

ASPECTS OF CHIVALRIC CULTURE c. 1270 - 1350:
THE CONTEXT OF THE COURT OF EDWARD III.

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ABSTRACT

This thesis attempts to examine some aspects of chivalric activity at the court of Edward III (to 1350) and to provide a context for them. It is concerned especially to isolate any historical antecedents and to investigate affinities with practices in Northern France and the Low Countries. Le Tournoi de Chauvency and Le Roman du Hem are analysed in detail to provide both a fuller picture of tournaments and associated activities than that usually found in evidence of the first half of the fourteenth century; and to illuminate the ties of allegiance and kinship that bound together participants within a tournament team. The development of these activities in a civic milieu in the same area is also considered, as well as Edward I's interest in and use of the chivalric ethos. Evidence for the reign of Edward III is then examined within this comparative framework. Artistic patronage at his court is discussed, with special reference to book ownership, manuscript, wall and panel painting. The cultural background of Philippa of Hainault is also considered within this context. Chronicles and largely unpublished records of the wardrobe and household are used to build up a picture of the theme, structure and visual impact of contemporary tournaments. The final chapter examines the foundation of the Order of the Garter, the chivalric peak of Edward's reign. It reviews published and unpublished evidence and puts forward a hypothesis linking the order specifically with the Crécy campaign (1346). It is suggested that the Garter device adopted then was perpetuated in an order of chivalry on the king's return as a permanent memorial of the justification in battle of Edward's claim to the throne of France.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

Acad. roy. Belgique	Académie royale de Belgique
ADN	Archives du Nord
<u>AHR</u>	<u>American Historical Review</u>
<u>AHS</u>	<u>Archives héraldiques suisses</u>
<u>ALMA</u>	<u>Arthurian literature in the Middle Ages</u>
a. mun.	archives municipales
AN	Archives Nationales
<u>Ann. c. archéol. Mons</u>	<u>Annales du cercle archéologique de Mons</u>
<u>Ann. du. M.</u>	<u>Annales du Midi</u>
ANTS	Anglo-Norman Text Society
<u>Arch. J.</u>	<u>Archaeological Journal</u>
Ausgabe u. Abhandl.	Ausgabe und Abhandlungen aus dem Gebiete der romanischen Philologie.
BAR	British Archaeological Reports
<u>BBSIA</u>	<u>Bulletin bibliographique de la société internationale arthurienne</u>
<u>BEC</u>	<u>Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des Chartes</u>
Bibl. Ecoles fr. d'Athènes et de Rome	Bibliothèque des Ecoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome
<u>BIHR</u>	<u>Bulletin of the Institute for Hist- orical Research</u>
BL	London, British Library
BM	London, British Museum
b. mun.	bibliothèque municipale
BN	Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale
BR	Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale
<u>Bull. BCS</u>	<u>Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies</u>
<u>Bull. comm. hist. dép. Nord</u>	<u>Bulletin de la commission historique du département du Nord</u>
<u>Bull. hist. et phil.</u>	<u>Bulletin historique et philologique du comité des travaux historiques et scientifiques</u>
<u>CEMRA</u>	<u>Catalogue of English medieval rolls of arms</u>
<u>CGMBPF</u>	<u>Catalogue général des manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de la France</u>
EETS	Early English Text Society
<u>EHR</u>	<u>English Historical Review</u>
<u>HLF</u>	<u>Histoire littéraire de la France</u>
HMSO	Her Majesty's Stationery Office

<u>J. Brit. Archaeol. Assoc.</u>	<u>Journal of the British Archaeological Association</u>
<u>J. Brit. Archaeol. S.</u>	<u>Journal of the British Archaeological Society</u>
<u>J. Eccles. Hist.</u>	<u>Journal of Ecclesiastical History</u>
<u>J. Garden Hist.</u>	<u>Journal of Garden History</u>
<u>Jhb. f. rom. u. engl. Lit.</u>	<u>Jahrbuch für romanische und englische Literatur</u>
<u>J. Soc. Archivists</u>	<u>Journal of the Society of Archivists</u>
<u>M. Age</u>	<u>le Moyen Age</u>
<u>Med. AEv.</u>	<u>Medium AEvum</u>
Mém. comm. dép. mon. hist. du Pas-de-Calais	Mémoires de la commission départementale des monuments historiques du Pas-de-Calais.
Mém. soc. d'hist. Paris	Mémoires de la société ^{de} l'histoire de Paris et de l'Isle de France.
<u>Mém. soc. hist. et. litt. de Tournai</u>	<u>Mémoires de la société historique et littéraire de Tournai</u>
<u>MLR</u>	<u>Modern Language Review</u>
<u>MP</u>	<u>Modern Philology</u>
n.F.	neue Folge
<u>NM</u>	<u>Neophilologische Mitteilungen</u>
<u>NMS</u>	<u>Nottingham Medieval Studies</u>
PRO	London, Public Record Office
<u>Proc. Brit. Acad.</u>	<u>Proceedings of the British Academy</u>
<u>Proc. Somerset arch. nat. hist. soc.</u>	<u>Proceedings of the Somerset</u>
	<u>archaeology^{cal} and natural history</u>
	<u>Society</u>
<u>Rev. belge de phil. et hist.</u>	<u>Revue belge de philologie et d'histoire</u>
<u>Rev. hist.</u>	<u>Revue historique</u>
<u>Rev. Nord</u>	<u>Revue du Nord</u>
Roy. comm. hist. mon.	Royal commission on ancient and historical monuments
RS	Rolls Series, London
SATF	Société des anciens textes français
SHF	Société de l'histoire de France
Soc. Antiq.	Society of Antiquaries
<u>Trans. hist. soc. Lancs. Cheshire</u>	<u>Transactions of the historical society of Lancashire and Cheshire</u>
<u>Tr. B.G. Arch. Soc.</u>	<u>Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society</u>
<u>TRHS</u>	<u>Transactions of the Royal Historical Society</u>

U. Birmingham Hist. J.

WW

W.R.

YAJ

Z. f. r. P.

Z. f. schweizerische Archäol. u.
Kunstgeschichte

University of Birmingham Historical
Journal

Wynnerre and Wastoure

Windsor Records

Yorkshire Archaeological Journal

Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie

Zeitschrift für schweizerische Archäol-
ogie und Kunstgeschichte

INTRODUCTION

The subject of this thesis originally derived from literary work upon 'Genre and narrative technique in Froissart'. It became increasingly apparent that relatively little was known about the English court where Froissart worked in the first half of the reign of Edward III, and that there was a strange antithesis between the cultural interests ascribed, for example, to Queens Philippa and Isabella by some authorities, and the tendency to deprecate Edward III's court as a whole in this respect. The contrast between such disparagement and Edward's high European reputation as a chivalric monarch - reflected above all in the prestige of his Order of the Garter - was striking.

Three main lines of approach therefore suggested themselves and are represented in the thesis, which attempts to place Edward III's milieu in both a historical and a geographical context. This is examined in relation to the chivalric practices of the king's ancestors (above all, Edward I) and also in relation to the practices of his peers in those parts of the mainland of Europe with which there was greatest contact - Northern France and the Low Countries. Both these approaches in fact illuminate the third aim: to provide as concrete a picture as possible of 'chivalric culture' at Edward III's court. In this context 'chivalric culture' is thought of as the expression - whether in activities such as tournaments and games, or in literary tastes, objects of devotion and artistic form - of social assumptions which ostensibly set a premium upon pre-eminently knightly values and behaviour.

The outbreak of the Hundred Years War and subsequent re-emergence of vernacular literature have perhaps contributed to a tendency to view England in the first half of the fourteenth century in cultural isolation from the rest of Europe: a polarity which has long since been discarded in political terms. Indeed, Edward's alliances during the first stages of the Hundred Years War generated European contact rather than isularity. They doubtless also increased the influence of Edward's wife, Philippa of Hainault, and the literary and artistic tastes and expectations which she brought with her to the English court are emphasised in this study. The more overtly chivalric practices of Northern France and the Low Countries are also examined, with special emphasis on selected civic festes in a predominantly bourgeois milieu. The interaction of 'noble' and 'bourgeois' at such events was particularly highly developed in these regions. In some cases a wide range of documents has been preserved: these provide a valuable complement to accounts of exclusively noble proceedings and illuminate the relationship of such activities to literary and armorial traditions.

Something of this social fluidity may also be seen at Edward III's court, which seems to have been a more loosely structured association of groups of individuals than was the case under Richard II or Edward IV. It has been justly said of fifteenth-century Burgundy that 'the backbone of the court was the...household',¹ but even this oversimplifies the picture at the time of Edward III. The court comprised a number of circles that in effect revolved round the king, but had differing relationships to him and between themselves. It encompassed, for example, the smaller royal households (notably that of Queen Philippa

¹ C.A.J. Armstrong, 'The golden age of Burgundy: dukes that outdid kings', The courts of Europe. Politics, patronage and royalty. 1400-1800, ed. A.G. Dickens (London, 1977), p. 58.

and - when they were old enough for independent households - her children). Nevertheless, the king's household and especially the inner circle within it, the chamber, was undoubtedly the most important single element within the court. Besides chaplains, administrative personnel and menial servants, it included the king's knights, squires and yeomen. It is significant that these knights were by no means the highest ranking nobles (who had the means to maintain their own households), but tended to be the sons of barons or of middle and lower ranking knights and included some of non-noble birth. Nevertheless, ^{household and} chamber knights might rise through the king's favour to the ranks of the baronage and beyond:¹ this was perhaps the area of greatest social mobility outside the Church. These individuals are also those who are found in the king's team at tournaments:² it is clear (though nowhere explicitly stated) that those who were chivalrically³ incompetent would not recommend themselves. Various members of the higher nobility - notably Edward's cousin, Henry of Grosmont⁴ - were also often present at such occasions, though much of their time might be spent on their own estates, thus illustrating dramatically the fluid nature of Edward III's court, which was essentially constituted by the propinquity of the king rather than by any pre-determined and rigidly hierarchical structure.

The two most direct sources for Edward III's tournaments are chronicles and administrative records. Although in some cases the latter contain extraordinary detailed information concerning costume, the laconic narrative entries communicate very little about what actually happened, or how these events were organised and recorded.

¹ Notably William Clinton, Guy de Brian: see below, pp 241-7.

² The term is used loosely here: for problems of definition, see below, pp. 19, 51 n.3, 159-61.

³ The term of course covers what is now thought of as military skill.

⁴ Earl of Derby (1337-61); 4th Earl (1345-61), then 1st Duke of Lancaster (1351-61).

Two late thirteenth-century verse narratives, each describing a specific chivalric gathering outside England (Le Tournoi de Chauvency and Le Roman du Hem), have therefore been analysed in detail with a view to establishing basic structural patterns, assessing the motivation of the participants and attempting to delineate any relationship between patterns of allegiance in the 'real', political world and those manifested at tournament and hastilude. It would be artificial to view these events as distinct from the contemporary English experience. Fortunately Le Roman du Hem makes the connection explicit with its hopeful expectancy of the attendance of Edward I and a contingent of English knights, emphasising not only the king's individual chivalric reputation but also the way in which England was fully integrated within European knightly society.

Moreover, Edward I's attitude towards the manifestation of chivalric ideals - as his behaviour in other spheres - is interestingly paralleled by some of his grandson's policies fifty years or so later.¹ The reigns of both men in their prime were characterised by much recorded tournament and associated activity. There is a marked contrast with the almost complete lack of royal interest in tournaments in the intervening reign; and it does not seem excessively simplistic to attribute some of the parallels to a conscious attempt by the young Edward III to model himself upon his successful grandfather. Certainly both Edward I and III revealed a flair for exploiting chivalric values and their material expression.

Yet the element of manipulation implied here is not necessarily

¹ Cf. M. Prestwich, The three Edwards: war and state in England 1272-1377 (London, 1980), pp. 2, 294-6.

to be equated with the disinterest of an outsider.¹ Edward III's success in unifying the nobility as well as the role of the Order of the Garter in this process has become almost commonplace in general textbooks of the period,² but the mechanics of the process appear to have been little studied. Analysis of Edward's choice of founder members indicates how the Order (notwithstanding its religious and institutional foundations) was formulated as two viable and balanced tournament teams and also reveals the extent to which inextricably intertwined issues of personal allegiance and political expediency determined its composition. The Garter - itself perhaps the embodiment of Edward's own achievements and a focal point for chivalric Europe³ - fused considerations of political expediency and the expression of chivalric ideals with the ludic elements of structure common to any tournament.

¹ Although the Feast of the Swans (1306) might be seen as an old man's cold-blooded and cynical exploitation of youthful ideals: see C. Bullock-Davies, Menestrellorum multitudo: minstrels at a royal feast (Cardiff, 1978), pp. ix-xvi.

² Notably in M. McKisack, The fourteenth century: 1307-1399 (Oxford, 1959), pp. 250-7; see also e.g. G. Holmes, The later Middle Ages 1272-1485 (London, 1970), pp. 123-4.

³ Witness the almost instant attempt at emulation in the French Order of the Star: Y. Renouard, 'L'ordre de la jarretière et l'ordre de l'étoile', M. Age, lv (1949), pp. 281-300.

CHAPTER 1.

THE LATE THIRTEENTH-CENTURY PRECEDENT: CHAUVENCY,

LE HEM AND EDWARD I

As has been explained in the Introduction, this study is in no sense a chronological survey of a limited area, but rather an examination of select and mutually illuminating aspects. Nevertheless, it is logical to consider the earliest evidence first and this chapter is consequently concerned with two verse tournament narratives of the 1270's and 80's - Jacques Bretel's Le Tournoi de Chauvency and Sarrasin's Le Roman du Hem - and with contemporary English chivalric activity (paying particular attention to the role of Edward I), which, as we shall see, formed a fully integrated part of the same social continuum.¹

In some five thousand lines each of octosyllabic verse which incorporates much accurate heraldic information, Le Roman du Hem and Le Tournoi de Chauvency narrate the course of the occasions from which they take their names in great circumstantial detail.² The course of the festivities is followed from the time of preparation through several days of jousting, singing, dancing and feasting, to the departure of the participants. The activities of more than 230 individuals (of whom the great majority can be identified with some confidence)³ are charted day by day, largely from notes made by the author on the spot.⁴ Despite the intrinsic similarity of material, the two narratives are in many ways complementary, shedding light

¹ G. Wickham, Early English stages 1300 to 1600. I. 1300 to 1576 (London/New York, 1966), pp. 14-28 makes an essentially false distinction between 'English' and 'foreign' tournaments.

² J. Bretel, Le Tournoi de Chauvency, ed. M. Delbouille (Liège/Paris, 1932); Sarrasin, Le Roman du Hem, ed. A. Henry (Brussels, 1939). (Cf. 15th-c inscription, 'Cest le Romant du Hen': Sarrasin, p. xiv, citing EN MS. fr. 15 888, fo. 1r.)

³ In both poems, but see below (pp. 28-30) for the deceptive nature of such statistics. For individual knights at Chauvency, see Appendix

⁴ Cf. Sarrasin's method in Le Roman du Hem: below, p. 43 and n. 3.

upon different facets of the many influences which operated upon such occasions.

Little is known of the two authors, although internal evidence indicates that they were minstrels, probably both in the employ of knightly households.¹ The poems have already been the subject of comment because of their unique position in the history of the development of heraldic record and the light which they shed upon the relationship between heralds and minstrels.² With the exception of the narrative verse account of the Siege of Caerlaverock (1300) (whose authorship, minstrel or heraldic, is uncertain, but which, despite its inferior literary quality, essentially belongs to the same narrative genre),³ these poems are the last examples of such occasions being recorded by non-heraldic personnel.

The information conveyed by Sarrasin^{and Bretel} does not simply illuminate tournament practice of the late thirteenth century, but also enables us to substantiate more fully the rather meagre record of the first half of the next century. No comparable record seems to have survived from that period, although the tradition seems to re-emerge in fifteenth-century prose accounts of pas d'armes.⁴ Indeed, the affinity of the practices recorded in Le Hem and Chauvency with those of two centuries later emphasises the essential conservatism of tournament practices.⁵

¹ See below, p. 34 n. 2; Sarrasin, ll. 4600 ff.

² See e.g. A. Wagner, Heralds and heraldry in the Middle Ages: an inquiry into the growth of the armorial function of heralds, 2nd edn (Oxford, 1956), pp. 26-30; N. Denholm-Young, History and heraldry 1254 to 1310: a study of the historical value of the rolls of arms (Oxford, 1965), pp. 54-60.

³ See below, pp. 69-70.

⁴ See e.g. Le Pas d'Armes de Sandricourt (1493) recorded by Orléans herald (Paris, Arsenal MS. 3958 (rés.); BN MS. fr. 21, 809, (fo. 107 is reproduced by Wickham, Early English stages, pl. II no. 3). Cf. Wickham, Early English stages, pp. 42-3; S. Anglo, 'Financial and heraldic records of the English tournament', J. Soc. Archivists, ii (1960-4), pp. 187-73, 195 (Apx. B).

⁵ Reflected in e.g. the prominent participation of women (especially at Le Hem) and in the romance-based theme of that occasion (see below, pp. 42-3).

This is a feature which has perhaps been underestimated because of attempts to present a later medieval picture of developments in this area which accords with the widely accepted Huizinga-esque notion of movement from the vigour of the so-called High Middle Ages to fifteenth-century decline.¹

These versified accounts are also a valuable source for the history of the nobility of Northern France and the surrounding areas in the second half of the thirteenth century,² offering remarkably well documented insights into the operation of the ties of kinship, vassalage and locality at a known time and place. As such, the narratives have been undeservedly neglected by historians, at least partly because of an unwillingness to lend credence to non-archival evidence.³ It is impossible to exploit the full range of the material in this chapter, which concentrates rather upon the organisation of the activities described, the inter-relations of the participants and the nature of the records made.

¹ See e.g. Wickham, Early English stages, p. 49; 'if the Tournament [sic]...was at its noblest during the thirteenth century, it was at its most spectacular during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries'; (n.b. acknowledgement of Huizinga's influence, p. 15, note). For corrective views see M.H. Keen, 'Huizinga, Kilgour and the decline of chivalry', Medievalia et humanistica, n.s. viii (1977), pp. 1-20; M.G.A. Vale, War and chivalry (forthcoming), introduction, chap. 3.

² Although there are occasional errors of name and blazon (see Sarrasin, pp. lxxii-cxviii passim), where details may be checked Bretel and Sarrasin are remarkably accurate.

³ See e.g. R. Fossier, La Terre et les hommes en Picardie (Paris/Louvain 1968), p. 664 and n. 208, which sets out the evidence for the late 12th-c. and early 13th-c. extinction of various established Picard families, '[qu'] on ne...constate souvent qu'en raison d'une substitution de prénoms dans la famille, ainsi, par exemple...les lignages de...Moreuil.' Bernard was a frequent choice of name for the 12th-c. seigneurs of Montreuil (Fossier, La Terre et les hommes, p. 705), but the presence at Le Hem of a Bernard, sire de Montreuil (Sarrasin, l. 2365, p. lxxv) weakens Fossier's archivally based statement.

It should be noted that the term 'tournament' or tornoi refers specifically to a contest between two teams using sharp weapons in a mêlée - simulating, in other words, the procedures of warfare. This practice, as is well known, was bitterly opposed by the church and, at varying times, by secular rulers as well.¹ In the period from which our two poems date the kingdom lay under such a ban.² A publicly proclaimed tournament was consequently possible at Chauvency (which lay beyond the French border), but not at Le Hem. The gathering there is called a feste, and appears to have differed from the Chauvency tournament mainly in its mimetic element and in including jousting (combat between two mounted knights armed with rebated weapons) as the only advertised combat, not team encounters.³

The account of the tournament held at Chauvency at the beginning of October 1285 sets out the course of events particularly clearly, as the picture is not complicated by the mimetic elements that characterised the gathering at Le Hem.⁴ The author, Jacques Bretel, obligingly outlines the proposed timetable to Conrad Warnier, a knight from Alsace, some days before the event (ll. 201-19), an indication that this schedule had been firmly established in advance. The events do in fact broadly follow his plan, with the arrival of participants on Sunday, jousts on Monday and Tuesday, the tournament on Thursday (Wednesday having been devoted to arrangements for the event, besides more of the games, singing and dancing that had characterised the previous evenings)⁵ and departure on Friday. The cessation of martial

¹ See e.g. R. Harvey, Moriz von Craûn and the chivalric world (Oxford, 1961), pp. 113-36.

² Harvey, Moriz von Craûn, pp. 135-6.

³ This was at least the ostensible situation. It is not clear whether a mêlée in fact developed: see below, p. 41 n. 5.

⁴ For questions of dating and chronology, see Bretel, pp. lviii-lix.

⁵ The evenings at Le Hem were similarly occupied.

activities on the Wednesday emphasises the difference between joust and tournament, and the latter's greater importance in contemporary eyes. Their relative status is summarised in the countess of Luxembourg's explanation of the proceedings as she watches the first day's jousts: 'Feste se fait, tornois aproche' (l. 1183).¹ The seriousness of the tournament is perhaps also reflected in the greater prominence given to attendance at mass early that morning, a reminder of the greater dangers of the tournament and closely paralleling the behaviour of knightly heroes of romance - although it would be impossible to say whether literature first reflected contemporary practice or greatly influenced it.² The importance of the tournament is further underlined by an agreement on Tuesday evening, not simply to meet for discussion of tournament arrangements the next day, but also that,

...ja demain n'iert feste faite,
 Ne pour joster nus hons n'i aille
 Qu'a josteor feroit il faille.
 Miex vaut que la joste remaigne
 Que par joster tel chose avaigne
 Que li tornois fus despessiés;
 Teilz i poroit estre blesciés
 Que la besoigne en varoit pis; (11. 2708-15)

By contrast, little preparation was needed for the jousts, and arrangements could be made for the participation of unexpected arrivals.

Obviously there would be an attempt to ensure a relative balance of age and experience in any one pair of combatants. This is particularly clear at Le Hem, where several pairs of bachelor joust together.³ This

¹ Referred to as 'Madame de la Roche' because her full title was comtesse de la Roche et de Luxembourg: see Bretel, pp. lxxv-lxxvi. Daughter of Baudoin d'Avesnes and Félicité de Coucy (see Apx. 2), she maintained her Hainault connections, founding the Dominican monastery at Valenciennes, and dying in the town in 1320. For her role in the 'Combat de Saint-Pol contre les Carmois', see Trouvères belges: chansons d'amour, jeux-partis, pastourelles, dits et fabliaux, ed. A. Scheler (Brussels, 1876), pp. 242-6.

² See e.g. Bretel, ll. 2793-4 (Wednesday morning mass), 4505-8 (Friday morning, before the departure of the guests).

³ Sarrasin l. 3550 ff. (Drieux de Roye vs. Henri de Soiri, both mout jone); 2528 ff. (Jehan de Moreuil vs. Mahieu de Montmorency, both described as bachelor and very young; 2387 ff. (Renaut de Montauban vs. Mahieu de Trie, again very young); 4405 ff. (Jehan de Fransières vs. Rogier d'Englume, both bachelor). (The term bachelor should not of course necessarily be equated with youth or inexperience.)

would not require lengthy deliberation, however, and was presumably left to the heralds on the spot. The balance of teams for the tournament, on the other hand, was a matter for more precise adjustment, and details could only be finalised at the last minute, when the number of knights from different regions could be ascertained with accuracy.

Bretel's explanation makes it clear that the tournament was conceived from the outset as a defence by those dedens (the home team, as it were) against all-comers: '...le fis d'or sera tandus/Et de ceus dedens defendus/Hardiement et sanz esgart' (ll. 213-15). His allusion to the stretched gold thread is problematical: it has been interpreted as a string guarding the entrance to the castle, but this seems most unlikely.¹ It is possibly that something of this kind was used to mark the limits of one team's (starting?) position, and/or their base territory, or to keep the two teams apart, but the position is complicated by Fildor, the king of arms (l. 2667). It is perhaps rather less probable that the latter took his name from a piece of tournament equipment or procedure associated with his duties, than that this was derived from a devise or crest of the lord whom he served - perhaps the comte de Chiny, or his brother, hosts of the tournament? The notion of two teams, dedens and dehors is, of course, common in the late thirteenth and the fourteenth centuries. It is generally associated with the confinement of the tournament to a limited area, a development usually placed in the middle of the thirteenth century,² but the division into teams reflecting geographical provenance may

¹ F.H. Cripps-Day, The history of the tournament in England and in France (London, 1918), p. 36; Bretel, p. 149 n. to l. 211 corrects his notion of the 'knight-errant' forcing his way into the castle by breaking the thread. Cf. also the stretched cords about to be cut with axes in René d'Anjou's Livre des Tournois, reproduced Wickham, Early English stages, pl. ix.

² E.g. Harvey, Moriz von Craûn, p. 128 and n. 1.

have appeared in the previous century. A tournoi on the frontier of Nevers-Auxerre with Burgundy which was held to celebrate the marriage of Gui de Nevers and Mahaut de Bourgogne and which excluded knights from any other areas, must surely have been organised along these lines.¹ However, the terms dedens and dehors tend to be taken for granted in other contemporary references and Bretel's detailed account of the preliminary decisions and organisation appears to be unique. To understand the situation it is important first to outline some of the practical and geographical factors operating at the Chauvency tournament.

As the title of the narrative implies, the tournament was held at Chauvency, at that time the possession of Gerard de Looz, younger brother of Louis de Looz, count of Chiny.² It was the count and countess, however, who were responsible for holding the tournament: they head the list of those whom Bretel is certain will be present (ll. 109-10): the countess (Jeanne de Bar) is described as 'chief et baniere/Et ralfiance de la feste' (ll. 1350-51).³ As we shall see, their relatives

¹ J.F. Lemarignier, Recherches sur l'hommage en marche et les frontières féodales (Lille, 1945), pp. 160-2. The intrusion of the count of Hainault and his retinue on this occasion precipitated war between Hainault and Nevers.

² For modern location, see Apx. 1. (Dictionnaire des communes de France (Michelin, Paris, 1978), is the source for all modern French locations, unless otherwise stated.) Arnould II, Count of Looz and Chiny, divided his lands between five sons in 1267, the eldest receiving Looz, the second (Louis) Chiny, on the death of his mother, and Gerard Chauvency, with various other lands, including the lordship of Moiry: E. Bernays and J. Vannérus, Histoire numismatique du comté puis duché de Luxembourg et de ses fiefs (Académie royale de Belgique, Mémoires, coll. in 4^o, 2^e sér. V, Brussels, 1910), p. 476. (This work draws heavily upon P.H. Goffinet, Les comtes de Chiny (Arlon, 1880), inaccessible in this country.)

³ M. Parisse, La noblesse lorraine. XI^e-XIII^e s. [sic] (Lille/Paris, 1976), p. 771 mistakenly supposes the Luxembourg family are hosts at the tournament and identifies the count of Luxembourg as Henri II le blond. (Chiny only became a Luxembourg dependancy in the fourteenth century: see Bernays and Vannérus, p. 469.) Jeanne was probably the youngest daughter of Henri II de Bar: see Apx. 2 for her marriages; and M. Grosdidier de Matons, Le comté de Bar des origines au traité de de Bruges(vers 950-1301) (Paris, 1922), pp. 303-4; Parisse, p. 852 Table I bis. See also J. Bertholet, Histoire ecclésiastique et civile du duché de Luxembourg et comté de Chiny, V (Luxembourg, 1743), pp. 231-3 (patronage of Orval abbey and a templar foundation at Sussy), pp. 233-5 (description of her tomb), p. 233 (death in childhood of two sons and a daughter.)

constituted the most important guests.¹ In the course of the thirteenth century, the counts of Chiny had moved to the castle of Montmédy, built on higher ground about four or five kilometres to the east, leaving Chauvency for the cadet line.² A number of the participants were lodged at Montmédy, in particular Jeanne de Bar's nephew, Henri III, count of Luxembourg, and his retinue, together with the Flemish, Hainault and Ruyers contingents.³ This allocation of participants at two castles provided an obvious basis for the division into teams dedens and dehors - although of course, the allocation itself was probably originally designed with the eventual balance of the teams in mind.

Bretel gives a fairly detailed impression of the tournament site at Chauvency (also used for the jousts) where specially constructed stands variously termed 'berfrois' (l. 423) 'eschaufaus' (l. 537) and 'loges' (l. 830) had been erected for the women and other spectators.⁴ The way from the castle ran past gardens and meadows (ll. 3210-3248) and the loges themselves were 'pres des cortils [gardens]' (l. 439),⁵ while lush, even pastureland stretched ahead: 'Devant les loges, en la plaine,/Fu grans et bele la champaigne' (ll. 3503-4).⁶ Chauvency

¹ See Apx. 2.

² Bretel, p. lxxv n. 1; Dictionnaire topographique du département de la Meuse ed. F. Liénard, (Paris, 1872), p. 50. At Chauvency, 'ruines d'un donjon et restes de l'enceinte' survive: C. -L. Salch, L'atlas des châteaux forts en France (Strasbourg, 1977), p. 528: see also A. Matthys and J. Hossey, 'Sondages dans la fortification médiévale de Chauvency-le-château', Archaeologia Belgica, cxcvi, Conspectus mcmclxxvi (Brussels, 1977), pp. 88-92.

³ Bretel, ll. 2681-95. (Henri de Luxembourg, Waléran de Ligny, Florent de Hainaut, Waléran de Fauquemont and Phillippe de Flandres are specifically mentioned.) Ruyers (Lat. Ripuarii): those living in the western Rhineland (Bretel, Table des noms propres s.v. Rivier).

⁴ Befrois: see Bretel, p. xxxvii s.v. befrois. For illustration, see Wickham, Early English stages, pll. viii, ix.

⁵ Bretel and Mausparliers herald retire into 'un jardin de jouste un préz' (l. 2309) for their discussion (cf. below p. 29).

⁶ Cf. Bretel, ll. 1947-8: 'la champaigne grans et belle;/Li chastiaus fu en la praelle'.

itself was situated within a meander of the river Chiers, surrounded with level water meadows that were ideally suited for tournaments. A small canalised stream formed an island site.¹ As at Le Hem, where the site was very similar,² it corresponded closely to the ideal recorded in later manuscripts of 'La forme quon tenoit des tournoys et assemblees au temps du roy uterprendragon [sic] et du roy artus',³ which stipulates a plain between castle or city and river or wood:

Le lieu estoit esleu pres de ville et chastel ou grant cite assiz sur riviere et boys. Et tellement que la ville estoit volentiers fermeure dun couste et le boys ou riviere de lautre.

The importance of the boundary of river or wood is reflected in the addition to the title in some manuscripts of 'comment le tournoiz se faisoient pres de boiz ou de rivierez',⁵ and it is interesting to observe the extent to which this condition, although recorded as an ideal, appears to tally with thirteenth-century practice.

However, although the division of lodgings between Chauvency and Montmédy provided the basis for two opposing sides, the exact balance between them remained to be calculated. Knights from both castles '

¹ Bretel, p. 147 note to l. 75; Matthys and Hossey, p. 89 fig. 53.

² Le Hem: mod. Hem-Monacu, c. Combles, a. Péronne (Ins. géog. nat., carte touristique, 4). Cf. Sarrasin, pp. li-lii for Peigné-Delacourt's description of a nineteenth-century visit to Le Hem. (All traces of the castle have vanished: Salch, Atlas des châteaux forts, p. 743 (map of châteaux in the département de la Somme).

³ E. Sandoz, 'Tournaments in the Arthurian tradition', Speculum, xix (1944), p. 395 cit. fifteenth-century MS. in the Hofer Collection, Harvard University. Cf. other MSS. of the same text: BN MSS. fr. 1435, 1436, 1437, 1438, 12597; Bibl. de l'Arsenal MS. 4976; Lille, b. mun. MS. 329 (anc. 513), (with minor textual variants). (Henry made a similar comparison: Sarrasin, p. li and n. 3.)

⁴ Sandoz, p. 396. Cf. tournament sites in romances e.g. La Mort le roi Artu, ed. J. Frappier, 3rd ed. (Geneva/Paris, 1964), pp. 48 ('praerie souz Taneborc'); p. 81 ('praerie de Kamaalot').

⁵ As e.g. Lille, b. mun. MS. 329 (anc. 513).

assembled on Wednesday to discuss this. Henri de Blâmont (Jeanne de Bar's son by her first marriage)¹ proposed the basic division:

...vos avéz les Hainnuierz,
Les Braibençons et les Riviers,²
Les Flammainz et les Haubignons,
Et noz [i.e. those dedens, lodged at Chauvency itself] avons les
Bourguinons
Et Loherainz et Champagnois' (ll. 2841-5)

Once this basic grouping was established, each team chose a representative to make the final division: 'Prenons diseur, qui loiaument/Partiront le tornoient.' (ll. 2899-2900). These two, the Lorrainer Raignier de Creuè³ for cil dedens and Baudin de Brichecourt from Hainault for cil dehors,⁴ 'Ensemble vont, un consoil prinsent,/Le tornoi partent et devisent' (ll. 2911-2). Their solution was to place the Alsatian Conrat Warnier⁵ and his banière, or retinue, with 'cex de la feste' (ll. 2915-6), that is those dedens. They also divided the knights into batailles, setting the Ruyers and Luxembourgeois against the François,⁶ Berruyers and all other foreigners ('toutes

¹ To Ferri de Blâmont (d. 1255/6): Bretel, pp. xciv-xcv. Cf. Parisse, Table 23; below, Apx. 2 for his relations with other participants at Chauvency.

