his horse. He was accompanied by Lord Adolf's trumpeters and the knight broke four lances and Loys two.

Sir Adrien de Mailly had a horse harness of violet velvet bordered with a gold fringe on his and, after him, a page on a horse trappered with black velvet and this

⁴³ Name not given in any of the MSS.

⁴⁴ This should be *bordered* but *brodee* is clear in the text.

page was dressed in black and violet. And Sir Adrien had his gardebras struck off in the lance course and the knight broke two lances and Adrien none.

Sir Jehan de Rembremettes had a harness of black velvet embroidered with gold letters of his device and those who accompanied him were dressed in black damask aketons; and the knight broke two lances and Jehan one.

Sir Philippe de Bourbon had a violet figured satin trapper and, upon this trapper, loops of blue cloth among which was gold thread and those who accompanied him had blue taffeta aketons with violet figured satin points and the said knight broke one lance; and that is all for the first day.

On the ninth day of this month the knight had a gold trapper embroidered like latticework and bordered with dagged violet cloth [**Fol. 33^r**] and a grey plume on the shaffron.

Lord Jacques de Luxembourg had my lord of Charolais, and my lord of Saint-Pol, my lord of Brienne, my lord of Roussy, my lord of Fiennes, and my lord Jehan of Luxembourg to accompany him. The four of them had trappers of blue taffeta and on Lord Jacques's horse was a black and violet velvet trapper charged with gilt and silver goldsmiths work fashioned like the craft of the hauberk-maker⁴⁵ and big silver and gold bells around the horse's neck and a blue taffeta banderol inscribed with gold letters on his helm; and each broke two lances.

My lord of Grimberg had a black plume charged with goldsmiths work on his helm and his horse's trapper was of black velvet and he had a black plume on his horse's shaffron. Those who accompanied him were dressed in camlet aketons and the knight broke four lances and the Lord of Grimberg none.

Sir Philippe Bastard of Brabant had a red and blue plume and a black satin trapper charged with silver bells and he had two gentlemen to accompany him. Their horses were trappered one with green cloth of gold and the other with crimson cloth of gold and each had red and blue plumes on the shaffrons of their horses; and the knight broke three lances and the said Sir Philippe two.

On the eleventh day of this month the knight had a black velvet trapper bordered with violet satin with a gold bend and with white silk fashioned like knots – one gold and the other white – this border fringed above and below with white silk alternating with violet and a violet plume on the horse's shaffron.

⁴⁵ i.e. mail.

Jacques Dourssan had a black and violet velvet trapper on his horse; and the knight broke four lances and Jacques one.

Jehan Larchevesque had a black and violet damask horse trapper and broke one lance and the knight four.

My lord of Condé had a black and violet plume on his helm and on his horse a black and violet velvet trapper bordered with gold letters and, upon the border, gilt goldsmiths work and a flower like a lily upon the crupper enamelled with azure [Fol. 33^v] on the tip of the petal; and he broke one lance and the knight two.

Jehan Franquelance had a black and violet damask trapper and broke one lance and the knight three.

Guillaume Bonnel had a similar trapper and broke two lances and the knight one.

Jehan de Lingne had a black and violet velvet trapper and broke no lances and the knight two.

On the twelfth day of this month the knight had a black, velvet, and grey satin trapper bordered with violet velvet and a grey plume on the shaffron. Sir Antoine Bastard of Brabant had a red and black plume and a violet satin trapper all strewn with silver teardrops and a big bell upon his horse. This trapper was bordered with black velvet embroidered with gold letters. Those who accompanied him each had violet bonnets and a silver teardrop upon them; and he broke two lances and the knight three.

Henry de Cycey⁴⁶ had a grey and violet damask trapper and a white, black, and blue plume on his horse's shaffron and those who accompanied him had grey and violet taffeta aketons; and he broke two lances and the knight five.

Sir Frédéric de Witthem⁴⁷ had a black and violet plume and a black velvet harness embroidered with gold fashioned like interlaced branches and, on the horse, two Moor's hands in a gold embroidered basket holding a silk veil with love knots from which teardrops were shedding. Those who accompanied him had black and violet satin aketons broché with gold thread and each [wore] white bonnets; and he broke no lances and the knight one.

Sir Daniel de Mourquerque had a valence on his helm hanging very low and a black velvet horse harness embroidered with gold. A page came after him, his horse

⁴⁶ See n. on fol. 25^v.

⁴⁷ There may be some error in copying as he has already appeared on fol. 31^v.

trappered with white and black damask embroidered with gold letters and bordered with alternating white and black cloth. This page was dressed in white and black satin and those who served Sir Daniel each wore white taffeta aketons and, below the girdle, dagged black cloth and white berrettas lined with black velvet and a loop of gold thread above; and he broke three lances and the knight two. And so the *pas* of the shield of the joust in [Fol. 34'] harness and saddles of war closed.

On the thirteenth day of this month the knight had seven to accompany him both knights and gentlemen dressed in black and violet taffeta and, on his horse, a grey velvet trapper embroidered with gold and letters and with little ciphers; and his shield was black, violet, and grey.

Sir Eurard Serclays had a valence fashioned like a banderol on his helm and his horse was trappered with violet taffeta embroidered⁴⁸ with grey taffeta and a white, and red, and black plume on his [horse's] shaffron. Those who accompanied him wore aketons of taffeta – crimson above and grey below – and he broke three lances and the knight three.

Simon Derbaix had a white taffeta trapper embroidered with two gold letters on one side an 's' and on the other side a 'b' and his shield was white embroidered with these letters and the trapper and his shield were fringed with gold alternating with violet silk. Those who accompanied him had white aketons embroidered above with letters and beneath with dagged violet cloth; and he broke four lances and the knight seven.

Philippe de Bourbon had a blue camlet trapper bordered with dagged violet velvet and the dags were all embroidered with gold thread. Those who accompanied him had camlet aketons dagged above with violet velvet and blue below. These dags were embroidered with gold thread; and he broke one lance and the knight two but the Lord of Bourbon changed horses.

Philippe Dorville had crimson velvet valence and trapper and a black plume on his horse's shaffron. Those who accompanied him wore violet taffeta aketons; and he broke one lance and the knight three.

Sir Josse de Wassenaire had two men to lead him into the ring dressed in white and blue robes with wide sleeves completely open at the back and chaperons of the same colour with the chaperon's tipet around their heads and masks and long beards one playing a bagpipe and the other a reed pipe. Sir Josse had a black plume

⁴⁸ This should be *bordered*.

and a white valence on his helm and a violet velvet trapper on his horse [**Fol. 34^v**] embroidered with black cloth of gold and a page came after him carrying a targe covered with violet velvet broché with gold thread and his horse was trappered with blue cloth of gold. Those who accompanied him had aketons – white above and blue below – and blue velvet berrettas; and he did not break any lances and the knight broke three.

My lord Jacques de Luxembourg had a black and red plume fashioned like a crest charged with goldsmiths work and a crimson velvet trapper embroidered with gold fashioned like branches and of great leaves all charged with gilt goldsmiths work and shimmering silver-gilt letters densely packed with his device of 'R' and of 'A' and fringed around with gold and, on the fringe, an edge of black velvet fringed all round with gold and on and around the horse's neck half-silver half-gilt bells. And his shield was covered with crimson velvet embroidered with gold thread and charged with gilt goldsmiths work and a black and red plume on his [horse's] shaffron. Those who accompanied him had aketons of crimson taffeta above and of dagged black cloth below; and he broke eight lances and the knight six. And that is all for the first day of the jousts in jousting harness.

On the fourteenth day of this month the knight had a trapper of gold on gold embroidery fashioned like a trapper of overlapping tiles like a slate roof and above teardrops like drops of water strewn all over the trapper and for embroidery fashioned like a gutter embroidered in silver and blue silk and fringed with white silk alternating with violet and gold and crimson velvet tiles above this gutter one gold and the other velvet.

The Lord of Charolais had a gold and black silk loop on his helm and a black and violet cloth of gold horse trapper charged with gold bells and those who served him had white damask mantles lined with black satin; and he broke four lances and the knight five.

The Lord of Saint-Pol had a similar gilt and silk loop on his helm and a trapper the same as the Lord of Charolais's and a black and violet plume on his [horse's] shaffron. Those who served him wore aketons of violet taffeta and below of dagged black cloth; and he broke one lance and the knight three. [**Fol. 35^r**]

The Lord of Morcourt had a black and violet velvet trapper; and he broke five lances and the knight three.

Sir Jacques de Joumont had a black and violet velvet trapper charged with half-silver half-gilt bells fringed with gold alternating with violet silk; and he broke one lance and the knight three.

My lord of Brienne had a black and violet velvet trapper strewn with silver goldsmiths work and gold loops attached to the goldsmiths work with the letters 'R' and 'A' on this trapper. And upon the neck and the crupper of the horse up to the border (and the said border itself) it was all of silver goldsmiths work fashioned like great leaves; and he broke one lance and the knight one.

Loys Chevallart had a black and violet damask trapper; and he broke four lances and the knight three.

Rossequin Gaumel's horse was trappered the same as Loys's; and he broke six lances and the knight two. And that is all for the second day of the joust and of the third shield.

On the sixteenth day of this month the knight had a violet satin trapper.

Charles de Vissan had a green and red taffeta trapper and a narrow band of grey taffeta on the green and on the red; and his shield was white embroidered with a silver 'I'. He was accompanied by the Lord of Charolais's archers; and he broke seven lances and the knight four.

Lord Jacques de Bourbon had a velvet on crimson velvet trapper fringed on the horse's neck and on its rump fashioned like a boar's mane of black and grey cloth of gold. Those who served him wore crimson taffeta robes in the Italian fashion and silk berrettas of several colours resembling cloth of gold; and he broke one lance and the knight one.

Sir Jehan de Trasingnies had a black and violet velvet valence and trapper and white satin on the horse's neck and crupper embroidered with gold letters one within the other (an 's' and an 'I') and a black, white, and vermilion plume on his horse's shaffron. Those who accompanied him wore aketons of the same colour and embroidered as the trapper; and he [Sir Jehan] dealt the knight such a great blow that it broke all the straps on his helm and he dishelmed himself in the [Fol. 35^v] ring and did not complete all his courses. And he broke four lances and the knight five.

The Viscount of Furnes had a crimson velvet trapper and those who accompanied him were dressed in aketons – violet taffeta above and white below – and he broke two lances and the knight four.

Charles of Poitiers had a black velvet trapper bordered with alternating white and red cloth on the trapper and a white, red, and black plume on his horse's shaffron. Those who accompanied him were dressed in black taffeta above and below in dagged white and black cloth. And he broke one lance and the knight three.

Josse de Bonam had a chapeau with vermilion buds on his helm and a black velvet horse trapper and a little chapeau of buds on the crupper and a white silk loop emanating from the middle which spread throughout this trapper upon the crupper and a grey, red, and blue plume on his horse's shaffron. Those who accompanied him each had grey and blue taffeta aketons and chapeaus of the same colour and a black plume and a little chapeau of vermilion buds above and six trumpeters wearing chapeaus the same as the two others with plumes and little chapeaus of buds; and he broke five lances and the knight three.

On the seventeenth day of this month the knight had a woman's headdress on his helm and a horse trapper of gold on gold embroidery in a latticework and blue velvet roman letters above attached with silver embroidery bordered with dagged violet cloth.

Lord Adolf of Clèves had a white and red plume on a tuft of down charged with gilt goldsmiths work on his helm and a black velvet horse trapper embroidered with gold teardrops and with figures of his device and charged with half-silver half-gilt bells and a gilt and silver goldsmiths work Saint Andrew's cross before and behind. There were pages after him all dressed in white and blue in the Italian fashion with black satin berrettas. The first page was on a horse charged with green cloth of gold bordered with crimson velvet charged with silver bells fashioned like half-gilt pears. The second page's horse was trappered with crimson cloth of gold and a sable marten Saint Andrew's cross before and behind. The third page's trapper was of blue velvet charged with gold and silver goldsmiths work. The fourth was of tawny velvet and with an ermine Saint Andrew's cross before and behind [**Fol. 36^r**] bordered with violet velvet and charged with half-gilt silver bells. The rest of those who served him were dressed like the pages and each horse had a white plume on the shaffron; and he broke three lances and the knight five. And the *pas* was closed for the last shield of the joust in jousting harness and war saddles.

When the Lord of Ravenstein had done all his courses against the knight prisoner, which closed the *pas*, the knight came before the judges and asked them if he had achieved the whole *pas* according to the *chapitres* of the Lady of the Perron

Phae as they had been proclaimed and, if there was anything to complete to their order and judgment, he was ready to complete and do it. The judges said to him: “Noble knight, you have done so much that your lady and all others ought to be happy with it and in our opinion – delegated as your judges by our most revered lord the Duke of Burgundy – we say and declare that we regard the *pas* as well and valiantly accomplished; and may God grant you good fortune”. The dwarf came on foot to fetch him after these words and led him by his horse’s bridle inside the perron as he was accustomed. Straight afterwards there came three Moors dressed in Turkish costume the colours of which were the same as the aforesaid three shields – that is: black, violet, and grey – and the trappers of their three horses also: the first was of violet and grey velvet, the second of figured violet satin, and the third of grey velvet. Then the Moors asked the dwarf for the three shields hanging from the perron to carry them back to the Lady of the Perron who asked for them. The dwarf took the shields down and gave them to them – each according to the colour in which they were arrayed. And as soon as they had them they went, one after the other and in order, to the lady; the shields hanging from their necks. Afterwards the Lady of the Perron Phae came into the ring accompanied by my lord of Boussut and Sir Ernoul de Crequy, Flanders King of Arms, Artois King of Arms, and three pages. She led a horse by hand and was dressed in very fine blue satin with a black velvet chaperon with its end wrapped around her face. She had a big gold chain round her neck and was mounted on a white hackney trappered with rich crimson cloth of gold. Her first page was dressed in a robe of black satin above and below the girdle of dagged grey woollen cloth; his violet velvet chaperon [Fol. 36^v] was worn in the English fashion. And there were also the two other pages. The first page’s horse trapper was of violet satin strewn with very thick gold bosses. The second was of crimson cloth of gold and the third was of crimson velvet. The horse which the lady led by hand had a harness of violet satin with a large hanging embroidered with gold and white silk fashioned like English knots with bends fringed all along with white and violet silk dags. When the lady had come before the perron the dwarf came before her with great reverence and brought her a great key with which she opened the perron in the middle so wide that she, the aforesaid knights, kings of arms, and horses entered within completely at their ease. Then the good knight who was waiting on the grace and mercy of his lady was released from his prison. Then immediately she had him dressed in a green cloth of gold Italian robe and a black velvet berretta was placed on his head and his

legharness⁴⁹ was put on, and he was mounted on the horse which the lady had led by hand and she said to him: “Sir Philippe, I thank you for the suffering and trouble you have endured for me and by my command. For you have done so well that from this time I release you entirely from your prison. So you will come to my lodgings with me where I will give you the greatest cheer that it is possible for me to do. And then I shall have delivered to you the prizes and the gifts which I have promised to give you to give the noblemen who have done me this honour to have fought against you according to the contents of my *chapitres*. This evening they shall be carried by my men to the *hôtel* of the most puissant Duke of Burgundy for their presentation; commend me most humbly to him. And may he wish to be happy that it should be done thus”. And, at the end of her speech, she kissed him as a sign of great love. When the lady had finished her speech and he had felt the gentle kiss of this noble lady together with the gracious words which she had said to him along with the delivery from his prison you need not ask if he was happy. And, well assured, he said to her: “My lady, you have done me such honour and good and friendship of manners that I do not [Fol. 37^r] know how to thank you enough; and God grant me grace to deserve it in time. There shall never be a time that I do not esteem myself beholden to you, for your kindness and valour has restored this modest power of good which was in me. And, when it shall be your noble pleasure to order me to do anything that is possible for me to do, henceforth you shall have in me a knight”. The lady answered him: “Sir Philippe, I am well satisfied up to now of that which you have done; and so it should be with all ladies. And then, since I have your friendship up to now, henceforth you will have greater knowledge of me; and this must satisfy you for now. And let us go from here, for you have been there more and longer than I would have wished. How-so-be-it your leaving will be grievous to me, it shall comfort me to have good and joyful news of you very often”. “My lady”, said this good knight, “on one hand, I am pleased to regain my own free will, on the other, I am displeased to be distanced from your realm and dominion. However, wherever I may be I regard myself as your servant”. With these words he left the perron kissing her a second time without her being able to say a word having tears in her tender eyes, yet her expression was self controlled. From there they passed before the Duke and the ladies, all on horseback, and the lady showed great humility to them as did the good knight; as did all those who were with him. Then they all did the same to the judges and the lady thanked

⁴⁹ Armour for the leg. See gloss.

them for the suffering they had endured for her knight. The judges made her deep bows and offered themselves to her service. Then they left together and the lady made him accompany her, as well as go before her, until they had reached her lodgings. On arrival she found knights and squires [and] ladies and damsels who honourably received her. And it was a great honour to those on whom she smiled. When the lady and the good knight had dismounted their horses she led him by hand to her room and there she had him disarmed of his legharness. And, after several conversations, she had wine and spices brought and each took leave to go their own way. The lady retired to her room and the good knight to his *hôtel* [Fol. 37^v] and lodging which had been prepared for him in [the precincts of the Cathedral of] Saint Donatian.⁵⁰ In the evening the lady sent a Mooress mounted on a horse to the good knight, who led a horse by hand richly trappered in grey velvet. On this horse were three coffers of cuir-bouilli most attractively trussed in which were enclosed the gifts that she had promised to give to those who would fight against her knight prisoner. The Mooress bore the keys to them and presented them on behalf of her mistress to the good knight who received them with great joy and honour. And he had her bide there until the evening when it would be the time to carry them to the banquet which the Duke was giving and which he had appointed to be held in the great hall of his *hôtel* at Bruges where there were several tables full of princes, princesses, knights, and squires, ladies and damsels and no other people. And for *entremets*⁵¹ there was a rich galley which was a completely full of all goodness. Its captain was a lady dressed in blue cloth of gold. This galley was adorned and enriched with the coats of arms of the duke's lands placed and affixed where it appertained both with banners and standards. And a great noise and great cheer throughout the hall was made by the trumpeters and minstrels, high and low, who made great melody. This noble company made a very fair sight for it was as if each were placed at the high end of the table and richly dressed for the honour of the lady and for the return from prison of this good knight who had been so honourably delivered and released. While the noise was at its loudest, see, here the knight delegated by the lady dressed in black velvet, mounted on a hackney, who entered the hall completely mounted and leading a Mooress richly

⁵⁰ I am extremely grateful to Prof. Peter Ainsworth for unpicking this.

⁵¹ 'An entertainment originally presented between (*entre*) dishes (*mets*) in a banquet, but more generally as an accompaniment to the festivities'. *Court and Civic Society in the Burgundian Low Countries c. 1420-1530: Selected Sources*, ed. by A. Brown and G. Small (Manchester: UP, 2007), p. 37.

dressed and mounted who led a sumpter by hand trapped in grey velvet which bore three cuir-bouilli coffers locked with a key which contained the gifts and presents which the lady was sending to all those who had fought against her knight to each according to the colour of the three shields.⁵² Then the lady's delegated knight dismounted and came to do most humble reverence to the duke and to the ladies and spoke in this manner: "Most high, most puissant, and most excellent prince and my most revered lord, my lady lately of the Perron Phae, my mistress, has sent me before your lordship and she asks you in all humility (if it please you) to do her this honour to give me licence to present to all these princes, knights, and squires any [...]"

[end of MS 1]

[Fol. 38^r]

[On paper in a different hand]

Ther[e] be in Englonð xxxvj Sheres

There be in Englonð lii^m iiii^{xx} townes

There be in Englonð xl^m and xj parishchirches

There be in Englonð xl^m CCv knyghts feez Whereof Religious haue xxviiij m^l and xv feez

The so[m]me of the xv in Englonð is xxxviiij m^l ix^c xxx^{li} ix^d ob

The lenthe of Englonð fro Scotland to totnas co[n]tenyth viii^c miles

The breede of Englonð fro seynte dauyd in Walys vnto douour is ij^c l miles

The cyrcuite of Englonð be[e]n iiii^m xl miles

[further down the page and in a different hand] TWR[iiothes][l]y as gartier

[Fol. 38^v]

[In a different hand]

Jean Lord of Bueil

|

Jean Lord of Bueil

|

Jean Lord of Bueil

|

⁵² Other accounts (BnF MS fonds français 5739, fol. 166^r; BM Cambrai MS 1114, fol. 15^v) state that the prize for the first shield was awarded to the Count of Saint-Pol, the second to Adolf of Clèves, and third to Jacques de Luxembourg.

Jean Lord of Bueil Master of the Crossbowmen

|

Jean Lord of Bueil Admiral de France

|

Antoine Lord of Bueil Count of Sancerre Chamberlain

|

Jacques de Bueil Count of Sancerre *échanson*⁵³ died 8 Oct 1513

|

Charles Count of Sancerre killed in 1515.

|

Jean Count of Sancerre lost his life in 1537 without having married.

[column on the right hand side of the page leading from Jean V Lord]

Louis de Bueil, who was taken prisoner by the English in Brittany in 1443, accompanied the Dauphin in Germany in 1444 and was present at the negotiations made at Châlons for the release of the King of Sicily. He was killed in a joust held at Tours against an Englishman in 1446 in the presence of the King. Anselme, *Histoire généalogique*, p. 1037

See Fabians Chron. p. 447 Lewis de Bruyl prisoner of the lord King, 1418 Rymer *Fœdera* vol. 9 p. 561. French [Rolls]. 3 and 4.

Feats of arms between Luis de Bueil of our realm of France, squire, and Robert Wingfield [line across the whole page]

There is in Bibl. Harleyana 34 B 9 an acc[oun]t hereof Of this Lewis de Bueil see Hist. Geneal. de France vol. 7. p. 849

[at a right angle to the above text]

Robert Chalons

|

Henry Chalons

Joh[anne]s St. Aubyn = Katerina

|

Joh[ann]es Chalons

|

died without issue,

26 H[enry] 6. Devon

Regin. Tretherf = Margareta

⁵³ Officer of the wine cellar beneath the butler.

|
 Joh[anne]s Tretherf = Eliz. Courtenay
 |
 Tho. Tretherf
 |
 Rich[ard]us Buller = Margaritta
 |
 Francisus Buller
 |
 Rich[ard]us Buller knight
 |
 Jacobus Parker = Catherina
 |
 Georgius Smith = Alicia
 |
 Joh[anne]s Anstis = Maria
 |
 Joh[anne]s Anstis

[MS 2]

[Fol. 39^r]

[Feats of Arms at Tours, 5 February 1446/7]

[Minature 1]

In the year of grace 1446 the honourable squire John Chalons (native of the realm of England) came to the noble town of Tours in Touraine to accomplish certain feats of arms between him and Louis de Bueil who adhered to King Charles as and by the form contained in the articles following hereafter between the two squires. And so, the said Chalons arrived at the town of Tours on the nineteenth day of January and did these feats of arms on Sunday the fifth day of February. And he entered the lists around twelve o'clock in great honour issuing forth with incomparable grandeur.

There, there was King Charles as judge with the Queen; and many notable princes, dukes, counts, barons, knights, and persons of note, and several ladies and damsels were in his entourage the names of whom follow.

[Fol. 39^v]

The King of Sicily

The Duke of Orleans

The Duke of Brittany

Lord Charles of Anjou

The Count of Angoulême

Lord Pierre the brother of the Duke of Brittany

The Count of Vendôme

The Count of Dunois

The Count of Foix and his brother

The Count of Laval

The Count of Clermont

The Count of Eu

The Count of Tancarville

The Count of Dammartin

The Lord of Gaucourt

The Lord of Estouteville

The Lord of Bueil

The Lord of Précigny

Sir Prégent de Coëtivy, Admiral of France

Sir Pierre de Brézé, Seneschal of France

Lord Précigny

Lord Culant, one of the marshals of France

And several other persons of note of whom we do not have the names.