² Haubignon: mod. Herbignon, inhabitant of Hesbaie in central Belgium (Bretel, table des noms propres s.v. Haubignon). The county of Looz, closely linked to that of Chiny, formed part of Hesbaie: see L. Vanderkindere, La formation territoriale des principautés belges au moyen âge (Brussels, 1902), II, pp. 133-44.

³ See Apx. 1. One of the four pairs of the bishopric of Verdun. For biographical details, see Bretel, pp. xcv-xcvi.

⁴ See Bretel, p. xcvi. (For the same family in the fourteenth century, see below pp. 232, 240n.). Neither diseur had any further adjudatory rôle and participated normally in the tournament: see e.g. ll. 3911, 3916.

⁵ A ruyer: see appendix I; Bretel, pp. lxxiii-lxxiv; H. Dubled, 'Noblesse et féodalité en Alsace du XI^e au XIII^e siècle', Tijdschrift voor Rechtsgeschiedenis, xxviii (1960), p. 148; Remains of the donjon habitable at Hattstatt erected in 1282 on top of the 820 m. high Barbenstein survive: Salch, Atlas des châteaux forts, p. 648.

⁶ I.e. those from the French march of arms, roughly the Ile-de-France. See G. Le Bouvier, Armorial de France ed. Vallet de Viriville (Paris, 1860), pp. 41, 68-77.

les estranges gens' (l. 2921)),¹ while those from Champagne and Burgundy were set 'Au Hainnuiers, au Haubignons/A [sic: misprint for 'Et'?] a touz ceus de lour poursiute' (ll. 2923-5). It is impossible to distinguish the operation of such rigid divisions in the descriptions of the tournament which follows, but Bretel's statement that 'Tournois i ot ou trois ou quatre' (l. 3945) seems to imply that there was a series of encounters between clearly defined groups - perhaps with a final mêlée in which all might participate.² It is impossible to be dogmatic, but one may suggest the following division into two teams:

<u>dedens</u>	<u>dehors</u>
François	Luxembourgeois
Berruyers	Brabançons
Bourguignons	Ruyers (except for Warnier and retinue)
Loherainz	Flemings
Champagnois	Hainaulters
Conrat Warnier and his <u>bannière</u>	Haubignons
All other foreigners. ³	

It has been obvious throughout this discussion that these teams were thought of in terms of smaller units, or bannières, composed of

¹ E.g. the Savoyard Perart de Grilli (Pierre I de Grailly): see Bretel, ll. 317, 750-73, 802-11, 3794-6; Apx. 1. Members of the same family played a prominent role in England in the 13th century: see F.M. Powicke, The thirteenth century: 1216-1307, corrected edn (Oxford, 1954), pp. 288-9 (Jean de Grailly as seneschal of Aquitaine), index s.v. Grilly; L. Gardeau and J. Trabut-Cussac, 'Les premiers Grailly et la tombe de Pierre I de Grailly à Uzeste', Bull. phil. et hist., année 1960 (1961), pp. 713-7. (I owe this ref. to M.G.A. Vale.) The contingent presumably also included the English knights pointed out to Bretel on his arrival: Bretel, ll. 371-2.

² The cries of the final stage of the tournoi seems to cut across all divisions into batailles outlined earlier: see e.g. Bretel, ll. 4095-8.

³ Based on Bretel, ll. 2840-926.

knights from a specific region and owing the same allegiance.¹ Bretel's description of the tournament itself brings out clearly the way in which these sub-groups operated and the role of the individual within it. Thus, for example, a bannière of Lorraine knights headed by Henri de Briey² engaged another of five Hainaulters,³ and single combats (between Henri de Briey and Le Blont de Montigny, Guiars de Neufvile and Aubers d'Orne) developed within this encounter.⁴ Much earlier in the proceedings that day a group of Flemings led by the châtelain of Bergues (i.e. Mons) had similarly tackled Joufrois d'Aspremont with Colart de Cuminières, Bekart de Marzei and Perart de Remonville (ll. 3594-601).⁵

¹ This does not imply that all knights from one region would owe the same allegiance: see e.g. the complex situation in Lorraine, below, pp. 30-5. for discussion of the use of bannières, especially in battle, see J.F. Verbruggen, The art of warfare in Western Europe during the Middle Ages from the eighth century to 1340, trans. S. Willard and S.C.M. Southern (Amsterdam, 1977), pp. 72-6.

² For Henri de Briey, see Apx. I; for his feudal position, Parisse, unbound maps, 'mouvance du comté de Bar', 'châteaux de l'évêché de Metz xiii^e s'; Grosdidier de Matons, pp. 365, 368; Dictionnaire topographique de l'ancien département de la Moselle, ed. M. de Bouteiller (Paris, 1874), p. 39; Salch, Atlas des châteaux forts, p. 521.

³ Baudoin de Brichecourt (see above p. 25), Wautier de Hondescourt, Cendiars de Haucy, Le Blont de Montigny, Simon de Lalaing. The omission of any reference to Florent d'Hainaut is puzzling (and may be accidental or insignificant), as he leads the Hainaulters at a later point.

⁴ Cf. Bretel, ll. 3950 ff. where the combats between Philip of Flanders and the count of Chiny, Florent of Hainault and the seigneur of Esch are set in a team context, with Florent at the head of his bannière and the rescue of the count of Chiny's horse through the intervention of a Lorraine knight. The same pattern of single combat developing from team action still characterised battles of this period: see e.g. description of Henry III of Luxembourg seeking out the duke of Brabant at the battle of Worringen (1288): Bertholet, pp. 272-4. For the tournament as battle-training, see below, pp. 163, 183-5; cf. also R.C. Smail, Crusading warfare, 1097-1153 (Cambridge, repr. 1976), pp. 126-7 (importance of cohesive sub-units in the Latin army).

⁵ See Apx. 1.

The evidence of the poem seems to suggest that each bannière numbered about half a dozen or more knights, accustomed to operating together in combat.¹ More precise statistics (although it is possible to extract them from the text) are misleading with an inherent bias that is not immediately apparent. Division of the identifiable knights into teams reveals the dedens as very nearly twice as numerous as those dehors.² Moreover it is impossible to quantify the Brabanters and Haubignons whom we know were present.³ The distinct focus on Lorrainers (nearly two dozen of them can be identified) indubitably reflects Bretel's own knowledge and the anticipated interests of his audience.⁴ It seems likely that these were in reality balanced by an almost equally large, or larger, contingent from neighbouring Luxembourg: Bretel, admitting his own ignorance, says that Henri III had a large retinue, of whom he

¹ It is impossible to give any upper limit, especially as there is no distinction in the poem between bannières and larger regional groups. Bretel states that Henry of Luxembourg had a large bannière (ll. 3739-41), but as he identified so few of them (see below, pp. 28-9), this statement is of little value; nor can one make deductions concerning bannières from a postulated total number of knights from this province (see below, pp. 29-30).

² Based on the following figures:

(a) dedens 1 François, 3 Berruyers, 8 Burgundians, 23 Lorrainers,
2 Conrad Warnier and retinue (see p. 25 n.5),
2 foreigners (cf. above pp. 25-6). (Total: 39.)

(b) dehors 5 Alemands, 3 Ruyers, 5 Flemings, 6 Hainaulters, 1 Haubignon.
(Total: 20.)

³ Cf. above, pp. 25-6; Apx. 1. (Waléran de Fauquemont alone is specifically mentioned.)

⁴ This localism is also reflected in the language of the poem, limited by Delbouille to the area of the modern département of the Meuse (Bretel, p. xlvi); that of the Mons MS. scribe, who came from the same region (p. liv), and the north-eastern dialect traits of the Rheims fragments (p. xiii), as well as the connection of the Mons MS. with the Lorraine family of Bouligny (p. xi) and those of Bodleian MS. Douce 308 with the Messine family of Gournaix (fos. 3^r, 106^v; Bretel, p. xiii). The theory of Bretel's Picard origin still lingers (e.g. Harvey, Moriz von Craûn, p. 54), stemming from Gaëtan Hecq's theory of Bretel's authorship of Le Chastelain de Coucy: see H. Ullsperger, Die beiden Handschriften des Romans Li Chastelains de Couci (Diss, Martin Luther-Univ. Halle-Wittenberg, Halle, 1935), pp. 4-5 and nn. for thorough documentation and refutation. See also Jakemes, Le roman du castelain de Couci et de la dame de Fayel, ed. M. Delbouille, (SATF, Paris, 1936) pp. lxxvii-lxxvi.

could name only the duke's brother, Waléran de Ligny, Joffroi d'Esch and Conon d'Ouren. Instead, our detailed knowledge of the dehors team centres upon participants from more distant regions of the Low Countries with which Bretel himself had no obvious connection. Altogether five Flemings and seven Hainaulters are identified and this concentration of detail provides an interesting reflection of Bretel's working practice.

We have the poet's own testimony that his account was written from notes made on the spot. The Hainault herald, Mausparliers, whose rhetorical abilities greatly impressed Bretel, was a likely source for this accurate information. Having introduced himself after Mausparliers' speech, Bretel retired with him to a secluded spot to analyse performances to date,

De Flammains et de Hannuiers,
De Braibençons et de Poihiers
Qui mout avoient bien jousté. (ll. 2311-13)

Mausparliers' knowledge of his own province and his admiration for Philip of Flanders would easily explain the concentration upon these two groups.¹ It also highlights the extremely selective nature of Bretel's narrative. Had he befriended instead one of the heralds from Champagne or Picardy,² the reconstruction of the composition of the two teams would be very different, and the size of the more northerly retinues probably underestimated.³ Clearly, too, any statistics drawn from Le tournois de Chauvency are deceptive out of context and cannot be used without the greatest caution: it seems likely, for example, that the teams might have numbered sixty each, although the poem gives

¹ See Bretel, ll. 2286-9.

² For Champenois and Pikart heralds, see ll. 1627-90, 2094-101.

³ Bruiant herald also points out numerous knights to Bretel soon after his arrival (ll. 297-374), but his knowledge is wide-ranging and does not seem confined to any specific marches of arms. For his possible identity with John Butler, bruiant herald, present at the knighting of the prince of Wales in 1306, see Bullock-Davies, Menstellorum multitudo, pp. 3, 40-41, 74-77.

specific evidence for only about half this number.¹ With tournaments on this scale it is not hard to imagine how they might quickly become out of hand (as at the 'parvum bellum de Châlons' in 1273),² or surprising that large numbers of heralds were also present at Chauvency to organise events and marshal the participants. Bretel mentions no fewer than nine heralds and four kings of arms by name.³ Again, this is obviously short of the total and as many as twenty officers of arms might have been involved. Bretel alludes only in passing, for instance, to the heralds of Alemagne who uttered the knights' cries 'en lors laingaige' (ll. 1228-30).⁴ It is impossible to be certain whether Bretel understood German, though he was certainly sufficiently alert linguistically to include parodies of Picard and Alsatian speech;⁵ but the reference is a reminder of the many frontiers which ran through this area and of the complex pattern of factors that influenced the division of the knights at Chauvency into two teams.

Since the tenth century the river Meuse had formed the theoretical boundary between France and the Empire, but in reality the situation was very much more complex.⁶ In Lorraine itself, although the duke

¹ Assuming, say, contingents totalling six from France, Berry, Champagne and in the retinue of Conrad Warnier, and three additional unrecorded foreigners.

² Cf. below p. 50 n. 3.

³ Kings Fildor (cf. above p. 21), Huevellé, Grehei, Maigniens (l. 2667), the last carrying the tournament challenge from Chauvency to Montmédy (ll. 2670-768); heralds Baptisé, (ll. 3746-7, 4053 ff), Bruiant (cf. above p. 29 n. 3), Champenois and Pikart (cf. above p. 29 n. 2), Coquasse (ll. 675-92), Garnier and Wautier (ll. 1226, 1512), Mausparliers (ll. 2268-ff.; cf. above, p. 29) and Martin, who made a formal address of welcome to the guests (ll. 391 ff).

⁴ Cf. Bretel, ll. 1740-3 where Henri de Blâmont is cried on by heralds, both tyois and romans. The majority of the German heralds doubtless came with the Luxembourg knights and their number would be correspondingly large. For the linguistic frontier, see below pp. 31 n. 4, 32 n. 1. See also l. 826, where the Luxembourg Conon d'Ouren is described as d'Alemagne.

⁵ E.g. Bretel, ll. 61-243, 2095-101, pp. xlvi-xlix.

⁶ Parisse, pp. vi-vii.

was firmly committed to imperial interests,¹ the other great magnates of the region - the count of Bar and the bishops of Verdun, Metz and Toul - often made closer ties with the west,² and were in addition frequently at war with each other.³ In fact the linguistic frontier between the Germanic- and Romance-speaking areas that bisected Lorraine seems to have been of much greater social and cultural significance than any political boundary.⁴ Parisse has underlined the way in which this aggravated the clash between feudal allegiance and economic, cultural and (increasingly) family ties for frontier nobles:

L'influence française se fait sentir bien avant [la fin du treizième siècle], et assez pour qu'on soit en mesure d'apprécier le clivage qui progressivement s'accroît entre les deux zones de parler différent. Romanité et Deutschum se manifestent au grand jour.⁵

¹ Parisse, pp. 685-93 (links with the imperial court), 570-71 (increasing north- and eastward orientation in the second half of the thirteenth century): for members of the Alsace nobility enfeoffed by Ferri III, see H. Dubled, 'Noblesse et féodalité en Alsace du XI^e au XIII^e siècle,' Tijdschrift voor rechtsgeschiedenis, xxviii (1960), appendice 'Concédants et feudataires dans le contrat de fief au XII^e siècle', passim, pp. 155-63 (liege homage of Alsatian nobles to Ferri III), 152 (lands in Lorraine certainly held earlier in the century by the count of Linange).

² See e.g. Parisse, p. 755.

³ Parisse, p. 555 (table); R. Parisot, Histoire de Lorraine, I, Des origines à 1552 (Paris, 1919), pp. 313-26 provides a very sparse outline of the principal political events in the region, 1270-1346; cf. Grosdidier de Matons, pp. 309-472 passim.

⁴ Parisse, pp. vii-viii. About two thirds of the inhabitants of the ducal lands spoke French: Parisse, p. 672. For the situation further North, see C.A.J. Armstrong, 'The language question in the Low Countries: the use of French and Dutch by the dukes of Burgundy and their administration', Europe in the late Middle Ages, ed. J.R. Hale, B. Smalley, R. Highfield (London, 1965), pp. 368-91. The position of the linguistic frontier in relation to Chauvency is clearly shown in C. Kurth, La frontière linguistique en Belgique et dans le Nord de la France, 2 vols. (Soc. belge de librairie, Brussels, 1896-80), I, pp. 21-2, 49-56, 554-5; II, 'carte explicative'.

⁵ Parisse, p. 672. For a similar spread of French influence at other limits of the Empire, see G. Lizerand, 'Philippe le Bel et l'Empire au temps de Rodolphe de Hapsburg (1285-1291)', Revue historique, cxlii (1923), pp. 162, 165 (for the generally good relations between the kings of France and the Lorraine nobility, with the exception of the Count of Bar and Duke of Lorraine).

It is significant that of the ducal Lorrainers at Chauvency all but one (Ferri de Sierques) come from the French-speaking area.¹

The small county of Chiny itself was another of these frontier areas: in the heraldic march of Lorraine,² it constituted part of the westernmost frontier of the Empire that bordered the kingdom of France in Champagne,³ but its orientation was entirely French. The counts allied themselves with such families as Bar and Apremont, where French influence was marked,⁴ and Le tournoi de Chauvency itself demonstrated the unequivocally French basis of its society and culture.⁵ Louis, count of Loos and Chiny, was one of the most important Bar vassals and his allegiance had doubtless been strengthened by marriage

¹ See Apx. 1; Parisse, p. 722 bis ('Le Roman noble', map showing origins of families at Chauvency and also of poets or participants of jeux-partis); M. Toussaint, La frontière linguistique en Lorraine (Paris, 1955), end-paper 'La frontière linguistique franco-germanique du Luxembourg aux Vosges (département de la Moselle)'.

² Le Bouvier, p. 132 no. 889.

³ Chiny's south-western border ran west of Druzy: see Bodleian Maps 204 a. 29 Cl. a. 5, 'The First volume of a collection of...maps [sic] of all the Kingdoms and Provinces of Europe...by Severall [sic] authors' (1691) no. 106 [map of Luxembourg, also including the county of Chiny]. This shows Chiny bordering on the lands of the abbey of St-Hubert and of the duke of Boulogne, as well as Luxembourg, Champagne, Verdun and Lorraine. Earlier maps that I have been able to consult have unfortunately proved insufficiently detailed or accurate (e.g. 'La description de la conté de Champagne' printed by Hierosme de Gourmont (Paris, 1546); Bodleian Maps (E) C 21: 21 (2)).

⁴ See below, Apx. 1. For Apremont, see Parisse, pp. 364, 386, 393 (map of 12th- and 13th-century matrimonial alliances), 92 bis (map, 'La base de la seigneurie d'Apremont'), Table 17 bis. Despite the strength of French socio-cultural influences, relations with the French crown were far from harmonious: between Bar and France hostility was growing over the Champagne border. See Grosdidier de Matons, pp. 375 (St. Louis' arbitration over the Ligny war of 1268), 402 (situation in the bishopric of Verdun, 1270's); below p.33 n.4 (Beaulieu affair).

⁵ E.g. affiliations of the lyrics sung in the course of the festivities: cf. Recueil général des jeux-partis français, ed. A. Langfors (SATF, Paris, 1926). French influence in Chiny is reflected even in Louis de Loos's coinage, which 's'écarte notablement de ceux de ces voisins, surtout des monnaies luxembourgeoises, et reproduit, trait pour trait, les royaux parisis doubles du roi de France': Bernays and Vannérus, p. 446.

to Thibaut II's sister, Jeanne, in 1257.¹ However, some of the comital lands - Chauvency among them - were held from other lords.² The impulse behind cultural and particularly literary achievement in Lorraine was distinctly Barrois at this time,³ and the presence at Chauvency of many of his friends and active supporters, or their relations,⁴ makes the absence of Thibaut II of Bar and the complete lack of any mention of him seem puzzling at first sight. The count's itinerary, indeed even his exact political preoccupations at this period, seem difficult to specify from printed sources.⁵ However, the loss of an eye in 1253 at the battle of West Kapelle might in any case have pre-empted effective use of the lance and have been a severe

¹ Louis and Jeanne refer to Thibaut as 'leur signor et freire' in 1258: Grosdidier de Matons, p. 305 (BN. MS. fr. 11853 fo. 137^v); homage of Louis to Thibaut in 1270, Dic. top. de la Meuse, p. xxxix citing document in Archives of Luxembourg (cf. similar [identical?] document of the same date, Grosdidier de Matons, p. 385 and n. 9); cf. Parisse, p. 386. Nevertheless, Louis seems to have supported the Bishop of Metz against the count of Bar in 1277: Grosdidier de Matons, p. 398.

² Chauvency, Rossignol and Virton were held from the bishopric of Verdun: C. Aimond, Les relations de la France et du Verdunois de 1270 à 1552 (Paris, 1910), p. 7 and n. 1 cit. doc. of 1257, 1268; Bernays and Vannérus, p. 476.

³ Perhaps manifest above all in the jeux-partis of Bodl. MS. Douce 308; cf. Parisse, pp. 765-72 bis. There are concentrations of Chauvency participants in the areas noted by Parisse as culturally most active, viz, Woëvre, Meuse Valley, Barrois and Verdunois; cf. Apx. 1.

⁴ E.g. among those who supported him against the king of France in the 1288 Beaulieu affair, not necessarily vassals (many numbered by Parisse, p. 618 in the Barrois 'court'): Joffroi d'Apremont, Henri de Blâmont, Aubers d'Orne, three of the peers of Verdun, Jean de Muraut, Robert de Watronville Rénier de Creuë, others from Commercy and Bauffremont, Neuville, Cuminières, Maisey, and Louppy families. (Cf. below, Apx. 1) For this border dispute with France that eventually split the county of Bar into two parts, barrois mouvant and non-mouvant (1301), see J. Havet, 'La frontière d'Empire dans l'Argonne: l'enquête faite par ordre de Rodolphe de Habsbourg à Verdun, en mai 1288', BEC, xlii, (1881), pp. 383-428, 612-3; Grosdidier de Matons, pp. 432-6 for contributory developments.

⁵ It seems possible that there were still open hostilities between Bar and Bouchard d'Avesnes, bishop of Metz (aided by the duke of Lorraine): Grosdidier de Matons, pp. 411-2.

handicap in the sword-fighting of a tournament.¹ This silence may also reflect Bretel's own probable more easterly roots, rather than any positive aversion on the part of Thibaut II.²

Contemporary awareness of the frontier nature of these regions is seen in Bretel's reference to duke Ferri III of Lorraine as 'Marchis entre trois roiaumes' (l. 1415). The three kingdoms were presumably France, Luxembourg and the Empire. The decision to hold the tournament at Chauvency, a border fortress on the right bank of the Chiers, the river that divided Chiny from Luxembourg,³ was doubtless a deliberate one, as this not only provided a fitting site, but also reflected a historical and literary tradition of tournaments or feats of arms in boundary areas.⁴

The tensions throughout the province of Lorraine between formal allegiance and other interests is perhaps reflected in the alignment of the Lorrainers with knights acknowledging the king of France as their overlord in the dedens team,⁵ opposing a dehors team of predominantly imperial allegiance.⁶ The division also reflects the linguistic

¹ Grosdidier de Matons, p. 332 (defeat of the Flemings by the Avesnes, where Thibaut supported the Dampierre, to whom he was related by marriage). His relative age at this date (he was probably born c. 1220: Grosdidier de Matons, p. 309 and n. 1) also makes participation in a tournament less likely.

² Cf. above p. 28 n. 4. Bretel's sojourn with the count of Salm (also a fidèle vassal of the count of Bar: Grosdidier de Matons, p. 362) before setting out for Chauvency: Bretel, ll. 32-34, 245-7; the eulogy of Henri de Blâmont (possibly with an eye to future largesse and patronage): ll. 1691-731, also suggest easterly associations. Cf. below appendix 6. The possibility that Jeanne de Bar herself had patronised Bretel is not an entirely idle speculation. She continued to be referred to as Domina de Blâmont after her remarriage: see Bertholet, p. 233 (inscription on her tomb). For liege homage to the counts of Luxembourg in 1248, 1307 by Henry III and Henry V of Salm, see Bernays and Vannérus, pp. 508-9.

³ Dic. top de la Meuse, p. 50; Bodleian Maps 204 a. 29 Cl. a. 5 no. 106.

⁴ Cf. above pp. 21, 22, 24.

⁵ E.g. François, Berruyers, Champenois.

⁶ Luxembourg, Hainault, Alsace. (The Flemings are an exception, but the grouping of Flemings and Hainaulters against the French was traditional; see Verbruggen, pp. 37-39). See e.g. Dubled, 'Noblesse et féodalité' p. 148 for Conrad Warnier de Hattstatt holding Flixbourg castle from Rodolphe of Habsburg as a fief castrale or feodum castrense (i.e. defence of territory in return for money payment) in 1288.

situation, as the most easterly regions, notably Luxembourg, and Alsace, were all German-speaking. That some such feudal and linguistic division was present in the minds of the diseurs (and doubtless of the other knights as well) is indicated when they perfected the balance of the teams and consciously moved Conrat Warnier and his retinue into the ranks of the dedens, as if he were a deliberate exception to the rule they were otherwise following.¹ It is clear that this was done only to adjust the numbers and was not thought a natural choice or automatic placing.²

So far the teams have been considered only in relation to their regional origin,³ and we have also observed the division within the teams of smaller fighting units.⁴ As on the battlefield (for which the tournaments provided important training), the individual members shared allegiance to the same overlord. It would be patently absurd if the groups were differently constituted for the exercise of the tournament, and potentially disastrous if there were any clash of allegiance. As on the battlefield then, the teams were essentially feudal units. In the great majority of cases at Chauvency regional and feudal affiliations were identical: Florent of Hainault was followed by Hainaulters, for example, while Philip of Flanders headed

¹ Bretel, ll. 2912-6.

² The fact that the dedens team had to be supplemented by Warnier's retinue and the other foreigners is no doubt a comment on the size of the almost unknown Luxembourg contingent.

³ Frequently, but not necessarily, synonymous with the march of arms. The bounds of the latter are not always easy to establish and appear to have sometimes been inconsistent: see P. Adam-Even and L. Jéquier, 'L'armorial de Wijnbergen', AHS, lxvi (1952), pp. 66 (Henry III and Waléran of Luxembourg are listed as lorains), 104, 108 (they are listed as alemans). (Adam-Even, pp. 54-55 attributed this inconsistency to the authorship of a French herald travelling in easterly regions and saw the roll as evidence of the increased intervention of the king of France in affairs of the Eastern border). Cf. also P. Adam-Even, 'Un armorial français du milieu du XIII^e siècle. Le rôle d'armes de Bigot', AHS, lxiii, (1949), p. 21 no. 17 ('Le sires de Lusselborc [Henri II]... Alemans'). The team structure at Chauvency leaves no doubt that the house of Luxembourg were considered distinct from Lorraine (c.f. also Le Bouvier, p. 107 no. 1332 where Luxembourg is entered in the march of Alemaigne.)

⁴ Cf. above, pp. 26-9.

a group of knights, of whom some were Picard and owed him allegiance as count of Artois.¹ Nor does there seem to have been any apparent clash between allegiance to an immediate overlord and that owed to their sovereign.² However, there is one instance at Chauvency where a knight's tournament role is undisputed, and his allegiance well documented in independent sources and which illustrates the pre-eminence of the feudal bond over other factors determining affiliation to a particular group.

The knight in question is Waléran de Luxembourg, younger brother of Henri III, count of Luxembourg and sire de Ligny-en-Barrois.³ Not only were his lands in Lorraine, but his immediate overlord in 1286 was the count of Bar. On these grounds it would not have been surprising to find him along with other Lorrainers in the dedens team. In fact, he was lodged at Montmédy, and joined the other Luxembourgeois in the dehors team.⁴ His connection is also reflected in the cry of 'Lambour!' (ll. 1884-7, 1925) with which the heralds support him in his joust against Wichart d'Amance.⁵ Something of Waléran de Ligny's importance in

¹ See Apx. 1.

² Bretel does not generally specify exact groupings (within, for example, the large Lorraine contingent, for which such information would be particularly valuable), nor does there appear to be independent printed documentation that might provide a firm basis for reasonable hypothesis.

³ See C. -P. Joignon, En plein coeur du Barrois, 2 vols ([Bar-le-duc], 1951), I, pp. 57-8; appendix I. Cf. conventionally idealised description (no source given), Bertholet, p. 273: 'C'étoit le Chevalier de son siècle [sic] le plus accompli, qui joignoit à une rare beauté de corps une valeur vraiment héroïque, outre qu'il étoit doué d'une piété exemplaire & d'une prudence consommée'. Cf. contemporary expression of similar sentiments: Bretel, ll. 2686-7, 3432-3.

⁴ Bretel, ll. 2680-5, 3813, 3825.

⁵ Bretel, ll. 1853-938. Cf. use of the cry by both Luxembourg brothers in the tournament: ll. 3825-6.

Bretel's eyes is reflected in the particular detail with which this joust is described and the additional emphasis upon Waléran's entry provided by a highly rhetorical, allegorical preface.¹ To understand the situation it is first necessary briefly to place in context Waléran's tenure of the lordship of Ligny.

Ligny had been brought into the comital family of Bar in 1155 as the dowry of Agnes of Champagne.² It was subsequently transferred in the same way to the Luxembourgs when Marguerite of Bar married Henri II 'Le Blond' of Luxembourg, but with the firm proviso that the fief was to be held only from the counts of Bar.³ In 1262 Marguerite and Henri decided to invest their younger son with the fief and a strange triangular pattern of homage was evolved (by no means unique in Lorraine, however): Waléran was to hold Ligny from the count of Bar, who in his turn held it from the count of Luxembourg.⁴ As an isolated outpost of the Luxembourg domaine, it remained a focus for tension between the two houses which erupted in the guerre de Ligny (1266-68). The details need not concern us here,⁵ but one of the most important pronouncements by St. Louis in his final arbitration of the struggle was that Waléran might choose his own suzerain.⁶ He elected to become the vassal of Thibaut of Navarre, count of Champagne.⁷ Only a few years later, however, Thibaut II of Bar persuaded the ailing Henri III of Champagne (successor of Thibaut of Navarre) to revert to a situation almost identical to that of 1262.⁸ Waléran once again became a Bar vassal but Thibaut II

¹ Bretel, ll. 1818-46, esp. ll. 1829-36.

² Grosdidier de Matons, pp. 62, 183-4; for the tour Valéran at Ligny, see Salch, Atlas des Châteaux forts, p. 529.

³ Joignon, I, pp. 47-8; Grosdidier de Matons, p. 355.

⁴ Grosdidier de Matons, p. 356;

⁵ See Grosdidier de Matons, pp. 355-87; Joignon, I, pp. 51-5.

⁶ Grosdidier de Matons, p. 375.

⁷ Waléran paid homage to Thibaut of Navarre, Jan. 1270: Grosdidier de Matons, p. 378. (For precedents of homage for Ligny to Champagne, see p. 355.)

⁸ Grosdidier de Matons, pp. 394-5.

himself held Ligny as an allod, or non-feudal tenure, from the count of Luxembourg. In September 1274

Valéran...reprend du comte de Bar en foi et hommage comme de son propre alleu, Ligny et toute la châteltenie, sauf la ligéité du comte de Luxembourg, qui est son prince.¹

He would, in other words serve the count of Bar as his vassal insofar as this did not conflict with his over-riding duty to his sovereign prince. Obviously Waléran would not enter a war supporting the count of Bar against Henri of Luxembourg and it is particularly interesting in Le Tournois de Chauvency to observe the over-riding loyalty operating in tournament conditions, paralleling contracts of service of a later date which bracket together knightly service in battle and tournament.²

A similar situation may probably be postulated for Joffroi d'Esch, seigneur of Conflans. Although the Esch family were from the grand-duchy of Luxembourg,³ Joffroi was seigneur of Conflans-en-Jarnisy, situated on the river Ornain south-east of Bar-le-Duc,⁴ and, according to Maurice Delbouille, 'il jouissait une situation très brillante dans la féodalité luxembourgeoise et lorraine'.⁵ In 1227 Henri III of Luxembourg was induced to sell half of Conflans-en-Jarnisy to Thibaut II of Bar and their agreement stated that,

...le sire d'Esch tiendra ses possessions de Conflans pour une moitié du comte de Luxembourg, pour l'autre moitié du comte de Bar qui la tiendra lui-même du comte de Luxembourg.⁶

¹ Grosdidier de Matons, p. 396. (Luxembourg had previously held Ligny as an allod: cf. p. 355)

² See M. Vale, War and chivalry; P.S. Lewis, 'Decayed and non-feudalism in later medieval France', BIHR, xxxvii (1964), p. 184; N. Denholm-Young, 'The tournament in the thirteenth century', Studies in medieval history presented to Frederick Maurice Powicke, ed. R.W. Hunt, W.A. Pantin and R.W. Southern (Oxford, 1948), p. 240 and n. 2 (English example of 1317/18).

³ Esch-sur-Sûre.

⁴ See Table I; Salch, Atlas des châteaux forts, p. 521; Parisse, p. 1005, Table 28.

⁵ Bretel, p. lxxix.

⁶ A. Lesort, Les chartes du Clermontois (Paris, 1904) no. lxxix. See Grosdidier de Matons, p. 397 for the context of the sale.

It is reasonable to assume that any agreement between Joffroi d'Esch and the count of Bar would have incorporated a clause that asserted Luxembourg's supreme call upon the knight's loyalty.¹

However, it is also noteworthy that in the case of Waléran de Luxembourg, family loyalty greatly strengthened the bonds of vassalage. (This was not always the case: malicious resentment seems to have been the mainspring of the actions of Thibaut II's brother, Renaut of Bar, who eventually became the liege man of the count of Champagne.)² It is interesting that the treaty between Luxembourg and Lorraine made in 1266 in response to the Bar attack on Ligny, specifically allowed for the possibility that Waléran might aid the count of Bar, but permitting such aid only from his lands in Ligny, not from others held in fief from Luxembourg directly.³ Soon afterwards Luxembourg and Lorraine were defeated, and in revenge the brothers Henri (the future count) and Waléran ravaged Chiny and barrois lands. It is scarcely surprising that the possibility of assistance to Bar from Ligny does not seem to have been raised again.

Family ties, as well as his origin in the march of Alemaigne,⁴ probably account for the presence of the Limbourgeois Waléran de Faulquemont and Montjoie beside Waléran de Ligny in the tournament.⁵ Luxembourg was in fact a branch of the house of Limbourg in origin -

¹ Cf. Waléran de Ligny's position, above, p. 38.

² See e.g. Grosdidier de Matons, pp. 358-9.

³ Grosdidier de Matons, p. 365.

⁴ Le Bouvier, p. 168 no. 1359.