And of the common people ten to twelve thousand came on foot and on horseback to see the accomplishment of the said feats of arms. And moreover there were:

The Archbishop of Tours

The Bishop of Maguelone

The Bishop of Vienne

And so, the said Chalons came to the field and made his entrance to the lists about an hour before Louis de Bueil and there he presented himself before the King and Queen and the notable lords, ladies, and damsels who were there; among whom were the two daughters of [the King of] Scotland.

[Fol. 40^r]

[Miniature 2]

And furthermore, the said Chalons was accompanied there by Lord Dudley, Lord Camoys, Matthew Gough, and harnessed squires, and Garter King of Arms, and several notable squires, ten of whom each carried a lance in front of the said Chalons and several notable pursuivants wearing the said Chalons's coat armour.

And there were four trumpeters who each carried a banner of his coat of arms into the field in front of him, of whom the names follow:

Coller pursuivant of our lord king

Nucelles pursuivant of Lord Scales

Leon d'Or pursuivant of Lord Dudley

Beul pursuivant of Matthew Gough

Chalons was mounted on a courser trappered with black satin with a red cross in front and behind. And, after his presentation before the King and Queen and the nobility who were there, he circled the entire lists accompanied as is said below. He had three pages [processing] after him on three coursers richly dressed in cloth of silver each with a rich plume on his head. The first of these bore the order of our lord king and led two coursers with his right hand which were richly attired. The first courser was trappered in a rich cloth of silver the same as the pages' horses and the other with a cloth of purple-coloured figured velvet. And in this manner he returned to his lodgings accompanied as stated. After about an hour Louis de Bueil came before the lists accompanied by great and notable lords. In front of him were two mules which each carried two coffers covered with vermillion velvet cloth and banded with gilt bands. After the said mules came three coursers trappered with his coat of arms and on each horse a man dressed in the guise of a fool. Their hoods were sewn to their robes

which were parti-coloured white and perse⁵⁴ with big bells on their hoods. Each horse had a collar round its neck covered with silver bells half gilt and half silver. After them came two minstrels and a trumpeter giving great cheer, and, after them, a banner with his coat of arms and three banners each quartered with the coats of arms belonging to him, proving that he was four times a baron and that he was the issue of a noble house to the King and to the Queen and to the nobility who were there. Accompanying him were many notable people and lords the names of whom follow:

Firstly

At the very front was Poton de Xaintrailles who carried one of the six lances

The Count of Dunois carried another

Lord Pierre the brother of the Duke of Brittany carried another

The Count of Foix carried another

The Count of Clermont carried the fifth lance

And Lord Charles of Anjou carried the sixth lance.

The King of Sicily carried his helm in front of him richly arrayed.

Louis de Bueil was mounted on a very richly arrayed courser. And on the crupper of his horse was a very rich white plume and the horse was trapped before and behind with silver plates as a full harness and on this were many precious stones and pearls.

[Fol. 41']

On the haunches was a very rich silver sash. After him came three very richly arrayed coursers with three pages mounted upon them each of whom had a very rich helmet and upon each one a white and perse plume. The pages were dressed in robes arrayed with fair goldsmiths work and after them came a courser similarly splendidly trapped. Then Louis sent Sir Pierre de Brézé before the King because although he wished to come to the field he would not enter it, declaring to the King and Queen and nobility who were there how he had displayed four banners of the four lineages from which he was descended and a banner of his entire coats of arms, he humbly beseeched the King (if it please him) to enquire if the Englishman John Chalons was a gentleman and noble as he had said and if the coats of arms that he had raised for the day appertained to him or not and if he had sufficient rank that he, Louis, ought to have anything do with him. Then the most noble and puissant prince the Duke of Orleans (who was there near the King) answered and certified to the King that he was indeed noble and came from a noble house and that the coats of arms that he had

⁵⁴ See n. on fol. 15'.

truly belonged to him and that he knew many of his kin and that he was a nobleman suitable to do feats of arms against Louis. Notwithstanding this the King was not happy with his report and summoned Garter King of Arms of England in order to know for certain; and he certified that it was true. Then the Seneschal, Pierre de Brézé, returned to Louis de Bueil and showed him that the King had been assured that Chalons was a nobleman and worthy to do his feats of arms against him.

Then Louis came to the field and entered the lists and went to do reverence to the King and Queen and the nobility, then went to his pavilion which was at the end of the lists. The pavilion was covered with Arras cloth and at each corner of the pavilion was a banner of his coat of arms. He was accompanied by several notable heralds and pursuivants of the French side and also Garter King of Arms of England and the above named pursuivants.

[Miniature 3]

[Fol. 41^v]

Firstly, before Chalons wished to do his feats of arms or enter the field to do feats of arms against Louis de Bueil, he sent to the King and humbly beseeched him of his noble grace (if it please him) to send a noble man or two of his host to come and see his harness, horses, and saddles so that there might be no deficiency on his part nor deception. Then, by the order of the King, the Count of Dammartin and the Lord of Blois were sent to be of his council for the day and re-examined his equipment that appertained to the feats of arms for the day.

Soon after Chalons had entered his pavilion he returned to the field and the lists very notably accompanied as aforesaid to accomplish the articles that he had given before which are mentioned in the *chapitres*.

[Miniature 4]

Item, on the first course that they ran against each other they both valiantly broke their lances on each other in front of the King. And Chalons **[Fol. 42^r]** attainted Louis de Bueil in the middle of his pauldron and there broke his lance and broke the lancehead a good inch clearly as it appeared. And Louis struck Chalons on the bottom of his

helm at the side of his neck and damaged his double harness and slightly split his lancehead and Louis was knocked backwards onto the crupper of his horse.

[Miniature 5]

Item, they ran the second course and scarcely made any attaint upon each other and they did nothing in this course.

Item, on the third course that they ran against each other they broke their lances on each other and Chalons struck Louis de Bueil within the pauldron two inches away from where he had hit on the first course and broke his lance and damaged a half-inch of his lancehead or thereabouts. Louis struck Chalons on the sight of his helm and broke his lance there leaving the point of the lancehead in Chalons's helm.

[Fol. 42^v]

[Miniature 6]

Item, on the fourth course that they ran together Chalons's lance glanced off the top of Louis's helm and Louis broke his lance between Chalons's saddle and pierced his gauntlet breaking the hinge of the vambrace near the hand which gave him a numb hand.

[Miniature 7]

[Fol. 43^r]

Item, on the fifth course that they ran against each other Chalons attainted Louis in the hand and pierced the guard of the gauntlet and the gauntlet and severely injured his hand which bled a great deal; and it was his right hand. Then Poton [de Xaintrailles] sent to the King entreating him that Louis and Chalons should not do any more for the day as Louis had broken a piece of his harness which should be changed. To which the King answered that he must consult the *chapitres* to decide if it could be done or not and he had the Lord of Précigny called who guarded the

chapitres. He answered that they could well leave things thus. To which Chalons, like the valiant person he was and full of great courage, being displeased to leave the day to pass thus without performing the feats of arms for which he had come, took a big lance in his hand and set himself to his duty. Then Louis similarly took another [lance] and they ran together.

[Miniature 8]

Item, on the sixth course that the squires ran against each other Chalons was towards Louis's pavilion and on this course Chalons struck Louis in the place of the rest and broke the edge of his harness and he thrust the lance right [Fol. 43^v] inside his body through and through and broke his lance there and Louis was left with the shaft and lancehead, and carried it a good ell to the end of the list and wrenched it out himself so that the blood spattered from one side and the other. Then he was carried to his pavilion and he died there around the sixth or seventh hour of night.

And then, when the King heard the news of the blow, he ordered Chalons to retire to his lodgings. Then Chalons sent Garter King of Arms accompanied by the aforesaid pursuivants before the King humbly beseeching that his departure from the field should not carry any prejudice at all against him, since the King ordered him to leave the field first. He did not know at the time what state Louis was in because Louis had not even touched Chalons on this course. To which the King said that he would not do anything to him. Then Chalons came to take leave of the King and Queen and of the nobility who were there and circled the entire lists accompanied by the lords and gentlemen aforesaid and by Garter King of Arms and pursuivants and they led him to his lodgings which were nearby. On the seventh day of February Louis was buried and his funeral service was notably made in the great church of Tours and there were many nobles and great lords at the service. The English ambassadors were at the service and the offertory; and the Lord Privy Seal of England sang the high mass. After the service the corpse was placed in a hearse accompanied by fifty torches all with an escutcheon of his coat of arms and four escutcheons at the four corners of the corpse.

Richard Champeney to Norroy King of Arms⁵⁵

[MS 3]

[Fol. 44^r]

Jousts of my Lord Antoine Bastard of Burgundy done in England⁵⁶

[Fol. 44^v blank]

[Fol. 45^r]

Since some time ago, to celebrate and glorify the most noble and chivalrous feats of arms in closed and shut field, my most revered lord my lord Antoine Bastard of Burgundy, Count of La Roche-en-Ardenne, Lord of Beures and of Beuvry had worn a certain emprise to do feats of arms, and had this announced through all the Christian realms. And as to those who asked to fight him, three against three noblemen, the emprise had been touched by the noble and puissant lord Sir Anthony Woodville, knight, Lord Scales and Nucelles, for his three, to complete the said feats of arms. Which, nevertheless, because of the great wars and divisions which had been both in England and in France, and other great affairs arising until death parted the said defendants they had been unable to accomplish and perform the feats of arms. However, by certain happy fortune which happened to the said Lord Scales, he sent to my said lord the Bastard a certain new emprise to do feats of arms *corps-à-corps* together with letters signed by his hand and sealed with his seal containing the *chapitres* of the said arms to be done on horseback and on foot. The manner of this event was declared by these letters most joyfully and in high style. Concerning which, so that each might better understand the establishment of the said emprise sent to my lord the **[Fol. 45^v]** Bastard in the town of Brussels by Chester Herald and which he touched with the will and consent of my most revered lord the Duke of Burgundy and of my most revered lord the Count of Charolais. I shall recite the said letters, the tenor of which follows.

Most noble, valorous, and renowned knight and most honoured lord, I commend myself to your noble and kind recollection as affectionately and as cordially

⁵⁵ This presentation signature is in a different hand.

⁵⁶ In a different hand: 'By Sir Olivier de La Marche. See Rymer, *Foedera*, vol. XI, p. 573. *Mémoires d'Olivier de La Marche*, p. 489. French [Roll] 6 E[dward] 4. Feats of arms between Anthony Woodville, Lord Scales and Nucelles and Antoine, Bastard of Burgundy, Count of La Roche. The King received the said Count in safe conduct with a thousand people for eight months. 29 October'.

and by the greatest duty that one knight can give to another, as to one to whom I hold myself obliged and to be held for the great honour that on other occasions you have done me by your honourable and gracious letters and requests, showing the desire and yearning that we two might be able to assemble by arms, and the accomplishment of such a test increases the honour of nobles and augments their renown. This thing could not be put into effect until the present (to my very great displeasure) all because of the wars and divisions of this realm of England, which, from that time have lasted and multiplied until now. Because of which I am thus legitimately excused so that neither you, nor anyone in the world, knowing the case, can charge me or accuse me [Fol. 46^r] of having broken this your noble emprise, but to discharge and excuse me, for God knows that the greatest desire which I have in this world is to find myself in this most honourable and so much praised proof of arms. And principally so that by these means I might have the acquaintance and the amity of you above all others of this world for the great good, the virtues, and the prowess that I know are in you, and of which your renown has been made public through all Christendom. And also I hope that through you and your alliance I might become acquainted with and come to know, and have communication with, the most praised and triumphant house of Burgundy of which I hold myself a most humble servant and kinsman; and which I desire to serve and honour with as much honour as it shall be possible for me to give. These things having been considered, most honoured lord, you should know that my greatest desire and my total yearning and will is, above all these things, to find the means to come to these aforesaid things. And God grant me such honour and grace that I might have in you the brotherhood and love of arms that two knights can acquire and have for each other. And, to begin and have means of this noble work, I write to you to inform you of a gracious fortune which [Fol. 46^v] has newly come to me, asking you in all affection for the honour of noblesse and of chivalry that in this matter you give me a hearing and do me such honour as to discharge me of my obligation. And, in doing and completing this, I shall always be held and reputed your devoted knight. It happened that on the Wednesday after the solemn and devout day of the Resurrection of Our Blessed Saviour and Redeemer Jesus Christ, for certain of my affairs, leaving high mass I approached the Queen of England and France, my sovereign lady and to whom I am a most humble subject. And, as I was fain to speak to her ladyship on my knees, my bonnet off my head as ought to be done, I do not know by which chance nor how it had come about but all

the ladies-in-waiting completely surrounded me and surprised me so, that they (by their grace) attached around my right thigh a rich gold collar garnished with precious stones; and it was made like a letter which, in truth when I had perceived it, was closer to my heart than my knee. There was an enamelled flower of remembrance⁵⁷ attached to this collar, and the flower was in the manner of an emprise. And then one of the ladies-in-waiting said to me: “Knight [Fol. 47^v] take this willingly for now”. And then each retired to their place. And I, completely astonished by this adventure, rose to go to thank them for their rich and honourable present. And as I would fain put on my bonnet (which I had let fall close to me) I found in it a letter written on a delicate parchment, sealed, and closed with only a little gold thread. Thus I knew well that it was the contents of the will of the ladies in writing and that which I must do and accomplish for noble remembrance, which they had given me. Then I most humbly thanked the Queen who (by her grace) had suffered to have done me such honour in her noble presence. And similarly I thanked the ladies who had given me this noble present, and I went straight before the King of England and France, my sovereign lord (as ought to be done) to relate to him my adventure and show him the emprise with which I had been charged. I showed and gave him the closed letter, begging him in all humility, that it might please him to do me such honour and grace, to agree and consent to the will of the ladies in this company, and that he might give me leave and licence to accomplish the contents of these letters granted to me to complete the adventure [Fol. 47^v] of remembrance. By his grace the King broke the gold thread and had the said letters read containing certain *chapitres* which pleased me greatly, and of which the tenor follows.

Here follow the *chapitres*

In honour and reverence and aid of Our Blessed Saviour Jesus Christ, of His glorious Virgin Mother, and of my lord Saint George, true tutor, patron and [battle] cry of the English, to the augmentation of chivalry, to the commendation of noblesse, and for the glorious school and study of arms, and the valour that I can maintain and ensure with all my power, and to obey and please my fair lady, I Anthony Woodville, knight, Lord Scales and Nuelles, Englishman, have today, the seventeenth day of April 1467, received from the ladies the gift of a rich gold collar and, hanging from this, a noble flower of remembrance which (by their grace) they have attached and placed on my

⁵⁷ This is not a forget-me-not. The *OED* states that the name of that flower is ‘a translation of the OF name *ne m’oubliez mye*’.

right thigh. By the favour, pleasure, leave, and licence of the King my sovereign lord, I have charged and taken this flower of remembrance for an emprise [**Fol. 48^r**] to complete and accomplish (with God's help) the feats of arms which follow.

Firstly, I shall be held by express command to appear in the noble city of London on the day and hour which shall be set and ordered for me in the month of October next coming before the King my sovereign lord or his deputy as my judge in this party against a nobleman of my choice of four lineages and without reproach if he present himself against me.

The second *chapitre* is such that we shall come together on horseback, each armed at his pleasure, in war saddles, without rests of advantage or malengin,⁵⁸ and we shall only run one course with the lance without a tilt, with sharpened lanceheads. And then taking sharp-edged swords in hand, we shall fight either with the estoc or striking edge to the advantage of each until the accomplishment of thirty-seven sword strokes dealt by both of us.

The third *chapitre*. I shall provide lances and swords of which my companion shall have the choice.

[**Fol. 48^v**] The fourth *chapitre* is that should it happen (which God forefend) that one of us two be carried to the ground out of the saddle without the horse being borne to the ground by a blow of the lance or sword, the feat of arms shall be deemed accomplished.

The fifth is that if one of us two is injured (which God forefend) either by the lance or sword to the extent that he is unable to complete it, the feat of arms shall be deemed accomplished as above. And that is all for the first feat of arms [on horseback].

The second feat of arms [on foot] follows

Item, I shall be obliged to present myself for the second time before the King my sovereign lord or his deputy as my judge in this party on such day as shall be assigned to me in this month of October against a nobleman of the aforesaid condition, if he shall present himself against me to do, complete, and accomplish the feats of arms which follow.

The second *chapitre* is such that we shall be armed on foot as is suitable for noblemen in such a case, and may carry targes and pavises⁵⁹ at the choice of each

⁵⁸ See n. on fol. 6^v.

⁵⁹ Types of shield.

and [Fol. 49^r] we shall be armed with spears, axes, and daggers, and shall have only one throw of the spear. Then we shall fight with the other weapons until one of us two be forced to the ground or disarmed at all points.

The third is that I shall provide the said weapons, of which my companion shall have the choice.

And that is all for the second feat of arms [on foot]

And should any question or debate arise or be caused by these present *chapitres*, by their having been badly couched, badly written, or badly understood, one may be sure that the King shall command for this cause such notable men that the differences will be quickly settled safe-guarding the honour and the right of all the parties.

And in final conclusion of these present *chapitres* I shall be held at my expense to have made and obtained from the King my sovereign lord sure, legal, and sufficient safe conduct for the noblemen who shall do me such honour as to come to fight me according to the contents of my *chapitres* to be able to come, stay, and return safely [Fol. 49^v] and without malengin in this realm of England as well as other lordships belonging to the King my sovereign lord for such a time, and such a term, as they shall ask, and with such number of men and horses they shall conveniently require, and as is appropriate to such a case.

Most honourable lord, by these present *chapitres* you see and understand the charge by which I am obliged and held under the will of the ladies, and that I am bound by their command, and they wish that I should do these feats of arms in this city of London, and in this realm of England. And this thing I cannot disobey, get myself out of, nor infringe, therefore to complete and accomplish that which I have been ordered and the contents of these present *chapitres*, for the discharge of my burden, to sate my long desiring, and to appease my heart of its desire, and for the great and reasonable causes motivating me as I have written presently here above, I send to you, to ask in all affection and cordiality, Chester Herald and servant of the King of England and France my sovereign lord to present to you from me these letters and present *chapitres* together with the most noble flower of remembrance which has been granted to me [Fol. 50^r] and charged as an emprise. I beg and ask you (if you please) to show me such honour and amity as to touch the said flower my emprise and to accomplish the feats of arms contained in these present *chapitres*. I have sent this flower across the sea to you as the most renowned knight and the most ready and

appropriate to accomplish such noble works without blame whom I could have chosen or identified by advice or request. And always I bind myself and my possessions and whatever by good fortune God will grant me to be yours as far as honour, life, and possessions can suffer this. And when the said herald, officer of arms, bearer of this aforesaid emprise, shall return to me and shall have reported to me that the said flower has been honoured and touched by so worthy and chivalrous a hand as yours, then the said flower shall joyfully be retaken by me and I shall wear it as my charter and the cause from which I hope to pluck yet more fruit and honour in this world. And I shall wear it thus until the time that I shall have completed and accomplished these present feats of arms against you, most honourable lord, because I understand that to such a high and noble person as you many affairs may continually arise and many interruptions to your high [Fol. 50^v] undertakings such as [caused] by civil wars arising in your borders, accident of illness, the will of your sovereign, or the pleasure of your lady; which is not to be disobeyed. And so each one of these problems may be suffered by all noblemen and to you and others it is a legitimate and reasonable excuse to delay many high and honourable emprises. In consideration of this, to show to you the honour, the desire, and the affection which I bear for you above all knights, I have thus asked and have obtained that if it should be thus, that by one of these reasons or some other legal excuse, you cannot come to do or uphold the accomplishment of the said emprise nor complete the feats of arms which I ask of you in the month aforesaid, I shall await you and bear the burden of my charge for a whole year starting from the end of the month of October up to the date of one year having expired. That is to be understood that all the time during the time of this year I shall be obliged within two months of summons before the day of our first combat that it will have been notified to me the place, day, [and] locality that shall be set for you and with appropriate judges to fulfil these feats of arms according to the contents of my *chapitres*. And so I promise that unless a reasonable cause occurs which is worthy of my excuse then I shall do and accomplish the contents of these *chapitres*. And let no-one suppose [Fol. 51^r] that I do or undertake the aforesaid things for arrogance, presumption, envy, or outrecuidance.⁶⁰ For, by God and on my honour, I do them only to obey my fair lady and to have the acquaintance of the meritorious, principally of a good knight for which you are my choice. The Creator of heaven and earth, to Whom I pray, knows this full well, and may He give you joy of your lady. Most honoured lord,

⁶⁰ See n. on fol. 6^v.

most noble, valorous, and renowned knight, so that you shall be made more certain that I wish to undertake, do, and accomplish the aforesaid things, I have sealed these present *chapitres* with the seal of my coat of arms and signed them with my hand in the place and royal manor of Sheen⁶¹ on the eighteenth day of the month of April 1465.⁶²

Thus my lord the Bastard desiring to satisfy these letters received them as is said. But, with the will and consent of both parties the feats of arms were always suspended and, in particular, because of the expedition of France where he was engaged at the encounter at Monthéry and the expeditions of Liège and Dinant until this present year 1467 when things [Fol. 51^v] found themselves thus settled, so that my lord the Bastard left the town of Bruges on the twenty-fourth day of the month of April accompanied by a great number of knights and squires the majority of whom I shall very soon describe, and went to Sluys to wait for wind in order to sail to England to the town of London where Lord Scales was awaiting him to complete the contents of his letters as it shall be hereafter related. Nevertheless, the wind was such that it was not propitious to make this voyage until the eighteenth day of May which was the Monday of Pentecost and always my lord's household remained at Sluys and he in person went to Our Lady of Ardembourg and was personally present at the procession of Bruges which was held on the third of May. And it came about that during this sojourn one day my said lord was in his ship when some Basque pirates took an English carvel and brought it, full of cloth, to anchor at the point of Sluys. Hearing news of this, my lord the Bastard sent two of his carvels thither to take them and bring them back. He had four of these carvels to undertake his said voyage. The captains of these were; of the first (in which was my said lord the Bastard) Jehan de Boschuse; of another Jehan de Dausset my said lord's *maître d'hôtel*; of another [Fol. 52^r] Fierin Palesding Captain of my lord's Archers; and of the fourth Gerard de Hoccon *Bailli* of Lille.⁶³ And so my said lord sent the said Jehan de Dausset and Fierin Palesding to take these Basques and their prey and they brought them in and my lord delivered

⁶¹ One of the Queen's residences, see A. R. Myers, 'The Household of Queen Elizabeth Woodville, 1466-7', *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*, 50 (1967-68), 207-35, 443-81 (p. 225).

⁶² In a different hand: 'See E.XII where there are the certificating letters of the Earl of Worcester and letters of reply from the said Bastard of Burgundy etc. p. 354, 355, 356'. This is possibly a reference to a MS in the library of the antiquarian Sir Robert Bruce Cotton (1571-1631).

⁶³ 'The *bailli* and *écoute* [...] two ducal officials [...] with powers of jurisdiction in civic affairs', *Court and Civic Society*, ed. by A. Brown and G. Small, p. 59.

them into the hands of the *Baillis* of Lyane and of Sluys to do what should be done by reason of justice.

Here follow the names of the knights and squires who accompanied my lord the Bastard, of which, I protest, in putting them in writing one first, then another, this is as I remember their names without regard to their noblesse at all. And so I pray that in this I shall be deemed excused.