⁵ Bretel, ll. 3812-3. See Parisse, p. 795 n. 158 (table) for the complexities of his relationship with the houses of Lorraine, Bar and Luxembourg. Ermesinde, widow of Thibaut I, count of Bar and Luxembourg, was Waléran de Faulquemont's maternal grandmother, as well as the second wife of the paternal grandfather (Waléran III, duke of Limbourg) from whose first marriage he was also descended. Cf. the relationship between Louis de Looz and Agnes de Florenville and her mother: A. Mathys and J. de Remont, 'Le château des seigneurs de Florenville', Archaeologia Belgica, cxxxix (Brussels, 1972), pp. 10, 12-13.

hence their cry, 'Lambour!'¹ Both Faulquemont and the Luxembourg brothers were allied with the count of Guelders against the duke of Brabant over the succession to the duchy of Limbourg (1282-88),² and in view of their tournament co-operation recorded here, it is interesting that 'les princes de la maison de Limbourg' [i.e. these three] commanded the second batallion at Worryngem (1288) where Henri III and his brother died.³ A large proportion of the participants were in fact inter-related and the two teams thus to a certain extent also represented family units.⁴

The festivities at Le Hem (1278) described by Sarrasin in our other central text, also had a familial core and were initiated by members of the related families of Longueval and Bazentin, neighbours in Picardy, close to the border with Artois.⁵ Again, as at Chauvency, the events took place in a frontier location.⁶ Unlike Chauvency, however, there was no tournois at Le Hem, where the feste is characterised primarily by its consciously Arthurian mimetic elements. There were two days of jousting between individual knights, each pair running three courses and evidently fighting with blunted lances.⁷ These

¹ Cf. above, p. 36 and n. 5.

² For Faulquemont's role in this war, see Bertholet, pp. 246, 250-2, 262; see p. 256 for Waléran de Ligny's unsuccessful siege of Lonsies (1284).

³ For legendary Luxembourg heroism in the battle, see Bertholet, pp. 272-5. Seeing one of his knights kill Henry of Luxembourg, the duke of Brabant supposedly cried: 'Tu viens de tuer le plus brave Chevalier qu'il y eut dans l'Armée, & qui meritoit de vivre eternellement' (p. 275). For a Brabançon account of these events, see Chronique des ducs de Brabant par Edmond de Dynter, ed. P.F.X. de Ram, II (Brussels, 1854), pp. 715-822, (including supposed breach of agreement by 'Waleran de Valkenbourg le noble de Limbourg' p. 719).

⁴ See Apx. 2.

⁵ For the location at Le Hem, rather than Ham (Somme, a Péronne), see Sarrasin, pp. xlviiii-lii; Apx. 4. For Longueval and Bazentin inter-relationships: Sarrasin, pp. xlix-li, lx-lxiii; Apx. 3. For date: Sarrasin, pp. xliv-xlv.

⁶ Sarrasin, l. 192: 'Il sont de la marce d'Artois'.

⁷ See e.g. Sarrasin, ll. 270-3, 3405, 3450, 3500, 3526 and passim (three lances), 4484 ff. (describing an incident at dusk that implies sharpened weapons were forbidden).

jousts of peace and the absence of a mêlée with sword-fighting were doubtless a means of circumventing the ban on tournaments then operating in the kingdom of France.¹ The appearance in thirteenth-century prohibitions of an increasing number of alternative terms suggests that it was frequently argued that such meetings were not tournaments and therefore unaffected by the proscription.² (This problem of course did not occur at Chauvency, which lay outside the jurisdiction of the kingdom of France.)³ Continuing royal prohibition may also account for the apparent internal discrepancy over the time-scale at Le Hem, where Sarrasin anticipates three days of martial activities but seems to recount only two.⁴ The organisers might well have hoped that the ban might have been lifted by the time appointed, and planned a third and final day devoted to a full-scale tournament, although in the event they had to content themselves with jousts.⁵

Yet, nevertheless, although there was no tournament or division into teams, there was a clear sense of dedens and dehors, not dictated by the regional and other groupings that usually operated but deter-

¹ Cf. specific comment, Sarrasin, ll. 112-88. For French royal policy on tournaments, see Harvey, Moriz von Craün, p. 136. Cf. Beaumanoir's possible tacit support for behourds (and other) activities (in adjudging criminal liability for death only if the deed was committed in anger): Philippe de Beaumanoir, Coutumes de Beauvaisis, ed. A. Salmon, II (Paris, 1900 repr. 1970), pp. 487-8. (For behourds see below, n. 2, pp. 78, 160 n. 3.)

² See e.g. phraseology in Foedera, II (London, 1705), pp. 974 ('torneamenta aliqua, aventureae, justae, seu hujusmodi hastiludia', Cambridge 1305), 975 ('justas, burdeicias, seu aliquod aliud factum armorum', Oxford 1305), 908 ('torneamenta, justas, burdeiceas, seu alia hastiludia', Oxford, 1306); Foedera, I, ii (revised ed., London, 1816), p. 916 ('torneamenta, burdicie, vel juste alique', general prohibition, 1299). Cf. Beaumanoir, II, p. 487: 'behourder, ou...couler, ou...jouer as barres, ou pour autres jeux.'

³ One of the 1288 Beaulieu witnesses specifically referred to this aspect, stating that on the right bank of the Biesme the commandemens of the kingdom of France were not obeyed 'por ce qu'il sont et estoient de l'Empire, si comme des deffenses qui ont estei faites en France des chevaliers qui n'alassent mie as tornois': Havet, 'La frontière d'Empire,' p. 400.

⁴ Cf. Sarrasin, l. 401 ('les trois jours'); p. xi n. 2. However, it must be admitted that the proposals only specify 'Une feste u on joustast' (l. 257).

⁵ It is not difficult to imagine how a tournament - whatever the theoretical nature of the occasion - might develop in these circumstances: see e.g. Sarrasin's account of the final jousts, ll. 4336-41.

mined by the fictitious Arthurian framework that was the foundation of the whole emprise. This is most clearly revealed in the discussion between Longueval, Bazentin and a supposedly allegorical figure, dame de Courtoisie, (in reality Longueval's sister).¹ She appears to be the source of inspiration for the fictitious setting of the course of 'la roïne Genevre' - a part almost certainly played by another of Longueval's sisters² - which was maintained from the outset: a skilful herald was to make a general proclamation far and wide to the effect:

Que la roïne fait savoir
 A tous ciaux qui voelent avoir
 Pris d'armes et joie d'amours
 Que la vieignent tour droit au jour
 Devant la roïne Genievre. (ll. 369-73)³

It was thus announced in a proclamation wholly couched in the terms of romance, of the kind that is a typical prelude to the pas d'armes of the fifteenth century.⁴ Those who are dedens or dedens la feste are in effect members of Guinevere's court:⁵ and access to the court was achieved by jousting:

Ne ja nus jamais d'iaus [ciaus qui i enterront: l. 406] n'i
 enterra
 Devant quejousté a vera; (ll. 407-8)

In practice this meant that none of the visiting knights might ascend

- ¹ Marguerite who married the sire de Cayeux: see Sarrasin p. lxxvii. Cf. ll. 449-51: 'ele lour a en couvent/Qu'ele venra certainement/Avoec la dame de Caieus.'
- ² 'Guinevere' seems to have married Bazentin himself shortly afterwards: see Sarrasin, p. lxxiii: cf. Apx. 3. There is no evidence for the contention that Guinevere 'may be identified with great probability' with Marie de Brabant, queen of France: R.S. Loomis, 'Edward I, Arthurian enthusiast', Speculum, xxviii (1953), p. 121.
- ³ 'Et faites crier de par Dieu/Vo feste' (Sarrasin, ll. 366-7). Cf. countess of Luxembourg's remarks re feste (as opposed to tournoi), above p. 20.
- ⁴ Cf. e.g. allegorical letters of challenge for the 1401 fait d'armes in honour of Blanche, daughter of Henry IV: 'These letters...suggest a fourteenth century [sic] allegorical tradition of which practically all traces have disappeared.' (Anglo, 'Financial and heraldic records', pp. 168-9).
- ⁵ See e.g. Sarrasin, ll. 3876, 3902, 4338, 4532; 4358; 2165.

the scaffold to join 'Guinevere' and her attendants without jousting first. Each knight had to bring with him a 'Dame u pucele' (l. 385): a feature that was doubtless intended to echo the knight errant of romance with his female companion, but which also provided a practical means of integrating the women into activities where their presence was far from strictly essential.

The authenticity of the Arthurian court at Le Hem was to be further promoted by aventures. Seven identically dressed knights were to surrender themselves to Guinevere describing how they had been overcome by Le Varlet au Lyon (ll. 420-8). Not only did this incident feature the popular Arthurian knight Yvain, who would be familiar through Chrétien de Troye's Chevalier au lion, but the motif of Arthurian knights on a quest sending their defeated opponents to Guinevere has countless literary parallels.¹ At the feste Robert, count of Artois took/^{the}part of the chevalier au lion, entering with the queen's damsels whom he had supposedly rescued. Sarrasin in fact breaks off his account of the opening jousting with an involved description of how le chevalier au lion had gone to look for them the previous week.²

However, this naïve lack of narrative integration perhaps reveals more of what actually happened than a more skilfully constructed description might have done. With the exception of the first five hundred anticipatory lines (probably composed before the feste) the impression is of an entirely indiscriminating reporter whose aim is total recall.³ It seems very improbable that the details of the rescue are Sarrasin's

¹ For the pervasive influence of Chrétien on the proceedings and their record: Sarrasin, pp. lii-lv.

² See e.g. Sarrasin, ll. 2671 ff.

³ E.g. ll. 4336-41 where he apologises that the speed of events prevented him from ascertaining individual names: 'Adount fu si li pas pourpris/C'on joustoit a plus sis rens/Et cil dehors et cil dedens/Couroient si espessement/Que je ne savoie comment/Retenir de cascun le non.'; his frequent references to his role as eye-witness; allusion to his notes of the proceedings, 'Jel truis lisant en mon escript' (l. 4216). For possible composition in two distinct stages, see Sarrasin, p. xlv n. 2.

own invention, and far more likely that they were actually expressed at the time. It is possible that his account of the chevalier au lion's departure may repeat directly or reflect an explanatory prologue addressed to the spectators at Le Hem before the appearance of the damsels and their deliverer, which presumably also incorporated a scene played out before them.¹

It is interesting to observe the way in which 'spectators' are brought into the drama and the use of their scaffolds as part of the scene of action. Other records of the period suggest that there was normally a fairly rigid distinction between protagonists and spectators observing passively from their scaffolds above.² Here, however, the action takes place on two levels: Yvain (with his lion and the rescued messengers of the queen) arrives below, just outside the lists,³ and sends 'Mademoisele Sueffre-Paine' with a letter to Guinevere, holding court in the scaffolds above. Despite Kay's obstructive taunts about her appearance, the ugly messenger in yellow and black delivers the letter. The queen summons a chaplain to read it aloud to her⁴ and the messenger then returns to communicate the queen's favourable reaction to Yvain and describe her journey. This has been the prelude to the triumphal entry of Yvain and his party into the lists:

¹ Arthurian literature in the middle ages: a collaborative history, ed. R.S. Loomis (Oxford, 1959), p. 558 and n. 1 for the spectacular entertainment devised by Adam de la Halle whom Robert of Artois patronised.

² A mêlée of course offers no flexibility in the audience-participant relationship.

³ Sarrasin, ll. 2688-9.

⁴ Sarrasin, ll. 2750-1: '[Elle] huce un capelain,/Qui la devise mot a mot.' Unless this should be interpreted as a sign of regal dignity, it provides an interesting comment upon the literacy of women in this milieu, suggesting that their knowledge of Arthurian romance was derived from listening, probably to a clerc lisant, and that it was uncommon for one of themselves to read. (Cf. the relative illiteracy of the Paston women two centuries later: Paston letters, ed. N. Davis (Oxford, 1958), p. xiii.)

Son lyon commande a mouvoir
 Li chevaliers, et ses puceles
 Deus et deus s'en vont, comme celes
 Qui plus bel cantent que seraine;
 Après [sic] le lyon qui les maine
 Vient les puceles a court. (ll. 2786-91)
 Il i a trompes et taburs;
 Es lices entrent parmi l'uis,
 Si ordené que riens n'i faut. (ll. 2792-4)

This simple dramatic framework has nevertheless involved ten distinct characters (including the lion) and in effect provided non-speaking parts for all the other spectators. The episode that follows a little later, centred upon a damoiselle who is beaten by a dwarf at the instigation of her lover for maintaining that Guinevere's knights are the best in the world, operates in a similar way. In addition to roles for spectators, it also offered opportunity for the jousts to volunteer, as Guinevere's knights, to defeat the unchivalrous lover - a task dispatched by Wautier de Hondecourt.¹

The use of scaffolds has of course various theatrical parallels in the provision of different stage levels on mobile pageant wagons, in ceremonial civic entrances and processions, and as part of a fixed stage setting.² Despite the blurring of fixed distinctions between participant and spectator at Le Hem, the aventures were obviously contrived to interrupt the sequence of jousts, just as the scenes of an interlude were designed to punctuate the courses of a banquet. There are some interesting points of correspondence with the scenes which,

¹ See Sarrasin, ll. 3136 ff. For romance parallels to the episode, cf. above p. 43 n. 1 and e.g. Chrétien de Troyes, Le roman de la charette ed. M. Roques (Paris, 1972) ll. 1508 ff.

² See e.g. stage directions concerning the use of scaffolds to represent paradisus in the twelfth-century Jeu d'Adam, ed. W. Noomen (Paris, 1971), p. 1; Wickham, pp. 85-87 (on levels), 159 (sixteenth-century use of the scaffold stage for Ludus Coventriae), frontispiece and 391; R. Southern, The Medieval Theatre in the round, 2nd edn. (London, 1975), pp. 91-142 (esp. diags. 126-7), fig. 21 (end-paper) for exhaustive discussion of the staging of the Castle of Perseverance, which employs a central scaffold and five outer ones on a circular stage. Cf. below pp. 203-5. Wickham Early English stages, pp. 52-8 (civic pageants); B. Guenée and F. Lehoux, Entrées royales françaises de 1328 à 1515 (Paris, 1968), pp. 26-8, 126-35 etc. (see index s.v. Echafaud); J. Heers, Fêtes, jeux et joutes dans les sociétés d'occident à la fin du moyen âge (Montreal/Paris, 1971) pp. 24, 26-31.

according to the Brabançon chronicler, Lodewijk van Velthem, diverted the guests at a wedding-feast in the reign of Edward I. (Loomis's theory that the occasion was Edward's second marriage to Margaret of France in 1299 has generally been accepted, but the subject matter, with its emphasis on the Montfort rebellion, would not seem entirely appropriate for such a late date.)¹ Whatever the occasion, van Velthem's narrative makes it clear that the wider context of the feste specifically included,

Ene tafelronde van ridderen ende cnapen,
 Dat wie so wille, mochter...wapen
 Dragen ende joesteren mede.²

Although van Velthem's inaccuracies are notorious, one may reasonably assume a factual basis for his accounts, however distorted the presentation.³ As at Le Hem, the division between players and audience was broken down; Edward's court became, in effect, Arthur's court anticipating the traditional appearance of a figure who will bring with his entry the aventure for which they are all waiting.⁴ The three interludes provided them with figures and motifs that are clearly grounded in Arthurian romance - among them the buffoonery of Kay and the 'loathly damsel' who, as 'Mademoisele Souffre-Plaine', also

¹ For the political background to this marriage, see Powicke, Thirteenth century pp. 650-3; cf. Loomis, 'Edward I', pp. 118-21. Lodewijk van Velthem, Voortzetting van den Spiegel Historiae (1248-1316), ed. H. van der Linde, W. de Vreese and P. de Keyser, 3 vols. (Acad. royale de Belgique, Brussels, 1906-38), I, Tweede Boek, ll. 1134-2058.

² Velthem, I, Tweede Boek, ll. 1140-2.

³ His method of composition seems to have included considerable reliance upon eye-witness (second-hand?) accounts (see M.T. Chotzen, 'Welsh history in the continuation of the 'Spiegel Historiae' by Lodewijk van Velthem', Bull. BCS, vii (1935), pp. 42-54, esp. 48-49; cf. Froissart's development of this technique in the next century.)

⁴ Cf. e.g. opening of Sir Gawain and the Green Knight, ed. J.R.R. Tolkien and E.V. Gordon, 2nd ed. revd. N. Davis (Oxford, 1967), ll. 1-20.

appeared at Le Hem. There is a strong element of flattery in both scenarios, including the identification of Edward I with Arthur and the count of Artois' role as Yvain in an Arthurian setting where the king himself is tactfully absent.

It had in fact been hoped that Edward I would be present at Le Hem with a group of English knights. Nevertheless, dame de Courtoisie's plans reveal much about contemporary attitudes towards England and, more specifically, to Edward and his knights. They merit quotation at length. At the inception of their plan, dame Courtoisie urged that the occasion should be proclaimed.

...en le Haute Bretaingne,
De coi li Graaus nous ensegne
Que li rois Artus en fu sires (11. 323-5)

A version of the Trojan origin of the English had reached her¹ and also of Merlin's supposed responsibility for Stonehenge:

Encore i a en Salebire
Pieres que Merlins de sen tans
I assist par engiens pendans,
Et autres mervelles pluisours. (11. 326-9)

More significantly, she reflects the efficacy of Edward I's revival of the Arthurian cult and the extent of its influence in her association of the heroes of Camelot with contemporary English knights:

La [en Angleterre] trueve on les bons joustours,
Les durs, les roides et les fors.
Lancelos... (11. 330-2)
Et Gavains...
Et cil de la Table Rëonde,
Qui furent li millor du monde, (11. 332, 334-6)
La sont chevalier de valour,
La sont mout de bon joustour,
La sont li chevalier hardi. (11. 341-3)

Over and above these individual knights of such prowess is

Cix qui en est sires et rois
...preus et largues et courtois,
...le...roi Edouwart (11. 347-9)

¹ Sarrasin, ll. 338-40: 'Li Troien que le conquisent/Qui Engleterre a non li misent'. The notion of a Trojan conquest of Britain, as opposed to foundation by Brutus, of Trojan descent, is unusual: cf. below p. 55 n. 3.

Such an attitude contrasts markedly (though never directly) with earlier lengthy criticisms of the tournament ban imposed by Philippe le Hardi. One is again forced to question the traditional view of the development of the tournament, which moves from Ralph of Dis's conflictus gallicus (c. 1200)¹ to fifteenth-century descriptions of elaborate pas d'armes in France and advances a simplistic conclusion of French pre-eminence in this field throughout the intervening period.² There is no doubt of English prestige and superiority in dame Courtoisie's mind, as she makes her plans for the Arthurian feste and feats of arms.

The reason for this emphasis on English prowess can be found largely in the differing attitudes of individual rulers to the tournament and chivalric feats of arms. Whereas France had had a series of kings who had not especially sought to promote such activities, in England Edward I - perhaps deliberately following the example of Richard I, who had subsequently attained almost legendary repute for his feats of arms³ - had actively encouraged them. Not only was his father's policy of general prohibitions reversed,⁴ but the Lord Edward's

¹ The term is adopted by Matthew Paris, Historia Anglorum ed. Sir Frederick Madden, I (RS, 1866), p. 409. Cf. generally admitted superiority of French knights in the late twelfth century: Denholm-Young, 'Thirteenth century tournament', pp. 241 n. 2, 244-5, 244 n. 5.

² E.g. R.L. Kilgour, The decline of chivalry as shown in the French literature of the late Middle Ages (Cambridge, Ma., 1937), p. 3: 'Chivalry, like all aristocracies, passed through three stages of development: the age of superiority, the age of privilege and the age of vanity'; similarly opassim; cf. also assumptions behind Cripps-Day, History of the tournament, e.g. pp. 91-5.

³ See e.g. R.S. Loomis, 'The Pas Saladin in art and heraldry', Studies in art and literature for Belle da Costa Greene, ed. D. Miner (Princeton, N.J., 1954), pp. 83-92. Cf. ref. to 'stremum Richardum quondam Regis Anglie' in legend of the appearance of the Virgin Mary to Edward I associated with All Hallows, Barking: F.M. Powicke, 'Edward I in fact and fiction', Fritz Saxl: a volume of memorial essays from his friends in England, ed. D.J. Gordon (London, 1957), p. 124. The A.N. prose chronicle Crusade and death of Richard I probably dates from the second half of the thirteenth-century (the termini are 1240-post 1320): M.D. Legge, Anglo-Norman literature and its background, corrected ed. (Oxford, 1971), p. 305; for the late thirteenth-century romance Richard Coeur de Lion, see D. Pearsall, Old and Middle English poetry, (London, 1977), pp. 115-6, 295.

⁴ Denholm-Young, 'Thirteenth-century tournament', pp. 249-52.

personal enthusiasm in the fifteen or so years before his accession had doubtless contributed to the persistent success of a supposedly illicit activity.¹ Dame Courtoisie's expectations of Edward I's attendance were certainly not unrealistic: indeed, if the feste had been differently timed, and coincided with the signing of the treaty of Amiens the following year, it is possible that his attendance might have been recorded.² It is interesting that the very years spanned by Le Hem and Chauvency are those for which Edward's Arthurian-based activities are best documented and the evidence most concentrated. The pages that follow will attempt to establish why the English king should have been considered such a sought-after guest at the court of queen Guinevere and provide some general impression of his role in the evolution of chivalric activity in England.

Discussion of Edward's activities in this field must be prefaced by a brief consideration of the nature of the evidence. As Mr. Denholm-Young has observed, it is possible that the last three decades of the thirteenth century were 'the golden age of the English tournament'.³ Moreover, precisely because Edward I tolerated tournaments and at the same time seems to have insisted upon greater safeguards in their operation, the great majority of chivalric occasions would no doubt have been left unrecorded.⁴ What has been recorded, then, is very much the exceptional and spectacular.

¹ Denholm-Young, 'Thirteenth-century tournament', p. 263.

² Powicke, Thirteenth century, p. 235.

³ Denholm-Young, 'Thirteenth-century tournament', p. 264.

⁴ For the statuta armorum, see Denholm-Young, 'Thirteenth-century tournament', pp. 257-63.

Occasional chronicle references allude to episodes in the Lord Edward's tournament career: Matthew Paris, for instance, describes his bloody début at Blyth in 1256,¹ and the Dunstable annalist one of his less successful excursions abroad.² However, the details of most of the occasions which formed the prince's reputation in Europe are lost to us. Its extent is now also perhaps only dimly reflected: seen in the invitation to tourney at Châlons (1273),³ the requests of foreigners for knighthood at his hands,⁴ a troubadour's description of him as 'la meilh[e]r lansa/De tot lo mon'⁵ and numerous references

¹ M. Paris, Chronica majora, ed. H. R. Luard, V (RS, 1880), p. 557.

² Annales Monastici, ed. H.R. Luard, III (RS, 1866), p. 216. (Cf. refs. to other occasions cit. Denholm-Young, 'Thirteenth-century tournament', p. 269 n. 2).

³ Where a notoriously violent and underhand conflict developed, earning the epithet 'parvum bellum de Châlons': see e.g. Walter of Guisborough, Chronicle, ed. H. Rothwell (Camden 3rd ser. lxxxix, London, 1957), p. 212: 'In hastiludo isto multus sanguis effusus est;...ita quod non iam tornementum sed parvum bellum de Chalons communiter diceretur'; allusion in John of Howden's Le Rossignol (see below, pp. 62-4), l. 4301, printed in L. Stone, 'Jean de Howden, poète anglo-normand du xiii^e siècle', Romania, lxxix (1946-7), pp. 501-15.

⁴ See e.g. P.R.O. S.C. I/18/199-200: James Amoretus de Lancavega, captain of the men of Bologna requests Edward I to knight him (1278). [I owe this ref. to M.G.A. Vale.] Cf. Foedera, II (1705), p. 1062: 'Cupio autem honorem promissae Militiae de vestrae Serenitatis accipere manibus; et paratus sum propter hoc ad beneficentiam Regiam me conferre' (18 May 1275), cit. S.C. I/18/200. See also A.J. Taylor, 'Count Amadeus of Savoy's visit to England in 1292', Archaeologia, cvi (1979), pp. 125, 129 (knighting of four Savoyard knights at Darlington); Documents illustrating the crisis of 1297-98 in England, ed. M. Prestwich (Camden 4th ser. xxiv, London, 1980), pp. 167-8 (proposed knighting of the Duke of Brabant). Obviously there is an element of political flattery in such requests, but that does not diminish the significance of the form it took.

⁵ Cardinal, cit. C. Fabre, 'Un sirventés de Cardinal, encore inédit en partie (1271-1272)', A miscellany of studies in romance languages and literatures presented to Leon E. Kastner, ed. M. Williams and J.A. de Rothschild (Cambridge, 1932), p. 218.

to his crusading exploits.¹ Two years after his accession Pope

Gregory X wrote to Edward that,

a torneamentorum exercitiis, a jure prohibitis, omnes debeat
abstinere...Reges tamen et terrarum principes, qui transmittere
debent in subditos exempla virtutum, hujusmodi noxiis exercitiis
non convenit inmiscere.²

specifically forbidding his participation. It may well be that Edward's piety did not allow him to participate further in tournaments proper, with unblunted weapons. Such a possibility would explain the whale-bone swords of the tournament in Windsor Great Park of 1279, for instance, though the king's active participation in this event is by no certain.³ What is certain, however, is that the king's patronage and

¹ For Edward I on crusade, see F.M. Powicke, Henry III and the Lord Edward: the community of the realm in the thirteenth century, (Oxford, 1947), pp. 599-606 (esp. pp. 603-6 for the legend surrounding his crusade). See also Cardinal's sirventés of 1271-2 (above, p. 50 n.5), where the envoi begs Philip of France to aid Edward in the Holy Land; another troubador, Austorc de Segret, despairing of Philip le Hardi, Charles of Anjou and fearing the pagan advance in the East, urges Edward to action (C. Fabre, 'Sirventés d'Austorc de Segret', Ann. du M., xxii (1910), pp. 469-72); 'Jerusalem tu as perdu/La flour de ta chivalerie': Anglo-Norman political songs, ed. I.S.T. Aspin (ANTS xi, Oxford, 1953), p. 84, 'Elegy for Edward I', ll. 27-8. (This text is from CUL MS. Gg. I. i; ME versions of the poem are found in BL Harley MS. 2253 and CUL Add. MS. 4407, printed in The political songs of England from the reign of John to that of Edward II, ed. and trans. T. Wright (Camden soc., London, 1839), pp. 245-50: for the relationship between the two versions see A.N. political songs, pp. 80-2.) John of Howden (Rossignol, ll. 4013-24) describes the survival of Edward I's ships alone of the crusading fleet in a great storm at Trapani (Nov. 1270), an event generally interpreted as divine approval for Edward's refusal to renounce the crusade (see. e.g. Walter of Guisborough, p. 207); cf. Edward's refusal to leave 200 men on the shore at Tunis (Political songs, pp. 131-2; Walter of Guisborough, p. 206). For the 14th-c. circulation of such stories see below, p. 252.

² Foedera, II (1705), p. 29. (Tournaments are condemned as dangerous to body and soul, as a squandering 'ad mundi pompam' of resources 'quae in pios usus et necessarios salubriter expendi deberent'.)

³ S. Lysons, 'Copy of a roll of purchases made for the tournament of Windsor Park, in the sixth year of King Edward the first, preserved in the Record Office at the Tower', Archaeologia, xvii (1814), pp. 297-310 prints the accounts for items supplied for this occasion. The issue is complicated by the increasingly loose use of the term torn-eare: it seems almost certain that it might be used to describe occasions where blunted weapons were used.

encouragement of such occasions did not cease upon receipt of the Pope's letter.¹

1278, the year of the Windsor 'tournament', also saw the re-opening at Glastonbury abbey of the supposed tomb of Arthur and Guinevere and the transfer of their bones to the high altar, in the presence of Edward I and Eleanor. The account of Adam of Domerham, a Glastonbury monk, records how the court and royal households celebrated Easter at Glastonbury, opening the chests (cisti) of Arthur and 'Gwunnarae Reginae' the following Tuesday.² The bones were re-buried with ceremony in front of the high altar the next day,³ together with a written identification of the bones and details of the reburial. This document, included in Adam's account, listed the major figures present: the king and queen, the bishop of Norwich (William de Middleton), Thomas Bek (treasurer), the earl of Lincoln, count of Savoy and 'multis aliis magnatibus Angliae'.⁴ Clearly, Edward had

¹ For the prohibitions of the last years of the reign, see Denholm-Young, 'Thirteenth-century tournament', pp. 267-8.

² Adam of Domerham, Historia de rebus gestis Glastoniensibus, ed. T. Hearne (Oxford, 1727), I, pp. 587-9; A. Gransden, Historical writing in England c. 550 - c. 1307 (London, 1974), pp. 520-1 for Adam's chronicle as a continuation of William of Malmesbury's De antiquitate Glastoniensis ecclesiae; cf. also John of Glastonbury, Cronica, ed. J.P. Carley (BAR 47, Oxford, 1978), p. xxix. William's text survives only in a form believed to be much interpolated (see e.g. C.A.R. Radford, 'Glastonbury Abbey', The quest for Arthur's Britain, ed. G. Ashe (London, 1968), p. 120; J.A. Robinson, Two Glastonbury legends: King Arthur and St. Joseph of Arimathea (Cambridge, 1926), pp. 4-6, 18-9.) However, Carley questions this view; John of Glastonbury, pp. xvii-xix and refs. cit. there. For the earlier exhumation and supposed discovery by the monks, see Giraldus Cambrensis, Opera, IV, pp. 47-51 ('Speculum ecclesie'), VIII, pp. 126-9 ('De principis instructione liber').

³ This tomb has been revealed by excavation: Radford, p. 126, Ill. 100. See also L. Alcock, Arthur's Britain: History and archaeology A.D. 367-634 (London, 1971), pp. 73-80 for an interpretation supporting the authenticity of the original 'discovery': and also A. Gransden, 'The growth of the Glastonbury traditions and legends in the twelfth century', J. Eccles. Hist., p. 27 (1976), pp. 337-58 for a vigorous exposition of the traditional interpretation in terms of a bogus exhumation, esp. n. 5 (response to Alcock's theory). Crucial to the argument is the imponderable relationship between oral and written tradition.

⁴ Adam of Domerham, I, p. 589. G. Ashe, King Arthur's Avalon (London, 1957), p. 295 notes how details in Adam's account of the opening (such as the wounds in Arthur's skull) appear in Giraldus' narrative: this might indicate the real nature of the bones, or a deliberate copying of details from Giraldus, or a similar account current among the monks.

determined that the ceremony should be as solemn as possible, witnessed by the full court and their foreign guests. Clearly, too, he was not averse to encouraging the cults associated with Glastonbury (through Joseph of Arimathea, as well as Arthur);¹ nor was he reluctant to associate himself with the figure of Arthur, whilst clearly refuting the legendary survival of the British king.² In this he was successful: over fifty years later John, another monk of Glastonbury, not only repeats Adam of Domerham's account of the opening of the tombs, but weaves references to Arthurian prose romances and their subject matter into his account of the legend of Joseph of Arimathea.³ It is not far-fetched to suppose that this solemn ceremony was followed by a hastilude of some kind for the court and assembled magnates of the realm. As we shall see, such a pattern of ecclesiastical ceremony followed by chivalric activity was common at the principal feasts in the next century and would be a logical development of the context.⁴

¹ For the development of Arthurian legend at Glastonbury see Robinson, Glastonbury Legends, pp. 1-27; John of Glastonbury, pp. xlv-xlvi. Adam of Domerham, I, p. 589 describes how skulls and knee-bones (genicis) were not reburied 'propter populi devocionem'. For Joseph of Arimathea, also supposedly buried at Glastonbury, see John of Glastonbury, pp. 57-69.

² William of Malmesbury, De gestis regum anglorum ed. W. Stubbs (R.S. 1887-9), p. 342, 'Sed Arthuris sepulchrum nusquam visitur' is often cited as evidence of scepticism concerning the Glastonbury tomb, but the testimony has a greater bearing upon the potency of the legend of Arthur's survival, especially as it is made in the context of the discovery of Gawain's tomb: 'in provincia Walarum quae Ros vocatur, inventum est sepulchrum Walwen'. Cf. Chron. of Tysilio (c. 1000): 'Here is the grave of March.../Here is the grave of Gwythyr.../Here is the grave of Gwygawn Gleddfrudd/But unknown is the grave of Arthur' cit. W.A. Jones, 'On the reputed discovery of King Arthur's remains at Glastonbury', Proceedings of the Somerset archaeol. and nat. hist. soc., ix (1859), p. 130.

³ See esp. John of Glastonbury, p. 66 (refs. to episodes which he identifies in the Vulgate Lancelot and both the Estoire and Queste del Saint Graal: p. 352). (John was previously thought to have fl. c. 1400, but Carley makes an excellent case for a 1340 date: John of Glastonbury, pp. xx-xxii.) See also V.M. Lagorio, 'Joseph of Arimathea: the Vita of a Grail saint', Z. f. r. P., xci (1975), pp. 54-68, esp. pp. 61-2; and (for development of the legend in England) 'The Joseph of Arimathea: English hagiography in transition', Medievalia et humanistica, n.s. vi (1975), pp. 91-101. For later developments of the Glastonbury legends, see Robinson, Glastonbury legends, pp. 39-50.

⁴ Cf. below, chapter 4, passim; Appendix 20.

The possibility that such activity might have been Arthurian-based also remains no more than a reasonable speculation.

This spectacular event was the first in a series in which it is possible to observe Edward both entering into contemporary enthusiasm for Arthurian Britain, and at the same time manipulating this interest and binding it to the fabric of local legend. This is most clearly reflected in the events immediately following the success of Edward's second expedition to Wales in 1283. The Welsh defeat was symbolised by Edward's solemn reception of the 'croes neyd', revered as a relic of the true cross and a familiar part of English royal devotion throughout the next century.¹ At the same time the Welsh handed over, with other jewels, a secular counterpart, the crown of Arthur, whose symbolic value seems to have had considerable impact upon contemporary opinion:

...corona famosi regis Arthuri, qui apud Wallenses a longo tempore in maximo honore habebatur...sic Wallensium gloria ad Anglos, licet invite, est translata.²

The number of chroniclers who recount these symbolic acts is striking and it is surely also significant that Edward ensured that their fame was more than local when he arranged that his eldest son, Alfonso, should present the Welsh jewels at the Westminster shrine of Edward

¹ 'Portio Dominicae crucis magna et pretiosa': Annales monastici, II (1865), p. 401 (Waverley); W. Rishanger, Chronica et annales, ed H.T. Riley (RS, 1865), p. 104 (with an attempt to provide an etymological explanation); Flores historiarum, ed. H. R. Luard (RS, 1890), III, p. 59. See also A. Taylor, 'Royal alms and oblations in the later 13th century. An analysis of the Alms Roll of 12 Edward I (1283-4)', Tribute to an antiquary: essays presented to Mark Fitch by some of his friends, ed. F.G. Emmison and R. Stephens (London, 1976), p. 119 and n. 49; cf. below, p. 151.

² Ann. Mon., II, p. 401; Rishanger, p. 107; cf. Gotton MS. Vespasian E. IV text of Worcester Annals, which has close verbal similarities: Annales monastici, IV (1869), p. 489. (This MS. is apparently based on a lost Winchester chronicle: see Gransden, Historical writing, p. 319 n. 7; Ann. Mon., II, p. xix.) See also G. Hartwell-Jones, 'Les romans d'Arthur', Revue celtique, xii (1891), p. 281 citing unspecified Welsh Hengwrt MS.: 'Et sa [Arthur's] couronne et ses armes sont les reliques précieuses du royaume.'

the Confessor.¹ Interestingly, the author of the Flores Historiarum (and the texts that drew upon this source) did not appear to identify Arthur's crown, presented by the Welsh on their defeat, (sub anno 1283) with the relics presented by Alfonso (sub anno 1284), where the same article (one presumes) is described as 'quandam aureolam, quae fuerat quondam principis Walliae Leolini'.² In justifying his claims to Scotland, too, Edward I made use of evidence from the reign of Arthur preserved in the Historia Regum Britonum and in the Prophecies of Merlin.³

Inevitably, Edward's expeditions brought contact with the Arthurian tradition in Wales and other local legends. This probably received its most colourful (and fanciful) expression in van Velthem's account, where the conquest of Wales is represented as the king's destruction of the wout sonder gnade ('merciless forest'), full of marvels familiar from romance: a shield suspended from a tree, a stag that led its pursuers to a magic fountain with changing colours, discoveries of rusted pieces of ancient armour that perhaps belonged to giants, and

¹ Alfonso's presentation was recorded by e.g. the Waverley annalist (Ann. Mon., II, p. 401); 'Annales Londoniensis', Chronicles of the reigns of Edward I and Edward II, ed. W. Stubbs (RS, 1882-3), I, p. 92; BL Cotton MS. Vespasian E. IV (Ann. Mon., IV, p. 490); Flores hist., III, p. 61. The Waverley annalist also reports the presentation of the true cross by the king and the archbishop of Canterbury, which suggests that there may have been two ceremonies at London, one at which Edward presented the 'croes neyth' to the Confessor's shrine, the other where Alfonso offered the crown. This must have been one of Alfonso's last public acts, as he died on 19 Aug.: see Ann. Mon., IV, pp. 296, 298 (Osney Annals and Wykes's chronicle); IV, p. 489 (Worcester Annals). A gold cover was also made for the relic at about this date: A.J. Taylor, 'Edward I and the shrine of St. Thomas of Canterbury', J. Brit. Arch. Assoc., cxxxii (1979), p. 26 n. 18.

² Flores hist., III, pp. 59, 61. Cf. Chronicles of Edward I and II, I, p. 92. Cotton MS. Vespasian E. IV also seems not to link 'corona quondam famosi regis Britonum Arturi regi Angliae' presented to Edward, with 'quandam aureolam, quae fuerat quondam principis Walliae Leolini', offered at the Confessor's shrine by his son (Ann. Mon., IV, pp. 489, 490).

³ Foedera, II (1705), p. 864 (letter from Edward I to the Pope, 1301). See Gransden, Historical writing, pp. 443, 477-8; M. T. Clanchy, From memory to written record: England 1066-1307 (London, 1979), pp. 123-4. Edward I also alluded to British descent from the Trojan Brutus: Foedera, II (1705), p. 863.

a cave, into which the king himself descends, containing huge bones, reputedly those of Arthur himself.¹ Throughout most of the sequence of events, the king is the chief human protagonist, and is shown in close relation to the marvels of a former heroic age, whether in action or reflection, as in his monologue upon the armour:

... "Es dit een droem,
Datic heden heb bevonden?
Wie horde noyt secgen tot desen stonden
Dat des gelijcs yet gesciede?
Al waerd gesciede Arturs maysniede,
Oft Arture selve, oft Waleweine,
Nochtan en waer dwonder niet cleine,
Dat hier ons nu es gesciet." (Derde Boek, ll. 2075-82)

Through these supposed aventures, which portray Edward as a knight to whom the long-forgotten wonders of the past reveal themselves, van Velthem directly links the king with former heroes and presents him in an almost supra-human aura.²

A similar fusion is reflected in the discovery of the supposed body of Magnus Maximus during the building of Caernarvon castle, which was then reburied in the church at the king's command.³ Magnus Maximus, legendary father of the Emperor Constantine and the Macsen Wledig of the Mabinogion, united two potent sources of inspiration, the ruins

¹ Velthem, II, Derde Boek, ll. 1403-2251 passim; Chotzen, 'Welsh history', pp. 45-6. Chotzen also suggests sources and models, viz. Welsh legend (for the fountain episode, p. 51 n. 1), Alexander romances (p. 50); cf. also G. Huet, 'Les traditions arthuriens chez le chroniqueur Louis de Velthem', M. Age, xxvi (1913), pp. 177-95, passim. The cave also reflects the 'cave des Bruns': cf. R. Lathuillère, Guiron le Courtois; Etude de la tradition manuscrite et analyse critique (Geneva, 1966), pp. 110 (descent of Brehus), 284 (descent of Guiron).

² Cf. below, pp. 64, 251.

³ A history of the King's works, ed. H.M. Colvin et al. (HMSO, London, 1963), p. 370 and n. 2 cit. Flores hist., III, p. 59.

of Roman Segontium and Welsh folk tradition.¹ The authors of The King's Works have already demonstrated the way in which Caernarvon drew brilliantly upon indigenous legend and expectation.² Macsen Wledig had dreamt of coming to a great city by a river mouth, backed by mountains and opposite an island - features paralleled exactly in the site of Caernarvon - and finding many-coloured towers and two gold eagles above a throne there.³

To all this the castle which Edward now began to build ...was plainly intended to give substance, to be both the fulfilment₄ of the tradition and the interpretation of the dream.

The frame of reference was a complex one: the eagles that surmounted one of the castle's towers might recall the dream; they also summoned visions of Roman imperial power, just as the polychrome stripes on the walls may have alluded to the architecture of the eastern empire as well as Wledig's 'many-coloured towers'.⁵ This span of allusion should remind us of a corresponding breadth of reference in the minds of at least some of those who looked at the building and of those - above all the king - who had a hand in devising it.

Edward's association with the Arthurian legend in Wales seems,

¹ King's works, pp. 370-1. The Mabinogion, ed. G. and T. Jones (London/New York, 1949 repr. 1973), pp. 79-88. For Roman Segontium, see Caernarvonshire. II. Central (Roy. comm. hist. mon. Wales and Monmouthshire, London, 1960), pp. 158-63; for medieval legends concerning Segontium, see Nennius, Historia Britonum, trans. J.A. Giles, 'Nennius's History of the Britons', Six Old English chronicles (London, 1848), p. 394; see also 'The Ruin', Three Old English elegies, ed. R.F. Leslie (Manchester, 1961), ll. 22-8, 51-2 for an earlier literary response to Roman ruins.

² King's works, pp. 369-71.

³ Mabinogion, pp. 79-81.

⁴ King's works, p. 370.

⁵ King's works, pp. 370-1; Caernarvon castle (HMSO, London, 1969), pp. 18-9, pls. 16, 19, 20 (Eagle Tower), pl. 11 (striped effect).

fittingly, to have culminated in the round table which he held in the summer of 1284 at Nevin, not far from Caernarvon.¹ This was not the first round table with which Edward was associated, but probably the most renowned.² In the context of recent events - the final subjugation of Wales, the building of Caernarvon castle, the discovery of Magnus Maximus and, above all, Edward's possession of Arthur's crown - the association of Edward I and Arthur (and the implicit notion of Edward as Arthur's successor) must have been particularly intense.³ The festivities, however, had a dual purpose, celebrating the birth of prince Edward at Caernarvon castle earlier that summer as a new prince for the people of Wales, as well as the success of the earlier English campaign.⁴ The king undoubtedly hoped that it would assist the reconciliation of the Welsh to his rule, as well as reward his own knights. Contemporary accounts are agreed on the large number of knights and nobles from England and abroad who attended the celebration,⁵ and suggest that the overall form of Edward's tabula rotunda was not dissimilar to that at Le Hem, encompassing

¹ Ann. Mon. II, p. 402 (Waverley); III, p. 313 (Dunstable); IV, p. 491 (Vespasian E. IV s.a. 1285); Rishanger, p. 110; Flores Hist. III, 62. Denholm-Young, 'Thirteenth-century tournament', p. 263 located Nefyn 'on the Carnarvonshire coast'.

² E.g. Roger Mortimer's Kenilworth Round Table (1279): Denholm-Young, 'Thirteenth-century tournament', p. 264 cit. (n. 5) Ann. Mon. III, p. 281 (Dunstable and Wykes); IV, p. 477 (Worcester, ref. as 'Warwick').

³ Fordun's chronicle explicitly links victory and celebration: 'Ideoque in signum magnae laetitiae, etiam ob victoriam a Wallensibus praeoptatam et optentam, rotundam tabulam in Wallia tenuit infra Snawdonne' (Johannis de Fordun, Chronica gentis scotorum, I (Edinburgh, 1871), p. 508). Cf. Edward's probable responsibility for the new shrine at St. David's at this time: Taylor, 'Shrine of St. Thomas', p. 25 and n. 15.

⁴ For the birth of the future Edward II see, (inter alia): Ann. Mon. IV, p. 489 (Worcester); II p. 401 (Waverley); III, p. 313 (Dunstable); Flores Hist. III, p. 61.

⁵ 'Comites, barones, milites de regno Angliae, ac etiam multi proceres transmarini' (Ann. Mon. II, p. 402); 'de Anglis et alienigenis innumera multitudo' (Ann. Mon. III, p. 313); 'militia Anglicana, et multitudo nobiles transmarini' (Rishanger, p. 110).

jousting, singing, and dancing.¹ They also reflect something of the impact of the remote and dramatic setting, "...infra Walliam in ultimis finibus de Snowedune, supra mare".² It seems particularly unlikely in this context that Edward would have refrained from grasping such an opportunity to link himself with Arthur, and it is not unreasonable to suggest that this occasion might have been given a specifically Arthurian structure (perhaps focusing upon the crown of Arthur?), in the manner of the feste at Le Hem. It is perhaps by the presence of precisely such an Arthurian structure that a table ronde - as opposed to any other kind of feste or tournoi - should be defined.³ Indeed, one might venture further into the realms of pure conjecture and suggest that van Velthem's fantastical account of Edward's conquest of Wales reflects just such a scenario.⁴

Edward I's 'Arthurian enthusiasms' and their literary manifestations have long been familiar and this is not the place for detailed discussion of the patronage of the king and his family.⁵ Nevertheless, some of those interests shed light upon his chivalric activities and will therefore be considered briefly here in that limited context. Edward I's claim for the attention of literary and cultural historians would probably be entertained very much less seriously were it not for

¹ See e.g. Rishanger, p. 110: 'in choreis et hastiludiis Rotundam Tabulam celebrarunt.' The Worcester annals record the collapse of a solarium floor during dancing (Ann. Mon. IV, p. 489). (This may have been one of a number of stands erected at Nefyn for the occasion, or a temporary arrangement at Caernarvon - described by the annalists as the location of the feste - where at least some of the participants must have lodged and to which they may have returned for further celebrations after a day's jousting at Nefyn. (Cf. the arrangement at Chauvency and Montmédy, above p. 23.) Cf. similar accident temp. Edw. III: below, p. 173; appendix 20, no. 15.

It is impossible to tell whether there was a tournament proper, although the term is used by the Worcester annalist and in administrative records (see Denholm-Young 'Thirteenth-century tournament', p. 265 n. 5 cit. E IOI/351/15 (King's almoner's roll for 1284).

² Ann. Mon. III, p. 313.

³ Pace Denholm-Young, 'Thirteenth-century tournament', pp. 253-5.

⁴ Cf. above, pp. 55-6.

⁵ Notably through Loomis, 'Edward I', pp. 114-27. For the possibility that a history was written for Edward see Gransden, Historical writing, p. 459 n. 160.

the unexpected testimony of the Italian Rustichello da Pisa.¹

Rustichello happened to state very specifically the source for his Meliadus:²

...sachiez tout vraiment que cist livres fut translatez du livre monseigneur Edouart, le roi d'Engleterre, en cellui temps que il passa oultre la mer ou service nostre seigneur Dame Dieu pour conquerer le saint sepulcre, et maistre Rusticiens de Pise...en translata toutes les merueilleuses nouvelles et aventures qu'il trouva en cellui livre...le maistre les trouva escrips ou livre d'Engleterre.³

The reference to Edward's crusade probably indicates a date of compilation in the winter 1270-71, which Edward was forced to spend in Sicily.⁴

Interestingly, Rustichello's epilogue presents a slightly different version of the volume's composition and initiation:

...pour ce que cest livre n'est mie proprement d'une seule personne fait, ne il n'est tout de Lancelot du lac, ne il n'est tout de Tristan ne tout du roy Meliadus, ains est de pluseurs hystoires et de pluseurs croniques dont je les ay estraites et compilees a la requeste du roy Edouart d'Engleterre, sicomme il est contenue au commencement de mon livre.⁵

¹ Traditionally (but mistakenly) known as Rusticiano: see E.G. Gardner, The Arthurian legend in Italian literature (London/New York, 1930), p. 47 n. 1; G. del Guerra, Rustichello da Pisa (Pisa, [1955?]), pp. 16-19.

² This is the title he gave his work in the epilogue: see E. Løseth, Le roman en prose de Tristan. Le roman de Palamède et la compilation de Rusticien de Pise. Analyse critique. (Paris, 1890), p. 472. The romance concentrates upon the generation of Arthur's father, Uther Pendragon and Meliadus, king of Leonnois and father of Tristan plays a prominent part: for a summary of the action, see Gardner, pp. 47-61; Løseth, pp. 422-72 passim.

³ Løseth, pp. 423-4.

⁴ Gardner, pp. 46-7; R. Röhricht, 'La croisade du prince Edouard d'Angleterre 1270-1274', Archives de l'orient latin, i (1881), pp. 617-32; Loomis, 'Edward I', p. 115 thought it was probably not until the spring of 1273 that there was likely to have been any contact between Edward, now king on the death of his father, and 'Rusticiano', but does not amplify the statement. The French translation of Vegetius presented to Edward appears to date from 1271-2: L. Thorpe, 'Maistre Richard. A thirteenth-century translator of the 'De Re Militari' of Vegetius', Scriptorium, vi (1952), p. 40. This (the earliest extant translation into French) also indicates something of Edward's interest in literary fields. Cf. below p. 62 n. 4.

⁵ Løseth, p. 472.

The text of both passages is from an early fourteenth-century manuscript, BN MS. fr. 340.¹ The use of the first person in the epilogue might suggest that the prologue was a later addition, but the reference to the latter and the circumstantial detail evident there perhaps argue against it. Without detailed study of Rustichello's text and the manuscripts of related prose compilations, it is impossible to be certain which statement represents an earlier textual tradition.² Both agree at least in representing Edward as a literary patron with a lively interest in the matière de Bretagne. The epilogue in particular leaves many unanswered questions: whose hystoires and croniques were they? Who was responsible for the selection?³ Nevertheless, despite this tantalising lack of precise documentation, it is reasonable to suppose that Rustichello's work, or its source (depending on which account one follows), was not Edward's only manuscript of this genre. Moreover, possession of a volume of the more recent and complex developments in Arthurian romance seems to presuppose - as, of course, does an invitation to Le Hem - familiarity with earlier treatments, such as those of Chrétien de Troyes.⁴ The dedication of Escanor to Eleanor

¹ For BN MS. fr. 340 see C.E. Pickford, L'évolution du roman arthurien en prose (Paris, 1960), pp. 284-5 (owned by Prigent de Coëtivy, amiral de France).

² See Löseth, p. 473 for a brief resumé of some MS. evidence. For plentiful evidence of the popularity of the Arthurian legend in Italy, see Gardner, pp. 2-15. Already in 1238 there is a reference to an association of young knights in Pisa called the 'Tabula Ritonda': Flos duellatorum, Il fior di battaglia di maestro fiore dei liberi da premariacco ed. F. Novati (Bergamo, 1902), p. 88. Cf. 'Cedrus' of Buoncompagno of Florence: 'Fiunt etiam in multis partibus Ytalie quedam iuuenum societates quarum aliqua falconum, aliqua leonum, aliique tabula rotunda societas nominatur. et sic diuersi nomina diuersa societatibus super imponunt. et licet ista consuetudo sit per universas partes Ytalie, multo fortius in Tuscia uiget, quia uix reperirentur in aliqua civitate iuuenes qui non sunt adstricti alicui societate uinculo iuramenti': Briefsteller und formelbücher des elften [sic] bis vierzehnten Jahrhunderts ed. L. Rockinger (Quellen zur Bayerischen und Deutschen Geschichte, IX, i, Munich, 1863), p. 122. (This passage is dated post-1213 on internal grounds: Rockinger, p. 118).

³ The issues are especially important as Rustichello is a unique source for some episodes: see F. Bogdanow, The romance of the Grail (Manchester/New York, 1966), pp. 141-261.

⁴ Cf. above, p. 41.

of Castile, probably about a decade later, reflects the same taste.¹

The extent to which Edward I's court was familiar with Arthurian and other romances is indicated in an unexpected source, Le Rossignos, a French adaptation of a Latin devotional work by 'Iohan de Houedene'.² Louise Stone has made a good case for the identification of John of Howden, a clerk of Edward's mother, with John of London, also a royal clerk and keeper of the wardrobe.³ The envoi (ll. 5269-72) is addressed to Eleanor of Provence.⁴ The sole extant manuscript, Corpus Christi College, Cambridge MS. 471 (a small octavo manuscript, containing only a careful copy of the poem of the second half of the fourteenth century),

¹ Der Roman von Escanor von Gerard von Amiens ed. H. Michelant (Tübingen, 1886), ll. 22-29; J.D. Bruce, The evolution of Arthurian romance, 2nd ed. (Gloucester, Ma., 1958), II, pp. 275-85; G.J. Brault, Early blazon (Oxford, 1972), p. 38 suggests a date of c. 1280 because of favourable references to Llewellyn prince of Wales (Cf. G.J. Brault, 'Arthurian heraldry and the date of Escanor', BBSIA, xi (1959), pp. 86-88.) Brault, Early blazon, p. 22 would also link the apparent 'heraldic flattery' of the English royal house in Durmart le galois with Edward I, but on the general and weak grounds of 'his known Arthurianism', a theory that the c. 1200 date of composition renders implausible: Durmart ed. J. Gildes, O.S.A. (Villanova, Pa., 1965-6) 2 vols. (an edition that has so far proved totally elusive) cit. Brault, Early Blazon, p. xxi.

² M.R. James, A descriptive catalogue of the manuscripts of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, II (Cambridge, 1911), p. 408 cites the incipit of MS. 471. For the Latin text, see John of Hovedon, Philomena, ed. C. Blume (Leipzig, 1930).

³ Stone, 'Jean de Howden', pp. 497-8; Legge, pp. 232-5; Poems of John of Hoveden ed. F.J.E. Raby (Surtees Society, cliv, 1939), pp. xi-xvi, esp. xiii and n.I. (MS. of Alfred of Beverley now lost and used by Bale). (It is interesting to note that Rustichello da Pisa almost certainly came from a Pisan family of notaries: Guerra, pp. 29-33.) John of Howden was also responsible for the magnificent choir at the church (of Howden) where he held his prebend; Stone, 'Jean de Howden', p. 472; N. Pevsner, Yorkshire: York and the East Riding. (Harmondsworth, 1972), pp. 258-9. The identification of John of Howden with John of London is based largely upon the statement of the continuator of William of Newburgh that he 'fuit oriundus Londoniis': (Chronicles of the reigns of Stephen, Henry II and Richard I, ed. R. Howlett, II (RS, 1885), p. 572), and the assumption that he followed the common practice of adopting the name of his prebend.

⁴ Stone, 'Jean de Howden', p. 515. Archbishop Pecham wrote a pseudo-Dionysian treatise on the hierarchy of heaven, also at the request of Eleanor of Provence: Legge, pp. 225-6. Cf. inscription in Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, Marley Add. MS 1 (trans. of Vegetius for Edward I), suggesting similar authorship: 'Maistre Richard, vostre clerc, qui vostre livre escrit'. (Cit. Thorpe, 'Maistre Richard', p. 40.)

suggests that Le Rossignos had an enduring popularity in what was probably a limited court circle.¹ The work is a meditation on the life of Christ.² and includes sequences of symbolic images that possess a remarkable richness and clarity:

Tu la verine e il lumiere,	
Tu chevaler, il ta banere,	
Tu roisseaus, il ta fontenele,	
Il avril et tu sa praele,	(11. 2611-14)
Tu Jorges, il chivalerie,	
Tu Augustin, il ta clergie,	(11. 2617-18)
Tu nief e il ta riche voile,	
Tu mariner et il l'estoile,	
Tu la lanterne e il chandoile	
Et tu la lampe e il soit l'oile.	(11. 2649-18)

A vast range of sources and parallels for these fundamental images might be cited - didactic literature and the lyric are obvious areas - but it is interesting that several of Howden's pictures also have a particular resonance in a romance context: the knight and his banner are, of course, very obvious examples, but the fountain and (especially) the ship with its sails of silk or other rich material are evocative, too. The theme is developed in a comparison of Christ with earthly heroes. The passage is such an important source for the literary tastes of Edward I's court that it merits quotation at length:

Judas le Makabé sanz faille	
Ne fu pas si pruz en bataille	(11. 3969-70)
N'Ector li fiz le roi de Troie,	
Ne Troilus qui bien guerroye	
Ne Cesar qui le mond mostroie,	
Ne Charles qui cria 'Monjoie!'	(11. 3973-6)
Ne Godefrai de sainte vie	
Ki fu reis nobles en Surie,	
Ne Boesmond a chere hardie,	
Ne Tancre plain de vaillancie,	
Ne Wawayn qui fu sanz bobance,	
Ne Lancelot qui sout de lance	
N'Ywayn qui soun lion agence,	
Ne Percevaux qui bien s'avance.	(11. 3985-92)

¹ Stone, 'Jean de Howden', pp. 498-9 describes the manuscript. James, Cat. CCCC, p. 408 identified the hand as specifically late 14th century.

² Howden's explanation of his unlikely title is that 'si come li rossignos feit de diverses notes une melodie, aici feit ceste livres de diverses matires une acordaunce': Stone, 'Jean de Howden', p. 501.

Roland and Roncevaux are also referred to (ll. 3979-80). Historical figures such as William of Provence and the first dukes of Normandy are interwoven in the sequence of legendary characters and more recent leaders and rulers included, among them Richard I, St. Louis, Raymond of Toulouse, Eleanor's father Raymond of Provence, and even her husband, Henry III (on the grounds of his largesse).¹ The sequence of heroes moves inexorably to a climax in the person of Edward I, whose deeds of prowess on crusade are dwelt on at some length.² It is no coincidence that Edward follows Alexander and Arthur:

Ne Alexaundre qui venqui Daire,
 Ne Arthur qui Bretaigne esclaire
 N'Edouard qui a beau viaire
 Qui (a) seul pot Sarrasyn defaire. (11. 4009-12)

Howden thus testifies to the way in which (we can justifiably assume) Edward welcomed the opportunity to juxtapose the deeds of his ancestors with those of famous heroes and also to associate his own name with theirs. He demonstrates too - for it is surely impossible that he would make allusions which the Queen-mother would fail to understand - the range of literary knowledge at Edward's court. His poem presupposes knowledge of Roland and other chansons de geste, of the Alexander and Troy romances, of the Roman de Rou or one of other chroniclers of the first dukes of Normandy and of the Nine Worthies, as well as Arthurian heroes such as Gawain, Lancelot and the chevalier au lion.³

¹ 'Donant com fontayne vive' (l. 4004), Stone, 'Jean de Howden', p. 510. Other contemporary figures include Charles of Anjou (ll. 4027-8), Ferdinand III of Castile, father-in-law of Edward I (ll. 4025-7), Pierre de Dreux ('Mauclerc') of Brittany (ll. 4029-30), Savari de Mauléon (l. 4038), Erard de Valéri (l. 4309), Roger Clifford (l. 4043); Stone, 'Jean de Howden', pp. 511-3.

² Cf. above, p. 51 n. 1.

³ Cf. the apparent quotation from romance or chanson de geste (changed from a coarse proverb) in a letter from Edward I to the Earl of March (1304): 'Quant la guerre fu finee/Si trest Audegier sespee'. (P. Chaplais, 'Some private letters of Edward I', EHR, lxxvii (1962), p. 80.)

This range and combination finds an interesting reflection in the chronique of the Brabançon Jan van Heelu, who begins the second book of his verse-life of Jean I, Duke of Brabant with allusions to Judas Macchabeus, Roland and Troy as well as Arthurian figures.¹ The chronique was in fact composed c. 1291-2 for Edward's daughter Margaret, who married Jean I's son. The author, rather optimistically, hoped that a eulogistic life of her father-in-law would encourage the English princess to learn Flemish.² The narrative reflects the extent to which English knights were integrated with the chivalric activities of the mainland - and vice versa. Throughout the account, the duke's enthusiasm for 'tournoy ende feeste' (l. 899) is emphasised. Van Heelu describes how, as a new knight, he went 'Voer hi tornieren ende iosteren,/ Ende die wapene hanteren/Eerlike, van lande te lande' (ll. 821-3). England is included in the list of chivalric venues with Germany, France, Gascony, Brittany, Poitou, Champagne and Burgundy as a matter of course. On another occasion we see him at a tournament with a figure familiar from Chauvency 'Waelraven van Monyoye,/ Ende van Lusselenborch sijn neve...' (ll. 907-8) and 'Metten riken grave van Clare' (l. 910). English knights were also present at Jean I's last round table, where he was fatally wounded by Pierre de Bauffremont.³

These casual allusions illustrate well the way in which England was an integral part of the chivalric culture of Western Europe and the close connections of English knights with those on the European mainland is further underlined by the evidence of rolls of arms. English knights are recorded at other tournaments in Northern France and the Low Countries: the Earls of Lincoln and Gloucester, Hugh de

¹ J. van Heelu, Chronique en vers ou relation de la bataille de Woeringen, ed. J.F. Willems (Coll. de chroniques belges inédites, Brussels, 1836), ll. 3921-35.

² Heelu, Chronique, ll. 1-16.

³ For Bauffremont, see above, p. 33 n.4 and Apx. 1.

Courtenay, Roger de Clifford, Thomas de Molton,¹ Despencer, Otto de Grandison, William de Say, John de Vesci and John Comyn at Compiègne in 1278,² for example, and Sir Hugh Despencer with Sir Robert d'Enghien at Mons in 1310.³ Clearly this was no band of wayward and insignificant eccentrics: the English contingent at Compiègne, for example, included some who were, or were to become, some of the most important figures at the English court. They, or their descendants, feature regularly in English rolls of arms of the last quarter of the thirteenth century.⁴ The compilers of these English rolls also thought it important to keep a record of the arms of foreign lords and knights: they account for between an estimated ten and thirty-five per cent of the blasons in four contemporary

¹ Vienna, Öst. Nat. bib. Cod. 3297, fo. 13^v: 'Tiebaus Meletune'.

² Vienna, Öst. Nat. bib. Cod. 3297, fos. 13^{r-v}. (Cf. chapter 2, apx. 15^r for further details of this MS.) Another text (Brussels, BR MS. 14 935) is printed by A. de Behault de Doron, 'La Noblesse hennuyère au tournoi de Compiègne de 1238', Ann. c. archéol. Mons. xxii (1890), pp. 61-114, (see pp. 81-2 for a discussion of MSS.)

I have been unable to identify the remaining knights, 'Ranouth Bases', possibly Ralph Bassett (Behault de Doron, 'Compiègne', p. 88: 'Dases'); 'Philippes de Begny'. For dating, see Saffroy, Bibliographie généalogique, i, no. 3181.

³ Printed A. de Behault de Doron, 'Le Tournoi de Mons de 1310', Ann. c. archéol. Mons, xxxviii (1909), p. 103-256 (English knights pp. 224-5); 'Un Tournoi à Mons au XIV^e siècle', Ann. c. archéol. Mons, xix (1886), pp. 385-411. Cf. Cambrai, b. mun. MS. B. 1169, fo. 23; 'pour dispens monsigneur [Jean de Beaumont] fais a Mons paiier' - 9 l. t. 17 s. 6 d.; 'pour les wages des chevaliers monsigneur payer pour le tournoy de Mons 39 grans florins' - 60 l. t. 18 s. 9 d. (18th-c. copy of a 'Fragment d'un rouleau qui contenait un compte de la depense particuliere du frere du comte de Haynau en 1310', fo. 22^r.)

⁴ E.g. Heralds' Roll (c. 1270-80): 'Planché's Roll', ed. J. Greenstreet, Genealogist, n.s. iii (1886), pp. 151-4, iv (1887), p. 18 (all listed except Molton); Walford's Roll (c. 1275): 'A roll of arms of the thirteenth century', ed. W.S. Walford, Archaeologia, xxxix (1863), p. 384 (Comyn), 386 (Clifford); Dering Roll (c. 1275): 'The "Dering" roll of arms', ed. J. Greenstreet and C. Russell, Reliquary, xvii (1876-7), pp. 13, 15 (Clifford, Despencer, Grandison, Molton, Vesci); Camden Roll (c. 1280): 'The original Camden roll of arms', ed. J. Greenstreet, J. Brit. Archaeol. Soc., xxxviii (1882), pp. 313-4, 316, 319, 321 (all but Courtenay and Molton); St. George's Roll (c. 1285): 'Two rolls of arms of the reign of King Edward I', ed. C.S. Perceval, Archaeologia, xxxix (1863), pp. 418-9, 421-2, 424, 426 (all listed); Charles's Roll (c. 1285): Archaeologia, xxxix (1863), pp. 399-401, 405, 416 (all but Courtenay, Say and Despencer). For dating and textual inter-relations, see A.R. Wagner, CEMRA (Aspilogia ii, Soc. Antiq., London, 1972), pp. 7-21 passim.

rolls.¹ This is a reflection of the degree of contact between the knightly classes from these different regions: the content of English rolls from the second half of the fourteenth century (with a far higher proportion of native coats) contrasts strongly.²

Although overall the foreign coats in earlier English rolls of arms show a wide geographical distribution, this generally applies only to the upper ranks of the nobility.³ There is a distinct preponderance of mere knights, as one might expect, from the areas geographically closest to England - Northern France and the Low Countries. Individual contact occurred most frequently with knights from these regions. This is strikingly demonstrated in the Fitzwilliam Roll

¹ See e.g. Walford's Roll, (version I), pp. 380-7 passim; Camden Roll (original version), pp. 312-24; Heralds' Roll (original version): see CEMRA, p. 10; Genealogist, n.s.iii, pp.148-53, 240-5; iv, pp.17-22, 197-203; v, pp.173-9. Heralds' Roll (Fitzwilliam version): see CEMRA, p. 11; G.W. Watson, 'Notes on the foreign coats in Planché's Roll', Genealogist, n.s. vi (1889), pp. 153-8, 222-7; vii (1890), pp. 36-9, 152-5; viii (1891), pp. 210-8; Dering Roll, p. 15.