Firstly:

Sir Simon de Lalaing Lord of Montigny

Sir Philippe Bastard of Brabant

The Lord of Crubeque

Sir Claude de Toulongeon, Lord of La Bastie

My lord of Montferrant

Sir Jehan Bastard of Wavrin Lord of Forestel

Sir Pedro Vásquez

[Fol. 52^v] Sir Philippe de Gohen

Sir Jehan de Chassa Lord of Monnet

Sir Jehan de Rombrettes Lord of Thiebaultville

My lord D'Antreulles

Sir Josse Vassenart

Here follow the squires without household office:

Philippe Bouton

Gerard de Rousillon

Gerard de Occon

Claude de Blesy

Dompierre

Charles de Toulongeon, Lord of Traves

Huguet de Lanoy

Pierre de Lanoy

Antoine Duzies

Philippe de Salins

Pierre de Salins

Estienne Chatars

Jehan de Banst

Jacquet de Tinteville

Claude de Vaudrey
Baudouyn de la Croix
Pierre Mettenes
Jean le Tourneur
Pierre de Cressy
[Fol. 53^r] Alardin de Marcenelles
Huchon de Scoemies
Antoine Bastard d'Aussy
Philippe de Carrin
Kemart Dolehan
Jehan le Noble
Jean Desue
Achilles de Flessin
Huguenin Moureau

Here follow the squires bearing the paid offices of the household:

Jehan de Dausset *maître d'hôtel*
Guillaume de Cressy *pannetier*
Huchon Cocquet *échanson*
Jean de Maupas first squire of the stables
Alardin Bournel second squire of the stables
Loys de Werquingnoel marshal of the lodgings
Jehan de Lonchamp squire of the kitchen
Massin Prevost comptroller
Guillaume de Rogierville *sourrier*
And Morlet de la Haye *receveur general*

Here follow the archers:

Fierin Palesding squire Captain of the Archers
Gerardin Mainborde archer
[Fol. 53^v] Le Luffre archer
Savarot archer
Thonnin de Villers archer
Guyot le Jeusne archer
Martinet Baron archer

Berthoulet Widoque archer

Pierrechon Haresque archer

Ernouillet Pouillet archer

Pierrechon du Castel archer

Brigade archer

Hannequin Martin archer

Mailinet Denis archer

Here follow the other officers of the household:

Gerardin Mainborde usher of arms

Jaicques de Marques called 'the Doctor', usher of the chamber

Casselaire master of tax

Petit Guyot *potagier*

Florecon and Mahiot *sommeliers de la saucerie*

Amandin *sommelier* of the pantry

Troctet fruiterer

Denis *saucier*

And all the companions serving in the offices

The Chaplains:

[Fol. 54']

Item, the first Master Antoine de Terni doctor of theology, and six others following.

And other ministers to the number of twelve.

Golden Fleece King of Arms

Burgundy Herald

Fuzil Herald

Limbourg Herald

Namur Herald

And La Roche Pursuivant

Here follow those of the chamber:

The Bastard of Naus *sommelière* of the body

The barber

The squire

The tapisser

Item, armourers and saddlers and a great number of valets amounting in all to more than four hundred people.

Thus accompanied by a great quantity of servants on Monday the eighteenth day of May at ten [Fol. 54^v] o'clock in the morning my lord left and joyfully passed the day until around seven o'clock in the evening when my lord halted the ships towards night to wait on several little ships from Flanders, Zeeland, England, and other parts that were all nearby. Then my said lord and his company saw five good carvels of Spanish pirates and thieves come towards them. The pirates took the wind to attack us and immediately my lord and his men took sail and came against the Spaniards as did an English ship which was in the company and such exploits were done that the said Spaniards pounced on us and we on them; that is by missiles hurled by powder and by hand⁶⁴ with very great diligence on one side and the other without us being able to board them because of the dark. And also that they kept a good watch, and the skirmish thus lasted until around ten o'clock, when they retreated scarcely far from us, for in the morning we could clearly see them. There was, in a little ship that accompanied us, one man killed by a crossbow bolt to the head, in another [ship] a man lost overboard, and in another a man who had his leg shot off by a *veuglaire*⁶⁵ from which [Fol. 55^r] he died. Of the Spaniards, no one knows what losses they had suffered. However in the morning at around ten o'clock they took to the coast of Flanders and they left us. The wind was against us, and thus it was Thursday before we reached the coast of England and Saturday before my lord could go to London. And so, because I had time and leisure and on the information of the sailors, I put in writing the places of the coast of England of one bank and the other of the Thames up to London in the manner of a pastime.

First, in the open sea one passes on the coast towards France a very fair and grand island called the Isle of Thanet, where there is the entrance to a good village called Margate. Then there is Reculver,⁶⁶ then, entering the Thames, one passes on this same side a place called Queenborough where there is a convent near Minster on Sheppey. Item, a village called Cliffe. Item, Gravesend. On the other bank towards the north, entering the Thames, is Wakering and a castle and a great borough called Hadleigh. Item, leaving Gravesend from which it is only twenty miles to London one passes on one bank of the fair river and on the other Calghie, Northfleet, Winbrech,

⁶⁴ i.e. gunpowder and crossbows.

⁶⁵ A type of gun. See gloss.

⁶⁶ Many of these place-names are very unclear in the text.

[Fol. 55^v] Saint Clement, Dartford, Aveley, Thurrock, Barking convent, then Greenwich which is the King's house three short miles from London.

On Saturday the twenty-third day of May at an hour after midday my lord the Bastard found before Greenwich a noble knight called Sir William of Tiptoph Earl of Dourchestette,⁶⁷ Constable of England in a fair fuste, or galliot, with sixty oars, and five barges full of the most notable Londoners with several little ships who all attended my said lord and sailed with him. And then they came to one mile from London and they joined him and the said Constable and all the others did him reverence. Then the said Constable took my lord in his fuste and the five barges took all of our people from the ships and joyfully led the company up to London Bridge. There my lord disembarked, then he and the Constable mounted ponies and went right through the town to the Bishop of Salisbury's residence where my said lord lodged himself. The King had had this residence hung with his tapestries and, in the cellar, had had placed eight barrels of wine, although my said lord had brought a hundred barrels and more.

[Fol. 56^r]

On Sunday the twenty-fourth of May my lord the Bastard went to hear mass at Saint Paul's Cathedral holding and showing his estate. And he was thus accompanied by the Sovereign of Flanders Sir Pierre de Mirammont, my lord of Rabodenghes, and Master Andrey Colin President of Flanders who had been in London a good spell on an embassy of my lord the Duke of Burgundy.

After returning from Saint Paul's, where my lord was seen by many people, he treated to dinner the said ambassadors and on this same day at supper the Bastard of Brittany came to visit him whom he feasted similarly.

On Tuesday the twenty-sixth day my lord the Bastard went away from London to wait in private at a place three miles away from there called Chelsea. And in this place he sojourned until he came to do his feats of arms.

On the twenty-ninth day of May the King of England came secretly to the place of Chelsea to visit my lord the Bastard and he only had my lord Hastings Great Chamberlain, the Earl of Essex Grand Master of the Household, John, Lord of Buckingham, Lord Rivers, Sir James Douglas, Sir Thomas Abouron, and Sir [Fol. 56^v] Thomas Montgomery in his company. And my lord the Bastard had summoned from London my lord of Montigny, Sir Philippe de Brabant, Sir Claude de Toulougeon, Sir

⁶⁷ Note in margin in a different hand: 'Worcester'. This is most likely Sir John Tiptoft Earl of Worcester.

Pedro Vásquez, my lord of Monnet, my lord of Thiebaultville, and Philippe Bouton to accompany him. The King did not want my lord the Bastard to come out of his residence so he waited around eight feet inside the door and there he did reverence and the King very humbly received it. Then they took a turn in the garden and the two of them spoke for a good half hour. And, at the end, the King called Lord Rivers and these three spoke for a time, then they were presented with wine and spices in the residence – and so the King left and returned to Windsor where he was in residence.

On the penultimate day of May the Duke of Clarence the King's brother came to this place of Chelsea to visit my lord the Bastard accompanied by my lord the Constable.

On the second day of June my lord the Bastard went to London to see the entry of the King who entered his city very grandly accompanied by the nobles of England each so arrayed as to their estate. And so, carrying [Fol. 57^r] the sword [of state] before him, was Lord Scales, who brandished and flourished it very proudly, when he passed before my lord looking up at him as he was at a window.

On the following third day my lord the Bastard went towards the King in fair estate accompanied by all his knights, gentlemen, and archers. And he was conducted to Westminster by my lord the Chamberlain up to the King's chamber where the King came and then received him publicly. And, after reverence had been done by one side and the other, my lord the Bastard had the King assign the day for the accomplishment of his feats of arms. The King granted him the choice of day, which he named, and which the King accepted as Monday the eighth day of the month. But then, at the request of my lord Scales, because it was raining and the field was soft and sunken, the day was to be delayed from Monday to Tuesday, and from Tuesday to Thursday which was the eleventh day of the month. At this point, when the day had been agreed, the King began this day to hold a general parliament [Fol. 57^v] of all the realm, where it was the custom in such case to solemnly celebrate a mass of the Holy Spirit where the King came in royal estate and all of those who were obliged to come to this parliament were called to it.

The King of England came to the mass of the Holy Spirit in Westminster Abbey dressed in a cape of crimson velvet with a royal chaperon round his neck furred with letuse⁶⁸ with head-gear made from crimson velvet with a big *bourrelet* covered with letuse having with him the following dukes and earls; that is: the Duke of Clarence,

⁶⁸ See n. on fol. 30^v.

and the Duke of Suffolk, the Earl of Arundel, the Earl of Worcester, the Constable, the Earl of Kent who carried the King's sword before him, Earl Rivers the Queen's father, the Earl of Essex Steward of the Household, the barons Audley, Zouche, Hastings King's Chamberlain, that [Baron of] Berners Queen's Chamberlain, and those of Howard, Stafford, Sandwich, Cromwell, Herbert, Scourton, Montjoy, and Yvain. All these dukes, earls, and barons were dressed in royal capes like the King except that they had on the right shoulder from the breast to the back bends of letuse as wide as a palm. The [Fol. 58^r] dukes had four, the earls three, and the other barons two. The Archbishop of Canterbury, who sang it, was also at this mass with the King. And the Bishops of London, Rochester, Ely, Norwich, and of Lincoln, and the Abbot of Westminster.

Also the King carried a sceptre in his hand which is said to have been Saint Edward [the Confessor]'s.

Thus my lord the Bastard was at this mass with the King throughout and went before the King in the offertory procession. And after the mass my lord the Bastard went with the King to a room in the palace where the Bishop of Lincoln made a long collation to open the parliament. And my lord was thus always present near the King. And the collation having finished, he returned the King to his chamber where he took his leave and returned to his residence in London, then once more went to Chelsea until the time he had to come and perform his feats of arms.

On Thursday the eleventh day of June 1467 in the marketplace of London was a park made with a double list one hundred and eight paces long and seventy-two wide. On one side in the middle [Fol. 58^v] was the entrance for my lord the Bastard and, opposite this, that of my lord Scales. On the east side there was a high tabernacle made for the King which was grand and spacious hung with silk cloth the colour of azure strewn with gold fleur-de-lys and with scrolls where it was written 'Forever'. In the middle of the tabernacle was a high-backed chair covered with rich cloth of gold and stuffed with cushions of the same.

At the base of this tabernacle on two sides of the steps were the seats of the Constable and of the Marshal hung and adorned with tapestries. And above the said Constable, who was on the right, was the place of the kings of arms and heralds. Before the King on the other side of the field was a stand for the Mayor of London and his people and, near him towards the south, a stand for the people of my lord the

Bastard. And all around the field stands were erected and most of the houses' windows were open.

On this said day around eight o'clock the said Constable and Marshal came to the field with a great following of men-at-arms and archers [**Fol. 59'**] carrying vouges,⁶⁹ swords, or axes. The Constable's men all wore the same white apparel some with goldsmiths work and the others without. And the Marshal's men wore vermilion with a little lion on the front and back. And you should know that the Marshal was a knight called Sir John Howard in place of the Duke of Norfolk who is the hereditary Earl Marshal.

The said Constable and Marshal's persons were arrayed in legharness, gorgets,⁷⁰ and journades⁷¹ – the Constable's of cloth of gold and the Marshal's of goldsmiths work – and mounted on trappered destriers – the Constable's of crimson cloth of gold and the Marshal's of blue and violet silk strewn with loops of hanging silk.

Thus they correctly led their men between the two lists: the archers and the men-at-arms against the pillars of the field throughout on this first day. But on the following day they had them enter between the two lists on foot, and each retired as was right and was customary.

At one corner of the field at his end Lord [**Fol. 59^v**] Scales had had pitched a pavilion of azure taffeta strewn with these embroidered silver letters which were 'm's and the gutter was embroidered with his motto which was in ancient letters in white on blue velvet: 'The Nonchalant One'. And there was a gold eagle holding a banner of his coat of arms on this pavilion and eight banners encircling this pavilion and banners around the field on his side, of which there were forty-three in all. Twenty-three of these were differenced one from the other showing all those from whom he is descended and others of his wife's ancestry. He showed on the first banner the arms of Saint George, Woodville, Rivers, Priaux, Baux, Limbourg, Luxembourg, Enghien, France, Bonniec, Châtillon, Geneva, Athens, Brienne, Belzigat, Scales, Nuelles, Beaufort, Lille, Dowic, Beauchamp, and Conversano.

Thus was the field ordered, completed and prepared. The King came accompanied by the nobility and by his guard behind his tabernacle, to enter within

⁶⁹ A long-bladed staff weapon. See gloss.

⁷⁰ A piece of armour for the throat.

⁷¹ 'A man's short outer garment', *MED*.

between nine and ten o'clock on account of the press of people and was dressed in a short robe of black velvet, violet hose, and the garter on his left leg.

Then, after a while, when he was ready, came my lord Scales in this manner. [Fol. 60^r]

My lord Scales was accompanied by the Duke of Clarence mounted on a horse trappered with blue cloth of gold very richly bordered with a gold fringe and black silk and carried in his hand an armet⁷² garnished with precious stones. After him came the Earl of Arundel also carrying an armet or helm, his horse trappered in crimson cloth of gold bordered with ermine on white cloth of gold, and the said border was covered with a silk veil. Lord Rivers's horse was trappered in white cloth of gold bordered with marten, and a knight called Sir Laurence Rainsford had a horse trappered in blue velvet strewn with little footed cross-crosslets of gold embroidery and with a great number of bourdons;⁷³ as were his brothers and the other knights and squires who accompanied him. Lord Scales had clarioners and minstrels [processing] before him. Thus he had the lances and swords carried on horseback before him, and of his estate he was in order as follows.

His body was armed except for his head and his horse was trappered with white damask with great crimson velvet crosses of Saint George. And the horse was a grey. He had eight pages after him dressed in black satin pourpoints having mantelines⁷⁴ [Fol. 60^v] with green satin sleeves strewn with white goldsmiths work, and chapeaus fashioned like bycokets⁷⁵ of brown both bordered with black velvet with silk veils entwined around the top.

The first horse was trappered in tawny velvet with gilt bells. The second with ermine. The third with violet velvet strewn with goldsmiths work fashioned like the clasp of a lady's girdle. The fourth was of grey velvet bordered with white cloth of gold with his letters. The fifth with cloth of gold called *bourget faulx*⁷⁶ bordered with ermine. The sixth with green satin all strewn with lady's headresses and long veils. The seventh with blue velvet with great hangings of goldsmiths work fashioned like eight teardrops together with long robes. The eighth was of crimson cloth of gold bordered with marten. And in this manner he came to do reverence to the King. After a way had

⁷² A type of helmet. See gloss.

⁷³ A word with many meanings including heavy lance, pilgrim's staff, or bumblebee.

⁷⁴ 'A short mantle or cape', *OED*.

⁷⁵ 'A kind of cap or head-dress (peaked before and behind)', *OED*. Also possibly a type of close-fitting visored helmet, see Blair, *European Armour*, p. 86.

⁷⁶ This name is unidentified.

been made for him onto the field by the heralds, he paraded around it, then he dismounted, and went inside his pavilion, and his horses were led before the field on his side. Lord Scales dismounted and, his head completely disarmed, he remained at the entrance to the pavilion until he had seen the entrance of my lord the Bastard in this manner as shall be said hereafter. [Fol. 61']

After the arrival of the appellant Lord Scales, my lord the Bastard came in such order as follows. Firstly, his archers came two by two, dressed in their journades without vouges or staves. And after them came the *maître d'hôtel* alone, his baton in his fist. Then, afterwards came the gentlemen in twos, after them the knights and each knelt before the King in passing, then there followed trumpeters and heralds.

And my said lord came after accompanied by the Duke of Suffolk, Lord Montjoy, and by Sir Thomas Montgomery, who had been sent by the King to do this. And the said Duke of Suffolk had a great company of men all arrayed in white taffeta or satin, and he himself was mounted on a horse trappered with fine crimson cloth of gold.

My lord the Bastard had led before him a destrier trappered with the arms of Burgundy with the bar,⁷⁷ this destrier was led by four knights of his company. And he himself was mounted on a grey with a hanging harness half cloth of gold and half cloth of silver strewn [Fol. 61'] with half-white half-gilt bells and six knights of his company led him by hand. Then he had seven horses trappered very richly. The first with ermine. The second with green cloth of gold. The third with crimson velvet with big silver eyes which were all strewn with teardrops. The fourth with crimson cloth of silver bordered with green velvet. The fifth had a bard covered with fine gold brocade. The sixth with sable marten. The seventh with blue velvet strewn with embroidered barbicans of fine gold. His pages and one palfrey man rode these horses arrayed in green satin pourpoints, cloth of gold berrettas lined with black velvet on their heads, having blue and violet damask journades bordered with yellow silk fringes.

In this manner did my said lord very richly enter the field at the entrance to which the Constable and Marshal came to fetch him with a great number of officers of arms of England wearing crowns on their heads and long rods in their hands. And so there was the King of Arms of Rome, and that of Denmark. And on our side Golden

⁷⁷ A heraldic sign of illegitimacy known as a bend sinister in England, La Marche (III, 53) notes 'Le bastard de Bourgoigne estoit paré de sa cotte d'arms de Bourgoigne, à une barre de travers, pour monstrier qu'il estoit bastard'.

Fleece of Burgundy, the Heralds Limbourg, Namur, Fuzil, and La Roche Pursuivant. And of England Richmond, Rivers, Nuelles and many [Fol. 62^r] others, all of whom conducted my lord before the King. To whom my said lord did reverence, his head bared, all on horseback. Then he took himself to his side where he had a wooden mounting block for helming, and for arming with the helm, and the *pièces*⁷⁸ which were carried in two leather panniers onto the field.

My said lord the Bastard did not yet want to helm until he had first seen the lance and sword with which he had to fight. Of these the said Constable and Marshal, when Lord Scales had sent them to be presented to the King, then gave my lord the choice. Then he helmed in the midst of the field, and in such manner that the said Constable and Marshal retired to their seats, and that Richmond Herald cried in English at the four corners of the field the customary cries. These having been done, Garter King of Arms cried three times: “Laissez les aller!”⁷⁹ Then Lord Scales left his pavilion, lance in its rest, and my lord the Bastard took his lance on his thigh and charged at him. And so they came to meet, but they did not meet at all. Although my lord the Bastard kept his course very well targeting Lord Scales. [Fol. 62^v] The course of the lance having finished, the two knights suddenly disarmed themselves most handsomely of their lances and their *pièces*: Lord Scales two, and my lord the Bastard four. And so they came brandishing their swords very proudly. Lord Scales twice cried out loud: “Saint George!”, and my lord the Bastard who was on the *fourcourse*,⁸⁰ if he had wanted, turned his horse’s head (without using his hands) towards his man and dealt him a stroke with his sword on the helm. It was so strong that afterwards it could be seen on Lord Scales’s helm, on the side of the visor that had been split, that it was three inches wide, and a grain of wheat could pass through the gap. By this stroke the sword was fractured in two places. And they met so hardily that my said lord the Bastard’s horse was seriously injured not only its head, but its body, and the bit in its mouth. Thus, when the second sword stroke was dealt, the said horse fell on its haunches then fell completely and rolled over on my said lord the Bastard, who still held up his arms and sword,⁸¹ until the King had the said horse lifted off him. This horse, its saddle and bridle having been removed, rolled over five or six times

⁷⁸ Pieces of reinforcing armour. See gloss.

⁷⁹ See n. on fol. 11^v for the language of this cry.

⁸⁰ This refers to an illegal attack. See gloss.

⁸¹ This infers that both his arms and sword did not touch the ground. For the importance of this in various challenges see fols 19^v, 49^r, and 76^f.

stumbling on weak legs then lay there spraying blood in very great abundance. And the following day it died in the heralds' guard. Also they found a great hole [**Fol. 63'**] there in the throat as if from Lord Scales's sword. It had had an estoc inside its mouth; none knew if this was true. Nevertheless, it died as is said. My lord the Bastard went before the King, asking to perform the thirty-seven sword strokes, but the King, as judge, declared the feat of arms as done on horseback to be accomplished and ordered the feat of arms on foot to be held the next day. Although it was the case that the King had my said lord questioned asking if he wanted to perform the feats of arms on foot and, when he had answered yes, he did not want to allow it at all.

On the following day, which was Friday the twelfth of June, the great and sumptuous estates returned in place. The said Constable and Marshal did their duty in the morning to put their men in order. A pavilion had been pitched for my lord Scales which was paly⁸² with blue figured satin and tawny velvet above. And below was blue and tawny velvet with a gutter of crimson broché cloth of gold. And the banners were the same as the day before with a very great banner on a lance planted before this pavilion.

My lord the Bastard had also had [**Fol. 63'**] a rich pavilion pitched which was paly with white and violet damask with a rich gold pommel, the banderol of Burgundy on top with a gutter of green velvet embroidered with gold barbicans and with his motto 'None shall touch me'⁸³ and initials in large form. And also there was the great banner of Burgundy before this pavilion held by a herald.

The King came at about eleven o'clock, as he had done the day before, dressed in a short gown of crimson cloth of gold. Before him the young Duke of Buckingham and his brother, and the other lords who have been named above. For everyone was serving [here] so there was no one of note left at court. And when the King had come, my lord Scales came a very long time after, his body armed, dressed in his coat armour, accompanied as above. And thus he was on horseback and as follows:

The horse on which he came to the entrance of the park was trapped in crimson velvet embroidered with eight escutcheons of his lineage, and, on the

⁸² 'Heraldry. Of a field or charge: divided into an even number of equal vertical stripes of alternate tinctures', *OED*.

⁸³ A motto he inscribed on many of his MSS. See Christiane van den Bergen-Pantens, 'Héraldique et bibliophilie: Le Cas d'Antoine Grand Bâtard de Bourgogne (1421-1504)', in *Miscellanea Martin Wittek. Album de codicologie et de paléographie offert à M. Wittek*, ed. by A. Raman (Leuven: Peeters, 1993), pp. 323-54.

haunches a great escutcheon of his coat of arms, and all strewn with garters. And seven pages came dressed in crimson satin pourpoints [Fol. 64^r] with blue satin journades bordered with dagged black cloth strewn with white goldsmiths work of Lord Scales's letters. On their heads they had tawny velvet berrettas with white plumes, and each had a horse harnessed with a large harness of crimson cloth of gold.

Taking the banner placed before the pavilion and carrying it before him in this manner, his men came before him and, after them, came clarioners and minstrels. The Constable and Marshal presented him to the King to whom he did reverence and then he retired to his pavilion.

And it is not to be forgotten that he had carried before him the throwing spears (which were nothing but javelins equipped in the middle with crimson velvet), two axes with cutting edges and rondels, and two short daggers.

Immediately after my lord the Bastard came on horseback to the barrier, his men came before him in order as the day before; his pages were on foot. After them came the archers dressed in violet camlet with two teardrops of his livery. These teardrops were strewn with gilt and white goldsmiths work. My lord the Bastard was dressed in a long robe [Fol. 64^v] of blue velvet furred with ermine. He had come to be fetched as the previous day before the Constable and Marshal and officers of arms and presented himself to the King in very great honour. Then he retired to his pavilion and each retired to his place. The cries were made as they armed themselves. And the knights of each side went to receive the weapons of which my lord of Montigny and Sir Pedro Vásquez made the choice for my said lord. But it was the King's will that the said spears or javelins were not to be thrown as (it was said) the ladies had requested it. In so doing the King asked my lord who answered that he wished to obey the King's will, also that they would carry nothing save for axes and daggers. Six armed guards remained in the field as well as the noblemen who had done feats of arms in the past who are named hereafter.