² CEMRA, pp. 61-72 passim. The Bruce Roll (College of Arms MS. 2d L. 12) is a possible exception, as the rest of the book contains coats of France and the Low Countries (CEMRA, p. 66). The MS. is unpublished and Wagner does not discuss the date of the foreign arms. It would be interesting to know whether this section related to the Fitzwilliam or Dering Rolls (see below, pp.68-9 and n. 2), although obviously too simplistic an equation between contact and occurrence of arms should not be propounded, especially given the accumulative nature of heraldic records. Cf. also Cambrai, b. mun. MS.8888 (c. 1460?), fos. 1^r 4^v; armorial of English knights from ?c. 1350-70 (includes Sir John Chandos, d. 1370).

³ See e.g. Walford's Roll, where a surprising number of imperial counts are listed (Freiburg, Wurtemberg, Tierstein, Oettingen etc.), but knights from a much more limited area of Northern France also feature: M. Prinet, 'Armoiries françaises et allemandes décrites dans un ancien rôle d'armes anglais', M. Age, xxxiv (1923), pp. 223-56. Cf. Camden Roll, pp. 312-24, where Holland, Luxembourg, Lorraine and Bavaria feature, but only knights from a small area North of the Franco-Flemish border.

(an early or mid-fifteenth-century copy of an original of c. 1270-80), which includes the coats of well over two hundred foreign lords and knights.¹ It is particularly interesting that this list includes individuals present at Chauvency and Le Hem - not just important magnates, such as Ferri III of Lorraine, the Counts of Flanders, Artois, Sancerre, Guines and Clermont, Waléran de la Monjoye and Waléran de Luxembourg, but also figures such as Pierre de Grailly and le sire de Hondescote.² A number of knights can be confidently identified with those participating at Le Hem: they include the organisers, Aubert de Longueval and Hugh de Basentin, as well as Mahieu de Roye, Aubert de Hangest, Bernard de Moreuil, Raous d'Estrées, Mahieu de Trie, the châtelain of Arras, the sire de Montmorency and several other families.³ Their presence on an English roll gives fresh point to the original hope that Edward I and a contingent of his knights would be able to be present at the festivities at Le Hem.⁴ The dating of the Fitzwilliam Roll is problematical, in that it has been suggested that some of the foreign coats of arms date from after 1300, others as much as forty years earlier. The English coats point to a date of c. 1270-

¹ Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Mus. MS. 297; CEMRA, pp. 10-11. See below (pp. 68-9, 69n.2) for some of the problems of dating this roll.

² Watson, 'Notes on the foreign coats in Planché's Roll', Genealogist, vi, pp. 153, 153-7, 222-3; vii, p. 37. See below, apx. 1.

³ Watson, 'Notes on the foreign coats', vi, pp. 227; vii, pp. 152-4. Cf. below, Apx. 4, 5, 7. Other participating families recorded include: Neuville (en Artois), Hargicourt, Blemus, Molaines, châtelains of Douai (?), Wavrin (if the roll's ref. to the seneschal of Flanders is pre-1275, when the Wavrin family were forced to sell this office: L. Trenard, ed., Les Pays-Bas Français (Toulouse, 1972), p. 119.) The Brabant lords named in the roll were perhaps among some of the more chivalrically active who may have attended the Chauvency tournament: cf. above, p. 28.

⁴ See above, p. 47.

80, however;¹ and there seems no reason to suppose that the arms of, say, the participants at Le Hem and Chauvency might not have circulated independently in England in the 1280's.² This is especially likely when we remember the mobility of heralds and the ease of communication between them at this date.³

A further indication of the homogeneity of English and European chivalric culture at this time is found in the verse account of the Siege of Caerlaverock (1300).⁴ A different facet of the transition from general minstrel to heraldic authorship that is evident in Le Roman du Hem and Le Tournoi de Chauvency is reflected here. The identity of the (not too gifted) author is unknown, but it seems likely that he was a herald, for the narrative is essentially a versified roll of arms, concerned above all with recording the names and arms of those present.⁵ The fact that the poem is preserved in the same manuscript as the purely armorial Parliamentary Roll of Arms

¹ The date of surviving portions of the original roll (preserved in Coll. of Arms MS. B 29, pp. 20-7): CEMRA, pp. 9-10.

² 'The [foreign] shields [of the Dering Roll (c. 1275)]...belong wholly or for the most part to northern France and the Low Countries, deriving probably from the same source as the foreign coats in the Fitzwilliam Roll': CEMRA, p. 14.

³ Cf. above, pp. 29-30.

⁴ BL Cotton MS. Caligula A. XVIII, fos. 23^v - 30^v; published as The roll of arms of the princes, barons and knights who attended King Edward I to the siege of Caerlaverock, ed. T. Wright (London, 1864). (The siege of Carlaverock [sic], ed. N.H. Nicolas (London, 1828) is based upon one of Glover's copies of another MS., now lost: Caerlaverock, ed. Wright, p. viii.) See also CEMRA, pp. 29-34; N. Denholm-Young, 'The Song of Carlaverock [sic] and the Parliamentary Roll of Arms', Proc. Brit. Acad., xlvii (1961), pp. 251-62.

⁵ The affinity is underlined by the many banners.* These (passim) and the drawing of the castle (fo. 21^v) may be compared with BL Cotton MS. Faustina B. VII, fo. 85^v (Richmond cartulary), where a list of the fees of the honour of Richmond is headed by a drawing of the castle with relevant banners: J. -P Genet, 'Cartulaires, registres et histoire: l'exemple anglais', Le Métier d'historien au moyen âge: études sur l'historiographie médiévale, ed. B. Guenée (Paris, 1977) facing p. 136. (These are possibly banners of those responsible for castle-guard at Richmond: ex inf. J. -P. Genet.)

* in copies of Glover's MS. (e.g. Oxford, St. John's College, MS. 174).

of only a few years later, suggests that the first owner saw both types of record as valid and useful.¹ In the opening, 'Fu au Carduel [Carlisle] e tint grant court'² (a commonplace of Arthurian romance), Edward I is implicitly identified with King Arthur,³ while the difficulties encountered by Ralph of Monthermer in his marriage to Joan of Acre are transposed into conventional romance terms in the description of the knight:

Cely dont bien furent aidies,
 E achievés les amours
 Après graunz doubtez et cremours [MS. tremours?]⁴

The approach here might be compared with that of the chronicler Peter Langtoft, who also describes contemporary characters in the clichés of romance.⁵

This range of textual sources demonstrates something of the extent to which Edward I and English knights shared fully in the chivalric culture of their neighbours on the Continent. Le Roman du Hem and Le Tournoi de Chauvency give us a detailed picture of the practical aspects of some of their activities and also offer insights into the pressures and attitudes which affected them. The hopes of Edward I's attendance at Le Hem underline the king's reputation in this sphere and demonstrates how, far from being isolated in an insular backwater, English knights enjoyed a certain prestige because of their provenance,

¹ BL Cotton MS. Caligula, A. XVIII, fos. 3^r - 21^v; date of composition 1312-14 (CEMRA, p. 43). See Denholm-Young, 'Song of Carlaverock', pp. 251-5; History and heraldry, pp. 59-60

² Caerlaverock, ed. Wright, p. 5.

³ Cf. ref. to the Bishop of Durham: 'Onques Artus, pour touz ses charmes,/Si beau present ne ot de Merlin' (Caerlaverock, ed. Wright p. 23).

⁴ Caerlaverock, ed. Wright, p. 21.

⁵ See e.g. cited in Gransden, Historical writing, pp. 480-1. The line of enquiry might profitably be continued in the 14th c. with e.g. Chandos Herald's Vie du Prince Noir and Cuvelier's Chronique de Bertrand du Guesclin.

identical with that of King Arthur. Edward himself grasped the potential value of this identity and to a certain extent his chivalric reputation can be ascribed to its astute exploitation. Both the Northern French and Flemish dimension and Edward I's interest in and deployment of the Arthurian legend (together with its associated chivalric values) find an echo in the reign of his grandson, Edward III. These themes are developed in later chapters.

CHAPTER 2.

CIVIC FESTES AND SOCIETY IN THE LOW COUNTRIES AND NORTHERN FRANCE

For evidence of the extent to which the tournament and its associated chivalric activities had permeated much of the society of Northern France and the Low Countries by the second half of the thirteenth century, we must turn to records of civic festes. Although it would be an over-simplification to present two distinct, rigid, polarised categories, 'noble' and 'bourgeois', these documents provide a valuable complement to the exclusively aristocratic records which we have considered hitherto.

In the last quarter of the thirteenth and the beginning of the fourteenth century, festes with a distinctly chivalric basis are increasingly recorded in this area. It is impossible to be certain whether the existence of documents reflects the emergence of a new custom or the first appearance of written records for practices already well established. The relatively sophisticated organisation of the feste apparent in some of the earliest sources might suggest the wholesale adoption of practices witnessed in a different milieu, but it should be noted that this is also the period of the earliest surviving municipal accounts.¹ On balance, it perhaps seems likely that the recording of events would also have been regarded as an inherent part of the proceedings and that consequently it is improbable that any period of ad hoc, unrecorded chivalric activity in an urban environment lasted very long.

These festes were regular occurrences at, for example, Ghent, Lille, Douai and Bruges, generally consisting of one or two days'

¹ Accounts survive from Tournai: 1240-3, 1276-7 (charité de St.-Christophe), 1395-; Ghent: 1280 (fragment), 1314-; Bruges: 1281-; Mons: 1288-; Ypres: 1267-8, 1276-. For details see Comptes de la ville d'Ypres de 1267 à 1329, ed. G. des Marez and E. de Segher, I (Brussels, 1909), p. VIII and nn. 1-4.

jousting, which might be accompanied by feasting, dancing, religious services and processions. At these occasions, in effect, a new leader was chosen for the festivities and given an appropriate title - roi de lespinette at Lille, forestier des blancs ours at Bruges.¹ This individual and his predecessor in the previous year's celebration were the principal indispensable figures in the behourt - the jousting which formed the most important distinct element of the feste. Sunday seems to have been the day most commonly appointed (perhaps so that the townspeople might be able to enjoy the event to the full);² although the previous evening(s) generally seem to have been occupied in anticipatory celebration and feasting as well.³ The sequence is very similar to that which still governs the Schützenfeste of northern Germany: the König des Schützenfestes (winner of the previous year) is collected from his home in a procession before the Fest - essentially an archery competition. The new König is he who first hits the bull's eye, or is nearest to it, and the proceedings (which last several days) are accompanied by communal merry-making and dancing. The existence of such a parallel, despite the intervening years and different geographical location, reflects the fundamental nature of these festivities within the life of the community and also points to the futility of attempting to isolate their ultimate origins.

It is reasonable to assume that such occasions were also familiar to the participants from other towns, whether or not they were able

¹ See below, pp. 77-88 passim; Lille, b. mun. MS. 466, fo. 315^r. CGMBPF, XXVI, Lille (Paris, 1897) gives the anciennes cotes; references here are to the current sequence. NB. MS. 466 has pagination and foliation sequences.

² E.g. first Sunday in Lent at Lille (Lille, b. mun. MS. 466, p. 50); second Sunday after Easter at Bruges (fo. 315^r). For regional Lenten festivities, see A. van Gennep, Le Folklore de la Flandre et du Hainaut français (département du Nord), I (Paris, 1935), pp. 138-200.

³ See e.g. Lille, b. mun. MS. 466, pp. 50-3.

to indulge in such activities on home ground. A skeletal list of towns involved in these activities during the late thirteenth and fourteenth centuries might thus be extended to include (in addition to Ghent, Bruges, Douai and Lille),¹ Tournai, Valenciennes, Senlis, Reims, Saint-Quentin, Amiens, Saint-Omer, Paris, Compiègne, Arras, Ypres, Doullens,² Sluis³ and Aardembourg. Undoubtedly an extended search of printed and manuscript sources would lengthen this list and probably also provide details of similar occurrences in a higher proportion of the towns. These locations are grouped around a north-south axis running from Paris to a point between Bruges and Ghent.⁴ This area was, of course, one of the most densely urbanised in Europe, and encompassed the most important commercial centres of the northern continent. It was, moreover, a region where there was increasing contact between the upper strata of urban and rural societies. As the value of fixed land rents of rural seignuries declined, there was a growing demand for liquid capital and the cash nexus became increasingly important in lordship. The nobility consequently looked increasingly to the bourgeois merchant and banking classes to meet their pressing financial needs.⁵

Significantly, too, these towns occur in an area where the chivalric activities of the predominantly noble rural classes at

¹ Expanded list based upon towns participating at Tournai, 1331: Lille, b. mun. MS. 730, pp. 23-7.

² 'Dourlens': Lille, b. mun. MS. 730, p. 27.

³ 'Lescluse': Lille, b. mun. MS. 730, p. 27. The few participants fenestrate with nearby Aardembourg (see below, p. 97) confirming the reading as Sluis, rather than mod. Lécluse (c. Arleux, a. Douai).

⁴ See 'Map of principal towns...participating in civic festes': appendix 7.

⁵ See e.g. E. Perroy, 'Social mobility among the French noblesse in the later Middle Ages', Past and Present, xxi (1962), pp. 27-31; E. Dravasa, '"Vivre noblement". Recherches sur la dérogeance de noblesse du xiv^e au xvi^e siècles', Rev. juridique et économique du Sud-Ouest, xvi (1965), 3, p. 136.

this period were well developed and documented: there is a large degree of geographical overlap with the participants at the feste at Le Hem, for example.¹ These included the châtelains of Arras and Douai;² and in towns built around a royal or seigneurial castle, the stimulus to emulation must have been particularly strong. At political 'capitals', such as Paris and Valenciennes, contact would be intensified by the frequent presence of the king or count and their courts and administrations. We know that other towns, notably Compiègne, had witnessed spectacular aristocratic assemblies at an earlier date.³ It might be argued that this high level of contact with the predominantly noble rural classes increased the urban élite's consciousness of their chivalric practices, while the high density of towns in this area both stimulated the desire to emulate and made it a practical collective possibility. Relatively isolated towns without any commercial base, such as the bastides of southern France, do not appear to have witnessed the same phenomenon.

These manifestations of chivalric culture in the urbanised areas of North-western Europe are a subject rich in archival material that has been relatively little exploited; and one which merits extensive investigation. Inevitably, what follows is a highly selective treatment of aspects which seem particularly illuminating in the context of the thesis as a whole. Thus, for example, Flemish-language records have only received incidental mention and the choice of subject has also been influenced by the patterns of record survival. This chapter therefore concentrates primarily upon two substantial groups of records, those relating to the sequence of annual jousts known as the

¹ See 'Map to show approximate distribution of participants at Le Hem feste' (appendix 9).

² Cf. e.g. Ghent, Compiègne, Lille, Ypres, also towns with castellans.

³ For the tournament at Compiègne (1238) see above, p. 66 and n. 2; and appendix 15.

feste de lespinette at Lille, and those concerned with the unique feste du roy Gallehault held at Tournai in 1331. Both are of exceptional value in preserving detailed accounts of the course of events. It is notable that these narrative and armorial records are largely independent of municipal organisation,¹ while the references in civic accounts and ordinances are relatively terse and oblique. To some extent this reflects the organisation of such occasions and their relationship with municipal authorities. The latter seem generally to have been responsible for the maintenance of law and order in the town during the festivities and presumably, as a corollary, might exercise their authority to ban proceedings. The organisation and finance of all aspects of the feste itself, however, was entirely the responsibility of the group of individuals who initiated the occasion. The situation was not dissimilar to that which prevailed in some towns for the performance of mystery plays, where the guilds were responsible for the details and funding of performance and staging, but the municipality exercised jurisdiction over the event's effect upon the town as a whole.² In this respect they seem to have differed markedly from both civic religious processions (although in some places religious guilds exercised particular responsibility)³ and from the later entrées and tableaux staged at the reception of an eminent individual within the town.⁴

¹ For 15th-century scabinal intervention in the keeping of records of the espinette see below, pp. 85-6.

² See e.g. comments on municipal supervision at York: H. Craig, English religious drama of the Middle Ages (Oxford, 1955), pp. 202-5; A.H. Nelson, The medieval English stage (Chicago, 1974), pp. 42-7.

³ As e.g. the confrérie de St. Nicholas at Valenciennes: see Valenciennes, b. mun. MS. 536, fos. 5^r-11^v (Nativity of Our Lady); confrérie des damoiseaux: Valenciennes, b. mun. MS. 534, fos. 4^r-8^v.

⁴ Guenée and Lehoux, Les Entrées royales françaises, pp. 9-14. For similar expenses recorded in Tournai civic registers, see A. de la Grange, 'Les Entrées de souverains à Tournai', Mém. de la soc. hist. et litt. de Tournai, xix (1885), pp. 11-70 (12th - 15th-c. entries).

Thus, for example, the town accounts at Lille contain detailed payments associated with the annual procession of the statue of Notre Dame de la treille through the town, recording payments to minstrels and those who carried the statue, and for the purchase of '.iiij. aunes de vermel cendal a faire les banierettes suiuan a le fierte nostre dame', of silk for their fringes and the painting of these banners, as well as special vestments 'donnes as .iiij. clers portans le ciel [canopy]'.¹ Similarly, in 1372 the échevins sent messengers with letters to Arras, Béthune, Oudenaarde,² Ypres, Ghent, Douai, Tournai, Damme,³ Antwerp⁴ and Aardembourg, as well as 'plusieurs villes' (unspecified) in Brabant and Flanders to publicise the feste de Lille, but did not perform a similar office for the espinette.⁵ The feste de lespinette was doubtless similarly proclaimed to ensure that there were participating contingents from the surrounding towns, but this was in no way a municipal responsibility. (The duties of

¹ Lille, a.m. 16. III (1381-2), fo. 29^v; cf. C. Dehaisnes, Documents et extraits diverses concernant l'histoire de l'art dans la Flandre, l'Artois et le Hainaut avant le XV^e siècle (Lille, 1886), p. 480 citing municipal account of 1367-8. For the institution of the procession (1270), see M. Finot, 'Les Représentations scéniques données à l'occasion de la procession de Lille par les compagnons de la place du Petit-Fret, au XV^e siècle', Bull. hist. et. phil., année 1897 (1898), pp. 505-6. From the mid-14th century the procession was accompanied by a competition of performances of plays (see below, p. 105): pp. 504-5, 507, 508 and nn. I, 2. See also L. Lefebvre, La Procession de Lille du XV^e au XVII^e siècle (Lille, 1902), pp. 1-3. Cf. similar expenses for 'onser vrouwen feeste' at Ghent: De rekeningen der stad Gent. Tijdvak van Jacob van Artevelde 1336-1349, ed. N. de Pauw and J. Vuylsteke (Ghent, 1885), p. 35 (1346); Tijdvak van Philips van Artevelde 1376-89, ed. J. Vuylsteke (Ghent, 1893), pp. 18-19 (1376).

² 'Audenarde': Lille, a. mun. 16.914/16.928 (1371-2) s.v. 'v en juing' (unfoliated vol.).

³ 'Dam': Lille, a. mun. 16.914/16.928 s.v. 'v en juing'.

⁴ 'Anwiers': Lille, a. mun. 16.914/16.928 s.v. 'v en juing'.

⁵ See 'Map to show towns notified of the Lillois feste de Notre Dame (1372)' (appendix 8).

the herault de lespinette probably included such publicity.)¹

Nevertheless, the town accounts show that, at least in the fourteenth century, there was a habitual contribution to the

present roy del espinette et a ses compaignons soubstenans le feste et joustes du deuant dit behourd, donee de par le ville pour et an ayde de leurs fres, a cause de ce comme don ou an acoustume est.²

Gifts of 'vin de bourgogne' were also given to the outgoing king.³

Similar gifts of wine to joustes are recorded in the Ghent accounts, and this may have been a fairly routine gesture.⁴

Only fragmentary town accounts at Tournai have survived from before 1395, and it is therefore impossible to gauge the extent of any official involvement with the feste of 1331.⁵ Even so, it is clear that this was - as might be expected - less than at Lille, for the descriptions of the event state unambiguously that the thirty-one roys compaignons were responsible for the enclosure of the market and (by implication) for the erection of any scaffolds to hold spectators. At Lille loges were regularly rented for the échevins, consuls, governor and bailiff of the town and others 'pour veir les joustes du deuant dit behourd',⁶ and cloth was obtained to decorate the front of the

¹ Cf. below, p. 110 and n. 1.

² Lille, a. mun. 16.111, fo. 25^v. 40 livres were paid to 'Jehan d'Escaubieque': according to the liste des rois, 'Gilles Tournemine, seigneur d'Escobecques, chevalier, fils du feu Jean' held office in 1381 (Lille, b. mun. MSS. 440, 466).

³ Lille, a. m. 16.111, fo. 25^v, to 'Jehan Artut'. Cf. Lille, a. mun. 16.055 (1350-1), fo. 17^v, payment 'A Waukier Clenket roy de lespinette et ses compaignons au behourt' (details illegible); 16.070 (1358-9), fo. 12^v, 40 livres 'Au roy del espinette Robert Canart et ses compaignons'; 16.914/16.928 s.v. 'xxiiij en feurier', gift of wine to the outgoing king ('Jehan le Monnoyer, Roy del espinette le anee fin au quaremiel darrein passer'), 40 livres 'A Bietremieu de le Barre ad-present Roy del espinette, et a ses compaignons soubstenans la feste du behourd darrein passet donnet en ayde des fres de celi feste comme accoustume est', (liste des rois has Gilles de la Barre: Lille, b. mun. MSS. 440, 466).

⁴ Oorkondenboek der stad Gent. Gentsche stads - en Baljuwsrekeningen 1280-1336, ed. J. Vuylsteke (Ghent, 1900), pp. 120, ('Item den josterres l hame wijns ghesend' (1316-17); 754, 'van l vate wijns, dat men sende den josterres te haerre feesten up den Steen sdcendages ante Katerine' (20 Nov. 1330).

⁵ Comptes de la ville d'Ypres, I, p. viii and n. 1.

⁶ Lille, a. mun. 16.III, fos. 25^v, 26^r.

loges.¹ By the second half of the fifteenth century, when the proceedings became considerably more elaborate and expensive, there are payments to a carpenter for erecting and dismantling the liches and providing sièges for the échevins and 'reynes et demoiselles'.²

The other principal communal expense was the payment of twelve crossbowmen (arbalestrier) to keep watch in the halle and at the gates of the town for four days and four nights.³ The security problem is highlighted by a Lillois ordinance instructing all innkeepers and others with lodgers to be

dillegent de savoir quelx harnas et armeures leurs
dis hostes ont et ke ou cas quilz avoient armeures
il leur dient quilz les mettent sus.⁴

It was also imperative that animals were kept off the street during the feste and ordinances, concerning the movement of animals ('des truics et pourchiaus non aller par le ville le tamps de lespinette durant'), were issued regularly.⁵

¹ Lille, a. mun. 16.914/16.928 s.v. 'xvij en feurier': louage of two loges and 'le louage des draps adont pour [estre] tendus pardeuant les fenestres des dites loges'; cf. Dehaisnes, Documents et extraits, p. 479 citing municipal account of 1367-8.

² Lille, a. mun. 16.220 (1480-1) fo. 114^v. There seems to be no 14th-century reference to specific provision for women: this may reflect a genuine change of practice, or simply one of organisation and documentation. The enclosed area for jousting is now referred to as 'le parcq des joustes de ladite feste' (fo. 114^v). For the increasing expense of the feste in the 15th century and the ensuing complications, see P.D. du Péage, 'A propos du Tournoi de l'Épinette à Lille', Rev. Nord, xxi (1935), pp. 32-47.

³ E.g. Lille, a. mun. 16.054 fo. 19^r; 16.055 fo. 18^r; 16.070, fo. 13^r; 16.914/16.928 s.v. 'xvij en feurier'. The precise duration and placing of the watch varied; they were also supplied with 'feu et lumiere'. Cf. Oorkondenboek der stad Gent...1280-1336, pp. 557 (1326), 558 (1327), 854 (1332).

⁴ Lille, a. mun. Registre BB 2, fo. 166^v.

⁵ Lille, a. mun. Registre BB 1, fos. 22^r, 52^v; BB 2, fos. 9^r, 32^v, 47^v, 59^v, 69^r, 84^v, 99^v, 118^v.

The scabinal ordinance also provides the most vivid picture of the impact of the feste del espinette on the life of the town as a whole. Invariably the ban on animals is followed by one 'de non joster sur tonniaulx'.¹ Evidently the whole town enthusiastically emulated the jousts on whatever came to hand, for besides barrels, small trucks or barrows (esclans, carios) and even tables are mentioned.² The re-enactment of these bans, suggesting that the jousting 'craze' was an inevitable annual phenomenon, and the provision of punishments for 'enfant de soubz eage' unable to pay the forty shillings fine,³ as well as a reference to 'petis ne grans'⁴ are indications of the way in which the youthful population continued the activities of the feste in the Lille streets.⁵ On one occasion (1396) the ban was also extended to

non planter arbres...par rues ne
par places aucunes...sur ombre de
faire aucunes festes, ou assamblees,
autour ne environ yceulx arbres.⁶

This development probably reflects an (otherwise undocumented) feature of the feste that year, perhaps involving the hanging of shields upon

¹ E.g. Lille, a. mun. Registre BB 2, fos. 34^v, 59^v, 85^r, 100^r.

² E.g. Lille, a. mun. Registre BB 2, fos. 34^v, 85^r, 100^r. For esclan, see F. Godefroy, Lexique de l'ancien français ed. J. Bonnard and A. Salmon (Paris, 1971) s.v. cit.: 'Sorte de petite voiture pour transporter les marchandises'. Cf. Peter Breughel the Elder, Battle between Carnival and Fasting, 1559 (Vienna, Kunshist. Mus.), where the two protagonists joust on a barrel mounted on runners and a truck: see detail, Pl.1.

³ Lille, a. mun. Registre BB 2, fo. 85^r.

⁴ Lille, a. mun. Registre BB 2, fo. 34^v.

⁵ Cf. e.g. Lille, a. mun. Registre, BB 4, fo. 47^v: ban on jousting sur esclans, playing in the town's cemeteries and round the Fontaine de la change (II apr. 1424). For similar bans in 1428, 1436 see fos. 86^v, 139^r.

⁶ Lille, a. mun. Registre BB 2, fo. 85^r.

a tree as an indication of readiness to do battle with all comers.¹

While the town authorities were perhaps more involved - and increasingly so in the fifteenth century - with the espinette than others were with less well established festes, simply because it was a regular annual occasion, their records nevertheless give some indication of the general areas of municipal activity and responsibility, as well as the impact of the feste on the life of the town as a whole. There was perhaps an intrinsic ambiguity in the way that participating contingents were habitually identified by the town they came from, although initiative for the enterprise was essentially that of a collection of individuals, rather than under the auspices of municipal government. Civic pride and individual achievement were uneasily reconciled.

Besides the incidental information concerning the feste de les-
pinette preserved in the municipal records, at least eleven manuscripts give some account of the proceedings.² All contain a list of the 'Roys de l'Espinette selon leur creation', although some of these are very fragmentary.³ Some also include descriptions of the ceremonial entries of participating contingents from other towns into Lille, and copies of various documents associated with the feste, or a brief discours on the subject.⁴ None of these manuscripts, however, dates

¹ Cf. the touching of shields to indicate acceptance of a challenge at the St -Inglevert jousts: Froissart, Chroniques, ed. K. de Lettenhove, XIV (Brussels, 1872), pp. 107-8. For the use of symbolic trees see Guenée and Lehoux, Les entrées royales françaises, 'index analytique' s.v. arbre généalogique, arbre de Jessé etc. Cf. also the emulation of mystères accompanying the annual procession (see above, p. 77 n. 1): 'Defense de jouer...des jeux de personnages sur kars ne aultrement, ne faire assemblée de belle et grande compaignie pour donner ou gaigner pris ne aultrement' (2 July 1428): Lille, a. mun. Registre BB 4, fo. 90^v.

² See appendix 10.

³ Lille, b. mun. MS. 491 (1283-7); Cambrai, b. mun. MS. D. 872 (1283-6).

⁴ See appendix 10.

from before the sixteenth century: their statements must therefore be used with caution in relation to the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries.¹

A revival of antiquarian interest in the Lillois feste de l'epinette seems to have led to the production of a number of manuscripts entitled 'Veprecularia' and concerned with it alone.² Of these, Lille, b. mun. MS. 466 (dating from 1706) is especially valuable for its transcriptions of documents (many now apparently lost), with a careful note of their source. These included two earlier manuscripts describing five entries of the fifteenth century and the practice of the feste,³ a 'livre manuscrit' and 'comptes et manuscrits du couvent des Freres precheurs de Lille'⁴ as well as extracts from the municipal

¹ Extant 16th-c. MSS.: EN MS. fr. 10 469 (fos. 216, 224 are reproduced in J.B. de Vaivre, 'Artus, les trois couronnes et les héralts', Archivum heraldicum, lxxxviii (1974), p. 8 figs. 12, 13); Valenciennes, b. mun. MS. 806; Lille, Université MS. 104 (I have been unable to see this MS.) For a summary of the sequence of events attested by evidence relating to the 15th-c. feste, see Péage, 'A propos du tournoi de l'Epinette à Lille', p. 33.

² Lille, b. mun. MSS. 440, 466; Douai, b. mun. MS. 902, It is difficult to ascertain the precise nature of the Douai MS. (destroyed in the First World War) from the brief catalogue entry: CGMBPF, VI. Douai (Paris, 1878), pp. 658-9.

³ 'Tiré d'un manuscrit des joustes et des roys de l'Espinette appartenant à M. du Bois, procureur, rue de la Barre' (Lille, b. mun. MS. 466, fo. 312^v); MS. of 'M. Jean le Boucq, conseiller et pensionnaire de la ville' (fos. 304^v-305^r); cf. 'Regles pour la feste de L'Espinette tirées du Registre Rouge [unidentifiable] fol. 172 par ledit Leboucq' (p. 50). M. du Bois also possessed a MS. of the 'joustes de Compiègne' (fo. 309^r) and an extrait about the forestiers de Bruges (the Brugeois equivalent of the epinette) 'pris hors dun tableau reposant en la loge des Bourgeois [à Bruges]', transcribed and translated from Flemish to French by the herald Guillaume Rugher (fo. 315^r), d. 1590 (Lille, b. mun. MS. 491, fo. 143^r). Douai, b. mun. MS. 902 apparently cited as sources a MS. of Baron d'Avelin, as well as that of Jean Le Boucq and the municipal accounts: CGMBPF, VI, p. 658.

⁴ Lille, b. mun. MS. 466, p. 56.

Chambre des comptes.¹ The compiler of the manuscript may have been a Dominican himself: he habitually uses the first person when referring to the Convent.² In particular this manuscript throws light upon the possible origin of the espinette, its religious associations and upon aspects of its organisation.

The choice of a new king was, in effect, governed by an oligarchy consisting of the anciens rois.³ It is uncertain when this practice was adopted and it is at least possible (although there is no direct evidence) that the new king was originally he who jostled with greatest distinction at the feste. The rois came every year to the Dominican convent 'pour tenir leur cour et faire leur deuotion', from Wednesday in Holy Week to the following Tuesday, attending divine office daily and, especially, worshipping the Cross on Good Friday and listening to a sermon on Easter Sunday.⁴ However, the compiler also cites another Dominican manuscript which presents a rather different picture:

les roys de L'Espinette alloient le
Vendredy saint au conuent de Saint
Dominicque pour honorer La Sainteespine
de nostre Seigneur et tous les ans
le iour de Pasques apres le sermon
le roy de ladite espinette mangeoit
audit conuent.⁵

It seems probable that here we glimpse the development of one aspect of the espinette, from a relatively simple devotional exercise, followed by a courtesy visit from the current king, to an altogether more in-

¹ Lille, b. mun. MS. 466, p. 71, fo. 313^r; also extracts from Registres aux bans 1398 (fos. 309^v - 312^v); cf. above, pp. 76-9.

² Cf. Lille, b. mun. MS. 466, fo. 319^r, ref. to material collected by M. Lobel 'chapelain de Saint-Pierre de Lille'.

³ E.g. Lille, b. mun. MS. 466, pp. 53, 56. Cf. Péage, 'A propos du tournoi de l'epinette à Lille', p. 37.

⁴ Lille, b. mun. MS. 466, p. 56.

⁵ Lille, b. mun. MS. 466, p. 56. The offering of the king and presence of societate sua was recorded in the Dominican accounts from 1431, the first year from which they then survived.

flated and complicated stay, which has certain parallels with the chapters of chivalric orders. The espine referred to was a relic of the crown of thorns, presented to the convent by Jeanne, countess of Flanders.¹ Undoubtedly the devotion followed the conscious linking espine-espINETTE, but it is impossible to be sure that the relic was the original source of the name of the feste, rather than a later association.²

The surviving manuscripts reflect a variety of traditions concerning the origin and foundation of the espINETTE. Several refer to records of the 'fais d'armes des roys de l'EspINETTE' from the 1220's onwards in the chambre des comptes at Paris and elsewhere,³ but there seems to be no trace of them today. There are also references to a fête des Syres de la Joye, which is said to have preceded the espINETTE and to have been ratified by either St. Louis,⁴ or his son, Philip III.⁵ Several copies of a sixteenth-century poem beginning, 'Espine noble, en royal surnom nette', maintain that the 'tant

¹ Lille, b. mun. MS. 466, p. 57; L. de Rosny, L'Epervier d'or (Paris/Lille, 1839), p. 17.