All this having been done and ordered, the cry was made: "Laissez les aller!" And so my lord Rivers thrice made the sign of the cross over his son, and Lord Scales left, his axe sometimes at his neck, sometimes in his hand where he held it on high. And my lord the Bastard, similarly carrying his with assurance before him, advanced [Fol. 65^r] against him until he was a little way beyond the King. There they came against each other very chivalrously. And my lord Scales shouted to my lord the Bastard in a certain manner shouting: "Hey, over here, over here!" And my lord the

Bastard answered with these words: "These words dismay me not a whit unless you come closer!" Then, without waiting at all or hesitating to reciprocate, Lord Scales forced the point of his axe into the Bastard's visor. But my lord the Bastard dealt the first stroke to his breast with the end of his axe. Both of them were very violent and the noblemen said that they had never heretofore seen such hard axe strokes. With one stroke my lord Scales lost his axe from his hand; he soon regained it. And the two of them fought so valiantly and so forcefully that none knew who was best. Except that I know well that from the place that they began my lord the Bastard had gained ground advancing on him, and was continuing to do so, when the King cast down the baton. Then the guards were placed between them. But it was with great difficulty that Lord Scales was made to stop. As soon as "Whoa!" had been cried, my lord the Bastard had stopped, but not my lord Scales who, whilst in the hands of the guards, dealt him some [more] strokes, as a result of which my lord the Bastard was forced to deal him a such a powerful stroke with the axe-head to his head, and did so with such force that [Fol.65^v] he was master of [the two of] them, who most valiantly showed themselves to have had the power to have well sustained [the fight]. It appeared too in my lord Scales's coat armour which was torn in several places. And my lord the Bastard had, in particular, the third lame of his harness at the bottom broken right away.

Having finished the combat, they raised their visors and, taking each other by the hand, went together before the King; my lord the Bastard on the right side of Lord Scales. And doing reverence to the King and thanking him, they made very gracious offers of friendship to each other. And thus the King deemed the feats of arms accomplished for both days and they were declared to have completed the honour of each of the two parties.

Thus each left amiably and retired to their lodgings.

After the champions had been disarmed and a little refreshed, at some time between three and four o'clock they went before the King. Lord Scales went first and waited for my said lord the Bastard on Westminster Bridge and they went together to the King who held for them a very great feast [Fol. 66^r] especially for my lord the Bastard because he was a foreigner. And, after the reception, they took part in, and played at, paume four against four. That is: the King, my lord the Bastard, Lord Scales, and the Marshal against Sir John Woodville my lord Scales's brother, Sir Thomas Abouron, Thomas Vacquant, and my lord of Rabondenghes *Bailli* of Saint-

Omer. And neither side won. And so others began to wrestle until it was night when my lord the Bastard took his leave and returned to his lodgings.

On Saturday the day was occupied with the feats of arms of my lord of Monnet which were done on foot this day and the King was present at them.

On Sunday after dinner my lord the Bastard, as he had not yet seen the ladies, went to the palace where they were all assembled with the Queen in a richly prepared room. And, from the entrance of the porch up to the end where the Queen was before a high hung seat, it was all full of ladies on one side as richly arrayed as possible – some in gold, the others in silk. My lord the Bastard and all the nobles [Fol. 66^v] who so wished to advance their honour were gently kissed by the ladies and entertained with fair words some speaking French and the others not. And those who did not know how to speak were obliged to make signs each to their ability. Then the time came to leave to go to a very noble banquet that the King had had prepared in London at the residence of the Grocers which was the most appropriate place of all to do this.

Each came down from the palace and all the lords and ladies went aboard barges and came by the river to shore in the middle of London where horses for the lords and hackneys for the ladies were waiting for their passage. And so each mounted and with great joyfulness came to the said place.

The great hall of this residence was hung with a completely new rich tapestry of gold and silk that showed the Siege of Jerusalem according to Josephus. On the left hand side of this room was a high dresser with four shelves most richly garnished with gold and silver dishes such as pots, cups, ewers, drageoirs,⁸⁴ and bottles. Three tables were dressed in the said room and, on the right opposite the dresser, was a chamber hung with the same cloth of which I have spoken above, that with which the tabernacle of the King was hung in the field. In this chamber there were [Fol. 67^r] three tables also dressed and covered, without a dresser. And above this chamber was another chamber where two tables were covered.

When the King, the Queen, my lord the Bastard, and all the company had come, and when the meal had been finished, the King led them into the garden which was marvellously pleasant. The dance began there. The King danced, and the Queen, and all the others in their turn. Also there was constructed in the middle of the park where they danced a maisonette made of briar where *doussaine* players were enclosed who played very melodiously with lutes and gitterns. When it was time for

⁸⁴ 'Dishes for sweets', *OED*.

supper the dance finished, and the King came to sup in the said low room which was above this garden; and my lady Margaret his sister next to him at the end. And the Queen was at the other end next to my lord the Bastard. But, because she was pregnant, she did not stay long but soon retired. And so my lord the Bastard, my lady of Exeter, my lady of Beaufort, and the elder lady Buckingham remained there at table. The other ladies and knights and gentlemen – both English and ours – were at the other tables. In the said room the Earls of Arundel and Worcester were at a low table; [Fol. 67^v] and the tables were all completely full of knights and gentlemen both theirs and ours. Lord Scales mixed similarly at the high table and my lord the Great Chamberlain was at the third table. My lord the Bastard's pages were next to him. The officers of arms after, and then all my lord the Bastard's archers and some archers of the crown. In the said high chamber were the damsels and a few men with them. The supper was long and I would have taken pains to describe all these ladies but had it not been for Lady Scales who promised me (by her grace) to give me in writing, as she did, all those of whom the list follows:

Firstly

The Queen

The Duchess of Exeter

The Duchess of Suffolk

Lady Margaret⁸⁵

Other duchesses: [Fol. 68^r]

The Duchess of Bedford

The Duchess of Buckingham – the elder

The Duchess of Buckingham sister of the Queen

Lady Anne niece of the King

The Countess of Richmond

Baronesses:

Lady Mautravers

Lady Bouchier

Lady de Veer

Lady Beaumont

Lady Gray

Lady Scales

⁸⁵ Beside brace over three lines: 'The three sisters of the King'.

Lady de Strange
Lady Berners
Lady Stanley
Lady Hastings
Lady Clinton
Dames:
Lady Catherine Strangeways
Dame Alice Fogge
Dame Joan Norice
Dame Joan Dareth
Dame Elizabeth Odale [**Fol. 68^v**]
Dame Anne Chamberlain
Dame Elizabeth Darcy
Dame Margaret Raleigh
Dame Joan Westmarch
Mistress Strange
Mistress Clinton
Mistress Hastings
Mistress Dunne
Mistress Prout
Mistress Halkett
Mistress Howard
Mistress Taveran
Mistress Gherningham
Mistress Gainsford
Mistress Newton
Mistress Belknap
Mistress Harcourt
Mistress Vendhan
Mistress Croxforde
Mistress Malpas
Mistress Moresby
Mistress Haulte
Mistress Wvrege

Mistress Ede
Mistress Boudon
Mistress Norbery
Mistress Denton
Mistress Westmarch [**Fol. 69^r**]
Mistress Hartwell
Mistress Preston
Mistress Percy
Mistress Croxton
Mistress Gedding
Mistress Loys
Mistress Mille
Mistress Denholm

Thus supper passed garnished with lords and ladies. Then they went to dance for a very long time. The King danced some more and the Queen [too]. And, the dance being over, spices were carried in on seven very rich drageoirs of both gold and silver and wine flowed in great abundance. The King left and the ladies came as far as the river where my lord the Bastard took his leave and the King retired to Westminster.

On Monday the feat of arms on horseback of my lord of Monnet was done after dinner and we were there until evening. Philippe Bouton and Thomas de Lalande were meant to do their feats of arms on the Tuesday but the King delayed it until the Wednesday and went [**Fol. 69^v**] to the archers' garden after dinner where my lord the Bastard was to shoot. Then, when the company left, he went to the Duchess of Exeter's residence where she held a banquet for the King, the Queen, and for my lord the Bastard. All the oft-named princesses were there; and the Countess of Northumberland who had newly arrived. And, if the feast had been joyous on Sunday, it was no less so on Tuesday.

On Wednesday at around three hours after dinner the King came to Philippe Bouton's feat of arms on horseback for which the whole day was needed because of a rest that was too advantageous that Thomas de Lalande wore [on his breastplate]. The King was so angry about this that he would not be happy until my lord the Bastard dismounted from his horse and begged the King's grace for this Thomas, to which he consented.

The feat of arms having finished, my lord the Bastard gave to Lord Scales, and delivered in the field, a horse called 'The Hart'. To Sir John Woodville he gave another roan horse, which was most noble, and to the King a bayard⁸⁶ on which he was mounted. [Fol. 70^r] The King (of his grace) immediately mounted it and returned on it for the day to Westminster.

On Thursday morning my lord the Bastard was invited to dinner by the King. He went there and, after dinner, they played at paume. The King, my lord the Bastard, Sir John Woodville brother of my lord Scales, and Sir John Howard against four others. And thus they lost a hundred *saluts*.⁸⁷ Going to this game of paume after dinner, the King led my lord the Bastard to see King Henry in a tower where he was imprisoned at Westminster to whom he had little to say because they scarcely understood each other.

After the said game of paume, the King went to take one drink in the Chamberlain's chamber then he went in a little barge, my lord the Bastard always with him, up to a place called the Temple. There the King mounted a fawn hackney and had my lord the Bastard mount behind him and he was carried thus to Lord Scales's residence [Fol. 70^v] where a banquet had been prepared and the Queen had already come. She had begun the dance as the lords found at their arrival.

The chambers were hung fairly handsomely. And so there was a rich buffet covered with gilt dishes. In one chamber were three tables where the King supped and two in another chamber for the damsels, and three below. The King was served first with eighteen dishes. And the communal tables were served meat and fish in large quantities without finding the meat placed on the table but it was carried in bowls. There was nothing but good cheer because of the minstrels of all kinds and fools joyfully playing *trépans*. My lord the Bastard was always at the King's table throughout. When supper was done they set themselves again to dancing for a very long time so much so that it was after midnight when the party left, the King to Westminster and my lord the Bastard to his lodgings.

On Friday the day had passed until around two or three hours after midday [Fol. 71^r] when a messenger brought the news of the passing away of my lord Duke Philip (on whom God have mercy) about which the household was troubled – it is impossible to express how much. My lord the Bastard was greatly grief stricken and

⁸⁶ 'Bay coloured, bay horse', *OED*.

⁸⁷ Gold coins.

retired to his chamber. And in the evening at the sixth hour the King came privately to visit and offer condolences to him so that it seemed that his grief was the same as his own, even so far as to cry in friendship. And so, hearing the news, my lord the Bastard hastily departed to return to his own land.

On Saturday my said lord came privately, and in grief, to the King to take his leave where again the King showed him great courtesy and friendship in all that he could. And the departure was thus ordered on the following day which was Sunday. On this day, after mass had been said, my lord the Bastard left alone privately by the river. And his company came by both this same river and on horseback a little later, and [Fol. 71^v] then went until halting at Gravesend.

On this Sunday evening, by order of the King, there were found at Gravesend Lord Scales, Sir John Howard, and Sir Thomas Montgomery having with them the archers of the crown besides a great number of companions to accompany my lord the Bastard who left on Sunday and came to rest at a place called Rochester.

And needless to say that were it not for the news of the passing away of my lord the Duke, my lord the Bastard would have been disposed to hold a banquet for the King, and for the ladies, which would have been to the honour of the household of Burgundy and of himself. And also, that the King was ready to take him hunting at Windsor and hold for him several celebrations. The Mayor of London had also asked about giving him a banquet and it seemed that the hearts of the King, the nobility, and [Fol. 72^r] all the commons were inclined to give him all pleasure and service. It was even said by the elders that the Emperor Sigismund, when he had been in England, was not so enthusiastically welcomed, and from the commons in particular.

On Tuesday the day before the feast of Saint John the Baptist my lord the Bastard came from Rochester to Saint Thomas.⁸⁸ And Lord Scales went before who had had gentle ladies of the land come over to line the streets to see my lord the Bastard pass by without him knowing why they had come. And thus they all came to this place of Saint Thomas.

On Saint John's day they showed him all the treasure. My lord the Bastard had mass sung before the holy relics then heard the infants' mass before Our Lady below. And, his offerings and devotions having been made, he went to dinner then mounted his horse and went to spend the night at Dover where Lord Scales took his leave [Fol. 72^v] and returned. And, putting to sea on Thursday, the whole company arrived at

⁸⁸ The shrine of St Thomas Becket at Canterbury.

Calais without danger (thank God). On Friday when the gates were opened the Marshal and others mentioned above had the opening done, and there my lord the Bastard took leave of them and made his way towards Ghent where my lord the new duke was.

The end of the voyage of my lord the Bastard to England and of his jousts and feats of arms.

[Fol. 73^r blank]

[Fol. 73^v]

Mémoires d'Olivier de La Marche, p. 493. On the following day were held the feat of arms of foot of Sir Jehan de Chassa and a Gascon squire called Louis de Bretelles etc.

Ibid., p. 553. Sir Jehan de Chassa Lord of Monnet a gentle Burgundian knight etc.⁸⁹

[Fol. 74^r]

Here Follow the Feats of Arms of my Lord of Monnet

Following the feats of arms of my lord the Bastard there is reason for me to speak of the manner of those of Sir Jehan de Chassa Lord of Monnet, which were fair and honourable feats of arms both on foot and on horseback. And so that people can fully understand the first emprise, I shall describe the letters which Louis de Bretelles, challenger, sent to my lord of Monnet and those which he returned to him, undertaking to complete all that he asked of him in the form and the manner which follows:

Most honoured knight,

I commend myself to you as much and as affectionately as can be done. For a long time my heart has been held and imprisoned by a noble lady of high worth. I am constrained as a servant and forced to write back to you and make it known that at the arrival of Burgundy [Fol. 74^v] Herald in this realm I was in the household of the most high, mighty, and most excellent prince the King of England and of France my sovereign lord, among several lords and ladies and other nobles – both knights and squires – to a great number. Among other things, they began to converse about my lord the Bastard of Burgundy greatly praising his high and chivalrous feats, saying: “Now we shall see the Bastard of Burgundy come to this realm with great noblesse to fulfil and accomplish the feats of arms with Lord Scales”, and they decided between them that since there would be so many noblemen of one side and the other, there could be no doubt but that some would wish to prove and maintain feats of chivalry.

⁸⁹ This fol. is written in the same hand as the marginal notes.

Now thus it came about that a knight of great nobility spoke up and said: “There is a knight named Sir Jehan de Chassa who is (according to what is said) one of the beloved and principal knights of my lord the Bastard in whom he greatly trusts; and if there is anything to be done, it shall be by him. For he has been in several distant and [Fol. 75^r] various realms to acquire prizes and honour. And he has also, on another occasion, been in this land and without any doubt he will not delay until he might come with my said lord the Bastard”. And then she to whom I am prisoner etc. said and answered: “Truly”, she said, “I have seen this knight of which you speak in this realm and have heard it said of him all that can be said of a noble knight. And I wish that some gentleman might ask him to perform some feats of arms in this realm to accomplish them at the arrival of my lord the Bastard. And, in truth, if there be anyone who does this I should be very grateful to him. For, in my opinion, the said Sir Jehan de Chassa is such a one by whom all chivalrous feats may be maintained and accomplished”. Then when I heard her speak, she to whom I have given myself, and in whom is all my hope, and through whom I intend to have all my good and honour, my heart leapt for joy and I said to myself that now I had attained that which I had pursued for a great time; that is to find the means to do something to please my said mistress to acquire her [Fol. 75^v] grace. For she is of such worth and so full of goodness that her grace cannot be acquired too dearly. And so I thought straightaway to do her pleasure and her command, as secretly as it was possible for me to do, fearing that someone might place themselves before me. For, could it not be so, but that several others would desire to serve her? And I went into the presence of the King my said sovereign lord straightaway and begged him most humbly (if it please him of his noble and good grace both for the services which I had given and for those which I yet intended to do) that he concede and permit that I might send you certain *chapitres* containing certain feats of arms both on horseback and on foot to do and accomplish them against you in this realm of England at the coming of my lord the Bastard of Burgundy. The King my sovereign lord kindly conceded this thing to me – for which I most humbly thank his majesty. As to the forms and substance of the said feats of arms the tenor follows.

That is to run eleven lance courses on horseback with sharpened lanceheads without [Fol. 76^r] advantageous rests each of us carrying such lanceheads and such thickness of lance as we see fit. And that is it all for the feat of arms on horseback.

We shall come against each other on foot three times carrying axes and daggers, nothing more, such as it shall please us. And on each one of the first two attacks we shall fight up to the number of thirteen axe stokes struck by us two and take three paces apart. And, at the third attack, we shall fight until one of us two touches their right hand to the ground. And whichever of us touches their said right hand to the ground shall be obliged to give to his companion his right-hand gauntlet. And whoever loses shall be obliged never to wear a gauntlet on their right hand, nor do any feats of arms, until they shall have asked leave of their lady.

Each of us shall be armed as is suitable to a nobleman in such case and completely without fraud, trickery, or malengin.⁹⁰

And, because I have not at present finalised the *chapitres* of these said feats of arms, I have done this for two reasons. One [Fol. 76^v] is that (at God's pleasure) at your arrival they shall be done in such good form that shall be pleasing to both of us. The other is, in order that if it please you to adjust or increase anything in either of these feats of arms on horseback or those on foot, that I may do so at your good pleasure and will; and I shall be content to do it with a very good heart. Thus it is true, most honoured knight, that I do these feats of arms as a servant only hoping to comply with the will of my said lady in order to acquire her grace. I have so travailed and employed my time for this that I submit myself to it. And may this be to her affection and desire. She has expressly named you desiring your honour and the exaltation of your name. Although this was uncertain and, at present, ignore this my emprise that I do it only to comply with her and also for the great good which she shall then say of your valour's renown. I have definitely undertaken it and, because of this, I am expressly sending you these present letters together with the substance of the *chapitres* therein contained. I pray you and ask you so dearly, with as good a heart as I can do, that it might please you to do me such honour both for the said lady and to the augmentation of your honour so affectionately and so that in and through this I may [Fol. 77^r] acquire her grace. I cannot do this thing fairly without your help by receiving and accepting the feats of arms contained in these my letters, and by certifying to me by the bearer of the letters under the seal of your coat of arms your good will and pleasure concerning this. And, doing this in good faith, you shall make me more joyful than if had I conquered half a realm. Because I shall repute myself beholden to you the rest of my life with this, you will find me ready to do you service at

⁹⁰ See n. on fol. 6^v.

the times and places as far as my honour makes possible. Let the Blessed Son of God know this to Whom, most honoured knight, I pray to have you in His holy protection and give you the joy of your lady.

Written and signed with my hand under the seal of my coat of arms on the sixteenth day of the month of June 1466.

Your servant,

Louis de Bretelles [Fol. 77^v]

Here follows the answer made to this Louis de Bretelles and to his letters by the said Sir Jehan de Chassa:

Most honoured squire,

I commend myself to you with as much and with as good a heart as I can. I have received your very gracious honourable letters sent by you to me by Nuelles Herald on the twenty-third day of June. How can I be able to satisfy the desire of my heart to thank you for the great honour that you have presented to me by these letters by which I hold and feel myself obliged towards you both of body and of goods all the days of my life – save my honour? Most honoured squire, to recite to you the contents of your letters seems to me a superfluous thing, for this in particular, that I understand that you are well accorded with the tenor of them. And, as I desire to fulfil your most noble request, after having read your said letters, I have deliberated and come to the conclusion that I shall accomplish with you all that you ask of me. And, to better arrive at that, as soon as I had read them I came before the most high, mighty, and most excellent prince my most revered and sovereign lord the [Fol. 78^r] Duke of Burgundy, showing him your letters and very humbly begging him that, as I had been obliged, so it might be done. And that in recompense for the services that I have done him heretofore (if it please him of his grace) to give me leave to concede to you all the contents of your very honourable request. My said lord, as one who has always honoured and prized feats of arms, strongly praising your desire – which he could not in this case refuse – freely gave me leave to go to England in the company of my lord the Bastard of Burgundy and then with all my power to accomplish and satisfy your desire. Most honoured squire, it is true that, about three years ago when my lord the Bastard had undertaken to hold the *pas d'armes*, which he had proclaimed through all the Christian realms, I, with the consent and licence of a lady who is the one thing of this life to whom I most desire to comply with and do service, and also by the leave of my said lord and prince, had proposed and undertaken to wear an emprise or sign to

do feats of arms. But, because of the expedition of the crusade, where I have been, and for the wars which followed, my desire could not be accomplished. Nevertheless, to have this acquaintance, and desiring with all [Fol. 78^v] my heart, that I shall accomplish your request, I shall have cause and means to come to you in such great honour and good as you have written to me. I went to my said lady and I have also shown her your letters, very humbly begging her that she might wish to grant leave for me to go in the company of my lord the Bastard of Burgundy in order to accomplish and satisfy your very noble desire, notwithstanding that I hold myself obliged to the first request that I have made of her. But she (by her grace) has kindly agreed to it, like one who in all cases desires and wishes to procure all good and honourable renown. Because, honourable squire, I am constrained to complete the feats of arms for my lady to the augmentation of my honour as much as it is possible for me to do, on my part, I certify to you that when my lord the Bastard shall travel to the most noble realm of England I shall be in his company and, at God's pleasure, and that of Our Lady, and of Saint George, I shall so acquit myself of the accomplishment of your feats of arms and *chapters* that you and all others will be content, provided that Our Lord guard me from death or from such encumbrance that, by these, I might be legitimately excused. And, to better certify the point which is made in your letter, that I may add to the substance of them [Fol. 79^r] anything that I please, most honoured squire, God forefend that I should have the wish or presumption to increase or diminish anything of the feats of your enterprise since it is done and concluded by you and by the lady whom you so desire to serve and be in her grace. However, to follow the French usage, and avoid the dangers which often come about through doing feats of arms on horseback, I would like (if your will be such) that the first of our feats of arms shall be on foot and the last on horseback. For often there are such encumbrances in feats of arms on horseback that those on foot are abandoned. And I will do all and undertake it in order to acquit myself and also to give good pleasure to your most genteel and noble lady whom I thank with all my power for the high praises and good renown which she has given me. She has given me this thing more by her virtuous conduct than by the prowess which is in me. And may it please God that my feats and oaths should correspond or, by right, be comparable to the estimation which she has for me. And be sure that I shall be most joyful if she will take you into her grace because of my actions. I shall pray to Our Lord that He grant you to come to that which is the pleasure of your heart. Most honoured squire, in order that you be

better [Fol. 79^v] and entirely assured that, if it please God, I shall accomplish all that you have asked of me by your *chapitres*, I place on these present letters my signature and seal them with my seal armed with my coat of arms.

Written in the town of Brussels on the twenty-seventh day of June 1466.

Yours ever,

Jehan de Chassa

Thus the said feats of arms were undertaken to be done on foot and on horseback. Louis de Bretelles was happy that they should do the feats of arms on foot first and things remained thus until my lord the Bastard came to London and the said knight came in his company as he had promised, to do, complete, and accomplish the request made by his companion.

On the fourteenth day of June, when the King [Fol. 80^r] of England was at his palace at Westminster, my lord the Bastard of Burgundy went before him and there he presented to him Sir Jehan de Chassa asking him to assign a day for the combat for him and his man. The King commanded that those [feats of arms of Sir Jehan] should be done following those of my lord the Bastard. Thus it was that the day fixed upon for the foot combat was found to be Saturday the thirteenth day of June.

On the Saturday here above written the field in the marketplace of London⁹¹ was made and ordered as was stated in the treatise of the feats of arms of my lord the Bastard. The Constable and Marshal came to the field in the morning to put their men-at-arms in order to guard the field. Louis de Bretelles, the appellant, had had a pavilion pitched in the field. This pavilion was of cloth painted very simply and, at the entrance to this pavilion, there was a great banner held aloft by Nuelles Herald blazoned with his coat of arms which were quartered and he had had [the same] quartered arms blazoned on the four banners above the said pavilion. But, although I asked many, none of the heralds [Fol. 80^v] could tell me the names of the lords displayed on the quartered arms, so it is impossible for me to write them down.

My lord of Monnet had had a pavilion pitched which was most rich and as if it had been for a duke. For it was of white and violet damask chequered throughout, or lozengy,⁹² and it did not have a piece greater than half a foot square. And there was a rich gilt pommel upon this pavilion with a pennoncel of the coat of arms of my lord of

⁹¹ West Smithfield.

⁹² 'Heraldry. Of a field: covered with lozenges of alternate tinctures', *OED*.

Monnet which was *gules* a saltire *argent*. Before this pavilion La Roche Pursuivant bore a great pennon of his coat of arms which he raised before the pavilion. Around the hour of midday the King came to the field in his ordained place to see the feats of arms. This was made known to Lord Louis de Bretelles who came after a fairly long time accompanied by Lord Rivers, by Lord Scales, and by their [Fol. 81^r] friends in very great honour having the clarioners and high minstrels of the said king. And he thus had this banner borne on a lance before him. His body was armed and he was arrayed in his coat armour. Lord Louis de Bretelles came in this manner in great joyfulness his head bared to do reverence to the King. Then he retired to his pavilion.

After the arrival of Lord Louis de Bretelles my lord of Monnet came. He was led by my lord the Bastard of Burgundy and by four knights of his household. My lord the Bastard led him by the bridle up to the entrance of the field where the Constable and Marshal granted him entrance. Then my lord the Bastard placed him on his right and thus he went to present him to the King. He had the war trumpeters of my lord the Bastard, Burgundy Herald, and La Roche Pursuivant dressed in their coat armours [processing] before him. He had up to fifteen of his men dressed in [Fol. 81^v] robes of tawny cloth completely strewn with goldsmiths work and with embroidery of scrolls containing certain writings. And he himself was very handsomely and richly dressed in a long robe of black velvet slashed at the sides embroidered throughout with Greek letters of goldsmiths work as large as a palm over the legharness. And he did the King reverence in this manner. Then he retired to his pavilion to thus arm and array himself as is appropriate in such a case.

Richmond Herald made the customary cries at the four corners of the field. The Constable and Marshal presented the King with the axes and daggers of each side so that each should be found to be equal, although each of them found them to be to their pleasing. Then their weapons were given to each. Four guards were left in the field as well as the knights and gentlemen who had done feats of arms in the past; that is: Lord Rivers, Sir [Fol. 82^r] Jacques,⁹³ Sir Simon de Lalaing, Sir Pedro Vásquez, my lord of Thiebaultville, and Gerard de Rousillon, all of whom remained there the whole time; and my lord the Bastard remained too. And so they retired and then it was cried: "Laissez les aller!"

Then Lord Louis left there first – as it was reasonable. He laid down his banderole without making the sign of the cross, then he picked up his axe, and made

⁹³ No surname given.

the sign of the cross, and he marched forward. My lord of Monnet made the sign of the cross three times then marched against his man, and they came to together in front of the King.

And so, on the first attack, these two champions fought until the two of them had accomplished their thirteen axe strokes. Then the guards forced themselves between them and they were made to retire three paces measured by a headless spear which was there to hand. [Fol. 82^v]

At the second attack they fought to around eleven strokes and then the King cast down the baton. My lord of Monnet, because the feats of arms lasted a long time, harassed this Louis using the end of his axe, and tried to put him out of breath, seeing that Louis sought to strike him strongly with the axe-head so much that, when he failed to land a stroke, the axe-head went to the ground and he lost his footing and it was a wonder that he was able to regain it at all. Nevertheless, they kept fighting so well, one against the other, up to the number of strokes aforesaid, that neither of the two was out of breath. And so they went before the King, and with visors raised, took each other by the hand amiably, although they still had to do feats of arms on horseback, concerning which several people there were amazed.

The feats of arms having thus been done for the day the King returned to Westminster and each of the lords to [Fol. 83^r] their lodgings until the following Monday which was the day ordained to do and accomplish the feats of arms on horseback at one hour after dinner.

On this Monday the field was prepared and the said lords, Constable, and Marshal did their duty. The King came a fairly short time after and it was very near four o'clock when Louis came accompanied by those same men as I have said above. He was mounted on a horse trappered with satin with the coat of arms of Saint George. And he had two horses after him: one trappered with crimson cloth of silver and the other with green velvet. He had six lances and a bourdon borne into the field. Having the officers of arms, the clarioners, and minstrels as the day before [processing] before him thus, he went to do reverence to the King.

After Louis de Bretelles had arrived, my lord of Monnet came accompanied thus as aforesaid wearing a crimson cloth of gold journade [Fol. 83^v] over his harness and mounted on a horse trappered with his coat of arms and had two trappered horses led after him – one with green cloth of gold, and the other with crimson velvet charged with the letter 'Y' in goldsmiths work. My lord the Bastard presented him thus before

the King then he retired to the end of the tilt which had been erected since Saturday and there each helmed on their own side as the customary cries were made. And so my lord of Monnet took off his journade to run with the lance as was sensible.

This having been done and ordered, it was cried: "Laissez les aller!" Then both of them took their lance, and they came one against the other with great speed. And so much so that my lord of Monnet broke his lance and Louis de Bretelles did not. On the next course they came together again and, on the third course, my lord of Monnet attained upon Louis's gardebras [Fol. 84^r] in such a forceful manner that he broke the neck stop rib and likewise struck off the guard (which had a rondel) to the ground, turning the strap and [tearing] the pourpoint⁹⁴ more than half a foot wide right to the shirt.

Due to this attaint we waited a very long time for Louis de Bretelles to re-arm. And then, when he was ready, they returned one against the other.

On the fifth course my lord of Monnet had broken three lances and on the eleventh he had broken six; one of which was again with so great an impact on this gardebras that it split it and it rebounded on the side of the sight of Louis's helm. It broke there and the little point remained inside. In all the courses Louis broke but one lance. And, however, at the King's pleasure, although they only ought to have run eleven courses, they ran nineteen. During these Louis de Bretelles had several buffets from which the following days [Fol. 84^v] he suffered greatly from strong pains in his face. They did these feats of arms in this order until eight o'clock in the evening when the champions, without doing any damage to their bodies other than is said, came to thank the King and one another very honourably then each returned to his residence. And from then on, by this acquaintance, they are, and remain, loyal and amiable brothers-in-arms.

The end of the feats of arms of my lord of Monnet.

[Fols 85^r-85^v blank]

[Fol. 86^r]

Nuptials of my Lord Charles Duke of Burgundy with Lady Margaret of England

[Fol. 86^v blank]

[Fol. 87^r]

Praiseworthy happenings and events ought not to suffer oblivion but ought to be collated and put in writing in order that they may remain in perpetual memory and

⁹⁴ In England at this time this would be referred to as an arming doublet.

especially as it is a universal thing that is as worthy as it is sacramental. One ought to record the ceremony as motivating the hearts of men to praise God in virtue of that which has been done. Bearing in mind that I am the least of the lesser men, I shall attempt to describe a high festivity and the ceremony of marriage which was celebrated on Sunday the third day of July in the year 1468 in the household of the most high and excellent prince Charles, by the Grace of God, Duke of Burgundy, of Brabant etc. concerning his marriage to the noble and puissant princess Margaret of York, sister to King Edward of England. This marriage had been proposed, treated, and concluded long beforehand between the two parties with great deliberation of council – over which matters I shall pass – and I shall begin when the said lady and princess arrived at the port of Sluys. Because of my uncouthness I beg the readers that they might wish to supply the faults and omissions if there be any. [Fol. 87^v]

On the twenty-fifth day of the month of June⁹⁵ in the year 1468 at the hour of matins this most noble princess my most revered lady the Duchess Margaret aforesaid by the grace of God, as the wind which was propitious to her, without having any hindrance, found herself at sea four leagues from Sluys. There it was necessary to await the tide which was ebbing, then with the said tide flowing, she entered the harbour of the port of Sluys between five and six o'clock in the evening with great and powerful estate. For she had fourteen ships in her company, of which seven were very powerful; and four of them in particular which were great carvels well equipped for war. To accompany her on these ships were several noble knights and squires and ladies and damsels, archers of the crown, officers of arms, minstrels, and eight clarioners who played very melodiously when she arrived and came ashore. The principal members of those lords and ladies aforesaid were Lord Scales, Lord Dacre, Sir John Woodville, Sir [Fol. 88^r] John Howard, Admiral of England, and Sir Thomas Montgomery, and of the ladies the Duchess of Norfolk, Lady Scales, and Lady Dacre.

My most revered lord the Duke of Burgundy had already sent my lord the Count of Charny, Sir Simon de Lalaing, Sir Claude de Toulangeon, Lord of La Bastie, and Sir Jean de Rembempre, as well as Lady Charny, my lady the Vidame of Amiens, and Mistress De Bergues to this town of Sluys to receive my said lady. And also my lady of Montigny was at this port of Sluys. These ladies and great lords came in great honour and reverence to welcome, conduct, and receive my lady. And the

⁹⁵ Note in right margin in a different hand: 'On a Saturday 25 June. *Mémoires* of Olivier de La Marche p. 518'.

processions, together with all the estates and crafts, came before her bearing a great number of torches and joyfully escorted her up to the *hôtel* of Guy le Baeust, where she was lodged and feasted by the aforesaid lords and ladies that night. [Fol. 88^v]

On the following day, the twenty-sixth, which was Sunday, my lady the Duchess, mother of my lord the Duke of Burgundy, and Mademoiselle of Burgundy came with a great number of ladies⁹⁶ and damsels to visit Lady Margaret at Sluys where they were with her for the space of four or five hours, then they returned to Bruges.

On Monday my lord the Duke went to Sluys in private estate and he arrived around ten o'clock in the evening to go to visit the ladies, and returned around midnight. And the next day he went back to Bruges.

On the following Thursday my lord returned again with a greater quantity of people than he had had the first time for he went to each room with three men who went there to give good cheer with dancing and entertainments at night. And the following day my lord went to the ladies again to take his leave then returned to Bruges. [Fol. 89^r]

On Saturday around midday, before the tide began to turn, my lady (she and her estate) went by boat and went by water to the town of Damme⁹⁷ a league from Bruges. She was most honourably received there according to the ability of the town. And moreover, the processions came before her with great reverence and the streets were all hung and prepared very richly and she was led to the lodging with great jubilation. There these people of the town fêted her to the best of their ability.

On Sunday the third day of July my lord the Duke left Bruges around five o'clock in the morning and came privately to the town of Damme. He had thus come thither around seven o'clock to my lady's aforesaid *hôtel*. In the chamber allocated for this purpose the Bishop of Salisbury (who knows French and English) married them. They heard mass and, when it had [Fol. 89^v] finished, my lord returned to my lady his mother's chamber and ate a little and then in private estate returned to his *hôtel* at Bruges which he did not leave, nor show himself until such time as shall be hereafter said.

⁹⁶ Note in right margin in a different hand: 'with Mistress d'Argueil and several other ladies. *Mémoires* of La Marche p. 518'.

⁹⁷ Note in right margin in a different hand: 'Damme is a little town situated on the road which runs directly from Sluys to Bruges'.

After the departure of my lord, my lady left in a richly gilded litter borne by two horses adorned with rich cloth of gold. This litter was escorted by some knights both English and of the order of the Golden Fleece, and by the captain of my lord's bodyguard with twenty archers on foot.

And thus it was that my lady sat very honourably in this litter dressed in white cloth of gold, a crown on her head, and with her hair hanging freely most honourably.⁹⁸ And, having tabor players, trumpeters, clarioners, and minstrels, went thus as far as the gate of the Holy Cross in the place of Bruges fairly light heartedly, because there was a very big pageant during her entry. Several people had come to the fields for my lady's entry in fine [Fol. 90^r] form. But, after leaving the east gate as far as the court, everyone kept to their place and, in order to make a better description, I shall describe the beginning of that which I saw.

Firstly, the men of the collegiate churches of Bruges were arrayed at this gate and in the streets. Both regular clergy and mendicants, bishops, abbots, and other prelates and church men were arrayed, having donned full ceremonial wear to receive my lady as she processed there. And she was also attended by the men of my lord's household and others who were then at court. These, by knights delegated to do this, were placed in order to ride before my lady in the following manner. In this order before her were (each on horseback): firstly, the *Bailli* and *Écoutète* of Bruges⁹⁹ and, after them, other gentlemen – both of my lord of Ravenstein's household and those of my lord the Bastard of Burgundy's – and my said lord's retainers.

The archers of my lord the Bastard's bodyguard followed after [Fol. 90^v] to the number of twelve with their captain. They were dressed in journades strewn with an abundance of white goldsmiths work and, in the centre on the front and back, a great tree of gilt goldsmiths work. All were attired in vermilion paltocks,¹⁰⁰ the said archers having black satin pourpoints, yellow bonnets, and hose of several colours. And each carried a vouge.

The rest of these gentlemen retainers of my lord's household began to follow after these archers. Each was dressed in the manner which shall hereafter be said; both those who were knights and the others.

⁹⁸ Note in right margin in a different hand: 'dressed in white cloth of gold in nuptial attire as was appropriate in such a case. *Mémoires* of La Marche p. 520'.

⁹⁹ See n. on fol. 52^r.

¹⁰⁰ 'A man's short coat or jacket', *OED*.

The knights from the countries who were at the festivity rode after these gentlemen and, after them, my lord the Duke's chamberlains.

Those who were of my lord's blood came after these chamberlains. Then tabor players, minstrels, war trumpeters, and clarioners played in great number; both ours [Fol. 91'] and of the English. And, following them, the officers of arms of both one side and the other; of whom there were twenty-four on horseback in coat armours. Six of them were kings of arms. And then there came all the archers of my lord's bodyguard and the two captains, also with the same number of archers of the King of England's bodyguard.

Then my lady came accompanied by the lords who (as is said) came with her from England: especially Lord Scales, and our lords of the [Order of the Golden] Fleece. And thirteen hackneys richly adorned with crimson cloth of gold came after my lady. Two of these were led by hand and the others were ridden by the ladies of England. And so there were eight very richly gilded and covered carriages in which were the ladies of the lands whom my lord had invited to the festivity with largesse.

My lady left the gate in this manner. At which, nevertheless, the nations who were established in Bruges had come to meet her very near to Damme in great pomp; that is to [Fol. 91'] say the Florentines, who came first, then the Spaniards, Esterlings, Venetians, and Genoese. But they came into the town in this manner to better abridge [the narrative]. And so [it was] my said lady came, passing through the streets which were all hung with rich cloths and decorated with greenery and flowers in abundance. In various places between this gate and the court ten great and praiseworthy stories were erected which I shall describe for they were relevant to this marriage and founded in sacred scripture.

The first story nearest the gate was of when God conjoined Eve and Adam in earthly paradise according to Genesis.

The second, which was in front of the Jacobins and was most excellent, was of when Cleopatra was given in marriage to Alexander and it was written in Latin on the right hand side: 'When King Alexander, having gained victory over King Demetrius, sent delegates to King Ptolemy of Egypt demanding that he give his daughter Cleopatra to him to wed'. And on the left side was written: 'How King Ptolemy came to Ptolemaea and [Fol. 92'] gave his daughter Cleopatra to King Alexander to wed. First book of the Maccabees [10.48-58]' and above was written, 'Let us be glad and rejoice and give glory to him. For the marriage of the Lamb is come: and his wife hath

prepared herself. Apocalypse 19[.7]' and there were several other shorter texts which I shall pass over.

The third was of the Songs of Solomon and it was written: 'You have wounded my heart, my spouse, and have made my soul joyful. Tell my beloved son that I languish with love'.¹⁰¹

The fourth was from the gospel according to John [2.1]: 'There was a wedding in Cana in Galilee etc.'

The fifth was another from the third Song of Songs: 'Thou art beautiful, my love, sweet and comely. I found him, whom my soul loves: I held him: and I will not let him go etc.'¹⁰²

The sixth was in front of the church of Saint Donatian where it was written: 'One shall be called the city of the sun. In that day shall there be an altar to the Lord in the midst of the land, and a pillar at the border thereof to the Lord', Isaiah [19.18-19] etc. [**Fol. 92**']

The seventh was below the prison which said: 'After Moses long besieged the city of Saba, Tarbis, daughter of the King of Egypt caught his eye. Afterwards Moses took her to wed', Petrus Comestoris, *Historia scholastica*.

The eighth was in front of the market hall where there was a woman whose lap was filled with lions and where it was written: 'The lion and leopard are exchanged and embrace the youth under the lily etc.'

The ninth was at the end of the marketplace in front of the court. It was of the marriage of Hester and said: 'King Assuerus of Persia led Hester, who was beautiful and found gracious in all eyes, to his chamber and placed the Queen's diadem on her head, all the princes prepared a nuptial banquet', Second book of Hester etc.

The tenth, near the court, said: 'may a blessing come upon thy wife and upon thy parents. And may you see thy children, and thy children's children, unto the third and fourth generation'. Tobit 9[.10-11].

The decoration of the streets should also not be forgotten. Several houses were specially decorated [**Fol. 93**'] with hangings and rich cloths and great lighted torches, as were the houses of the Catalans, Sicilians, Lucchese, and the Portuguese

¹⁰¹ This is a combination of two verses: 'vulnerasti cor meum soror mea sponsa' 4.9; 'si inveneritis dilectum meum ut nuntietis ei quia amore langueo' 5.8.

¹⁰² Another combination: 'pulchra es amica mea suavis et decora' 6.3; 'inveni quem diligit anima mea tenui eum nec dimittam' 3.4.

on the marketplace. And so the lords of the town were drawn up upon this marketplace and with serried ranks of archers and crossbowmen.

Having passed through all the streets, stories, and inscriptions, my lady came to the court. On the door, which had been newly made with a rich work of fine gold, there are, and remain in perpetuity, the coat of arms and crest of my lord surrounded by the coats of arms of his lands supported by two great lions with his motto above in classical letters: 'I have undertaken it'. And on one side of this coat of arms was an archer drawing and letting fly red wine and, at the other side, a crossbowman drawing and letting fly white wine all day so that the commune received as much as they expected. And thus my lady and all the her estate entered the *hôtel* through the door and there she got out of the litter, and was escorted by my lord Adolf of Clèves and Lord Scales to a chamber where she retired until dinner which was quite soon after.

And you ought to know that there was a very rich pelican which sprayed hippocras from its breast in this court. [Fol. 93^v]

My lady entered my lord the Duke's *hôtel* and the nations who have already been mentioned passed before the door to pay respects to her in the following manner.

Firstly the Venetians:

There were ten Venetian merchants on horseback dressed in crimson velvet. Ten servants came after them dressed in vermilion cloth and three pursuivants went before them and then came fifty footmen dressed in vermilion each carrying a torch.

The Florentines had fifty-four torches borne before them. Those who bore the torches were arrayed in blue cloth and there were four pages dressed in crimson cloth of silver pourpoints and white satin mantelines bordered with blue satin. Then came eleven merchants. Firstly, Tomasso Portinari arrayed as a counsellor of my lord the Duke (which he is), and the other ten dressed in black satin. And behind him came twenty-four servants arrayed in blue cloth all on horseback.

There were thirty-four Spanish merchants on horseback dressed in violet damask with thirty-four foot pages. These pages were all dressed the same [Fol. 94^r] in black satin pourpoints and crimson velvet jackets. Also these merchants had sixty torches borne before them and the bearers were dressed in robes of violet and green cloth.

The Genoese had the Maid and Saint George ride before them. This Maid was dressed in white damask, her horse trappered with crimson velvet and Saint George

was armed, his horse trappered with white damask with the great cross of crimson. Then three pages followed dressed in white damask pourpoints and crimson velvet journades. And so there were eighteen merchants on horseback dressed in white damask robes lined with black velvet (six of them long and the others short) and black velvet pourpoints. And there were eighteen foot valets dressed in white cloth with red sleeves with a Saint George's cross bordered below.

The Esterlings had seventy-two torches borne before them. The bearers were dressed in violet and the six pages riding after them were dressed in violet satin pourpoints and white damask robes. Their horses were trappered with violet damask. Then the merchants followed on horseback to the number of one hundred and eight and they were all dressed in violet cloth. **[Fol. 94^v]**

And it is not to be forgotten, but it is proper that I should say that all the princes, chamberlains, gentlemen, officers, and servants of my lord – whether all those who were considered to be at court or not – who were of the allegiance of my lord at this festivity were arrayed as follows. Also all the old servants of the fealty of my lord the [late] Duke (whom God absolve) who were there were all dressed as the others. That is to say: the chamberlains and princes in long robes of black velvet with crimson velvet pourpoints. The gentlemen in black satin with violet damask pourpoints – the counsellors in black velvet – and all the servants in black and violet cloth robes and violet camlet pourpoints.

This entry having been made thus and the mass sung in the chapel (where nothing was done concerning the nuptials) dinner was ready at court and they were taken to be seated in various places. Firstly, my lord the Duke dined alone in a little room near the chapel and was served as he was accustomed. And my lady, accompanied by my lady the Duchess mother of my lord and Mademoiselle of Burgundy, the said ladies of England, and a great number of those from this side of the Channel, came to the great hall newly prepared for the nuptials in which **[Fol. 95^r]** there was a high table, and two others the length of the said hall. My lady washed her hands then was led to her seat at the said high table. Then my lady the ducal mother sat on her right and Mademoiselle of Burgundy on her left. And, beyond my lady the ducal mother, on her right sat my lady D'Arguel, and remaining right behind my lady the Duchess was a lady of England and Lady Scales. And at one of these tables on the right, after entering, sat fifty-two noble ladies from this side of the Channel and only eight [ladies] of England at the other table. My lady was serenaded with a great

sound of the trumpeters, clarioners, and minstrels and she was most honourably served by my said lord's *maître d'hôtel*.

The lords of England, the prelates, and churchmen were served in a chamber (which was ordinarily for my lord the Bastard of Burgundy) in my lord the chancellor's gallery or garden in a place which is called the bathhouse. And the chamberlains and those of the chapel were served in the hall over the court near my lord. The English, and the archers were served in the lower hall and in other chambers, as were ours of the household etc. Up to twelve very ample dishes [Fol. 95^v] were served first and afterwards until five hours after none or later.

The great hall (of which I have made mention) was most nobly decorated. It was hung with the tapestry of Gideon which is, as several people know, of very rich gold and silk. And above this high table was a high dresser made with three squares called lozenges each square fifteen feet wide and nine shelves in height narrowing to the point. There were silver and gold dishes on the said shelves adorned with rich precious stones which was as much as it could hold. And at each square were two unicorn's horns upright like very long candles. And on the top of the said dresser, to top it off, was a very great and rich golden cup. I will quickly pass over these dishes because it is impossible for me to state their value.

There were several chandeliers hanging from the rafters in the said hall as is customary. Between these there were two wonders which were fashioned like strong and powerful castles set upon a rock and below each, towards the people, were seven mirrors set on rocks [Fol. 96^r] which were as great and round as a foot and a half in circumference. And there it seemed as if one saw in each ten thousand men. And these castles turned as neatly as one might wish.

This day, after dinner, at six o'clock or thereabouts my lady went by carriage dressed in a robe of crimson cloth of gold and a gold chapeau without a crown with a very rich collar adorned with precious stones. And all the ladies and damsels went, both by carriage and on hackneys, to a *pas de joute* which my lord the Bastard of Burgundy was beginning and that he would maintain until having jousted against twenty-four knights under the title of the Knight of the Golden Tree. I shall return to survey this joust, and other feats of arms following it, in a separate treatise [describing] how this joust was held each day and the banquets held which were, nevertheless, equally part of the nuptials. But I shall pass over them here to abridge the entry. Then, after the departure of my lady, my lord the Duke left on horseback

dressed in a long robe of cloth of gold furred with very fine sable with open sleeves hanging to the ground and went to this joust which, having finished for the day, the lords and ladies returned to court where there was a banquet prepared. It seems honest for me to make a description of this. [Fol. 96^v] When it was time my lord the Duke, my lady the Duchess, Mademoiselle of Burgundy, and generally all the lords and ladies came to this banquet which was most excellently held in the great hall in the following manner.