² For the possibility that espine originally referred to a location in the town, see J. Roisin, Le Livre Roisin. Coutumier lillois de la fin du xiii^e siècle, ed. R. Monier (Documents et trav. pub. par la soc. d'hist. du droit des pays flamands, picards et wallons, II) (Paris/Lille, 1932), p. 139; for a summary of theories of origin, see Rosny, pp. 14-18.

³ E.g. Cambrai, b. mun. MS. D. 872, fo. 11^r; Rosny, p. 10 n. 1.

⁴ Rosny, p. 11, cit. M. Doué, In tabulis geographice Gallo-Flandriae. It may be significant that some of the earlier rois were entitled 's^r de joie': Jehan le Grand, chevalier* (1312); Charles, chevalier (1374) (from liste des roys in Lille, b. mun. MS. 440).

⁵ E.g. 'Roys de Lespinette faictz et mis sus et anoblis par le Roy Philippes iij de ce nom..., ensieuant la deliberation et concept dudit Roy St. Loys' (Cambrai, b. mun. MS. D.872, fo. 11^r); Rosny, pp. 11, 14. For a theory of foundation by Philip Augustus in 1220, see A. Clément-Hémery, Histoire des fêtes civiles et religieuses, des usages anciens et modernes du département du Nord (Paris, 1834), pp. 23-4.

* (1283) Jean de Quialen (1300); Laurens, chevalier.

noble fête' was reinvigorated by Philip.¹ However, this belief might well stem from a logical interpretation of the surviving records (viz. the liste des rois), rather than have any sound historical basis. Certainly, the unanimity of the opening of all copies of the liste strongly suggests a radical re-foundation in 1283, but without independent documentation it is impossible to do anything other than speculate upon its nature. The tradition that 'primitivement' the victor, accompanied by his fellow-jousters, hung his shield on the vault of a country chapel dedicated to St. George might conceivably represent a continuation of the practice of this earlier period.²

There are considerable difficulties in using the lists of the rois de lespinette, despite their unbroken sequence and the high level of textual agreement between the manuscripts. At the beginning of this century Henri Frémaux noticed a number of discrepancies between the manuscript listes and the names found in the municipal accounts, and that a majority of these involved a member of the Beaufremetz family. Discovering also a reference to the commissioning of a register with the names and arms of all the rois de lespinette from 'Jaspart du Bos, hérault de l'Épinette' in 1481, to safeguard the civic record, he concluded that the liste des rois was an untrust-

¹ E.g. Valenciennes, b. mun. MS. 806, fo. 21^v; BR MS. 14,935, p. 42 (I owe this reference to M.G.A. Vale); Rosny, p. 14 cit. Douai MS. 'Veprecularia'. The text is printed in Clément-Hémery, Fêtes civiles, p. 30 n. 1 (on p. 31) cit. unspecified Cambrai MS.

² Rosny, p. 11 n. 2 cit. Doué. Doué maintains the practice was initiated in 1286. Cf. 'le voiage de Saint George' at Templemars on the first Friday of Lent (i.e. before the jousts); Lille, b. mun. MS. 466, p. 50; Péage, 'A propos du tournoi de l'épinette à Lille', p. 38 (item 20).

worthy falsification.¹ Frémaux's comparisons seem to have been based on one of the less accurate copies of the list.² His rather simplistic analysis also ignores such complications as the incidence of individuals with alternative names (signalled by dit or alias),³ the fact that town clerks were not infallibly accurate and the possibility that another jouter might collect payments for the roi and also that there may have been other records of the feste, which were not centralised or in so concise a format. It is also extremely improbable that the herald would have been allowed by his contemporaries to perpetrate falsifications on the scale envisaged by Frémaux. They would have been able to make a straightforward comparison between the shields in the halle des échevins and those in the register.⁴

¹ H. Frémaux, 'La verité sur les rois de l'épinette', Bull. comm. hist. dép. Nord, xxviii (1911), pp. 213-4, 217 (citing Lillois municipal account of 1481, fo. CIV): 'La faction d'un livre ou registre ou quel il a fait mettre en peinture et par ordre les noms de tous les Roix de l'Espinette affin que se par cas d'aventure les escus armoyés aux armes desdicts Roix ou aucuns d'iceulx estoient...perdue que l'on peust...recouvrer et en faire autres nouveaux par tout'. The shields had already shown signs of wear: payment of 4s 'pour II des escus de le halle d'eschevins, qui mis y sons pour mémoire des espinettes, refere et repaindre pour ce quils estoient brisiet et queu' (Dehaisnes, Documents p. 479 cit. communal account of 1367-8).

² E.g. Lille, b. mun. MSS. 440, 466 have 'Thomas de l'anglee' (1356), agreeing with town accounts (Frémaux, p. 220: 'Claude de Langlée); similarly, 'Jean Artus' (1357), (Frémaux, p. 220: 'Pierre Artus').

³ E.g. (1299) 'Henry d'Ipre dit de Courtray' (Lille, b. mun. MSS. 440, 466); cf. Frémaux, p. 218: 'Henry de Courtray'; (1319) 'Anthoine de Lostruy dit de Nast' (Lille, b. mun. MSS. 440, 466); (1340) 'Jaspart le Borgne alias Paldincq' (Lille, b. mun. MS. 466); cf. Frémaux, p. 219: 'Jaspart de Palledine'. The apparently irreconcilable discrepancy between the town accounts ('Wauquier le Toillier') and Frémaux's liste des rois (p. 220: 'Denis de Priaulx') in 1385 is clarified by Lille, b. mun. MSS. 440, 466: 'Dennis le Toillier, alias de Preaux'.

⁴ The vehemence of Frémaux's argument and dismissal of the register's evidence as a 'liste fantastique' rouses the suspicion that he (whose ancestors are also among the earliest rois) may have had a personal axe to grind. (See H. Frémaux, 'Histoire généalogique de la famille de Fremault', Bull. comm. hist. dép. Nord, xxvii (1909), pp. 1-15)

Even were one to accept Frémaux's criticisms, the liste des rois would remain valuable for its record of the identity of the great majority of the participants.¹ The feste's élitist patrician character is reflected in the recurring names of the great Lillois families: Le Nepveu (or Le Niez), Pontrewart, Fremault, Hangouart, Le Prevost, Baufremetz, Vreté, Le Preud'homme.² Ten of fourteen members of these families who became roi in the first forty years of the feste's existence are entitled chevalier, but only two of twenty-two in the next forty-year period.³ It would probably be futile (even with a great deal of intensive local research) to attempt to establish the extent to which the title chevalier implied noble inheritance (reflecting original ties with the countryside), knighthood following ennoblement, or simply the adoption of a noble life-style.⁴ The figures also suggest that in the course of the first half of the fourteenth century the feste became increasingly enclosed within the patriciate circle. Individuals whose titles suggest that they were lords of small local (or relatively local) seigneuries and who featured in the early years of the record

¹ Frémaux's alleged 'errors' relate only to a very small proportion of the whole.

² In the first 80 years of the feste. For the rise of these families see P. Feuchère, 'La bourgeoisie lilloise au moyen âge', Annales, iv (1949), pp. 422-4. The Artus family first appear in the liste des rois in 1357 (Lille, b. mun. MSS. 440, 466); cf. below p. 94.

³ Figures largely from Lille, b. mun. MS. 440. Jacques le Niez (1286), Eluther de Pontrewart (1290), Huquin Fremault (1291), Phelippes Hangouart (1293), Jacques le Neveu (1298), Jacques le Prevost (1301), *Baulduin ly Preud'homme (1311), Denis Hangouart (1341), Henry le Preud'homme (1345). The numbers might be increased for the latter period by including members of newer families (e.g. Jehan de la Barre (1329), Lotart Canard, seigneur des Grimaretz (1333)), but they would not affect the overall ratio.

⁴ Cf. comments of E. Dravasa, "'Vivre noblement'", 3, pp. 139-41, 150.

* (according to Lille, b. mun. MS. 466; Frémaux, p. 218), Robert de Baufremez (1305), Thierry de Baufremez (1304), Robert Vreté (1308).

almost disappear.¹ From the outset, however, nobles of considerably higher standing seem to have been involved. The personal participation of Louis XI and the contingent to the feste de l'espINETTE by the duke of Burgundy as count of Flanders in the fifteenth century do not represent an entirely new practice and social development,² for in 1294 the extremely well connected Jehan de Luxembourg, seigneur de Faulquemont, was roi de lespINETTE, and so was Jean de Ghistelles, of the important Brugeois family, in 1324.³ There is nothing here to suggest antipathy between the nobility and the patrician élite, and this attitude is reflected in evidence from elsewhere in the area. The participants at the first feste of the forestiers des blancs ours at Bruges were described as 'chevaliers, gentilhommes bourgeois et jousteurs de plusieurs villes', and in 1321 one prize ('le cornet') at Bruges was won by a Frisian knight, another ('le blanc ours') by Guillaume de Carouble of Valenciennes. They evidently competed on equal terms.⁴

Further evidence of noble presence at these civic occasions comes from an unexpected source. In 1284 antagonism between Douai and Lille was expressed in a series of outbreaks of violence between various

¹ E.g. Lambersart (1284), Poucques (1285).

² In 1463 (Lille, b. mun. MS. 466, p. 58); 1464 (Rosny, p. 13). For the counts of Flanders see e.g. Valenciennes, b. mun. MS. 806, fo. 107^r (1435).

³ For earlier lords of Faulquemont and the house of Luxembourg, see above, pp. 39-40, 39 n.5. Cf. 'Wilaume de Gistele' at Le Hem (Sarrasin, l. 4367). Cf. also Thierry du Chastel (roi, 1310), seigneur de Hellemmes, bailiff of Hainault and an important Valenciennois figure: D. du Péage, Recueil de généalogies lilloises (Lille, 1908), pp. 848-50; s^r de Warcoing (roi 1287), commune in Belgian Hainault, near Tournai (E. de Seyn, Dictionnaire historique et géographique des communes belges (3^e éd., Turnhout, [1950]), p. 1444).

⁴ Lille, b. mun. MS. 466, fo. 315^r. (The term 'gentilhommes bourgeois' reflects the usage of the 16th-century translator: cf. above, p. 82 n.3)

groups from the two cities.¹ The occasion which first sparked off this hostility (whose ultimate cause is unknown) was the annual Douaisien May-time 'fieste dou Rosier',² 'u il i eut bourgeois de Lille et d'autres boines vile pour juster et pour esbanier'.³ Espinas thought that the occurrence of the jousting on the day of the annual civic feste was purely coincidental,⁴ but there is no explicit support for this view and it seems more likely that the jousts were an integral part of the proceedings, on the pattern of other towns in the region. The affair became so serious in the following months that the count of Flanders ordered an enquiry, and it is the depositions presented on this occasion which supply details concerning a dispute that occurred in the course of the jousting.

On the day appointed the Douaisiens maintained that the Lillois 'ne jousteroit ja a leur fieste, car il ne les amoit de riens'.⁵ To this end they refused to provide opponents for two of the Lillois jousters, Jehans Doure and Pieres Tuelaine,⁶ although it had been stipulated that 'cascuns des josteurs de dehors aroit sen josteur de devens'.⁷ Two important lords, of Lalaing and Berlaimont, failed to persuade the Douaisiens to change their mind.⁸ The two aggrieved Lillois then prevailed upon the son and cousin of the count of Flanders, Willaume de Flandres and Jehan de Dampierre, to plead

¹ For the course of events, see G. Espinas, Une Guerre sociale inter-urbaine dans la Flandre Wallonne au XIII^e siècle. Douai et Lille 1284-1285 (Paris - Lille, 1930).

² Espinas, Guerre sociale, p. 80.

³ Espinas, Guerre sociale, p. 41. The other towns included Tournai (p. 24).

⁴ Espinas, Guerre sociale, p. 133.

⁵ Espinas, Guerre sociale, p. 22.

⁶ Espinas, Guerre sociale, p. 22.

⁷ Espinas, Guerre sociale, p. 76.

⁸ Lalaing: mod. Lallaing (Nord, commune urbaine de Douai); Berlaimont Nord, commune urbaine d'Aulnoy-Ayneries. Both important Hainault families: see above p. 27 n. 3; below, apx. 1 (Lalaing); G. Alquier, 'Les grandes charges du Hainaut', Rev. Nord, xxi (1935), pp. 15-16, 22-23.

their case, with the result that the Douaisiens finally allowed them jousting opponents on the first day of the feste. However, they refused to provide a jousteur for Pieres Tuelaine the following day, 'ne por Mgr Willaumes de Flandres ne por autrui'. Accordingly, William of Flanders let one of his squires run against Pieres 'par se cortoisie'. This gesture apparently incensed the Douaisiens, for when the pair had run six lances, they intervened menacingly. Understandably, the two Lillois left the next day 'a grant compaignie de chevaliers et de gent de Lille'.¹

Here is evidence of four nobles, including two closely related to the count of Flanders, not simply present at Douai at the time of the feste, but prepared to involve themselves actively on behalf of these two bourgeois participants. Their very limited success with the Douaisiens, who were clearly responsible for the organisation of the feste, makes it virtually impossible that they could have been acting as diseurs.² William of Flanders' decision to resolve the situation by allowing one of his own squires (whom he probably judged to be of comparable ability) to joust shows that he thought Pieres Tuelaine worthy of a noble opponent. The phrase 'par se cortoisie' reveals his attitude: evidently he felt that the obligations of chivalric behaviour extended to such individuals as Pieres. (This forms an ironic contrast with the total absence of cortoisie in the Douaisiens over the issue.) Although it is possible that these nobles' presence in Douai was purely coincidental, it seems much more likely that the feste had attracted them - especially in view of the known predilection of many members of the Lalaing family for jousting.³

¹ Espinas, Guerre sociale, p. 22.

² For diseurs, see above, p. 25. There seems to be no evidence for their use at jousts, rather than tournaments.

³ See e.g. Sarrasin, pp. cii-iii: Bretel, pp. xcix-c; 'Le Tournoi de Mons de 1310', pp. 193-5.

It seems probable that this incident - documented in a very atypical source for such occasions - reveals the tip of the iceberg, and that in the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries the noble presence at and participation in civic festes was very much greater than has generally been assumed. This in turn suggests that too rigid a distinction may have been made (especially in this geographical area) between the knightly classes and the so-called bourgeoisie. The notion of two mutually exclusive categories of knights on horseback and townsmen on foot fighting with pikes ignores the combatants on horseback sent by the towns against the French¹ and the forces of the Counts of Juliers and Namur beside the Flemish at Courtrai.²

The details of the 1284 incident also underline the affinities of practice between supposedly 'noble' and 'bourgeois' festes. (It should be remembered that knightly tournaments and jousts also provided a pretext for the continuation of private quarrels.)³ As at distinctively 'noble' gatherings, there was a clear division between 'jousteurs dedens le feste' and those 'dehors',⁴ with pairs running a controlled number of courses with the lance,⁵ and prizes seem to

¹ E.g. Comptes de la ville d'Ypres, pp. 145-6. (Eighty chevaucheurs and sixty arbalestriers were sent to Courtrai in 1302.) Cf. refs. to horses, harness etc. for the 1286 expedition against Liège (pp. 15-9).

² For communal payments to Guillaume de Juliers, Jean and Gui de Namur, see J. Colens, '1302. Le Compte communal de la ville de Bruges', Annales de la société d'emulation pour l'étude de l'histoire et des antiquités de Flandre, 4^e sér. viii (1885), pp. 116-34, 143-4.

³ Cf. the role of e.g. the Wallingford tournament (1307) in fostering animosity between Gaveston and the barons (Vita Edwardi secundi, ed. N. Denholm-Young (London, 1957), p. 2); Dunstable (1309) in focusing baronial discontent under Lancaster's leadership (J.R. Maddicott, Thomas of Lancaster, 1307-1322 (Oxford, 1970), pp. 95-102).

⁴ Espinas, Guerre sociale, p. 22. Cf. Lille (1435) where the dedens team comprised 'jousteurs de la ville de Lille qui soustindrent contre tous venans' (Valenciennes, b. mun. MS. 806, fo. 105^r).

⁵ Espinas, Guerre sociale, p. 22. Pierre Teulaine and Thumas [sic] de le Mour ran six courses: it is unclear whether this was their full quota or whether they were prevented from achieving the maximum permitted.

have been habitually awarded.¹ A reference in the enquiry at Douai to the 'aventures...dou blanc Rosier'² reflects the extent to which the notion of the individual questing knight had permeated this section of society, too, and the statement that people came to the Douai feste 'pour juster et pour esbanier'³ hints at the dancing and feasting characteristic of other civic festes, as well as those that took place in an uncompromisingly noble milieu. There are echoes here of the arrangements at Le Hem.⁴ Annual civic festes, such as those held at Douai and Lille, appear to have had much more in common with knightly gatherings than has sometimes been assumed.

An especially large body of material has been preserved in connection with the feste de lespinette at Lille. The smaller and less wide-ranging group of documents relating to the 'joustes faictes a Tournay de trente ung roys' offers a number of insights about a rather different and much less institutionalised feste. Although the occasion is fairly regularly referred to in print, there seems to have been little attempt to analyse what happened, or to consider how it contributes to our perception of the relationship between civic festes and those held in a specifically aristocratic milieu.

The manuscripts which throw light on the 1331 Tournai feste fall into two distinct groups: those which provide a record of this

¹ E.g. Lille (1435) where 'Jacquemes Grebert [of Valenciennes]... gaigna le maistre pris'. He was led to the market-place 'sur un houdage' drawn by 4 damsels holding him with golden ribbons. (Valenciennes, b. mun. MS. 806 fos. 105^r, 109^r). Cf. below, pp. 108-9, 109 n. 2.

² Espinas, Guerre sociale, p. 22.

³ Espinas, Guerre sociale, p. 41.

⁴ Cf. above e.g. p. 16. For dancing and feasting at the espinette, see Lille, b. mun. MS. 466, pp. 50-3 passim. Certainly by the 15th-c. the espinette featured a reine de lespinette whose compaignie consisted of the wives of the vieux roys, possibly with the dames et damoiselles who accompanied joustiers from other towns (Lille, b. mun. MS. 466, p. 61, fo. 303^v).

specific event and those which give evidence concerning the armorial tradition relating to its subject, Galehaut and the thirty kings he conquered.¹ The latter is, for example, preserved in two general armorials of the fifteenth century.² Of these, the copy which I have consulted, Cambrai, b. mun. MS. B.888 (c. 1460?), contains no reference whatsoever to the Tournai feste or any other specific occasion. The English armorial in the same manuscript appears to date from c. 1360-70,³ so it is possible that the Galehaut heraldry also reflects a fourteenth-century tradition. The arms ascribed to the various characters do not correspond exactly to those assigned in the Tournai feste, and the inter-relation of the two manuscript traditions is discussed later in this chapter.

For our purposes the group of specific records is most valuable, however, especially when the manuscript includes a narrative introduction describing the instigation of the feste, as well as details concerning the sequence and outcome of the jousts, with a strong armorial element. Some of these date from the sixteenth century,⁴ but an eighteenth-century manuscript (Lille, b. mun. MS. 730) is also surprisingly valuable. This was copied from a manuscript in the possession of a canon of Tournai in the last quarter of the sixteenth century,⁵

¹ Summarised in appendix 11.

² Cambrai, b. mun. MS. B. 888. (CGMBPF, XVII. Cambrai (Paris, 1891) does not include alphabetical notation for Cambrai MSS.) BN MS. fr. 18 651, fo. 103^r (cit. Brault, Early Blazon, p. 42 n. 1). (I have not seen this MS. and this section is not listed in the catalogue: BN, Cat. gen. des MSS. fr. par H. Omont (Anc. St. -Germain français II) nos. 17059 - 18676 (Paris, 1898), p. 500.) Brault refers to this item as a 'roll', which seems improbable in view of the foliation.)

³ Cambrai, b. mun. MS. B. 888, fos. 1^r - 7^r. This section includes English knights active in the second half of the reign of Edward III and the early years of Richard II, including 'Mess. Jehan Chandos' (fo. 2^r): Chandos, d. 1370.

⁴ BN MS. fr. 10.469, pp. 239-79; Valenciennes, b. mun. MS. 806, fos. 54^r - 64^r.

⁵ Viz. 'Maitre Scohier, chanoine de Tournay', fl. 1582 (Lille, b. mun. MS. 730, titlepage).

and the Tournai manuscript destroyed in the second world war, copied from the same source, must have been closely related to it.¹ The canon's original manuscript (whose date is uncertain) seems to have been in a private collection in Tournai in the nineteenth century, but its present whereabouts is unknown.²

The earliest manuscript of this group, Cambrai, b. mun. MS. 890, although it omits the introductory paragraphs and does not identify the occasion, is in many ways the most interesting.³

A volume of relatively small format,⁴ it dates from the fifteenth or very early sixteenth century, and is unique in containing details of the Tournai feste alone, as well as in preserving a frontispiece with the coat of arms, crest and motto of the individual for whom the manuscript was made. The motto 'Par layaulte Artus' and arms (quarterly, 1 and 4, or, three crowns gules; 2 and 3 vair, on a bend of the second, three eagles or; overall, an inescutcheon of the last, fretty azure) show clearly that the original owner belonged to the Lillois family of Artus.⁵ This is important evidence both for the continuing interest of the patriciate in the faits d'armes of their ancestors and for the commissioning of personal records of such occasions by individuals.

¹ Briefly described by A. Wilboux, Catalogue de la bibliothèque de la ville de Tournai, I (Tournai, 1860), p. 118 no. CCXXII. Ex inf. A. Depoitre, Bibliothécaire, Bibliothèque Centrale de Tournai, 25/7/1980 cit. 'un petit bristol' in an unknown hand in the Tournai copy of Wilboux's catalogue: 'Le manuscrit intitulé Le livre de tournois CCXXII de la bibliothèque de Tournai est de Jean Scohier - Beaum [illisible]. Je possède l'original de la joute des 31 rois qui ne laisse aucun doute à cet égard. La bibliothèque municipale de Lille possède 2 copies de mon manuscrit.'

² Cf. above, n. 1.

³ This occasion does not appear to have been identified previously, although the names and sequence of events leave no room for doubt.

⁴ 15 fos., 309 x 200 mm.

⁵ Quarters 2, 3 reflect an alliance with the Pontrewart family, the inescutcheon with the Le Nepveu (cf. Lille, b. mun. MS. 440 fos. 21^v, 23^r, 31^v, 40^v, 43^v). For the Artus arms (quarters 1, 4), see below, p. 104 and n. 1, p. 105 n. 3.

The introductory preamble in these narrative manuscripts provides valuable information about the context of the jouistes.¹

In effect, thirty-one bourgeois of Tournai decided in 1330 to form a jousting fraternity for the coming year, culminating in the feste of the thirty-one kings. There is nothing to suggest that this was a regular occasion rather than an unique episode. A convivial and domestic approach characterised the intervening months:

les compaignons de ladicte feste tous les dimanches faisoient ung souper, ou disner chascun a son tour.²

The framework of the feste and consequently the number of the compaignons (the thirty-one kings) was clearly established from the outset:

Et avoient faict une baniere, et penons de trompe des armes des trente-ung desusditz. Laquelle baniere on mettoit hors chacune fois qu'ils disnoient, ou souppoient ensemble.³

Doubtless the coincidence of thirty-one kings and thirty-one years of the century was not accidental. Each meeting was accompanied with considerable ceremonial:

sonoient trompettes, mases, calleinelles, cornes sarrasinois et nacaires, heraulx et menestriers vestus d'une liuree.⁴

The intervening months were also used for practice at arms:

On joustoit en la ville, ou aus champs. Et quand quelque estrangier homme dhonneur venoit en la ville, ilz le prioient de disner, ou soupper avec la compaignie, et sil luy plaisoit iouster avec les compaignons, on les armoit et montoit.⁵

¹ E.g. BN MS. fr. 10 469, p. 239; Lille, b. mun. MS. 730, pp. 21-2; Valenciennes, b. mun. MS. 806, fo. 54^r.

² BN MS. fr. 10 469, p. 239. (Cf. Valenciennes, b. mun. MS. 806, fo. 54^r.)

³ BN MS. fr. 10.469, p. 239. (Cf. Valenciennes, b. mun. MS. 806, fo. 54^r.)

⁴ BN MS. fr. 10 469, p. 239. (Cf. Valenciennes, b. mun. MS. 806, fo. 54^r.)
'Calleinelles': Calamelles = reed instrument < Lat. calamus, reed cane);
for cornes sarrasinois see Tobler - Lommatzsch, Altfranzösisches Wörterbuch, IX (Wiesbaden, 1973) s.v. sarrasinois; Oeuvres complètes de Eustache Deschamps, ed. Le Marquis de Saint-Hilaire, I (SATF, Paris, 1878), CXXIV, ll. 15-6 'Plourez harpes et cors sarrasinois/la mort Machaut'. For the other instruments, see H.H. Carter, A Dictionary of Middle English Musical terms, ed. G.B. Gerhard (Bloomington, Ind., 1961), s.v. tromper, sb¹, iv. muse, cornet, nacer. I am grateful to C. Page for suggesting these references.

⁵ Lille, b. mun. MS. 730, p. 21.

In other respects the compagnie performed the functions of any confraternity, supporting its members in the event of marriage or the baptism of a child.¹

It would be impractical to attempt a detailed biographical study of the participants within the scope of this chapter, but it is clear that many of them were members of the town's principal patrician families, whose descendants' obits and land transactions have been preserved in Tournai's parish archives and feature regularly in civic records.² Undoubtedly, the criteria determining the choice of the compagnons must have been primarily financial. In addition to the provision of their own equipment, they would have had to support the expenses of the enterprise - costly prizes, any civic decoration, doubtless a grand feast and the enclosure of the town's market place.³ In the event, the last item was largely met by Jacques de Codbry or Corbry,⁴ who was consequently allowed to assume the pre-eminent character of the roi Galehaut, and is referred to as 'roi de la feste'.⁵

¹ 'Et sil escheoit audict an que lung deulx eust enfant a baptiser, ou quil se mariast, tous les ditz menestriers se y emploioient': BN MS. fr. 10 469, p. 239. Cf. confrèrie des damoiseaux at Valenciennes, where the members were to attend the funeral of another in livery, if the family so wished: Valenciennes, b.m. MS 534, fo. 13^r (MS. of 1538, but at least in part a copy of rules drawn up in 1333: see fo. 9^r); 'les confreres de monsignor de Saint Nicolas' at Valenciennes were similarly to attend funerals of fellow-members and their wives: Valenciennes, b.m. MS 536, fo. 22^v (MS. of 1440 - 50; Later (?) hand added '2nd March 1423', fo. 28^r).

² See appendix 12.

³ Cf. above, p.78.

⁴ BN MS. fr. 10 469, p. 239 ('Jacques de Corbry'); Valenciennes, b. mun. MS. 806, fo. 54^v ('Cobry'); Lille, b. mun. MS. 730, p. 21 ('Codbry alias Corby').

⁵ BN. MS. fr. 10 469, p. 239; Valenciennes, b. mun. MS. 806, fo. 54^v; Lille, b. mun. MS. 730, p. 21. Inspiration and financial support are also attributed to Corbry [sic] in the chronicle of the bourgeois of Valenciennes: Récits d'un bourgeois de Valenciennes, ed. K. de Lettenhove (Louvain, 1877), p. 50.

The occasion is always spoken of as a feste, with jousting the only activity specifically mentioned, but there are some interesting coincidences of practice between this occasion and the tournament. Before they took part the arms of each combatant were fenestrated (formally displayed so that they might be identified by heralds and fellow-combatants) and the coats grouped together according to their town of origin.¹ The importance (by implication, the indispensability) of the custom is reflected in the prominence accorded to its accomplishment in a late arrival:

Jacques Bourgeois [de Saint-Quentin] vint
le lundi a minuit fist fenestre...et
ioust a Jehan de Sottenghien.²

The two jousters in this encounter were the eventual prize-winners, Jacques Bourgeois being awarded a horse and Jehan de Sottenghien an altar-piece (aultour).³ The Sottenghien prize is referred to as 'le pris de dedens',⁴ revealing how this feste was conceived in terms of two parties, dedens and dehors, as was the tournament.⁵

¹ Inferred from the specific mention that 'Ceux d'Ardebourg et de L'Escluse fut fenestre ensemble' (Lille, b. mun. MS.730, p. 27). For the importance and practice of fenestration, see René of Anjou, 'Traité de la forme et de la maniere des tournois', cit. Vulson de la Columbière, Le vray théâtre d'honneur et de chevalerie, ou le miroir heroique de la noblesse, I (Paris, 1648), p. 56: 'vous estes tenus vous rendre es heberges le quatriesme iour deuant le iour dudit Tournoy, pour faire de vos blazons fenestres, sur payne de non estre regeus audit Tournoy'. (The regulations concerning the time-limit were clearly less rigorous at Tournai.)

² Valenciennes, b. mun. MS. 806; fo. 59^v; BN MS. fr. 10 469, p. 256. (Jacques Bourgeois had just returned from pilgrimage: 'et venoit de Saint Jacques en Galice'.)

³ BN MS. fr. 10 469 p. 244; (with orthographic variants) Valenciennes, b. mun. MS. 806, fos. 55^v, 59^v; Cambrai, b. mun. MS. 890, fos. 2^v, 7^v; Lille, b. mun. MS. 730, p. 24.

⁴ BN MS. fr. 10 469, p. 244, Cf.: 'Et eulx deux eurent le pris, lung de dehors laultre de dedens. Si eust celluy de Saint-Quentin ung cheval pour le pris, et celluy de Tournay ung aultour' (Cambrai, b. mun. MS. 890, fo. 7^v) and Valenciennes, b. mun. MS. 806, fo. 59^v, where minor variants suggest a slightly later date: 'Et eulx deux eurent le pris, lung de dehors, laultre de dedens. Sy eut celui de Saint-Quentin un cheval et celui de Tournay un autour.' N.B. The Cambrai MS. is defective, e.g. omission of Jacques de Codbry, Collars Villains and their shields.

⁵ See above pp. 21-2, 41-2. The dedens team comprised the 31 kings: it is significant that only they, no other inhabitants of Tournai, josted against those from elsewhere.

Not one scrap of evidence, however, suggests that there was any group-encounter. The records speak habitually of jousteurs and courans, and the award of prizes in this context presumably implies a scoring system of some kind, however rudimentary.¹

The structure of retinues within tournament teams also apparently influenced the organisation of participants at Tournai. The term courans seems to have applied to all jousts, among them individuals further characterised by the terms manans or à bannière. The Valenciennois, for example, numbered eleven courans, and of these only three were not à bannière or manans.² Of the others, Jean Bernier, père, came with four manans (among them his son and his cousin) and Jacques Gouches with two cousins as his manans.³ The term manans here appears to have been transferred from its specialised application referring to a member of or servant in a seigneurial household.⁴ The use of

¹ Scoring perhaps incorporated a knock-out element: Jehan de Sottenghien jousts as often as any of the rois. For scoring in the 16th century see S. Anglo, 'Archives of the English tournament - score cheques and lists', J. Soc. Archivists, ii (1960-64), pp. 153-62.

² Viz. Hues Cochon, Jean de la Monnoye, Jean de Boissy (Lille, b. mun. MS. 730, p. 23).

³ 'Jehan Bernier filz de Jehan courant a doublesbanriere...Collard Lieure son cousin, Collard Commare de Mauboeuge, Jehan Bernier filz audit Jehan et Lottart Le Changeur' (BN MS. fr. 10 469, p. 247); Jacques Gouches with his cousins Lottart and Jean de Karouble (Lille, b. mun. MS. 730, p. 23).

⁴ See Tobler - Lammatsch, Altfranzösisches Wörterbuch, V. (Wiesbaden, 1963), s.v. manant (2), subdivision 'zu einem Haushalt Gehörender, Untergebener' esp. citations from Manekine. The more common meaning of manant as 'inhabitant', lacking the rights and privileges of the bourgeois (see E. Littré, Dictionnaire de la langue française, IV (Paris, 1957); P. Robert, Dictionnaire alphabétique et analogique de la langue française IV (Paris, 1966) s.v. manant (1); P. Rolland, Les origines de la commune de Tournai: Histoire interne de la seigneurie épiscopale tournaisienne (Brussels, 1931), p. 196) cannot apply here, as manans are conceived in specific relationship to bannières, e.g. '[ils] vinrent avec leur manans', 'manant a Jacques Cobry' (Lille, b. mun. MS. 730, pp. 23, 26), and because both categories are bourgeois: 'bourgeois qui vinrent a banniere et a manans' (p. 23).

banners (depicted in many of the manuscripts) and the terms à bannière, à double bannière are also clearly borrowed from the aristocratic practice of the tournament, where sub-groups within a team frequently consisted of a retinue led by a banneret.¹ In this context it is difficult to assess the significance of the terms: the fact that some jousts operated outside any such unit might imply that the terms were purely formal. However, the possibility that such groups did operate as units in other contexts makes one hesitate to adduce this as evidence that the urban patriciate adopted the outward expressions of the tournament without assimilating their content.²

The subject of the feste, 'le roy Galehot et les .xxx. roys qu'il conquesta' is drawn from the part of the Vulgate Arthurian romance known as the Enfances Lancelot or Galehot. Galehaut and his vassals defied Arthur, but he submitted to Arthur's lordship and asked for mercy because of his great admiration for Lancelot and desire for his friendship.³ It was doubtless Galehaut's devotion to Lancelot, in effect the ideal of secular knighthood, that determined his choice as the principal figure in such a feste. No record of any exact precedent for the use of the character in such a context seems to have survived, but it would be unwise to assume that the Tournai feste inaugurated a new Arthurian tradition: indeed, the existence of an apparently independent heraldic tradition relating to Galehaut and the thirty kings argues strongly against this.⁴

¹ Cf. above pp. 26-7. About a quarter of the participants were à bannière (e.g. Lille, b. mun. MS. 730: 25/101; BN. MS. fr. 10 469: 23/100).

² This problem might be illuminated by examination of individual roles vis-à-vis the civic militia and the Tournaisien duty as bodyguard to the French king when he was with his army (see F. - J. Bozière, 'Armorial de Tournai et du Tournaisis', Mém. de la soc. hist. et litt. de Tournai, vi (1859), pp. 137-8, cit. charters of Charles VI (1404), Charles VII (1434).

³ The Vulgate version of the Arthurian romances edited from the manuscripts in the British Museum, ed. H.O. Sommer, 8 vols. (Washington, 1908-16), III, pp. 210-50 passim.

⁴ Below, pp. 103-4.

The existing records are terse concerning the feste itself, merely listing the names, blazons and sequence of combats. There is no hint of any accompanying dramatic element. Each jouster is, however, consistently referred to by his fictitious name as one of the kings, rather than by his own. As the blazons of the kings are also listed it is virtually certain that they each jousting in the arms of, and in effect personified, the king assigned to them. There was thus an integral mimetic element, and the fairly lengthy period of preparation before the feste would make it likely that this aspect was elaborated. It is perfectly possible to envisage tableaux or a dramatised episode with dialogue which involved Arthur and Lancelot and centred upon Galehaut's submission, but there is no evidence for such theatrical speculation. A procession of all the fictitious kings led by Galehaut, 'roy de la feste' or 'roy de la table ronde', in the manner that Edward III and his knights rode through London dressed in the characters they were to represent in the ensuing hastilude at the same period is much more probable.¹

The theme of Galehaut and the question of the form in which it influenced the feste raises two further important issues: its relationship to the Arthurian texts upon which it was originally based, and also to the Arthurian heraldic tradition. Both aspects are important in any assessment of the significance of the feste in relation to the cultural life of the community. The Vulgate text refers to the thirty kings conquered by Galehaut, but does not name them.² We hear only of the two kings in whom Galehaut especially trusted, 'Le Rois Premiers Conquis' and 'Le roi des .c. chevaliers'.³ Only the latter appeared

¹ Cf. below, pp. 173-4, 196-9.

² The Vulgate version, III, p. 210.

³ The Vulgate version, III, p. 245. Le roi des .c. chevaliers was also a cousin of Galehot's (III, p. 337).

at Tournai.¹ Moreover, the notion of Galehaut as king is specifically denied in the romance text: Galehaut gives Lancelot his word, stating, 'ie le vous fiancherai comme loiaus cheualiers ...ie ne sui mie rois'.² It is clear that the theme of the feste has only the most tenuous connection with the romance text.

The theme of the conquered kingdoms was probably modelled on the thirty supposedly subjugated by Arthur. In Geoffrey of Monmouth's Historia Regum Britanniae Arthur exhorts his soldiers in the battle against the Romans:

Mementote dexterarum uestrarum que tot
preliis exercitate terdena regna₃
potestati mee [sic] subdiderunt.³

At this point in the text the subjugation of only about half this number of countries has been mentioned:⁴ later writers consequently sought to substantiate Arthur's assertion by adding the names of those whom he defeated in the battle that followed.⁵ An early fourteenth-century English manuscript gives visual expression to this composite tradition in a miniature entitled 'ray arthoure', where the fully armed king places his feet upon a rectangular box

¹ See appendix 13.

² The Vulgate version, III, p. 244.

³ Geoffrey of Monmouth, Historia Regum Britomum, ed. A. Griscom (London, 1929), p. 492; cf. pp. 483-4.

⁴ Geoffrey of Monmouth, pp. 444: 'regiam scotorum' (Scotland), 'sceptro murefensium' (Moray); 445: 'lodensie' (Lothian), 'hybernie' (Ireland), 'yslandiam' (Iceland), 'rex Gotlandie' (Gotland), 'rex orcadum' (Orkney); 447: 'norguegiam' (Norway), 'daciam' (Denmark), 'gallias' (Gaul).

⁵ I.e. Lucius' allies against Arthur, viz.: Greeks, Africans, Spaniards, Parthians, Medes, Libyans, Etrurians, Egyptians, Babylonians, Bithnyians, Phrygians, Syrians, Boethians, Cretans (Geoffrey of Monmouth, p. 467). Cf. 'li rois artus i estoit soi treisme de rois' (Vulgate Lancelot's description of the crown-wearing after Arthur's defeat of the Saxons: The Vulgate version, II, p. 408.)

containing thirty named crowns.¹ A similar process of assimilation seems to have supplied the names of the thirty kings conquered by Galehaut. They were drawn from those who, like Lot of Orkney, rebelled against Arthur in the early part of his reign and from kings - notably Ban de Benoïc and Boors de Gaunes - conquered by Claudas de la Terre Déserte.² Others, such as Erec and Lionel, are not related to this part of the story and appear to have been drawn from the Arthurian corpus at random as familiar kingly figures. The need to substantiate thirty kings doubtless explains the apparent obscurity of some of the figures represented - Lac de Rochelisse, Silor de la Rouge Montaigne, Tenor de la Haute Riuiere and Godenore gande among them.³

Naturally, the names of the kings have been exceptionally vulnerable to textual corruption with the transmission of the text; and the independent armorial of Galehaut and the thirty kings, preserved in earlier (fifteenth-century) manuscripts, consequently provides a valuable check.⁴ With the exception of the extraordinary copyists' mangling of the name of Lancelot's father, Ban de Benoïc (which

¹ BL MS. Royal 20 A. II, fo. 4^r: 'France, Morres, Albanie, Orkani, Hirland, Angeou, Island, Guthland, Almayn, Griffoni, Galis, Gres, Aragon, Espayne, Mede, Libbye, Frige, Egypte, Turrye, Babiloyne, Surry, Beathie, ?Torres, Rome'. This section of the MS. contains Latin verses and genealogical tables of the kings of England to Edward II, followed (fo. 11^r) by Peter Langtoft's French verse chronicle: see BM, Cat. of Western MSS. in the old Royal and King's collections, ed. Sir George F. Warner and J.P. Gibson, II (London, 1921), pp. 350-1 for dating and affiliations. Cf. C.E. Pickford, 'The three crowns of King Arthur', YAJ, xxxviii (1955), pp. 373-82 passim. * Norway, Danmark, Germani, Portingale, Nauerne, Armoni,

² E.g. The Vulgate version, II, p. 110 (the seven kings against Arthur include Loth, Karados briebas destraignor, Uriens, the Kings of Norgales and 'des cent cheualiers'); for Ban and Boors, see II, pp. 98-107, 254-63.

³ See appendix 13. (For 'Tanor de la haute riuiere', see L. -F. Flutre, Table des noms propres avec toutes leurs variantes figurantes dans les romans du moyen âge écrits en français ou en provençal (Poitiers, 1962), s.v. Tanor, King of Cornwall (minor prose Tristan character); 'Godenore gande': possible corruption of Leodegran, King of Cornwall and father of Guinevere?)

⁴ See appendix 13 for a summary.

appears in such guises as 'Bandenenicq' [sic], 'Bannenoit' 'Banst de Bonence' and 'Banicq benenich',¹ the readings of the Paris, Valenciennes and Lille, b. mun. MS. 730 manuscripts reflect forms close to those preserved in the armorial tradition. However, the list is not completely identical: the Cambrai manuscript of the armorial seems to be deficient in omitting such familiar figures as Boors de Gaunes and the king of Norgalles. (Twenty-eight kings only are listed.) The 1331 records make no mention of 'le roy pere Glifflet',² and there, too, numbers fall short of the declared total, with only twenty-nine characters named.

It is nevertheless clear that the two different groups of manuscripts are concerned with the same fictitious heraldic tradition. Random comparison of some of the arms in the two manuscript traditions illuminates their relationship further. Appendix 14 indicates clearly the way in which the blazons, while fundamentally the same, differ in a fairly high proportion of details, such as the colour of the ground and nature of the charge. The general correspondence between these two groups forms a clear contrast with the Arthurian armorial tradition of 'La Devise des chevaliers de la table ronde':³ the arms of only one of the figures in the sample agree with the Galehaut tradition, those of Ban de Benoÿc, which appear with the greatest consistency in the generally far less precise environment of romance illumination.⁴

¹ BN MS. fr. pp. 240, 251, 255, 261; cf. other variants e.g. Valenciennes, b. mun. MS. 806, fos. 54^v, 58^r; Lille, b. mun. MS. 730, p. 22. (See appendix 13, no. 4.)

² Cambrai, b. mun. MS. B.888, fo. 76^r.

³ For the 'Devise', see E. Sandoz, 'Torneys in the Arthurian tradition', pp. 389-420. Statements here are based upon Lille, b. mun. MS. 329, which was unknown to Sandoz. See appendix 14; plate 2.

⁴ See Brault, Early Blazon, p. 47 and n. 2. (These were also the arms of Lancelot.) See plate 3.

A particularly striking feature of the Galehaut armorial tradition (also found in the 1331 records) is the attribution to Galehaut himself of arms very close to those frequently ascribed to Arthur: azure, semé of crowns or.¹ A process of assimilation similar to that operating on the theme of the thirty conquered kingdoms perhaps accounts for this dualism.

Evidence of nomenclature and blazon thus demonstrates a close relationship between the armorial tradition of Galehaut and the thirty kings and the Tournai feste. It strongly suggests that the Tournaisiens drew upon an existing tradition, modifying it slightly to meet their own requirements. Guillaume de Hellemmes, as 'Le Roy Pellez du Castel Perilleux' evidently wanted his fictitious arms to have some explicit relationship with his own, vairy, a bend gules.² Consequently the field of Pelleus' arms was changed from vert to vairy for the feste.³ It seems that some participants would in effect joust only in their own arms: Henry Wettin's real and fictitious arms are given as gules, three buckles or, semé of trefoils of the last, the only concession to the feste being the substitution of crown for helm as his crest.⁴

The likelihood that the framework of the feste was drawn from an existing tradition makes it extremely difficult to evaluate the extent

¹ E.g. Valenciennes, b. mun. MS. 806, fo. 54^v; Cambrai, b. mun. MS. B.888, fo. 75^r. Arthur's arms are fully discussed in Vaivre, 'Artus, les trois couronnes et les héralts', pp. 3-7; see also Pickford, 'The three crowns of king Arthur', *passim*; Brault, Early Blazon, pp. 44-46. For other arms attributed to Arthur see BL MS. Lansdowne 882, fo. 29^v (much quoted: see e.g. R.S. and L.H. Loomis, Arthurian legends in medieval art (London/New York, 1938), p. 39, n. 88; K.H. Gøller, 'Die Wappen König Arthurs in der Hs. Lansdowne 882', Anglia, lxxix (1961), pp. 253-66).

² BN. MS. fr. 10 469, p. 242; Valenciennes, b. mun. MS. 806, fo. 55^r.

³ BN. MS. fr. 10 469, p. 240; Valenciennes, b. mun. MS. 806, fo. 54^v; cf. appendix 14.

⁴ BN. MS. fr. 10 469, pp. 240, 243; Valenciennes, b. mun. MS. 806, fos. 54^v, 55^r.

to which characters represented there reflect detailed knowledge of Arthurian romance in this milieu. Possible confusion over the identity of minor figures might suggest that some aspects of the subject-matter were not entirely familiar, but against this must be set the incomprehension of later copyists and the possibility of textual sources lost,¹ or not revealed in a cursory examination. It would be unwise to assume that the 1331 feste adopted a half-comprehended romance armorial tradition: in the middle of the century chanson de geste provided the subjects for a mystery play at Lille,² while the conscious allusion to the fictitious arms of Arthur in those of the Lillois family of Artus demonstrates tellingly the extent to which knowledge of this kind had permeated urban patrician society.³

The correctness of the blazons recorded is striking, especially as none of the participants has a title which suggests knighthood or ennoblement.⁴ The alteration of colours and tinctures is rigorously

¹ E.g. variation of Ban de Benoic's name ('Ban Benoit de Bast') in BL MS. Add. 23 929; BN MSS. fr. 756-757 (both 14th-century): R.L. Curtis, Tristan Studies (Munich, 1969), p. 83. Cf. above, pp. 102-3.

² Finot, 'Les représentations scéniques', p. 504. (Enfans Aymery de Narbonne and Jeu de Sainte-Katherine were performed in 1351.)

³ For arms attributed to Arthur, see above p. 104 n.1. The Artus arms reverse the tinctures of the legendary arms (e.g. BL MS. Lansdowne 882, fo. 29^v, where the crowns are also placed 2 + 1, rather than 1 + 1 + 1): see e.g. Lille, b. mun. MS. 440, fos. 33^v (Jean Artus, 1357), 34^v (Thomas Artus, 1360), 35^v (Philippe Artus, 1364), 39^v (sire Jean Artus, 1380), 42^v (Jacques Artus, 1393) etc. For seals of the Artus family, see de Vaivre, 'Artus', pp. 7-8. By the end of the 15th century at least one branch bore a quartered coat: see above, p. 94.

⁴ Cf. above, pp. 104-6. Described 'bourgeois de Tournai' in e.g. Lille, b. mun. MS. 730, p. 21. For tournaisien noblesse de cloche (i.e. collective civic, as opposed to individual, nobility), by virtue of their 'garde de la personne du roy de France' in time of war, for which Charles VII granted them tax exemptions 'pareillement comme nobles de nostre royaume', see Bozière, 'Armorial de Tournai', pp. 137-8; cf. J. -R. Bloch, L'annoblissement en France au temps de François 1^{er} (Paris, 1934), pp. 102-23 (analogous cases of noblesse de cloche granted to various French towns 14th - 16th centuries). N.B. his conclusions concerning the generally low regard for this form of ennoblement (p. 123). Tournai does not feature in his list of towns thus affected.

observed, and the coats of brothers differenced.¹ This provides an interesting example of the tacit assumption of the outward forms of nobility by the urban patriciate and perhaps testifies to the fluid nature of this section of society.²

It is highly likely that the heralds present at the ceremonies of the Tournai fraternity were largely responsible for the allocation of blazons to fictitious characters.³ While there was evidently an elastic boundary between bourgeois and noble, a role for the nobiles in civic life and many links between the urban patriciate and a predominantly seigneurial rural society, the heralds enjoyed exceptional

¹ E.g. Guillaume and Jean de Hellemmes bore, respectively, vair, a baton gules (BN MS. fr. 10 469, pp. 242, 245), vairy, argent and gules (Cambrai, b. mun. MS. 890, fo. 75^r). Valenciennes, b. mun. MS. 806, fo. 54^v omits the baton gules: this is probably an error. For change of tincture as an early indication of cadency, see A.C. Fox-Davies, A complete guide to heraldry (London/Edinburgh, 1909), p. 482. Cf. also arms of Jean Wettin: as his brother Henry (gules, 3 buckles or, semé of trefoils of the last), differenced with a bordure compony or and azure (Valenciennes, b. mun. MS. 806, fo. 55^v). Jacques Mouton provides an e.g. of canting arms: gules, a bend compony or and azure and three sheep arg. (Cambrai, b. mun. MS. 890, fo. 2^v). (Bozière, 'Armorial de Tournai', p. 293 adds 'brisé d'un lambel à 5 pendants de sable', cit. Tournai MS. 222: cf. appendix 11.)

² See P.S. Lewis, rev. of G. de Valous, Le patriciat lyonnais (Paris, 1973), EHR, lxxxix (1974), pp. 854-6 (cit. e.g. Pons de Puybusque, capitoul de Toulouse, 1354-5, both chevalier and marchand drapier); Dravasa, "'Vivre noblement'", 3, p. 136; cf. Tournaisien family of de Vinea, échevins in mid-12th century, described as viri nobili, e. 13th century (Rolland, Origines, annexe, III). The bailli of Tournaisis asked the Paris parlement for advice because of the general carrying of weapons by inhabitants of the area, 'soient noble ou non; et li bourgeois especialement'. He was advised to continue to turn a blind eye: G. Espinas, 'Les guerres familiales dans le commune de Douai aux xiii^e et xiv^e siècles. Les trêves et les paix', Rev. hist. du droit français et étranger, xxiii (1899), p. 416 n. 1 cit. Arch. Nat., J. 572^c, (beg. 14th century).

³ Cf. above, p. 95.

social mobility.¹ They undoubtedly played a very important part in the communication of ideas about the form and organisation of chivalric festes from a predominantly noble to a largely civic milieu. It is important to realise that municipal heralds were in no sense inferior to those in noble employment. In Valenciennes Francquevie (originally Francqueville),² the town herald, played the most important role (heraldically) in 1336 at the knighting of William of Ostrevant,³ son of William III of Hainault, Holland and Zeeland, because - according to the sixteenth-century historian of Valenciennes, Henri d'Outreman - the ceremony took place within the town:

Et ledit Heraut fut maistre de toutes ces cérémonies encor bien qu'Ostrevant Heraut de Hainau fut à son costé, et luy tint tousiours compagnie...

¹ Lewis, rev. of Valous, pp. 854-5: 'It was quite clear to those who drew up instructions for the commissioners of nouveaux acquêts [tax payable by the non-noble on the purchase of noble land]... that some nobles were in fact merchants or craftsmen and that some non-nobles behaved like nobles,' (p. 855). See also: A.B. Hibbert, 'The origins of the medieval town patriciate', Towns and Societies. Essays in economic history and historical sociology, ed. P. Abrams, E.A. Wrigley (Cambridge, 1978), pp. 91-104, esp. pp. 96-99, 102; Perroy, 'Social mobility', p. 36; J. Lestocquoy, Les dynastes bourgeoises d'Arras du xi^e au xv^e siècle (Mém. comm. dép. mon. hist. du Pas-de-Calais, V, i, Arras, 1945), pp. 18-20. Beaumanoir, Coutumes de Beauvaisis, oap. XLVIII e.g. §1500 (II, p. 257) presents an idealised picture already remote from social reality: cf. comments in E. Warlop, The Flemish Nobility before 1300, trans. J.B. Ross and H. Vandermoere (Courtrai, 1975-6), pp. 317-9; D.M. Nicholas, Town and countryside. Social, economic and political tensions in fourteenth-century Flanders (Bruges, 1971), pp. 250-2; D. Herlihy, Medieval and Renaissance Pistoia. The social history of an Italian town 1200-1430 (New Haven / London, 1969), pp. 195-6. For rural origins (peasant and knightly) of Lillois families, see Feuchère, 'La bourgeoisie lilloise au moyen âge', p. 425 and n. 5.

² According to the Valenciennois antiquary, d'Outreman, this form frequently appears in old MSS.: H. d'Outreman, Histoire de la ville et comté de Valenciennes (Douai, 1639), p. 330. He attributes the difference to phonetic changes and civic pride: it may also be significant that the second form deletes all reference to the civic environment and relates rather to the ideal of the individual knight - a possible reflection of bourgeois aspirations?

³ Brother-in-law of Edward III of England.

[Francquevie] fit seul l'office de maistre des cérémonies...pour faire voir à tous, que le Heraut, ou Roy d'armes de Hainau estoit hors de son terroir, et partout deuoir¹ ceder à l'autre qui estoit chez soy.

The heralds of Tournai would presumably also have been called to officiate at ceremonies within the town, regardless of the rank of those involved.

Although much might be inferred from later evidence outside the scope of this thesis, very little is yet known about the background and training of heralds at this early date.² It seems, however, that they were equipped to serve in any milieu - although their individual careers would naturally give experience and expertise in specific fields. The prose account of the 1331 feste gives some indication of the continuity and universality of heraldic practice and records, but it should first be emphasised that, although the occasion itself was unique, the record itself is paralleled in, for example, the records of individual festes de lespinette. Relatively few of the latter have survived and the earliest complete account, comprising both an armorial of the feste and a description of the entrées into the city dates from 1435.³ However, there is a seventeenth-century copy of a description of the entry of the damoiseaulx de Valenciennes (evidently an annual highlight) for the feste de lespinette at Lille 1360.⁴ This copy lacks the armorial section, with its details of

¹ Outreman, pp. 160, 322. Cf. BL Egerton MS. 1644, fos. 4^r - 5^v: excerpts from 14th - 15th -c. Valenciennes accounts (since lost), relating to Francquevie's diplomatic, ceremonial and literary activities.

² It seems likely that already in the 14th century each municipal contingent at a feste was accompanied by a herald: see e.g. Rekeningen der stad Gent...1376-89, p. 34 (payment of 20 l. in 1376 to 'den heerauden die ter feesten commen waren').

³ Copies in Lille, b. mun. MSS. 440, fos. 2^r - 92^r; 466, fos. 295^r - 309^v; Valenciennes, b. mun. MS. 806, fos. 103^r - 146^v; Cambrai, b. mun. MS. D.872, fos. 54^v - 74^v. See appendix 10.

⁴ ADN B. 1064 no. 22091. (I owe this and other ADN references to M.G.A. Vale.)

individual participants. If the date ascribed to the record by the copyist is trustworthy, it indicates that by the mid-fourteenth century the timing of the feste had been changed from Lent to mid-summer (possibly to coincide with the town's procession)¹ and also that keeping this form of record was a well established practice.² The description of the entries of contingents from other towns with herald, trumpeters, tableaux and magnificent costumes have often attracted attention,³ but the armorial sections have been relatively neglected. While it should be borne in mind that the emphasis on display, with symbolic tableaux, revealed in the entrées may well have been an intrinsic part of the feste at a much earlier date, we can be virtually certain that records of the names and coats of arms of individual jousts (grouped according to town of origin), with details of prizewinners and so forth, must have been kept from the outset.

The 'armorials' which have survived from 1435, 1438, 1442, 1447 and 1479 are all on the same pattern, listing the names and blazons of the Lille team followed by those from elsewhere, with a modicum of description or relevant information.⁴ In 1435 a good dozen knights came independently and a further twenty-seven incognito (without arms) as chevaliers errans, in conscious imitation of the knights of romance.⁵

¹ Cf. above p. 77.

² Although the accounts of the procession are distinct, the descriptions of the presentation of the prize to Grebert are almost identical (ADN, B. 1064 no. 22091; Valenciennes, b. 806, fo. 106^v). (Thomas Artus was roi in 1360, Jehan Artus in 1435.) I am inclined to think that this section has been erroneously conflated.

³ Clément-Hémery, Fêtes civiles, pp. 34-39; Rosny, passim.

⁴ E.g. (1435) 'Les jousteurs de la ville de Tournay, qui vindrent au noble arroy avecq estandars' (Valenciennes, b. mun. MS. 806, fo. 109^v); 'Jousteurs qui vindrent de Gand par la riuere sur un bateau, avecq grande melodie d'instrumens' (fo. 112^r). See appendix 11.

⁵ Valenciennes, b. mun. MS. 806, fos. 113^r - 116^r.

It would be interesting to discover when this practice began. The general pattern, with details of who josted against whom, is very similar to that of the Tournai records and seems likely to have been made by an eye-witness. The obvious candidate for authorship is of course the herault de lespinette: his role is not explicitly mentioned in the scanty records of the earliest festes, but it is probable that the office developed with the feste. At some point a poursuivant and a grand maistre were appointed to assist the herald.¹ The high degree of consistency in the armorial records (the liste des rois) from the inception of the feste in 1283 argues strongly in favour of heraldic records having been kept from the outset. It seems likely that the herald would have been responsible for ensuring an accurate painted shield of the roi was hung each year in the halle des échevins, as well as for recording details of the course of the jousting.² Individual copies might well have been made for some of the participants, but if so, none have survived.³

The account of the joustes faictes a Tournay de trente ung roys also bears many signs of having been composed as an eye-witness account, and several analogies with the earlier narratives describing events at Le Hem and Chauvency suggest themselves.⁴ The extent of textual

¹ Lille, b. mun. MS. 466, p. 50. By the 1470's the herault de lespinette (then Jaspert du Bos, cf. above, p. 25) had in effect become town herald and was sent on civic missions (ADN, B. 1064 no. 22100). This was not the case earlier: cf. above, p. 77.

² Cf. above, p. 86 n.1.

³ Cf. commissioning of Cambrai, b. mun. MS. 890 by the Artus family (above, p. 94); possibility that unique Le Hem MS. (BN. MS. fr. 1588), where the roman is bound with works of Beaumanoir, belonged to Enguerran de Boves, participant at the feste (ll. 3587, 3599) and brother-in-law of Philippe de Beaumanoir (see Sarrasin, pp. xiii - xiv, lxxx).

⁴ See above chapter I, passim.

uniformity in the surviving manuscripts is a very probable indication of a single original source (rather than a number of different individuals' accounts). There is no direct evidence of authorship, but it is extremely likely that one of the heralds who are mentioned in the confraternity's preliminary gatherings was responsible.¹ The record is predominantly factual, but the author occasionally adds vivid and dramatic details, such as the collapse of two horses from exhaustion,² and the accident narrowly averted:

et fut Jean Bernier le jeune en grand peril
s'il n'avoit ete advise, car a l'emouvoir le heaume
lui saillit hors de la tete, et Jacques Mouton
ne s'en appercut jusqu'a ce qu'ils furent
outrés tous deux.³

This incident could be paralleled, for example, in some of the potentially fatal encounters at Chauvency and Le Hem.⁴ As might be expected, the arms of those from farther afield were less familiar to the author of the record, and he was unable to provide arms for the participants from Dourlens and Ardembourg.⁵ This lacuna might perhaps be compared with the somewhat camouflaged selective nature of Bretel's account in Le Tournoi de Chauvency, as well as Sarrasin's gauche confession of his inability to keep abreast of the arms and identity of the various participants.⁶ It is interesting, too, that just as in Sarrasin's narrative of the events at Le Hem there is an

¹ Cf. above, p. 95.

² 'Jacques le Serment [de Compiègne] vint a banniere et jouta [a] Jacques Mouton, et coururent si fort qu'ils tuarent leur chevaux' (Lille, b. mun. MS. 730, p. 25). Cf. joust between Jean Roussel Collemer and Jean de Quiellaing of Lille: '[ils] se jettent par terre et leurs chevaux furent epaulés' (p. 26).

³ Lille, b. mun. MS. 730, p. 23.

⁴ E.g. Bretel, ll. 924-48; Sarrasin, ll. 3760-9, 4487 etc.

⁵ Valenciennes, b. mun. MS 806, fo. 63^v.

⁶ See above, pp 43 n. 3, 28-30.

uneasy shift between his preliminary account of the plans for the occasion and the description of what actually took place, so in the Tournai record (although it entirely lacks the literary pretensions of Le roman du Hem), there is an abrupt transition, where the recorder-narrator moves from a static relation of the feste and an unfinished list of names and roles, to an eye-witness account of individual encounters.¹

There are thus striking parallels between the narratives of Le Hem and Chauvency and the account of the 1331 feste at Tournai, although nearly fifty years separate the texts, and despite the fact that the former are a product of a knightly and the latter of a bourgeois milieu; despite, too, the fact that the Tournai record is a bare and functional account in prose, while the others are extended treatments in verse of much greater literary sophistication.² Moreover, it is virtually certain that neither Sarrasin nor Bretel were heralds, and probable that the compiler of the 1331 account was an officer of arms. Nevertheless, these narratives share not only the immediacy of eye-witness reporting, but also remarkable similarities in the structure of the occasion and nature of the record. At Le Hem and Tournai a framework grounded in Arthurian romance was established that offered great mimetic potential and within which the sequence of combats took place. Sarrasin's comparative lack of literary skill, the considerable stretches of his narrative which seem little more than a versified score-card also offer a point of comparison with the Tournai account, which gives the impression

¹ Cf. above, pp. 43-4. See e.g. Lille, b. mun. MS. 730, esp. p. 22; BN. MS. fr. 10 469, esp. pp. 240-1.

² Bretel's literary skill and manipulation of the narrative is markedly superior to Sarrasin's: see above, chapter 1, passim.

of an unimaginative, factual recorder, swept occasionally into brief description or digression by the excitement of the moment.

Needless to say, the comparison of the Tournai record and the narratives of the 1280's has only a limited value. The huge difference in literary quality between Chauvency and the 1331 account does not necessarily reflect any general deterioration in narrative skill related to the new heraldic authorship: it is worth remembering that Bretel himself ascribed considerable rhetorical skill and knowledge of literary conventions to some of the heralds present at Chauvency.¹ Similarly, the use of prose may reflect changing taste, and the development of notions concerning the appropriateness of prose as a vehicle for particular subjects.² It seems inherently improbable that the heralds should have been able to appropriate this literary function were they markedly less competent than their predecessors. The Tournai herald(s) - if they were responsible for the 1331 record - might have been surprised that their literary skill was judged by such a piece. Relatively short ceremonial poems survive from the following century composed by Francquevie, herald of arms of Valenciennes and 'heraut de nostre confrairie' for the confrèrie of

¹ See refs. cited above, p.30 n.3. For the resentment of heralds by minstrels, see e.g. Bretel, ll. 675-88, 1126-31 (stressing their incompetence and avarice); Baudoin de Condé, 'Li Contes des hiraus', Dits et contes de Baudoin de Condé et de son fils Jean de Condé, ed. A. Scheler, I (Brussels, 1866), pp. 153-73; 'Le Dit des hérauts de Henri de Laon', ed. A. Langfors, Romania, xliii (1914), pp. 216-25. (For Laon at Chauvency, see Wagner, Heralds and heraldry, pp. 29-30 and n. 11.)

² Cf. e.g. 'Affin que li grant fait d'armes qui par les guerres de France et d'Engleterre sont aveny soient notablement registré et mis en mémoire perpetuel...ie me voeil ensonnier dou mettre en prose': Froissart, Chroniques, ed. S. Luce, I (SHF, Paris, 1869) p. 209 (Amiens MS. prologue); cf. also 'Nuz contes rymez n'en est vrais; tost est mensonge ce qu'ils dient' (A. Dinaux, Trouvères, jongleurs et menestrels du Nord de la France et du Midi de la Belgique, IV. Trouvères brabançons, hainuyers, liégeois et namurois (Brussels, 1863), p. 68 citing l. 12th-c. Vie de Charlemagne (cf. below, p. 122 n6).

Notre-Dame du Saint-Cordon¹ who played an important^{part} in the annual procession.² At the end of the day, after vespers and desert, 'recorder le hirault sen dictier, menestrelx iuer'.³ It is possible that the heralds (such as those required to be present in Tournai whenever the compagnons met together formally) performed this function at an earlier date.⁴ It is worth noting that Francquevie also composed an armorial treatise in prose which gives no indication of his talents as a versifier.⁵ Further research upon the connections between the pays and civic heralds would be valuable.

The essentially heraldic character of the records of civic festes in this region becomes still clearer when the contents of the manuscripts in which they are preserved are analysed. The documents relating to Lille and Tournai with which we have been concerned are often found together with the records of a series of tournaments and musters covering a two-hundred-year period.⁶ If the group is extended to include other manuscripts which feature items from this sequence the pattern becomes yet more apparent, and it is particularly interesting that the earliest manuscript is of indisputably heraldic authorship.⁷

¹ Engherant le Franc, (héraut d'armes de Valenciennes), Ditiers, faits et armoriés, ed. A. Lacroix (Soc. des bibliophiles belges, Mons, 1856), p. 3: 'dittiers...qui servent pour la confrairie des damoiseaux accoustumés à recorder [my italics] le jour de la procession d'icelle ville par le herault, pareillement armoiez des armes des maieurs'.

² Valenciennes, b. mun. MS. 534, fos. 4^r, 5^r, 6^r, 7^r, 7^v, 8^r.

³ Valenciennes, b. mun. MS. 534, fo. 7^r.

⁴ For the Tournaisien school of rhetoric, see Tournai, Catalogue de la bibliothèque, I, pp. 44-7 (MS. CIV): 'Ritmes et refrains des Tournésiens. 1477 - 1491'.

⁵ BL Egerton MS. 1644, fos. 8^r ff.

⁶ See appendix 15 (abbreviations).

⁷ See appendix 15.

Explicit iste liber per manus Beyeren.
quondam Gelre armorum Regis de Ruyers
Anno domini M.CCCC.V. in professo sancti
Johannis Baptiste.

These manuscript inter-relations emphasise the extent to which civic festes were bound up with more exclusively and unambiguously noble faits d'armes. The festes themselves were a geographically limited phenomenon and this is reflected in the distinctly localised character of the manuscripts in which they are recorded, compared with the wider distribution of, for example, those recording the tournaments at Compiègne and Mons.² It is clear that distinctions in the social hierarchy based upon juridical status were becoming increasingly eroded. The bourgeois of Tournai doubtless considered themselves 'hommes d'honneur'³ and they assumed without hesitation facets of the noble life-style, such as the right to carry arms and to armorial bearings, that were traditionally regarded as the exclusive prerogatives of the noble class. At the same time the notion of the individual chivalric ideal, with its associated Arthurian and other literature, increasingly permeated this section of society. The festes themselves were very similar to those held in distinctly knightly milieux and it is evident that some nobles of the region involved themselves actively in civic festes in the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries. There is remarkably little evidence in this context for the friction and resentment between the patrician élite and the nobiles such as is recorded further south.⁴ In this

¹ Vienna, Öst. Nationalbib. Cod. 3297, fo. 41^r. For Beyeren herald (Claes Heynricx, King of Arms of the Ruyers, 1371-1411), see G. Saffroy, Bibliographie, généalogique, héraldique et nobiliaire de la France, I (Paris, 1968) no. 3220. (Related MSS. are listed here, among them some in private collections which are not included in appendix 15.)