At the high table six great ships were set up fashioned like great carvels with two sails resembling sea going vessels most richly made and garnished and with all things that should and ought to pertain to a ship. And in the middle of each was set a platter of food and, at each platter, below on the table there were sixteen dishes without the *entremets*, each having a carvel nearby in which were four little bottles full of spices or fruits. And in the middle of each serving (that is to say between the two ships) there was a great tower (none the same as another) in each of which was the pâté pertaining to the said platter. And these boats and towers thus represented the land or town under the dominion of my lord with the banners of its lordship. Each had the banners and escutcheons and the name in writing which it represented.

Item, and at each long table (of which there were [Fol. 97^r] two) in the said hall (of which I made mention at the previous dinner) there were twelve of these ships the same as those aforesaid. Thus there were thirty nefs¹⁰³ in total and thirty towers. Also you ought to know the lands that these ships represented of which each knew the names. There was Béthune, Soigny, Ostrevant, Faulquemont, Auxerre, Ponthieu, Charolais, Auxonne, Boulogne, Mâcon, Aalst, Aerkebe, La Gand, Île de la Brielle, Courtrai, Dordrecht, Douai, Heerlen, Oudenaarde, Bruges, Lille, Bois-le-Duc,¹⁰⁴ Ghent, Dijon, Brussels, Louvain, Amiens, Rotterdam, Middelburg, Sluys, Arras, Valenciennes, Troth, Saint-Omer, Albermarle, Amsterdam, Ypres, and Delft. These were the names of the places which were named by these ships and carvels.

Item, there was the dresser before the high table (which was mentioned in the chapter on the dinner) being neither larger nor smaller. Thus the said banquet was disposed. After washing his hands my lord and lady sat at the high table with the papal legate, the Bishop of Metz, the Bishop of Utrecht, my lord Adolf of Clèves, Lord Scales, the Duchess of Norfolk, Mademoiselle of Burgundy, my lady D'Arguel, my lady

¹⁰³ 'Table ornament in the shape of a ship', *OED*.

¹⁰⁴ Modern-day 's-Hertogenbosch. I am grateful to Dr Alan Murray for this identification.

of [Fol. 97^v] Montigny, my lady D'Arst, the Viscountess of Furnes and others. And the other lords and ladies were at the other two tables, the English and others well mixed, until all the tables were full. And so each gave great cheer. And there is no need to ask how all manner of minstrels performed. And when the meal came to the end a great well-crafted unicorn entered the hall on which crouched a leopard holding my said lord's banderol in one claw and a marguerite in the other which it presented to him before the high table.

After this unicorn had retired, there entered a lion within which were two singers singing a song which is called 'Welcome to the gentle shepherdess'. And this lion thus did its turn then returned.

Thirdly and lastly, there entered a dromedary loaded with two panniers full of small birds. It took the said birds with one front foot and then the other and threw them to fly throughout the hall which was very pleasant to see. Once this dromedary had retired, the banquet ended and then the dance began. Once this had finished they took [Fol. 98^r] wine and spices. And they went to bed around three hours after midnight.

The other banquets, festivities, and entertainments shall be described day-by-day in the other treatise on the feats of jousts and tourneys which took place daily as long as the nuptials lasted.

[Fol. 98^v blank]

[Fol. 99^r]

Concerning the feats of jousts which were held at the nuptials of my lord the Duke the festivities of which were held for the duration of nine days. They were undertaken by my lord the Bastard of Burgundy under the auspices of the command of a lady called the Lady of the Secret Isle who, for certain causes that had moved her to this, had required three things of this knight; that is to say that he would wish to find himself at a joust for love of her where one hundred and one lances would be broken on him, or he would break them on another. And after that he would find himself at another feat of arms where one hundred and one sword strokes would be dealt by him, or they would be dealt to him. Thirdly, that a golden tree which she would grant him, which was in her treasury, would be, by these feats, more enriched and more nobly decorated than it already was. And she thus granted him this golden tree, and a pursuivant also named Golden Tree. And, to observe these feats of arms, a giant whom she held as a prisoner who was called the Giant of the Forest of Dread. This giant was to be

escorted everywhere by a dwarf which she had. And this dwarf was to observe these feats of arms in order to make her a record of them. And, so that these feats of arms might be better accomplished in the most noble house of Burgundy, this knight had chosen [**Fol. 99^v**] this Lady of the Secret Isle to write to the duke requesting of him that he might wish to deign these feats of arms to be proclaimed and accomplished.

The tenor of these letters follows:

Most excellent and victorious prince,

I humbly commend myself to your good grace and may it please you to know, most excellent prince, that, as news comes and goes in several directions from various parts of the world, it has come to my knowledge that my servant – a noble knight and of singular recommendation to you – ought to have recently made his approaches to your most noble and most high lordship. And in this cause and in hope of being able to discharge in your very famous house certain high and glorious emprises and so that they might be charged and enjoined to him and the execution of which shall be such that it is pleasing to God who protects him. He is in His mercy and awaits his unknown fortune. Thus in order that your most fair and very renowned highness might and may be better informed of, and instructed in, the manner of this case, together with the quality and estate of this noble knight, and of the cause of his praiseworthy and courageous emprise and of his entry before you, I present [**Fol. 100^r**] to your highness one of my heralds named Golden Tree with these present letters by which (by your grace and under your benign, princely humility) it might be clearly and entirely understood and you be informed of this matter.

Most excellent prince, this knight ought to be allowed to perform these feats of arms as, after long, numerous, and diverse travels through the various parts of the world and, after a multitude of high and praiseworthy feats and worthy deeds in arms, fortune has finally led him to me (to my great joy) who have for a long time been persecuted, disinherited, and made destitute by a cruel and inhumane tyrant and been driven to miserable desolation and total confoundedness. It happened that one day he was led to me moved by a noble and virtuous spirit and with particular compassion for my sorry case, holding himself to prove in virtuous charitable works and to lift me up out of my ruin by his diligence surrendered himself to me, asking me to be admitted to my sovereignty and dedicating himself to my desolated house. And, after presenting himself to me and promising to loyally serve me, he also promised and sworn under my perpetual pleasure resolving to come to my grace which I accorded him as far as I

can and ought legitimately to do according to the weight of his noble and frank heart and to the measure of my honour. And, considering my low and uncomfortable fortune and their inextricable dangers, I find myself, a glorious daughter of [Fol. 100^v] a king, retaining him as my servant by such conditions that chiefly and principally, he should take pains and make the attempt to deliver and relieve me from the cruel hand of this giant¹⁰⁵ returning my person to freedom, and removing and returning my lands and possession from his tyranny. Of such things, always God be praised, in a short time after God had intervened, and completed from his superior initiative, it came to a glorious end, and his valorous [behaviour] rendered, I have felt the desire that I shall never cease to be obliged to him and that I shall not harbour him in my thoughts as I shall be able to satisfy him to his worthiness thus and as this noble knight in my regard both in person and in morals and by his high and particular feats which I perceive to be in him. It seems to me more worthy that with his dear works of love having been done to attract upon himself the greatest honour in the world and to come to the knowledge of all the best. I have asked him (and to magnify it more that it be in the most chivalrous house on the earth) to have as many as one hundred and one lances broken upon him or that he put himself to try to break them on his opponents and give or receive as many sword strokes by the end of the single combat. Once this has been done or undertaken [Fol. 101^r] he must hold a tourney and could turn to his advantage (I say this to him) to the great advancement of his request. Thus, as after this second point, I should desire always more and more to glorify again and aggrandise this noble knight and provide him with any particular retribution for benefice received from him, I bethought me of a golden tree which I had, which, for the adornment of his future entry to some glorious house, I resolved to bestow upon him, on condition that he, with all his virtues and vigour, ought to strive to return to me more worthy yet and more precious than when he received it of me. I awaited good things from him truly believing that it would be more precious than a thousand gems. As renown conveys this noble knight straight to this place, sire, choosing above all other Christian houses your own, and electing – as I understand it – to plant my tree of gold in your chivalrous court, glorified there and aggrandised, this scion of precious, not common rootstock, replete with mysterious powers. And the giant (my prisoner) shall guard this and administer it until the said noble knight's return to me (which God grant that it be soon). I therefore entreat you, most excellent prince, asking in all

¹⁰⁵ The other account (BM Valenciennes MS 776, fol. 8^r) also uses the word *geant* here.

humility that the advancement of the emprise [**Fol. 101^v**] of this noble knight to appear before you and in magnification of his Golden Tree by the nature that has been granted him. I pray you to show favour to his expedition and enterprise as befits the glory and exaltation of your most noble renown and to my joy and to his profit he may do it quickly and very soon return to me for the most high of my desires. Whereof it may please you by the honour of your grace so to do, I shall render praise to God on that account, bestowing on you the whiles the most codign expression of gratitude to your noble estate, which God preserve and maintain in sempiternal felicity.

Written in my Castle of Good Hope on the eighth day of January in the year 1467.

Signed:

Entirely your most humble servant,

The Lady of the Secret Isle

And likewise superscript: To the most excellent, most victorious, and most puissant prince Charles, by the Grace of God, Duke of Burgundy and of Brabant etc.

After the said letters had been received by my lord the Duke and presented by Golden Tree Pursuivant, when they had been read my lord agreed to the will of the Lady of the Secret Isle. Thus the Golden Tree was erected in the marketplace of Bruges. To it were hung successively, for the decoration and enrichment according to the desire of this lady, [**Fol. 102^r**] the shields armed with the coats of arms of the noble knights and squires who had come to present themselves at the joust to fulfil the emprise of this knight. And beside the tree was a perron with three pillars on which the said dwarf sat during the said joust on a rich chair complete with a sandglass before him and a horn for heralding the Knight of the Golden Tree's entrance and issue onto the field. Over this perron it was thus written: 'Do not be awestruck by this perron. It is an emprise which awakens noble hearts to remember such honour as that of Dame Honour and of the Lady of the Secret Isle'.

In front of the tree the giant lay and beside it was a great stand where the judges delegated by my lord for these feats of arms sat; that is to say my lord of Miramont, as lieutenant of the Marshal of Burgundy, Sir Claude de Toulangeon Lord of La Bastie, the *Bailli* of Caen, and my lord of La Roche. And beside them, on another stand, were the officers of arms.

After everything had been thus ordained it began on the day of Sunday of these nuptials on the third day of July in the following manner. [**Fol. 102^v**]

My lord Adolf of Clèves Lord of Ravenstein was the first comer to joust against the Lady of the Secret Isle's knight (who was my lord the Bastard). And you ought to know that, when a combatant came to the gate of the park, Golden Tree Pursuivant came to speak to him after he had struck it with the golden hammer which hung from this gate and demanded his name. And then he went to tell it to the defender and returned thence to fetch the dwarf and the giant who came to let this assailant in. Thus my lord of Ravenstein came knocking at the gate which was opened after these formalities.

My lord of Ravenstein entered the field very richly in a litter borne by two horses. This litter was painted with blue and white (these are his colours) and blazoned with his coat of arms covered with a crimson cloth of gold adorned with several big pommels all of fine silver. He lay inside on two great cushions of crimson cloth of gold and was armed. Over his harness he wore a robe of camlet of silk [*sic*] furred with ermine. The two horses bearing this litter were harnessed with blue velvet garnished with little plaques of silver. Two pages were dressed as his other pages were; that is to say in blue velvet paltocks half [**Fol. 103'**] strewn with white goldsmiths work with a collar of gilt goldsmiths work. A horse for this knight to mount was led by hand with this litter trappered in blue cloth of gold charged with big silver bells and another horse bearing two panniers trappered in black velvet. A little fool was on top arrayed like the pages. He escorted him in this manner before the ladies, and there Sir Olivier de La Marche dressed in a long robe of blue velvet read a letter. Then this knight went to helm and returned to do his duty. Serving him with lances were Sir Antoine and Sir Josse de Lalaing, my lord of Perwez of Hainault, my lord of Derchoweze, and Sir Olivier de La Marche all arrayed in mantelines of blue velvet bordered with white all charged with silver bells. And he also had the Bastard of Sauvenses, his squire of the stables, arrayed in blue velvet.

When I described my lord Adolf at the outset, I ought to have described our Knight of the Golden Tree as he came to receive him most honourably coming out of the golden gate to a golden tree which was in the other part of the field.

My lord the Bastard was escorted into the field in a rich pavilion of [**Fol. 103^v**] white and yellow damask with a gutter of violet cloth of gold bordered along the bottom with green velvet. And he was thus served by my lord of Colzen, my lord of Mocant, Sir Hughes de Lannoy Lord of Beaumont, Sir Philippe de Cohen, and Sir Josse de Wassenare, each having a horse trapper of violet velvet bordered with white

*cresee*¹⁰⁶ charged with big silver bells, and by Jehan de Maulpas and Alardin Bournel, his squires of the stables, having horse harnesses also likewise charged with silver bells. And my lord had his horse trappered with a rich trapper of goldsmiths work with a golden tree and bore a green shield and bore these for the duration of the whole festivity.

And in this manner did these two noble knights assemble and jouted against each other most forcefully for the space of half an hour which was the time ordained for each and no longer, but they did not break their lances on each other. I shall make no mention of it so that my written word will displease no one. I shall describe day-by-day the doings of their estates to come. And also of the doings of the heralds, tabor players, and trumpeters who came to accompany the jousters, you ought to know once and for all that each one who came was grandly accompanied [**Fol. 104^r**] some because they themselves were attached to a lord's household, others for the gifts which they hoped to receive. And I shall thus place myself in the reader's consideration.

After the space of half an hour had passed the dwarf blew the horn, the aforesaid knights ran armed with plançons for the ladies as each did according to the contents of the *chapitres*.

After this had been done my lord's retinue left [the lists] and returned to court where a rich and solemn banquet was held. Mention has been made of this before. There each found themselves very well provided for. But I should be too prolix to describe the rich robes and attire of goldsmiths work, of embroidery, and of cloth of gold of diverse sorts, and big chains that each wore according to their high estate. And so I shall stop describing anything save only the trappers and liveries worn at these jousts and describe the jewels.

On Monday the fourth day my lord the Duke, the ladies, and the judges came over to the ring. And my lord of Château-Guion, brother of the Prince of Orange, thus knocked and presented himself at the gate very handsomely at all points. He had seven lance servants attired in violet damask pourpoints and green satin mantelines each with three [**Fol. 104^v**] rows of gold chain around their necks and white plumes. His horse was trappered with blue cloth of gold and he had two pages [processing] after him wearing black satin pourpoints, green velvet mantelines, and black velvet

¹⁰⁶ An unidentified material.

berrettas with white plumes. One of the horses was trappered in crimson cloth of gold, the other in violet cloth of gold.

My lord the Bastard came to encounter my lord of Château-Guion served by the squires of the stables and, in particular, his horse was trappered with crimson cloth of gold.

This day's third comer was my lord of Fiennes who was served by my lord of Roussy, Jacques de Luxembourg his uncle, Sir Jehan de Luxembourg his brother, my lord the Marquis of Ferrara who were all attired in aketons of black, tawny, and white velvet with an embroidered collar of gold and also embroidered with fine gold on the front and back. Beneath these they wore crimson satin pourpoints. And he had seven very richly trappered horses which were ridden by four pages. And his palfrey man led one horse by hand and his pages and palfrey man were attired in paltocks charged with white goldsmiths work and big buds of embroidery of [Fol. 105^r] fine gold with a large collar of the same embroidery and tawny and black satin caped hoods on their heads embroidered with sewn rosebuds. His horse trapper was of black velvet with great hangings of embroidery of fine gold worn above the crupper up to the border which was embroidered with the same embroidery in relief. The second horse was trappered in blue velvet strewn with white bells. The third with ermine bordered with blue cloth of gold. The fourth strewn with little buckles embroidered in silver. The fifth with white goldsmiths work. The sixth was not embroidered but strewn throughout with silver coins. The seventh was of crimson cloth of gold.

My lord the Bastard came to encounter my lord of Fiennes with his horse trappered in green cloth of gold embroidered with silver goldsmiths work.

Charles de Vissen came into the field in front of my lord of Fiennes accompanied by the captains and archers of my lord the Duke's bodyguard each on foot with a May branch in hand and there was only one servant dressed in a paltock of goldsmiths work. And he had his horse trappered in white and gilt goldsmiths work fashioned as letters as he was accustomed to wear.

My lord the Bastard came to encounter Charles de Vissen [Fol. 105^v] with his horse harnessing of goldsmiths work with hanging silver bells.

These were the three joustes who had done their duty on Monday. My lord and each of them returned to court where a banquet was held of thirty meat dishes furnished with thirteen dishes without the side dishes. Moreover, during this banquet, there was a new dresser and new dishes. A great beast like a griffon came into the

hall and did a turn purely to entertain the company. And at this banquet a pageant of the infancy of Hercules was acted out as it was in the poetical treatise about him. Then the dance was held at the end of the banquet and until they went to bed.

On Tuesday the fifth day my lord the Duke came to the joust; that is to say in a house above the marketplace where he and the ladies – on this day as on the others – watched the estate. Once they and the judges had come, my lord D'Arguel son of the Prince of Orange and nephew of the Duke of Brittany came to present himself. He had his servants dressed in black satin pourpoints and aketons of green velvet. Each had their horse harness charged with silver bells fashioned like pears among whom was my lord of Ravenstein. His horse trapper was of crimson cloth of silver charged with bells. His shield was [Fol. 106^r] crimson, white, and green and he had plumes on his helm. And after him came three pages dressed in robes of green velvet with two pleats of crimson velvet and two of white and wearing crimson velvet berrettas lined with black velvet on their heads. One of their horses was trappered in crimson cloth of gold and the other with blue cloth of gold and the third with violet cloth of gold.

My said lord the Bastard came to encounter my lord D'Arguel with his horse trappered in white damask bordered with crimson velvet with saltires of the same damask strewn with gold teardrops with a big silver sun in splendour.

This day's second comer was Sir Antoine de Hallewin who was served at the joust by the Viscount of Furnes, my lord of Hallewin, my lord Dehaines, and my lord Descores dressed in crimson satin pourpoints and black and tawny velvet journades with a 'Y' on the front and back embroidered in gold. He was mounted on a horse trappered in velvet charged with big silver bells fashioned like columbines bordered with embroidery of great 'Y's in relief. And he also had three pages dressed in black velvet pourpoints and paltocks of goldsmiths work. The first horse was trappered in violet velvet embroidered with cloth of silver, the second [Fol. 106^v] with green cloth of gold, and the third with velvet strewn with silver-gilt coins bordered with fine gold with crimson patches fringed all round.

And my lord the Bastard came to encounter him seated on [a horse with] a trapper of goldsmiths work fashioned like cloth of silver.

Sir Jehan de Luxembourg was this day's third jouster. He was served by my lord of Roussy, Sir Jacques de Luxembourg his uncle, my lord of Fiennes, and my lord the Marquis of Ferrara dressed in blue satin aketons with a gold flower on the front and back. There was a fool dressed in goldsmiths work in front of them. And he also

had four pages and his palfrey man dressed in paltocks of white goldsmiths work with green satin berrettas lined with black velvet with great gold coifs in front and behind. Sir Jehan had a trapper all of very rich gilt goldsmiths work; his shield was violet. One of the said horse trappers was of crimson velvet bordered with cloth of silver. The second trapper was of white goldsmiths work in diverse fashions. The third was of marten. The fourth of crimson cloth of gold. The fifth of black velvet strewn with great gold letters.

These and no others were they who jousted on this day.

My lord the Bastard came to encounter [Fol. 107^r] Sir Jehan with a trapper of tawny velvet charged with embroidered barbicans and his letters with his motto with a velvet border.

When the lords and ladies had returned to court after this joust there was a rich banquet prepared in the great hall at two great tables. Great towers of silk were erected at the high table with two masts with banderols on top in the same manner as the great nefes of the meat dishes. And there were gilt and bejewelled decorated pavilions for the pâté. And fifteen cooked courses were thus served and again there was a new dresser set up with new dishes placed on the right-hand side of this high table. And right in front of it was a great, strong, and high tower representing that of Gorenchem¹⁰⁷ fashioned out of blue stone [with] machicolations,¹⁰⁸ faussebraies,¹⁰⁹ and everything. In this tower, in the sentry's turret, was a man providing several explanations concerning both the tents and pavilions and this tower. And, at the windows of this tower, firstly there appeared great wild boars blowing war trumpets well and in time. Then, after they had retreated, when this order was given to them, there appeared goats playing most melodiously like minstrels. Thirdly, [Fol. 107^v] there came bears playing flutes, and fourthly, asses who sang a very pleasant song. And finally, six men in the guise of monkeys sallied forth from this tower who danced and performed marvels.

On Wednesday the first comer in the ring was Sir Jehan de Chassa Lord of Monnet followed by four gentlemen very richly attired in the guise of Turks. And in front of them came four Moors and on a horse with panniers there were two [more

¹⁰⁷ Although unclear in this MS another (BM Valenciennes MS 776, fol. 22^r) describes it as 'au patron de la grosse tour [...] en sa ville de Goringhem en hollande'. I am grateful to Dr Alan Murray for identifying this town.

¹⁰⁸ 'An opening between the corbels which support a projecting defensive parapet through which combustibles could be dropped on assailants below', *OED*.

¹⁰⁹ 'An artificial mound or wall thrown up in front of the main rampart', *OED*.

Moors] and a fool who turned his back on them. This horse trapper was of blue velvet bordered with very rich embroidered gold butterflies. And these Moors and fool played various instruments. Then there followed a very gracious damsel who led the lord. She was also attired in the Moorish fashion mounted on a hackney trappered with crimson velvet also bordered with rich gold embroidery. And there were also two foot pages who led her dressed in robes and hose of silver goldsmiths work. This lord was attired in the Turkish fashion above his harness. And there were also four behind him also dressed in the guise of Turks. Each of those in front had a dart in their hand. The lord Chassa's horse was trappered in black velvet embroidered with foreign letters in gold embroidery spreading over [Fol. 108^r] the horse's crupper and strewn with shimmering goldsmiths work which was most rich and a novelty to see.

My lord the Bastard came to encounter the Lord of Monnet with his horse trappered with cloth of gold bordered with ermine.

This day's second comer was my lord Jacques de Luxembourg who was served by Lord Scales, Sir John Woodville his brother, my lord of Roussy, my lord of Fiennes, Sir Jehan de Luxembourg, my lord of Renty, and my lord the Marquis of Ferrara wearing blue satin aketons. Sir Jacques had four pages and a palfrey man dressed in black damask pourpoints, blue velvet mantelines, violet hose, with green bonnets. Sir Jacques's horse trapper was of perse cloth of gold, perse plumes, and an embroidered shaffron. One page's [horse] trapper was of crimson velvet bordered with ermine. This trapper had a branching tree trunk on the horse's crupper branching with foliage strewn throughout with gold oak leaves in relief. The other trapper was of black and violet with large leaves of goldsmiths work strewn with silver coins and bordered with black velvet strewn with big embroidered teardrops of fine gold. The third horse was trappered [Fol. 108^v] with velvet charged with this lord's letters and with 'Y's. The letters gilt and the 'Y's broadly wrought in white and with large half-gilt bells. The fourth was of shimmering taffeta strewn with thistles of goldsmiths work bordered with gold fringes. The fifth was of black damask cloth figured with my said lord's embroidered thistles strewn with gilt bells bordered with white damask strewn with similar bells. The sixth, which was led by the palfrey man by hand, was trappered in black, violet, and crimson cloth of gold. In this manner did he enter the field.

My lord the Bastard came to encounter him with his horse trappered with black cloth of gold having a woodworker's plane on the crupper and crinet. And the trapper was strewn with little silver woodworkers' planes.

The third comer was Sir Philippe de Poitiers Lord of La Fève, served by my lord of Dormans his brother, the Viscount of Furnes, and Sir Antoine and Sir Josse de Lalaing all wearing paltocks of crimson and white satin. And he was led by a damsel into the field by a thread. She was dressed in white satin, her hair flowing, with a chaplet of roses on her head. Her horse was all strewn with violets. This lord had a white shield and his horse trapper was of crimson satin broché with gilt and strewn with bells with silver cowbells.¹¹⁰

[Fol. 109^r] And he had two pages attired in fluttering robes – the body of crimson satin, the sleeves of black satin – and little black satin chaplets. One trapper was of black velvet with a crimson and violet velvet hanging over the crupper. The second trapper was of blue cloth of gold.

My lord the Bastard thus came to encounter [Sir Philippe de] Poitiers with a trapper of black velvet strewn with white goldsmiths work.

This day's fourth comer was Sir Claude de Vaudrey who had ten servants attired in damask aketons – the front green and the back violet. His trapper was of violet and green velvet strewn with embroidered gold cockleshells and strewn throughout with silver bells.

My lord the Bastard jousted against Claude de Vaudrey with a trapper of crimson cloth of gold bordered with white crest.

On this day supper was taken at court and there was no banquet until the next day.

The first to joust was my lord the Count of Saulme who was served by four [Fol. 109^v] noblemen attired in black and green velvet aketons. And this count thus had a trapper of blue cloth of gold with one page dressed in black and violet damask with a trapper of violet velvet strewn with big silver bells.

The second comer was Sir Baudouin Bastard of Burgundy, who was served on this day by my lord of Montferrant, the *Bailli* of Bruges, Guillaume de Ternay, and Guyot de Sogny dressed in blue velvet mantelines with embroidered letters on the front and back, crimson satin pourpoints (the Lord of Montferrant's three were of cloth of gold), and each horse harness charged with silver bells, green satin chaplets, and white feathers. Sir Baudouin's horse was trappered in blue velvet strewn with embroidered feathers (which was his livery). He had a long green satin banderol on

¹¹⁰ BM Valenciennes MS 776, fol. 25^v: 'chargee de grosses ca[m]panes darge[n]t a facion de grosses ca[m]panes de vaches'.

his helm. And three pages [processed] after him dressed in blue velvet robes embroidered with feathers of goldsmiths work on the front and back, chaplets and feathers as above. The first horse was trappered in black velvet strewn with figures of white and gilt goldsmiths work. The second was of crimson cloth of gold bordered with black figured satin (the figuring in red). The third in violet velvet strewn with silver bells, and one very big one on the horse's back.

My lord the Bastard jousted against [Fol. 110^r] Sir Baudouin with a horse harness of white damask charged with embroidery strewn throughout with gold bells.

The day's third comer was my lord of Renty who was served at the joust by my lord Adolf of Clèves, my lord Jacques de Luxembourg, my lord of Beures, my lord of Fiennes, and Sir Jehan de Luxembourg dressed in white satin mantelines. And he had three pages wearing black satin pourpoints with mantelines of white satin. One horse was trappered in crimson cloth of gold and the other in blue velvet all strewn with embroidered 'a's, 'b's, 'c's, 'd's, etc.; and the other with green cloth of gold.

And my lord the Bastard jousted against my lord of Renty with his horse trappered in tawny velvet charged with silver portcullises or rings and it was bordered with green taffeta.

On the same day, after the duke and the ladies had watched the jousts, they came to a very gracious banquet which was prepared in the place aforesaid. Concerning the service of this banquet [Fol. 110^v] it was very grand and very sumptuous for there were twenty-four courses served. And for entertainment there were set on the aforesaid tables great and most richly made elephants, unicorns, dromedaries, and harts bearing coffers on their backs full of spices and there were men riding these beasts armed with the coats of arms of the lords of the Golden Fleece and of several other nobles. And, once they were seated at this banquet, the Labours of Hercules were acted out such as when he rescued his lady from the underworld etc.

This banquet lasted until two hours after midnight.

On the following Friday there was a most noble assembly in the ring for Lord Scales, an Englishman, had come to joust. But, because my said lord the Bastard and he are brothers-in-arms, my lord Adolf of Clèves substituted for him in the *pas*. Thus it came to pass that my lord the Bastard wore court dress above the ring to watch his brother-in-arms by ill fortune being most villainously given a kick from a horse's hoof in

the [Fol. 111^r] knee that was so serious that he could do no more but they completed those things that shall be said hereafter.

Lord Scales thus came to the ring most honourably accompanied for, firstly, he was served by all the English and he was accompanied with great vigour by ours. Thus his servants were: my lord Jacques de Luxembourg, my lord of Fiennes, Sir Jehan de Luxembourg, and my lord the Marquis [of Ferrara], and the English wearing green paltocks with an embroidered columbine – some in damask and others in figured satin. Lord Scales had six pages dressed in black satin pourpoints and green figured satin mantelines strewn with silver columbines, black velvet berrettas lined with crimson cloth of gold and yellow plumes, and blue velvet horse trappers lined with black velvet. Lord Scales had a crimson and blue cloth of gold covered shield and a horse trapper of blue cloth of gold. The trapper of one of these pages was of tawny velvet strewn with big silver bells and big silver columbines. That of the second was of crimson cloth of gold bordered with black velvet strewn with white goldsmiths work. The third was of violet cloth of silver bordered with blue cloth of gold with [Fol. 111^v] great hangings of crimson velvet strewn with bells. Another was of crimson velvet strewn with his letters embroidered in gold with great hangings of cloth of silver and black velvet strewn with gold loops. Another was of grey velvet strewn with great pears of black cloth of gold and had silver bells and was bended¹¹¹ throughout with ermine. Another was of blue velvet strewn with silver teardrops bended throughout with ermine bordered with grey damask strewn with his letters embroidered in gold.

Item, my lord of Ravenstein came to joust against him with his horse trappered in crimson velvet charged with gilt and silver goldsmiths work.

The day's second comer was my lord of Roussy who had himself conducted into the field in a very great castle with four towers with a big one in the middle. And this castle was well made with corners of masonry work of black stone and equipped with all that was seen to pertain to a castle. He remained inside until it came into the field before the ladies where he sallied forth armed and mounted. And also in front of him was the English dwarf dressed in a black velvet robe with a white pleat and the four knights who served him, [Fol. 112^r] that is to say: my lord of Fiennes, Sir Jehan de Luxembourg, my lord the Marquis of Ferrara, and Sir Antoine de Hallewin dressed in crimson satin pourpoints and black samite aketons. The Lord of Roussy had seven trappered horses. His was trappered in white damask trellised with gold thread strewn

¹¹¹ '*Heraldry*: having a bend or bends', *OED*. For *bend* see n. on fol. 30^v.

with 'A's and 'E's embroidered throughout. And he had a little veil on his helm. Then came four pages and a foot valet leading a destrier. This valet was dressed in black velvet bordered with crimson velvet charged with silver bells. The second horse trapper was heavily charged with white goldsmiths work. The third with crimson satin with a big branch where it was embroidered with gold in high relief shedding its leaves right before the trapper. The other was also of gold embroidery all made of squared latticework like masonry strewn throughout with large silver teardrops and (in the windows) with two heads (one of a lady the other of a man) and under 'A's and 'E's embroidered everywhere. This trapper was bordered with a band of embroidery made of big pillars and (in each section) a big vase of violets or letters and all embroidered in gold, silver, and silk also strewn among with teardrops. Again the other was of gold embroidery of great leaves in high relief strewn among with letters and [Fol. 112'] with silver embroidered teardrops with a great flower on the crupper and crinet made of needlework bordered with crimson satin strewn among as above and fringed with black velvet. The destrier led by hand was trappered in crimson cloth of gold and you ought to know that these pages and palfrey men were all dressed in mantelines the same as the decoration of their trappers, black satin pourpoints, and black velvet berrettas dagged on top with black and white cloth.

Charles de Vissen jousted against my lord of Roussy in place of my lord the Bastard trappered in white silk strewn with gold trees.

This day's third comer was Jehan de Rochesay called Rousquin first squire of my lord the Duke's stables. And he was served by my lord D'Aussy, Sir Philippe de Crèveœur, Andrie de Humiveiz, and Simon brother of the said Rousquin dressed in green velvet aketons strewn with white goldsmiths work. Rousquin's shield and trapper were the same; and he had no pages.

Charles de Vissen jousted again [Fol. 113'] in place of my lord the Bastard against this Rousquin, his horse trappered with ermine with a border of marten. After the joust had finished for the day they returned thus to sup at court. There were no banquets on the following Friday or Saturday.

On the Saturday my lord the Duke returned to the ring and the ladies and the judges did too. Then two knights came together to the field. One of them was called Sir Jehan Delingue Lord of Roly and the other Sir Jacques de Harchiers. The two were companions so they had attired themselves in the same suit; that is to say that they had six servants for the joust dressed in aketons – the top violet velvet and the

bottom black velvet – with a gold figure on the front and back. Their horse trappers were of violet velvet bordered with black velvet and charged with silver bells and their shields were black and emblazoned with the aforesaid figure.

[Sir] Philippe de Poitiers jousted in place of my lord the Bastard against Sir Jehan Delingue. He had a horse harness of silver goldsmiths work. And against Sir Jacques de Harchiers [**Fol. 113^v**] the same [Sir Philippe] de Poitiers's horse was trappered in shimmering samite with big hanging silver leaves and a collar of gilt bells on the horse's neck.

After these two came to the field, Sir Philippe de Crèveœur came with twelve companions on foot [processing] in front of him dressed in white and green taffeta paltocks. And he had my lord D'Aussy, my lord of La Roche, Guillaume Bornel, and Rousquin as servants wearing tawny damask pourpoints and crimson cloth of gold aketons and had three pages dressed in crimson satin pourpoints, white damask mantelines strewn with teardrops of gilt goldsmiths work and with collars of gilt goldsmiths work fashioned like gorgets, and green velvet berrettas with green and white plumes. One horse was trappered in green cloth of gold, the other in grey cloth of gold, the third in blue cloth of gold and his own horse in crimson cloth of gold. And his shield was covered in green cloth of gold.

Item, [Sir Philippe de] Poitiers jousted against Sir Philippe de Crèveœur with a trapper of blue velvet charged with gold and white bells.

This Saturday's fourth jouter was [**Fol. 114^r**] Sir John Woodville brother to Lord Scales. He was led with all formality both by our men and the English. And to serve him were Lord Scales his brother, Sir Jacques de Luxembourg, my lord of Roussy, and seven Englishmen dressed in figured satin (half resembling cloth of gold, the other half cloth of silver). And so Lord Woodville's horse was trappered in white cloth of gold bordered with half-crimson half-blue cloth of gold. The second was trappered in black cloth of gold. The third in crimson cloth of gold. The fourth in blue cloth of gold bordered with crimson cloth of gold. Item, there was a destrier led by hand trappered with a very rich cloth of gold. The saddle was adorned with blue cloth of gold and it had a shaffron embroidered with fine gold. He who led it was dressed in a long black velvet robe and his horse was trappered in violet velvet strewn with gilt and white bells.

Sir John Woodville was received at the joust in this manner by Sir Philippe de Poitiers whose horse was trappered with marten and bordered with ermine.

This day's fifth comer was my lord of Ternant served by my lord D'Arguel, [Fol. 114^v] Sir Mile de Bourbon, Sir Jehan de Bourbon knight of Rhodes, and Philippe Copin wearing violet satin paltocks. This lord's horse trapper was of crimson cloth of gold charged with silver bells and a similar harness beneath the trapper which remained on for the joust when the trapper was removed.

[Sir Philippe de] Poitiers jousted against this Lord of Ternant having a horse harness of silver goldsmiths work with hanging reins. Thus did the day end for it was very late by the time the lords and ladies returned to court and very near the hour to sup.

On Sunday after dinner at the customary hour, when the lords and ladies had come, Pierre de Bourbon Lord of Carensy came to present himself at the joust. He was served by Philippe de Bourbon his brother, Sir Antoine and Sir Josse de Lalaing, and Mile de Bourbon dressed in crimson satin paltocks with great beasts' faces embroidered in gold on the front and back and white bonnets on their heads. His shield was covered in crimson velvet with a gold beast's face and an 'O' and his horse was trappered in crimson velvet bordered with black cloth of gold. [Fol. 115^r] He also had three pages attired in black satin pourpoints, blue figured satin mantelines, and white bonnets with horse trappers of black cloth of gold and another of blue velvet charged with very big silver bells as big as infants' heads and great silver beasts' faces. And the third horse was trappered in blue cloth of gold.

Sir Pierre de Bourbon was received thus by Sir Philippe de Poitiers whose horse was trappered in blue cloth of gold with a saltire and borders of violet velvet.

This day's second comer was my lord of Contay. His servants were attired in black velvet aketons. And his horse was trappered in black cloth of gold and he had two pages with trappered horses; that is one in black cloth of gold and the other in crimson velvet. These pages were dressed in black velvet. And, on the first course that my lord of Contay ran against the aforesaid Sir Philippe de Poitiers, he disarmed him and injured his body so much so that he was obliged to stop the joust. And my lord of Contay thus remained in the field until [Fol. 115^v] soon after the Marquis of Ferrara's entrance to the field.

My lord the Marquis of Ferrara was most nobly attired at his entry. He was served by my lord of Roussy, by Sir Jacques de Luxembourg, my lord of Fiennes, and by Sir Jehan de Luxembourg dressed in blue satin paltocks having 'A E M' embroidered in gold, caped hoods lined with black velvet dagged with violet cloth of

gold having twelve horses as well as the one that he himself rode. Six were trappered and the others were harnessed. Those that rode them were dressed in robes all charged with white goldsmiths work with black velvet sleeves, caped hoods like those above, and velvet pourpoints. The six horse harnesses were all embroidered and concerning the trappers: his was of blue satin strewn with gold serviettes and embroidered with similar mirrors and flowers interspersed with white goldsmiths work bordered with great gold letters and similarly embroidered very large in relief. One of his page's horses was trappered in violet velvet charged with gilt roses issuing out of big silver rings with three gilt knots. [Fol. 116^r] The other was of black velvet strewn with great silver apples spewing flames, and ships in the sea, with silver clouds and bells. The third was of grey figured satin charged with silver flames and half-gilded knots spewing flames from the top, and the border strewn with gold thistles. The fourth was of yellow damask strewn with moons shining silver rays and teardrops. The fifth was of green velvet strewn with gilt thistles, bells, and thistle leaves of silver.

My lord the Marquis thus jousted against my lord of Contay in this manner who did not change his horse trapper.

After my lord the Marquis had retired, my lord Claude de Vaudrey was armed to joust in place of the Golden Tree Knight against my lord of Contay. And Sir Claude came to the field [with his horse] trappered.

On the said day of Sunday after this joust had finished a banquet was held [Fol. 116^v] at court where the lords and ladies were served very pleasantly only with dishes without any historical characters. And they were served with such cooking as fruit, spices, and twenty-four dishes. And during this banquet the story of Hercules was acted out as had begun before.

On the Monday the eleventh day none jousted save for my lord the Duke who came to the field as the other knights had done in very great estate. For, with the officers of arms, he had [processing] in front of him all sorts of minstrels, trumpeters, and clarioners. Ten knights of his household were richly dressed in journades all charged with gilt goldsmiths work on a violet field and ten pages attired in similar mantelines with blue velvet berrettas with white plumes. My lord the Duke's horse was trappered in a trapper of flat gold embroidered goldsmiths work bordered with shimmering gold *deniers*¹¹² affixed there. Another was of crimson velvet with great fusils embroidered in gold and with the flames strewn widely throughout. Item, one

¹¹² Pennies.

trapper was of blue velvet made of gilt goldsmiths work [Fol. 117^r] fashioned like cloth of gold. Item, another was of black cloth of gold. The other of crimson cloth of gold. The other embroidered with little fusils. And the destrier led by hand was trappered in crimson velvet full of shimmering gold *deniers*. The other horses were all trappered in several fashions of goldsmiths work and the palfrey man who led them was attired as the pages were; and each horse had a shaffron embroidered in the same way as the trappers with plumes of the same colour.

My lord the Duke having thus come to the field, against him came my lord Adolf of Clèves Lord of Ravenstein who had a rich pavilion paly with white and violet damask borne over him which he had set down near the tilt ready to run. This lord Adolf also had seven pages and others – both knights and squires – to the number of twenty horses wearing the same trappers together with those who had served one after the other at the last joust.

My lord sallied forth from his pavilion in this manner against my lord the Duke. [Fol. 117^v]

And so you ought to understand that on this day my lord the Bastard, who had (as said above) been injured in the knee, had himself borne in a rich litter (painted like cloth of silver and covered with cloth of gold) to the field at about two hours after midday. This lord the Bastard was dressed in a rich robe of gilt goldsmiths work.

When my lord the Duke and my lord of Ravenstein had jousted for their [allotted] time the dwarf blew the horn. And then, having jousted for the ladies, they retired.

And, immediately after this was done and accomplished, there came from the gate of the Golden Tree a bay destrier charged with two leather panniers full of harness and a shield on top on which, and with which, my lord the Bastard had jousted against my lord D'Arguel. This destrier was trappered in black velvet and these panniers were covered with violet velvet. This trappered destrier, harness, and shield were, after great deliberation and several other manners of observation by the officers of arms, the dwarf, and the giant, presented in the [Fol. 118^r] field before the ladies to my lord D'Arguel; for it was he who had broken the most lances at these jousts.

Having completed his joust my lord the Duke went to disarm during which time the tilt was dismantled and the whole field dispatched. And each went thus to arm for the tourney. My said same lord the Duke and each of the twenty-six before named in

the joust of the Golden Tree were attired with various horse trappers of violet, some of velvet, others of damask or satin, all strewn with golden trees. For the *chapitres* were such that after having jousted they must accompany the defending knight to this tourney.

Thus around half past six twenty-six noblemen from without who were captained by my lord of Joigny were ranged in the field as if for battle and each was presented with similar lances with blunted lanceheads, and each with a rebated sword without [Fol. 118^v] a point which they presented to the judges to dispel all suspicion of wrongdoing; and then they took them back. And soon afterwards came the twenty-six of the Golden Tree side wending out from the gate (from which the champion wended out first) and ranged themselves like the others sending their swords for inspection and taking their lances. Thus they stared at each other. And my lord the Bastard also watched from his litter.

And, concerning my lord the Duke's entry into the ring for this tourney, he was personally attired as the others but he had ten pages coming behind him and a destrier which was led by hand. These pages, foot valet, and palfrey man were dressed in crimson velvet robes (the underside) embroidered with fine gold. And each of the said pages on horseback wore a collar of big roses of fine gold with a hammer hanging from behind as far as the horse with two strings of gold oak leaves. Their horses, together with the destrier which was led by hand, were trappered in crimson velvet and each strewn with a hundred bells of fine gold which made a wondrous noise. [Fol. 119^r]

These fifty-two noblemen having thus assembled one before the other, the war trumpet was blown and then they went against each other most victoriously with their lances. Then they started using their swords against each other (each to their power) for a good space of time on all sides of the field and until the dwarf blew the horn and the ladies signalled a halt with a little veil. After which, it was with great pains that they were made to stop and each retire to his line. Then my lord the Duke removed his head protection and went from one line to another and so made several pairs to come and fight each other *corps-à-corps* who fought valiantly with their swords at the duke's pleasure until he separated them. And then these two by two re-entered the gate of the Golden Tree and passed before the ladies at this point and led my lord the Duke back to court with my lord the Bastard in his litter. Then each went to disarm in their lodging in order to return to the banquet and the dances.

And in so far as these jousts and tourney were concerned, this thing, done in the aforesaid manner, was well and very honourably [Fol. 119^v] conducted in all gentleness and in the most great richness so that it is not possible for me to describe without being too long and prolix. For there was not one day that there was not a number of people richly attired in clothes of goldsmiths work, of embroidery, of precious stones, of rich cloths, of trappers, of horse harness, in the lines of these jousts and tourney, or at the banquets which were different every day. And likewise at the banquets and the dances held by my same lord the Duke, and my lord the Bastard; and their pages were newly attired each day. And following the other princes and lords you should know that each showed himself off as much as he could. I shall pass over making a description of them except to record the coats of arms and those who served them.

On the above said day after the tourney there was a banquet prepared at court which was very gracious and extremely joyful. Firstly, there was a rich dresser furnished with extremely rich dishes. And on the three tables of this great hall (of which I had made mention above) thirty wax trees were erected bearing all manner of fruits and the meat dishes were placed around the roots of these trees. [Fol. 120^r] There were twenty cooked dishes. And for the side dishes there were models of men and women strewn throughout who carried fruits and spices of various sorts (one in a hotte,¹¹³ another in a chapeau, another in their lap). And these models had panniers made very richly of fine gold and fine silver and azure. And there was a tower before my said lord the Duke's table on which was a man holding a dart. And rosewater came flowing abundantly from this tower like a fountain. And the inside of one of the chandeliers was hung with mirrors (of which I have amply spoken at the first banquet). There was a dragon on¹¹⁴ a rock which spewed fire and water and rose petals emanated from this rock over the people.

Item, a very great whale guarded by two giants came before the table. This whale had two sirens within his belly and twelve or fourteen men attired very strangely. These men and sirens wended their way out of the whale to dance and sing and entertain and of the said men there were those who had a fight and the others danced. [Fol. 120^v] And at the end of this banquet the dance was led by the ladies by

¹¹³ 'A large basket or pannier carried on a person's back', *OED*.

¹¹⁴ The codex has *and* but *on* seems preferable.

whom the prize for the best dancer and for the tourney was given to Sir John Woodville, Lord Scales's brother.

And afterwards four adventurous knights cried a joust for the next day then they went to bed around three hours after midnight.

On the next day after mass my lord the Duke held a very rich dinner in the great hall, at which was the legate of our Holy Father the Pope with him, and the prelates, princes, and lords at the other tables. After this dinner had been pleasantly and most honourably served (this dinner lasted a long time) my lord the Duke gave six hundred francs in cash to the officers of arms, trumpeters, and minstrels. And then they began to cry: "Largesse! Largesse à puissance!" And my lord thus gave a long robe of rich green cloth of gold furred with ermine to Chester the English herald. **[Fol. 121']**

After dinner they went to the joust held by my lord D'Arguel and my lord Jacques de Luxembourg, my lord of Renty, and my lord of Lens but few jousts went save for my lord of Roussy, and the Forester of Bruges called my lord Dunquerque. Thus I shall retire and cease describing for, on the following day, it was proclaimed that the festivity would be broken off and my lord leave Bruges.

The end of the nuptials of my lord the Duke of Burgundy and the jousts and tourneys that were held there
[Fols 121^v-126^v blank]

Conclusion

This study has examined the genesis and evolution of the text of the codex and others of its kind, investigating the many other MSS in which copies and similar material can be found. It has demonstrated the role of the herald as paramount in the composition of challenges to combat of various kinds, their delivery, and also in the regulation of such combats and in the production and copying of accounts thereof. This central role in the arbitration of chivalric behaviour is also highlighted and helps to explain the importance of the regulation of heralds' fees and entitlement to *largesse* mentioned frequently in the codex and other sources. It has also been shown how chivalric texts of this type played a key role in boosting the prestige of the heralds and their masters (men such as Sir John Paston, Lord Scales, and the Great Bastard of Burgundy) who were considered rather *parvenu* by their social superiors. The importance of performing feats of arms to the conferral of knighthood and how these feats were remembered and recorded has been demonstrated. Through an examination of terms such as *malengine* and proscription of forbidden equipment and spells the relationship between the feat of arms and the judicial duel has been established. There is, however, certainly scope for further investigation. The employment of the courtly motif of the 'love of a lady' in challenges as well as personal and national hatred as a catalyst to combat has also been explored.

Importantly, the study has starkly demonstrated that the simple categorization as 'the tournament' in many secondary sources does little to elucidate the many different forms of combat. Through an investigation of the specialized equipment used in each, a clearer definition of the *pas d'armes*, *pardon d'armes*, feats of arms, the joust (of peace and war), hastilude, and the tourney has been established. The investigation not only dealt with specialized armour but also with saddles, trappers, bards, shields, axes, throwing spears, and lances with the various fittings. The codex has yielded up the most detailed reference to the regulation of lance breakage in existence. It has also been shown that there is a great deal more to be unearthed such as the nature of unidentified equipment such as the mysterious *plançon*, the *contrarondelle*, and the counter-rest. The constantly evolving equipment had to keep up with the rapid development of more and more complex forms of combat. It is in this phenomenon that the complexity has been clearly shown and that there is a great deal more to be discovered.

Glossary of Arms and Armour Terminology

Armet (fol. 60^r, twice)

Alluded to by Jehan de Bueil in his section on combat on horseback,¹ this was a type of helmet employed for combat of this kind. Blair has warned against the assignation of too precise a typology:

At the time when it was in everyday use the word armet was probably applied to any type of close-fitting, visored helmet, other than the great bascinet, sallet and helm. Modern students, however, confine the term to the special form of closed headpiece which has deep, hinged cheekpieces fastened over the chin.²



Fig. 50. Armet, Milanese, c. 1440, Armouries Accession no. IV.498.

Barbute (fols 29^r and 29^v)

A type of close-fitting helmet of Italian origin distinguished by a T-shaped face opening, this opening was often reinforced at the edges.³ In a letter to Sir John Paston of 1473 a Brussels craftsman signing himself 'Armurier de Monsire le Bastart de Bourgogne' refers to 'vna barbute' and 'le barbute'.⁴

¹ *Le Jouvencel*, II, 101-02.

² Blair, *European Armour*, p. 86.

³ For its development, see Blair, *European Armour*, p. 85.

⁴ *Paston Letters*, II, 409.



Fig. 51. Barbute, Brescian, c. 1450, GM Accession no. E.1939.65.e.

Bard (fols 27^v, 30^r, 30^v, 31^r, 61^v)

Of uncertain etymology, this is horse armour constructed of a solid material such as steel or cuir-bouilli (hardened leather).

Chapitre

The word used for the individual clauses of which challenges to combat are comprised. Although the English word *article* is often employed in contemporary sources (for example the account of the 'justs royall' of 1477 and Pierpont Morgan MS M.775) it is not consistently so used. This is also true of French sources (e.g. fol. 19^v and the challenge of the men of the Duke of Orleans's household of 1402) where various different words are used. It will thus be left un-translated.

Coronal (fols 8^v, 13^r, 13^v, 25^v)

Lit. 'little crown', a pronged lancehead designed to catch in jousting armour causing the lance to break. See the discussion under Item 1.

Estoc (fols 25^v, 48^r, 63^r)

In some contexts this simply refers to the thrusting point of a sword. Blair, in *European & American Arms*, p. 2, also informs us that:

In the second quarter of the fifteenth century appeared a special form of thrusting sword, the *estoc*, with a blade of triangular or square section. It was used both as a subsidiary cavalry weapon and for fighting on foot in the lists.

Fourcourse (fol. 63^v)

Described by the editors of the *DMF* as an ‘inappropriate attack, contrary to the rules’ (‘attaque indue, contraire aux règles’), there is evidence that this term relates to the positioning of combatants’ horses. La Marche describes a mounted combat in 1446 in which:

Galiot, who was strong and powerfully mounted, sought [to make] the horses come together and crossed like [crossing] the *fourcourse*, so much so that both bodies and horses came together so hard that the Lord of Ternant was knocked onto his backside.

Galiot, qui se sentoit fort et puissamment monté, querut le rencontre des chevaulx et croisa comme à la for course, tellement qu’ilz se recontrarent et des corps et des chevaulx si durement que le seigneur de Ternant fut abbattu sur son cul.⁵

That this was something that was to be avoided can be seen in the regulations for chivalric combat in an early-fifteenth century MS in the College of Arms. These state that: ‘qui Jousteroit de forcours il peult bien perdre et Rien gengnier’.⁶ The Bastard of Burgundy is thus shown in a positive light. ‘If he had wanted’, we are told, he could have struck Lord Scales from this illegal position. Instead he turned his horse’s head towards his man before dealing him a blow.

Gardebras / Pauldron (fols 16^r, 16^v)

Some confusion may arise due to the divergence of terminology in English and French words for shoulder defences. In French the word for the primary shoulder defence is *gardebras*. Examples of this are René’s *Traité* and the anonymous Frenchman’s description of armour of 1446.⁷ In England from the end of the fourteenth century the word for this defence was *pauldron*. One ‘palrun of 3 pieces’ is listed after other arm defences (‘vantbras 1 pr. Rerebras’) in an account of Henry, Earl of Derby of 1395/6.⁸ Two ‘palrons’ are listed prior to ‘xij peir’ vambras xiiij peir’ rerebras’ in the Earl of Arundel’s inventory of 1397 and a ‘pare de palrons’ along with ‘armyng poyntes’ for their attachment were purchased for Thomas, Duke of Clarence between 1418 and 1421.⁹

⁵ La Marche, II, 77.

⁶ London, College of Arms Library, MS M.19, fol. 132^r.

⁷ R. de Belleval, *Du Costume militaire des Français en 1446* (Paris: Aubry, 1866), pp. 10-11.

⁸ J. S. Wylie, *History of England under Henry IV*, 4 vols (Longman, 1884-98), IV, 169. This is a very garbled transcription of extracts from TNA, DL28.

⁹ TNA, E163/6/13. Westminster Abbey Muniment 12163.

A secondary reinforcing shoulder defence, attached by means of a pin and staple (see fig.), is referred to in French as the *grand gardebras* (fols 29^v, 31^r, 32^v, 84^r). La Marche describes a joust in 1469 in which one of those partaking ‘attaint ledit Frédéricq sur le grant gardebras [...] et emporta le grant gardebras dudit Frédéricq’ and ‘grant gardebras’ were amongst the purchases of specialized jousting equipment made by Duke Louis of Orleans in 1484 and 1485.¹⁰

The confusion arises due to the fact that the English word for this secondary shoulder defence is *gardebras*. Amongst the cargo of a ship in London in 1449/50 were forty ‘par gardbras ij pollor[on]s’¹¹ and the stock of a Southwark armourer in 1454 included: ‘iiij gardebras defic’ ij gardes ij pollerons deficient j gard’ and ‘iiij Gardebras deficien’ ij garde & ij pollerons deficien’ j gard’.¹² The English account of the Smithfield combat of 1467 states that ‘Lorde Scales voidid his spere bavioure and gardebrase and the garde of his wambrase and the Bastarde voided his also’¹³ that is, he removed his bevor (throat defence), gardebras, and a secondary left-arm defence: the guard of the vambrace.

¹⁰ La Marche, ‘Traicté d’un tournoy tenu à Gand par Claude de Vauldrey, seigneur de l’Aigle, l’an 1469’, in Prost, *Traictés*, pp. 55-95 (p. 81). BL Additional Charters 2657 and 2663.

¹¹ TNA, E122/73/23, m. 19^v. I am grateful to Prof. Wendy Childs for generously sharing her notes on these imports.

¹² LMA, Plea and Memoranda Roll A80.

¹³ *Excerpta Historica*, pp. 208-09.



Fig. 52. Milanese war armour, c. 1440. Note the reinforcing defences on the armour's left arm.

Grand gardebras, see ***Gardebras*** / ***Pauldron***

Harness

The editors of the *OED* state that 'in the obscurity that surrounds the origin of the word, the primary sense and the order of sense-development remain uncertain'. Nevertheless, it is clear that contemporaries were well aware of its meaning as armour. A nobleman from Besançon in 1410 bequeathed 'omnes armaturas meas gallice *tout mon arneis darmes*'.¹⁴ A Yorkshire squire bequeathed 'vnum harnesium de armatura' in 1406.¹⁵ That this word was used to describe a complete plate armour can be demonstrated. The challenge of Sir John Cornwall of c. 1400 alludes to the manufacture of 'harnas entiers'.¹⁶ A Milanese armourer based in Tours in 1447 was paid for fifty-seven 'harnoiz completz à armer' including two made to measure ('deux harnoiz faiz à mesure', later referred to as 'harnoiz à mesure').¹⁷ In the letter of 1473 (see under **Barbute**) the armourer reminded Lord Scales that 'vous voullés auoir unng

¹⁴ *Testaments de l'officialité de Besançon, 1265-1500*, ed. by U. Robert, 2 vols (Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1902-07), II, 25.

¹⁵ *Testamenta eboracensia, or, Wills registered at York*, ed. by J. Raine, 6 vols (London: Nichols, 1836-1902), I, 344.

¹⁶ BL Additional MS 21357, fol. 4^r. See the discussion of this challenge under Item 1.

¹⁷ '*Rôle de depenses du 26 mai 1447*, BnF (?) Fonds Gaignières 558⁷, fol. 4r, printed in D'Escouchy, III, 255-56.

harnax complet Com je pris vostra mexure dernièrement quant vous fustes en ceste ville de Bruges'.¹⁸

Different types of harness for different purposes were developed throughout the period. Those for use in war were called *hosting harness* in English and *harnois de guerre* in French. The challenge of the Earl of Warwick of 1414 stipulates that the combatants must be in 'hosteyng harneis' and some of the courses were run in 'osting harneys' at the 'justs royall' of 1477.¹⁹ La Marche describes a combat in which one of the participants' war harness offered him unbelievable protection: 'ung legier harnois de guerre, et n'estoit pas possible, sans artifice ou ayde, que le harnois eust peu soustenir les atteintes'.²⁰ The addition of secondary reinforcing pieces of armour explains the 'double harness' referred to on fols 16^v and 19^v. Sir John Astley sought combat 'armyd apon horsbak in harnes double' in 1438 whilst the Bastard of Saint-Pol in his challenge of the previous year demanded the combat be fought in 'harnois sangles & garde bras doubles'.²¹ Armour for jousting was also referred to as harness. In 1367 a Paris *heaumier* (plate armourer) was paid for 'un harnois entier de jouste, que il a fait pour Mgr' the Duke of Burgundy.²² Among the prizes of the *pas d'armes* of the Golden Tree in 1468 was the 'harnois de Jouste de mo[n]dit s[eigneu]r le bastart tout co[m]plet', unsurprisingly this was 'vng des beaux harnois de Jouste que on peult veoir'.²³

The word is also used for the straps and buckles that constitute the harness or harnessing of a horse. It might be postulated that in the minds of contemporaries the similarity of the arrangement of fastenings used to secure armour to a man might have led to the transference of the term from animal to human equipment.

Lance

The principal weapon for mounted combat, contemporary sources suggest it should be of a length of between thirteen and thirteen and a half feet (see discussion under Item 4). No medieval jousting lances survive. That lances for this purpose were of a

¹⁸ *Paston Letters*, II, 409.

¹⁹ BL MS Lansdowne 285, fol. 16^r. Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ashmolean MS 856, fol. 98^r.

²⁰ La Marche, II, 159.

²¹ New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, MS M.775, fol. 279^r, printed in H. Dillon, 'On a MS Collection of Ordinances of Chivalry belonging to Lord Hastings', *Archaeologia*, 57 (1900), 29-70 (p. 38). BL Additional MS 21370, fol. 27^v.

²² Prost, *Inventaires*, I, 118.

²³ BM Valenciennes MS 776, fol. 39^r.

different construction from those for war is attested in documentary evidence. A fragmentary inventory from the reign of Edward II records 'xvj launces de guerre febles v lau[nces] p[u]r les ioustez'.²⁴ In the inventory of the arms and armour of Sir Roger Mortimer in 1322 appear 'iiij lanceis pro guerra iij lanceis pro justis'.²⁵ In an, as yet, un-located inventory of the Tower of London dated 1455 there are 'v. olde spereshafts for pese'²⁶ and, according to one historian, Sir John Vasquez 'exported from England lances for the King of Portugal' during the reign of Henry VI.²⁷ There is some evidence for the use of hollow lances but it is late in date. In 1507 Scottish royal records mention a payment to a bowyer for 'iij greit rede speris, tua squar and ane holl (i.e. hollow)'.²⁸ Díaz de Gámez's early-fifteenth century description of official French lance-makers²⁹ must be treated with some degree of suspicion when compared to such examples as the purchase from 'Laurencio Joyn[er]o' of twelve 'lanc' empt' pro hastilud' pac' apud h[er]tforde' by Henry, Earl of Derby in 1393.³⁰ Likewise payment was made to a 'cooper in Bruges, for a dozen thick lances and three dozen smaller ones, delivered by him to the Count [of Charolais] when he jousted at the jousts of the Forrester at Bruges' in 1457.³¹ According to one study, it was the master of ordnance at the Tower of London who delivered 200 "spears" for jousting' in 1465.³² There is also very little evidence for the type of wood used to make lances. Perhaps

²⁴ TNA, E101/17/37.

²⁵ TNA, E154/1/11B.

²⁶ S. Lysons, 'An Inventory of Certain Articles delivered out of the Armory [*sic*] at the Tower; Contained in the Schedule to a Writ of Privy Seal, Anno 33 Henry VI. Preserved among the Records in the Tower', *Archaeologia*, 16 (1812), 123-26 (p. 125).

²⁷ E. Carus Wilson, 'The Overseas Trade of Bristol', in *Studies in English Trade in the Fifteenth Century*, ed. by E. Power and M. Postan, 2nd edn (London: Routledge, 1951), pp. 183-276 (p. 224). It is not stated if these are jousting lances.

²⁸ *Accounts of the Lord High Treasurer of Scotland*, ed. by T. Dickson, 11 vols (Edinburgh: HM Treasury, 1877-1913), III, 394. Blair, in *European & American Arms*, p. 27, states that 'from the late fifteenth century, [...] some lances (French *bourdonasses*) were made hollow so that, although they looked large and heavy, they broke easily on impact'.

²⁹ 'Las varas son todas medidas; non las faze sino vn maestro o dos en toda la corte: éste con liçençia de los gobernadores, a auquéel es el fiel'. Díaz de Gámez, *El Victorial: Crónica de Don Pero Niño, Conde de Buelna*, ed. by J. de Mata Carriazo (Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, 1940), p. 237.

³⁰ TNA, DL28/1.

³¹ Lille, AD du Nord, MS B3661, fols 38^r-40^v, cited in translation in *Court and Civic Society in the Burgundian Low Countries c. 1420-1530: Selected Sources*, ed. by A. Brown and G. Small (Manchester: UP, 2007), p. 225. For these jousts see Andrew Brown, 'Urban Jousts in the Later Middle Ages: The White Bear of Bruges', *Revue belge de philologie et d'histoire*, 78 (2000), 313-30.

³² J. E. Wiedemer, 'Arms and Armor in England, 1450-70: Their Cost and Distribution' (unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Pennsylvania, 1967), p. 72, citing TNA, E404/731/1/45.

contemporary attitudes are best expressed in a late-fifteenth century MS description of tourneys in the time of King Arthur ('La Forme quon tenoit des tournoys au temps du roy artus'). In the 'vespres du tournoye' the 'nouueaux cheualiers' were permitted courteous lances which were of pine or yew with short lanceheads that had not been sharpened or edged ('glaiues courtoiz qui estoient de sapiz ou difz avecques courz fers sans estre trenchans ne esmoluz'). The following day the experienced knights could use a sharpened lance of whatever wood they wished ('glaiue esmolu ente en quelque boys quil vousist').³³ It appears that personal preference and availability of suitable timber may have most strongly dictated the choice of wood. Blair states that 'some tough wood, like ash' was employed for shafts.³⁴ There is undoubtedly some degree of hyperbole in the description of the dimensions of the lance used by the Earl of Warwick in 1414: 'his spere xv Inches large about, which was right grete wonder to all the frenshemen that evir man myght welde so grete tymbre'.³⁵ Sydney Anglo provides a spirited discussion of the advice, including that of Jehan de Bueil, on the use of the lance.³⁶ Some indication of the number of lances used in a single occasion can be gained from Philippe de Mézières's instruction to his young charge Charles VI:

I do not say [...] that if some foreign king or great prince should come to visit you, or any great or solemn nuptials, that you cannot joust at least four or five lances to honour the company, but not to joust fifty, or a hundred, or a hundred and fifty as you are accustomed.

Je ne dy pas [...] que s'il venoit aucun roy ou tresgrant prince estrange pour toy visiter, ou aucunes grans nopces et sollennelles, que tu ne peusses bien jouter quatre ou cinq lances pour la compaignie honorer, et non pas jouter ou c ou l ou lx [sic] lances comme tu as acostume.³⁷

Legharness (fols 36^v, 37^r, 59^r, 81^v)

The word for the assembly of articulated plates that constitute the armour for the leg, and sometimes, foot, an account of Edward III's armourer of 1338 to 1342 contains 'j

³³ Cambridge, MA, Harvard UL, Houghton MS Typ 131, pp. 13-14. I am extremely grateful to Dr William Stoneman for kindly providing images of this MS.

³⁴ Blair, *European & American Arms*, p. 27.

³⁵ BL MS Lansdowne 285, fol. 17^r.

³⁶ Sydney Anglo, *Martial Arts of Renaissance Europe* (New Haven, CT: Yale UP, 2000), pp. 233-34.

³⁷ Philippe de Mézières, *Le Songe du Vieil Pelerin*, ed. by G. W. Coopland, 2 vols (Cambridge: UP, 1969), II, 212. See P. Contamine, 'Les Tournois en France à la fin du Moyen Âge', in Fleckenstein, *Turnier*, pp. 425-99 (p. 435), who also refers to this passage.

h[er]nois de Jambers'.³⁸ In English the term was in use from the mid-fourteenth century. Amongst the goods stolen from a London craftsman in 1364 were 'legherneys', and five 'pair de legharnoys' were in the possession of a merchant from the same city in 1376.³⁹ Several 'pair de legh[er]nois' were in the inventory of Sir Simon Burley's armour in 1388 and in 1396 a Canon of York bequeathed 'vnum par de leghernys'.⁴⁰

Pardon d'armes (fols 7^v, 11^r, 13^v)

A term in use from the late-fourteenth century for a chivalric contest of a peaceable nature, see the discussion of this under Item 2.

Pauldron, see ***Gardebras*** / **Pauldron**

Pièce (fols 62^r, 62^v)

This refers to pieces of reinforcing armour which could be removed by the wearer after the initial encounter with the lance. The word is used in English sources from the late-fourteenth century: 'peces de healmes' were included amongst the armour of Duke Thomas of Gloucester in 1397 and 'ij peces p[ro] j helm d[omi]ni' are mentioned in the Henry, Earl of Derby's accounts of 1393/4.⁴¹ The French account of the Smithfield combat of 1467 uses the word. An English account reveals that 'Lorde Scales voidid his spere bavioure and gardebrase and the garde of his wambrase and the Bastarde voided his also'.⁴² See under ***Gardebras*** / **Pauldron** for an explanation of these pieces of armour.

Plançon (fols 8^v, 104^r)

Probably a type of heavy lance, see the discussion under Item 2.

³⁸ TNA, E101/338/11.

³⁹ LMA, Plea and Memoranda Roll A20. TNA, E199/25/70.

⁴⁰ TNA, E154/1/19. Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Eng. Hist. B.229, fol. 4^r. *Testamenta eboracensia*, ed. by J. Raine, I, 209.

⁴¹ TNA, E163/6/13. TNA, DL28/1.

⁴² *Excerpta Historica*, pp. 208-09.

Rest

Depending on the context, this word can mean either the stop on a lance behind the grip (fols 6^v and 10^v) or a bracket protruding from the breastplate (fols 16^v, 19^v, 48^r, 62^r, 69^v). There is a detailed discussion of this term under Item 1.

Rochet, see **Coronal**

Sallet (fol. 31^v)

A type of helmet, see the discussion of Miniature 1.

Trapper

Treppes / *trappes* is the word used in documents in England from the beginning of the fourteenth century for horse coverings. The divergence from French *couverture* is evident in a letter describing a gift from the citizens of London to Richard II in 1392. This consisted of 'deux grandeurs coursers trappes de drap dor partiz blanc et rouge et une grande paleffray a la Roigne trapez de mesme la suyte'.⁴³ By the fifteenth century this had become *trapper*. The word is used throughout the English narrative of the 'justs royall' of 1477 and Lord Scales bequeathed 'my trapper of blakk cloth of gold' in 1483.⁴⁴

I have used the past participle *trappered* rather than *trapped* to avoid confusion.

Vambrace (fol. 16^v)

From the French for forearm, the piece of plate armour designed to protect this part of the body.

Vamplate / **Rondelle** (fols 6^v, 8^v, 25^v)

A conical metal hand-guard affixed to the jousting lance, see the discussion under Item 1.

Veuglaire (fol. 54^v)

A study of the Burgundian ducal artillery provides the following explanation.

⁴³ H. Suggett, 'A Letter describing Richard II's Reconciliation with the City of London, 1392', *EHR*, 62 (1947), 209-13 (p. 212).

⁴⁴ Bodleian MS Ashmole 856, fols 94r-104r. *Excerpta Historica*, p. 248.

Veuglaires are perhaps best categorised as medium-sized artillery [...] The name occurs from 1417 with the last reference made in 1467. The largest number of references is to the period between about 1430 and 1450 with the highest concentration in the 1440s.⁴⁵

Vouge (fols 28^v, 59^r, 61^r, 90^v)

Blair (*European & American Arms*, p. 31) succinctly describes the problem with the identification of this staff weapon.

A term found mainly in French texts from the twelfth to the sixteenth century, its precise meaning is uncertain. A number of the texts quoted by Victor Gay (*Glossaire Archéologique*) and Charles Buttin in their studies of this weapon suggest that it was what in England was called a bill (*q.v.* [p. 23, One of the most widely used foot-soldiers' staff-weapons, derived from the agricultural implement of the same name. [...] The head was usually long with a single cutting-edge, convex or of flattened S-shape, dividing at the top into a vertical spike and a forward-curved hook: in the centre of the back was a horizontal fluke]).

It is noteworthy that this weapon is most frequently described as being borne by archers of personal body guards.

⁴⁵ R. Douglas Smith and K. DeVries, *The Artillery of the Dukes of Burgundy, 1363-1477* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2005), p. 231.

Conclusion

This study has examined the genesis and evolution of the text of the codex and others of its kind investigating the many other MSS in which copies and similar material can be found. It has demonstrated the role of the herald as paramount in the composition of challenges to combat of various kinds, their delivery, and also in the regulation of such combats and in the production and copying of accounts thereof. This central role in the arbitration of chivalric behaviour is also highlighted and helps to explain the importance of the regulation of heralds' fees and entitlement to *largesse* mentioned frequently in the codex and other sources. It has also been shown how chivalric texts of this type played a key role in boosting the prestige of the heralds and their masters (men such as Sir John Paston, Lord Scales, and the Great Bastard of Burgundy) who were considered rather *parvenu* by their social superiors. The importance of performing feats of arms to the conferral of knighthood and how these feats were remembered and recorded has been demonstrated. Through an examination of terms such as *malengine* and proscription of forbidden equipment and spells the relationship between the feat of arms and the judicial duel has been established. There is, however, certainly scope for further investigation. The employment of the courtly motif of the 'love of a lady' in challenges as well as personal and national hatred as a catalyst to combat has also been explored.

Importantly, the study has starkly demonstrated that the simple categorization as 'the tournament' in many secondary sources does little to elucidate the many different forms of combat. Through an investigation of the specialized equipment used in each, a clearer definition of the *pas d'armes*, *pardon d'armes*, feats of arms, the joust (of peace and war), hastilude, and the tourney has been established. The investigation not only dealt with specialized armour but also with saddles, trappers, bards, shields, axes, throwing spears, and lances with the various fittings. The codex has yielded up the most detailed reference to the regulation of lance breakage in existence. It has also been shown that there is a great deal more to be unearthed such as the nature of unidentified equipment such as the mysterious *plançon*, the *contrarondelle*, and the counter-rest. The constantly evolving equipment had to keep up with the rapid development of more and more complex forms of combat. It is in this phenomenon that the complexity has been clearly shown and that there is a great deal more to be discovered.

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