² See appendices 10, 11, 15.

³ Cf. above, pp. 105-6.

⁴ See e.g. Perroy, 'Social mobility', pp. 35-6.

process of dissemination to individuals outside a juridically defined noble context the heralds' role was undoubtedly vital.¹ Their experience of procedure in strictly knightly settings and their records (such as those which communicated the Galehaut armorial tradition to the bourgeois of Tournai, for example) would be invaluable.² It is perhaps ironic that members of a group who have come to be regarded as the conservative guardians of the status quo, should actively have fostered social change of this degree.

¹ Cf. the cultivation of the London merchant class by English heralds in the 15th c.: A. Wagner, Heralds of England: a history of the office and college of arms (London, 1967), pp.123-9

² Much work remains to be done on the nature and extent of heraldic record-keeping at this period. For heralds' libraries, see, e.g. Wagner, Heralds of England, pp. 129-30, 131-2; R. Dennys, The heraldic imagination (London, 1975), pp. 55-8.

CULTURAL PATRONAGE AT THE COURT OF EDWARD III

Of the towns which have been mentioned in the previous chapter, Valenciennes, capital of the county of Hainault and an important commercial centre, impinges significantly upon a study of Edward III and his court through two individuals: Edward's queen, Philippa of Hainault, and the chronicler, Jean Froissart. Some months of Edward's exile with his mother, Isabella, were spent in Hainault;¹ on 25 January 1328 he married Philippa, daughter of William III, count of Hainault, Holland and Zeeland² and owed much to her uncle, John of Beaumont, in the early years of his reign.³ From 1361 until her death in 1369, Philippa was the patron of Froissart, and it was during this important formative period that he began to write the prose chronicles which are often held to epitomise the contemporary chivalric ethos. Froissart tells us nothing specific about his Valenciennois origins, but it is reasonable to suppose that he came from one of the more lowly bourgeois or artisan families.⁴

¹ H.S. Lucas, The Low Countries and the Hundred Years War (repr. Philadelphia, 1976) pp. 52-6. Isabella spent the summer of 1326 in Hainault, but it seems probable that there was contact between the two houses from December 1325.

² At York: Lucas, Low Countries and the Hundred Years War, p. 72 and refs. cit. n. 133. See also Lucas, pp. 55 (betrothal 25 Aug. 1326) 56-67 (negotiations for the papal dispensation), 70-3 (preparation for the wedding).

³ John of Hainault, seigneur of Beaumont, led and supplied most of Isabella's invading force (1326): Lucas, Low Countries and the Hundred Years War, pp. 54-6. He also served with a Hainault contingent in the Stanhope Park campaign: (N. Fryde, The tyranny and fall of Edward II (Cambridge, 1979), pp. 211, 213) and knighted Edward III soon after at Westminster (Récits, p. 143). For his commission of Jean Le Bel's Chronique, see Jean d'Outremeuse, Ly myreur des historis: chronique, VI, ed. S. Bormans (Acad. roy. de Belgique, Brussels, 1880), pp. 322-3.

⁴ Various hypotheses are summarised in M. Darmesteter, Froissart, trans. E.F. Poynter (London, 1895), p. 3. For (very tenuous) inferences concerning his childhood and education drawn from his poems, see K. de Lettenhove, Froissart: étude littéraire sur le XIV^e siècle (Paris, 1857), I, pp. 7-19.

The upper echelons of Valenciennes society seem to have been characterised by the same easy intercourse between patrician families and the rurally based nobility which we have observed in other towns in this region.¹ Jehan Bernier, bourgeois banneretz and provost of the town, prominent in the first half of the fourteenth century, perhaps best exemplifies this social fluidity. His prominence in the Valenciennes contingent at Tournai has already been observed,² and he had a similar role at the Parisian table ronde of 15 August 1330.³ At the 1339 espinette Bernier appeared at the lists led with gold cords by two damsels, while two others each carried a lance.⁴ His enthusiasm for such chivalric activities is reflected in the 'feste faite au marchiet de Valenchiennes' on 16 July 1330, of which he was the prime instigator and also supplier of the peacock prize for 'la plus belle compagnie'.⁵ Groups from particular areas of the town seem to have competed with processions and tableaux, that featured, for example, damsels leading riders on richly caparisoned horses by a gold cord, following what appears to have been the Castle of Love 'allant par engin moult richement'⁶ - a motif whose iconography might have been influenced by contemporary works in ivory, which frequently featured this scene.⁷ Others went on foot with a hermit and seven

¹ See above, chap. 2 esp. p. 90. For the predominantly rural and conservative nature of Hainault, see Lucas, Low Countries and the Hundred Years War, p. 23.

² See above, p. 98.

³ On the Feast of the Assumption: Récits, p. 49. See Chronique Parisienne anonyme de 1316 à 1339, ed. M.A. Hellot (Mém. soc. d'hist. Paris, XI, Paris, 1885), pp. 135-40. Various other participants at Tournai are also recorded at Paris.

⁴ Récits, p. 50.

⁵ Récits, p. 48.

⁶ Récits, p. 48: 'ung graut chasteau...et par deseure le dieu d'amours'.

⁷ See e.g. Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Katalog der Sammlung für Plastik und Kunstgewerbe, I. Mittelalter (Vienna, 1964), p. 6 n. 12 (mirror case); D.D.R. Owen, Noble lovers (London, 1975), ill. 48, 49 (marriage casket and mirror case in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London).

fées.¹ Interestingly, the group which portrayed the most explicitly chivalric theme were the winners:

ceulx de la rue de le Saulch y vinrent vingt-deux hommes, vestus en guise de chevaliers, les escus et les armes a leurs cols des plus preux de la maisnie du roy Alixandre, et ung cuer en leur poitrine féru parmy d'ung dart, et autant de damoiselles en robes de bougran, le menu vair par les espaules.^{1a}

The feste also seems to have included jousts² and dancing.³ It underlines the overlapping content between 'bourgeois' and 'noble' activities, as well as the extent to which knowledge of chivalric and romance themes had permeated bourgeois society at Valenciennes. More specifically, the popularity of the Alexandrian theme reflected at this feste and in the Nine Worthies motif of that held at Arras in 1326, may reflect the success of Jacques de Longuyon and his imitators in this region.⁴ In this context it is not surprising to discover that Bernier possessed plate, armour and a war-helm, all decorated with his arms, just like any affluent member of the nobility.⁵

¹ Récits, pp. 48-9.

^{1a} Récits, p. 49.

² E.g. Récits, p. 49: 'eult le pris de la feste Jaqueme bourgeois de Saint-Quentin'. Cf. Jacques Bourgoys of St. -Quentin, winner of le prix dehors at Tournai, 1331 (above, p. 97).

³ Récits, p. 49; 'furent les caroles sy grandes que le beffroy en fut enclos et le marchiet a tous les'. For carole, 'a ring-dance in which the dancers themselves sing the governing music', see The early English carols, ed. R.L. Greene (2nd edn. Oxford, 1977), pp. xxiii, lviii; cf. Sir Gawain and the Green Knight, l. 43 and note.

⁴ For the Arras feste, see Récits, pp. 52-3. Three each of Christians, Saracens and Jews appeared there, including 'kings' Charlemagne, Arthur, Godefroi de Bouillon, David, Judas Maccabeus; 'le sarasin Hector' and 'Roy Ghonne'. Each character was represented by a bourgeois from a different town bearing fictitious arms. (Their droites armes were also given.) For Jacques de Longuyon's Voeux du Paon and its imitations (e.g. Jean Brisebarre's Restor du Paon, Jean de le Mote's Parfait du Paon), see A.T.[homas], 'Jean de le Mote trouvère', HLF, xxxvi (1927), pp. 74-9; cf. below, pp. 126-7.

⁵ Dehaisnes, Documents et extraits pp. 325-6 cit. inventory of 1337; for his banishment at this period see Récits, pp. 61-4. Cf. 1337 testament of Colart de la Porte 'bourgeois et ancien echevin' of Mons with mention of fully itemised 'harnas a joster', cited in Oeuvres de Jacques de Hemericourt, ed. C. de Borman, A. Bayot, E. Poncelet, III (Brussels, 1931), pp. ccxiii-iv.

The provost's extensive connections with the highest social strata are reflected in various pensions and liveries of cloth. As a maître des enquêtes at the Paris parlement and varlet du roy he received 200 livres parisis annually from Philip VI of France,¹ and was also in receipt of 100 livres tournois each year from Edward III.² The king of Bohemia, count of Flanders, bishops of Cambrai and Utrecht, Robert of Artois, Waléran de Ligny and John of Hainault also rewarded him, while he served Count William III as receiver and grand bailli of Hainault and as a counsellor.³ Moreover, individuals of this rank were quite ready to accept his hospitality. A mixture of Valenciennois bourgeois and 'princes et seigneurs' attended the 'tres-riche, tres-excellent et tres-somptueux banquet' given by Bernier in honour of William III to advise the count.⁴ With lampreys supplied by no less a person than the fishmonger of the king of France and six different mes d'assise and entremeis it is clear that here, too, at least this member of the patrician élite had successfully adopted the noble life-style.⁵

¹ Récits, p. 59.

² Lucas, Low Countries and the Hundred Years War, p. 72 and n. 135. The pension was granted at Edward's marriage, whither Bernier accompanied John of Hainault. Cf. Récits, p. 59. 13 l.p. were worth 16 l. t. 5s. (1323): Dehaisnes, Documents et extraits, p. 255; 100 l. t. were worth 10 l. sterling (Lucas, Low Countries and the Hundred Years War, p. 72 n. 135.)

³ Récits, p. 59.

⁴ Récits, pp. 53-4.

⁵ Récits, pp. 53-8. (This detailed description, which includes seating plans, is probably an eye-witness account and provides an interesting parallel to the specific records of other civic occasions: cf. above, pp. 109-10). See also, S.L[e] B[oucq], Bref recueil des antiquitez de Valentienne [sic], (Valenciennes, 1619), p. 20: '1333. Jean Bernier...traicta au souper en sa maison...grand nombre de nobles, entre aultres le Roy de Boheme & le Roy de Nauarre, l'Euesque de Liege, le Duc de Gheldres, six Contes & la plus grande partie des Nobles du Pays.'

Links between the nobility and townsfolk were also formed by the annual procession of Notre-Dame-du-Saint-Cordon. This celebrated the founding of the church of Notre-Dame and followed the path supposedly trod by the Virgin and angelic host carrying the cordon in a vision subsequently granted to the citizens.¹ The Countess Jeanne, for example, paid for the completion of a gilt reredos for the high altar in the church² and Avesnes household accounts of 1325 record the presence of

medame, si enffant, le dimence le jour de le Nativitei Notre Dame et i demourerent toute la sesmainne et...
messires Jehans de Haynnau, Madame de Werchin [wife of the Marshall of Hainault] et autres pluizeurs dames, demizielles, escuier, pour le cauze de le pourcession, et mesires et ses hostelz et ses conssaus vuint le dit dimence.³

Although summers were generally passed at Beaumont, the palace of Salle-le-Comte in Valenciennes was the main centre of the comital household,⁴ and it was in the town's churches that the Avesnes were buried.⁵ Moreover, as we have seen, important chivalric events (such as the knighting of the future William IV) took place within the town and the municipal herald - rather than the King of Arms of Hainault - was the prime officiator.⁶ All these aspects operated to make it impossible for the comital household and associated nobility to lead a life distinct from that of the patriciate in the capital.

¹ See S. Le Boucq, Histoire ecclésiastique de la ville et comté de Valentienne (1650) repr. ed. A. Dinaux (Valenciennes, 1844), p. 7. For the literary and other activities of the associated confrérie (les damoiseaux de Valenciennes), see above, pp. 96 n.1, 113-4.

² C. Dehaisnes, Histoire de l'art dans la Flandre, l'Artois et le Hainaut avant le xv^e siècle (Lille, 1886), p. 445.

³ De Rekeningen der Graven en Gravinnen nit het hennegouwsche Huis ed. H.J. Smit (Werken uitgegeven door het Historisch Genootschap, ser. 3 no. xlvi, Amsterdam, 1924), p. 139.

⁴ Dehaisnes, Histoire de l'art, p. 447-8 describes some later 14th-c. decorations.

⁵ Le Boucq, Bref recueil pp. 21-2;

⁶ Cf. above, p. 108.

It would moreover be erroneous to conceive of Hainault as in any way parochial. The first half of the fourteenth century was a period of its growing political ascendancy in Europe: witness, for example, the marriage alliances contracted through William III's daughters to Juliers and the Empire, as well as to England.¹ As the westernmost tip of the Empire adjoining France, and as the Walloon area dialectally closest to France,² Hainault's geographical position helped ensure very widespread diffusion of French literary and artistic influences within the county. William III's marriage (1305) with Jeanne, daughter of Charles of Valois and niece of Philip IV of France,³ naturally compounded these cultural influences and resulted in greater direct contact and interaction of taste between the ruling families of France and Hainault.

The cultural interests of the Avesnes were already well established by this date and are reflected in their literary activities, learning and patronage. Baldwin V (1171-95) had a reputation for learning,⁴ and his son, Baldwin VI, was responsible for a lost genealogical and chronicle work in French, known as the 'Histoires de Baudoin'.⁵ His interest in a Latin life of Charlemagne is also recorded.⁶ Baudoin

¹ See Lucas, Low Countries and the Hundred Years War, pp. 47-8, 51.

² L. Remacle, Le problème de l'ancien wallon (Liege, 1948), p. 28 (map of 'La Wallonie et ses cinq régions linguistiques').

³ See appendix 16.

⁴ 'Maxime in poetria imbutus fuit', Dinaux, Trouvères IV p. 69, citing J. de Guyse.

⁵ Dinaux, Trouvères IV, p. 69. Baldwin was 1st Latin Emperor, (1195-1206).

⁶ 'Baudoin, conte de Hainau, trouva a Sens, en Bourgogne, la vie de Charlemaigne: et mourant, la donna a sa soeur Yolande, comtesse de Saint-Paul, qui m'a prie que je la mette en roman sans rhyme. Parce que tel se delitera el roman qui del latin n'eut cure: et par le roman sera mielx garde' (cit. Dinaux, Trouvères IV, p. 67).

d'Avesnes (born in 1213, the son of Bouchard d'Avesnes and Margaret of Flanders) was also interested in family genealogy and chronicles: 'Les Livres Baudoin d'Avesnes' was the fruit of his labours.¹ Documentary evidence also testifies to their book-ownership and interest in the other arts. William III's father, Count John (1280-1304) and his wife, Philippine, presented a magnificent twelve-volume Bible to the Carthusians of Macourt.² A dozen books on a wide range of subjects were specifically mentioned in the inventory made on John's death.³ Beside a Bible in French,⁴ a calendar and ordinary bound together⁵ and technical books about marshalry⁶ and chess,⁷ there were two song books (chancelier),⁸ an universal chronicle⁹ and a copy of Bartholomaeus Anglicus on the nature of birds.¹⁰ Evidence of specifically romance

¹ Dinaux, Trouvères, IV, pp. 61-6. For this genre, see G. Duby, 'Remarques sur la littérature généalogique en France aux XI^e et XII^e siècles', Hommes et structures du moyen âge: recueil d'articles (Paris/The Hague, 1973), pp. 289-92, 295-7.

² Dehaisnes, Histoire de l'art, p. 440.

³ Dehaisnes, Documents, pp. 156-7 (cit. AN. Coll. Monteil, KK. dép. 393, Arch. dép. Pas-de-Calais, n. 198); Histoire de l'art, p. 440.

⁴ 'Un livre de le bible en rommanch': Dehaisnes, Documents, p. 157.

⁵ Dehaisnes, Documents, p. 157.

⁶ 'Livret...de marechauchie des chevaus': Dehaisnes, Documents, p. 157.

⁷ 'De geus d'esgies': Dehaisnes, Documents, p. 157.

⁸ Dehaisnes, Documents, p. 156.

⁹ 'I livre de cronikes ki commences es rebrikes Comment Herodes Antipas fist copier le chief de S. Jehan Baptiste': Dehaisnes, Documents, p. 157.

¹⁰ 'Un livre ki parolle de la nature des oisiaus, ki commence En che livre n'oppose': Dehaisnes, Documents, p. 157. i.e. Bartholomaeus Anglicus, De proprietatibus rerum (n. pl., 1480), 'Liber XII De avibus' (Bodl. Auct. 2 Q. 2. 36).

tastes is found in

Uns grans roumans a rouges couvertures, ki parolle
de Nascien de Mellin et de Lanscelot dou Lach.
...li rommans de Marke de Romme...Un livre
...ki parolle des rois des empereurs et des senateurs
de Romme, ki sç commenche: Cascuns hom a ki Diex a
donnei raison,

in an unidentified lai² and in a copy of Huon de Méri's allegorical Le Tournoiement Antechrist, where there is much use of heraldic terminology in the conflict between vices and virtues.³ It is likely that some of these volumes were richly decorated, for the 'compte de l'execution testamentaire' of Countess Philippine (1311) allowed the large sum of 225 livres 'pour rommans que me sires eut'.⁴ A distinct personal interest is suggested in the loan to the countess of a two-volume Bible in French by the abbey of St. Sepulchre, Cambrai.⁵ In this instance it must have been the decoration rather than the text which stimulated her interest.

Occasional references indicate that the Avesnes continued to add to their collection of books and to use it. In 1323 'un rommanch de Lohrens' was bought from Master Thumas de Malbeuge for 16.l. t. 5 s.⁶ Jeanne de Valois paid 9 l. 12 s. 8d. for the execution of

¹ Dehaisnes, Documents, pp. 156-7. I have been unable to identify Marc de Romme. The last item is Li Fet des romains: compilé ensemble de Saluste et de Suétoine et de Lucan ed. L.F. Flutre and K.Sneyders de Vogel, 2 vols. (Paris/Groningen, [1937]-8). See incipits in L. -F. Flutre, Les manuscrits des Fais des romains (Paris, 1932), pp. 27-83, esp. pp. 30, 40-1, 68, 70-1, 71-2, 81.

² 'Ū livret dou lait des eles': Dehaisnes, Documents, p. 157.

³ Li Tornoienz antecrit, ed. G. Wimmer (Ausgabe u. Abhandl. lxxvi, Marburg, 1888). Cf. M. Prinet, 'Le Langage héraldique dans Le Tournoiement Antechrist', BEC, lxxxiii (1922), pp. 45-53. Dehaisnes, Documents, p. 157.

⁴ Dehaisnes, Documents, p. 195.

⁵ Dehaisnes, Documents, p. 198. The bible had been presented to the abbey by the seigneur de Lalaing: cf. above, p. 89 and refs. cit. n.9.

⁶ Dehaisnes, Documents, p. 255.

a roman and the rebinding of two others.¹ A few years later the purchase of 'Le Livret d'enseiement saint Loys' and a book of hours is recorded.² Jeanne's sister-in-law, Marie of Hainaut, Duchess of Bourbon, owned a richly illuminated volume of the 'Romans du Saint Graal, du Merlin, de Lancelot et de la quete du Saint Graal'.³ Like any other ruling house of the time, the Avesnes spent large sums on joyaulx of all descriptions,⁴ vestments, reliquaries and chapel furnishings.⁵ Comital funerals were celebrated with an exceptionally rich panoply of chivalric trappings,⁶ and the accounts include items for tournaments and jousts.⁷

¹ Dehaisnes, Histoire de l'art, p. 445. (This figure includes parchment and binding of the new volume.) Jeanne also spent 118 s. on a psalter. (Cf. purchase of a Tristan in 1310: Dehaisnes, Documents, p. 191.)

² Dehaisnes, Histoire de l'art, p. 446. From, inter alia, Simon de Lille (see below: p. 128). For details of the text and recensions, see H. -F. Delaborde, 'Le Texte primitif des Enseignements de Saint Louis à son fils', BEC, lxxiii (1912), pp. 73-100, 237-62.

³ Bibliothèque impériale MS. 6965 (anc. 98): Dinaux, Trouvères, IV, p. 68 n. 1 (described by P. Paris, Les Manuscrits français de la bibliothèque du roi, II (Paris, 1838), pp. 365-6 no. 348).

⁴ E.g. 'une grande couronne d'or a gros safirs, a fins rubis, a fines esmeraudns [sic] et grosses fines pielles d'Orient', worth 2 000 l. bought from Simon de Lille, a Parisian goldsmith, probably for the wedding of Jeanne to the marquis of Juliers (Dehaisnes, Documents, p. 250). Jewels purchased for this occasion totalled 5 838 l. : see Dehaisnes, Documents, p. 251. For comparable provision see e.g. W.E. Rhodes, 'The inventory of the jewels and wardrobe of Queen Isabella (1307-8)', EHR, xii (1897), pp. 517-21; E.W. Safford, 'An account of the expenses of Eleanor, sister of Edward III, on the occasion of her marriage to Reginald, Count of Guelders', Archaeologia, lxxviii (1928), pp. 111-40; Niccolas, 'Garter', pp. 53-4 (marriage of Edward III's daughter Joan in 1348).

⁵ For chapel furnishings see e.g. Dehaisnes, Histoire de l'art, p. 444 (1323); cf. 'Observations on the institution of the most Noble Order of the Garter', ed. Sir Nicholas Harris Nicolas, Archaeologia, xxxi (1846), p. 52.

⁶ Dehaisnes, Documents, pp. 307-11. Shields of raised gesso work ('escus de bonne pointure esleves') and gold crests are particularly striking.

⁷ E.g. Dehaisnes, Histoire de l'Art, pp. 446-7.

This, then, was the background from which Philippa came: these were the tastes and expectations she brought with her to England. They are reflected in her New Year's gift to Edward III in 1333. This consisted of a magnificent silver and enamelled set of cup, ewer and triper'. The triper' was decorated with leopards and the arms of England and the cup reflected Edward's martial enthusiasms:

Ciphus argenti aymellatus extra per totum de bellis, castellis et nauibus et diuersis bestiis et infra in fundo de uno grando castello cum vexillis explicatis et Rex in medio.¹

Most interesting, however, are the figures upon the ewer (aquarius), which was

per totum extra aymellatus de ymaginibus Julij Cesar', Jude Machabei, Regum Charleman' et Arthyri, Rouland', Oliueri, Galuan et Launcell' de lacu.²

They reflect the familiarity of Edward and his household with a wide range of chanson de geste and romance figures.³ This is seen, too, in the gold statues, ^{one} of Tristan and Isolda and ^{another} of the god of love, which appear in the jewels lent by Henry of Derby to the king ^{to serve} as security for a loan in 1340.⁴ Although only half of the eight figures on

¹ BL Add MS. 35 181, fo. 9^r. (Fos. 6^r - 9^r are a list of jewels etc. in the wardrobe in the custody of Robert de Tanton, 29 Sept. 1332.)

² BL Add. MS. 35 181, fo. 9^r.

³ Cf. a silver ewer gilded and enamelled with 'les Chivalers de la rounde table' and a 'terage ove ymages de Tristram et arbres foilles': F. Palgrave, Antient kalendars and inventories of the Exchequer (London, 1836), III, pp. 264, 265 cit. inventory of 1369: these were possibly items used by Philippa and her household before her death that year.

⁴ E36/203, p. 320: '.j. deus amoris auri de rubeis et emeraldis et grossis perlis', '.j. Tristram et Isolda de auro et rubeis et emeraldis et perlis orientalibus electis et .iiij. grossis emeraldis'. See appendix 19. For further details of this transaction see Rymer, Foedera, II, ii, (London, 1821), pp. 1174, 1176; K. Fowler, The king's lieutenant: Henry of Grosmont, first Duke of Lancaster 1310-1361 (London, 1969), pp. 35-7. See pl. 4, below.

Edward's cup are found in the traditional Nine Worthies grouping, this must have been a primary inspiration for the design.¹ Iconographically, it seems to have been something of a hybrid: Roland and Oliver, Gawain and Lancelot are clearly pairs from the same stories, while the remainder are related to each other only through the Worthies schema. The sequence of the first three figures (Caesar, Maccabeus, Charlemagne) encapsulates the whole Worthies scheme in a miniature triad (one classical, one biblical and one Christian hero); Charlemagne and Arthur form a pair only as Christian Worthies within this framework. The Nine Worthies first appear in a literary context in Longuyon's Voeux du Paon of 1312, but no other representations in the visual arts appear to have been recorded before the second half of the century.² Iconographically, the cup is therefore of some importance. It is particularly interesting that it should have been commissioned by someone from the area - the Low Countries - where the theme's popularity is attested in other forms (notably the Arras pageant of 1336) at a relatively early date.³ This underlines once more the relative cultural homogeneity between noble and patrician classes in this region.

Philippa herself also appears to have been close to her mother and maintained contact with her.⁴ Other links with Hainault were preserved,

¹ For the development of the motif, see R.L. Wyss, 'Die neun Helden: eine ikonographische Studie', Zschr. f. schweizerische Archäol. u. Kunstgeschichte, xvii (1957), pp. 73-106.

² Wyss, 'Die neun Helden', pp. 73-4, 77-85.

³ Cf. above, p. 119 and n. 4. For the Nine Worthies in 14th-century English alliterative poems, see The Parlement of the Three Ages, ed. M.Y. Offord (EETS o.s. ccxvi, London, 1959, repr. 1967), pp. xl-ii. For Hainault knowledge of the Roland story cf. e.g. J. de Guyse, Annales historiques des nobles princes de Hainaut, Livre XIII, ed. and trans. F. d'Urbain (Histoire de Hainaut, IX, Paris, 1830), pp. 15-39.

⁴ Lucas, Low Countries and the Hundred Years War, pp. 94-5. Cf. J. Harvey, 'Medieval plantsmanship in England: the culture of rosemary', J. Garden History, I no. 1 (1972), pp. 14, 17, 19 for the well attested tradition that the herb was first introduced to England by cuttings sent to Philippa by Jeanne de Valois.

too: it is particularly interesting that the poet Jean de le Mote should have chosen to address his lament on the death of her father, 'Li Regret Guillaume, comte de Hainaut' to Philippa rather than another of his daughters.¹ Composed in 1339,² it takes the form of a highly rhetorical dream-vision allegory of thirty despairing women, each representing a chivalric quality (such as Debonnairetes, Largesce, Hardiesche). They lament the death of the count:

Le plus courtois et le plus gent,
 Le plus noble et le plus diligent,
 Le plus parfait large donneur,
 Le plus souffisant pere d'onneur. (ll. 672-5)

Embedded within the narrative are lyrics in different verse forms, each declaimed by one of the mourners.³ The poet links the work indisputably with Philippa in the last few lines:

Ce songe contai a ma dame
 Qui est roynne d'Engletiere,
 Celle me commanda grant ierre
 Que aucun traitie en fesisse
 Sans plus a ce songe propisse. (ll. 4564, 4566-69)

Although the address 'ma dame' raises the possibility that de le Mote held a position in Philippa's household - much as Froissart was to do - this seems unlikely. For poems written only the following year praise his patron Simon de Lille, the Parisian goldsmith, at length.⁴ Here

¹ Le Regret Guillaume, comte de Hainaut. Poeme inédit du xiv^e siècle par Jehan de le Mote, ed. A. Scheler (Louvain, 1882). Cf. traitié of Gilles Li Muisis on the same subject dedicated to Philippa. The Hainault knights in the queen's household presumably were also important in maintaining links with their homeland.

² Li Regret Guillaume, ll. 4572-3.

³ For a summary see A.T[homas] 'Jean de le Mote', pp. 71-3. The poem survives in an unique MS. (BN MS. fr. n.a. 7514, fos. 1-33), suggesting a small circulation: nevertheless, it seems a possible unobserved source for Jean de Biteri's 'Le Dit des VIII blasons' (ed. A. Tobler, Jhb. f. rom. u. engl. Lit., v (1864), pp. 211-22). where a succession of shield-bearing women lament the passing of the chivalric qualities of the dead heroes at Crécy.

⁴ A.T[homas], 'Jean de le Mote', pp. 67-70. Cf. 40s. payment to 'Johanni de la Mote menestrallo faciend' menestralciam suam coram domino rege in festo paschale apud Eltham de dono regis': E36/204, fo. 80^v.

again we glimpse the cultural interaction between noble and bourgeois, for Simon de Lille seems to have been one of the principal suppliers of joyaulx and orfevrie to the Avesnes.¹ Jean de le Mote seems to have worked originally as a Hainault chancery clerk,² and Gilles Li Muisis' testimony that he, 'fait de moult biaux dis, / Dont maint signeur a resbaudis,'³ indicates aristocratic patrons other than Philippa.

Nevertheless, even if Philippa did not offer de le Mote permanent employment, it is evident that he was sufficiently convinced of her literary interest to feel it worth his while to address her. A similar reputation must have lain behind Froissart's initial journey to England, armed with his verse history of the course of the Hundred Years War since the battle of Poitiers:

si emprins je assez hardiement, moy yssu de
 l'escolle, a dittier et a rimer les guerres dessus dites
 et porter, en Angleterre le livre tout compile, si comme
 je le fis. Et le presentay adonc a tres haulte et tres
 noble dame, dame Phelippe de Haunault, royne d'Angleterre
 qui doucement et lieement le receut de moy et me fist
 grant proffit.⁴

It seems possible that the octosyllabic verse fragments published by Delisle in the last century, narrating fourteenth-century events, may have survived from this work: there are marked textual and stylistic parallels between them and the Chroniques.⁵

¹ See e.g. above, p. 125 n. 2.

² For similar cases, see J. Vale, 'War and diplomacy in the alliterative Morte Arthure', NMS, xxiii (1979), pp. 42-3.

³ A.T[homas], 'Jean de le Mote', p. 67 cit. Poésies de Gilles Li Muisis, ed. Kervyn de Lettenhove (Louvain, 1882), I, p. 89.

⁴ Froissart, Chroniques, ed. Luce, I, p. 210 (cit. Amiens MS.) Froissart was apparently employed as one of the queen's clerks by 1361: see Lettenhove, Froissart, I, p. 54.

⁵ 'Fragments d'un poème historique du xiv^e siècle', ed. L. Delisle, BEC, lx (1889), pp. 611-16; textual parallels, pp. 613-5. Cf. balancing pairs of (often tautological) adjectives in both works.

Philippa not only supported him in her household, but enabled the chronicler to travel extensively.¹ Apart from his work as a semi-official royal historiographer,² Froissart probably also served the Queen and her household as clerc lisant, reading aloud.³ Not a herald himself, Froissart, like Bretel in the previous century, evidently had close contacts with officers of arms, and relied upon the testimony of 'rois d'armes et leurs marechaux'.⁴ It is well known, for example, that Chandos Herald's narrative was the source for Froissart's account of the Spanish campaign of 1366-7.⁵ His lengthy account of the jousts of Saint-Inglevert (1390) in one of the most familiar passages of the Chroniques also has much in common with Le Roman du Hem and Le Tournoi de Chauvency.⁶ Their affinity is underlined by an independent verse account of the proceedings which opens with a stanzaic, scene-setting pastoral, but also includes straightforward lists of those who jousted on each day.⁷ There are indications here of a largely undetected continuity of genre.

¹ Notably to Scotland (1365), facilitating Froissart's revision of Le Bel's account of the Scottish campaigns of the early part of Edward III's reign and inspiring his verse romance, Méliador (see below, p. 131 n. 4); with the Black Prince to Bordeaux (1365-1366) and with Lionel to Milan (1368): Froissart, Chroniques, ed. K. de Lettenhove, I, i (Brussels, 1870), pp. 131-75; Lettenhove, Froissart, I, pp. 58-88 gives a standard account of this period of Froissart's career. It seems likely that reassessment of the sources might modify his conclusions.

² See e.g. specific instructions from the Marshal of Aquitaine to record the birth of the future Richard II: Froissart, Chroniques, ed. Lettenhove, XV (Brussels, 1872), p. 234: "Froissart, escripves et mettes en memoire".

³ See e.g. Froissart's nightly readings from Méliador to Gaston Phébus: Chroniques, ed. L. Mirot, XII, (1931), pp. 75-6. Cf. frontispiece to Chaucer's Troilus and Criseyde (Cambridge, CCC MS. 61, fo. 1^v), where a court audience listens to someone reading from a lectern: Mathew, Court of Richard II, pl. 15, pp. 204-5.

⁴ Froissart, Chroniques, ed. Luce, I, p. 209.

⁵ Chandos Herald, Life of the Black Prince, ed. M.K. Pope and E.C. Lodge, (Oxford, 1910), pp. lix-lxii.

⁶ Froissart, Chroniques, ed. K. de Lettenhove, XIV (1872), pp. 407-19.

⁷ BN MS. fr. 172 72 (printed in Froissart, Chroniques, ed. K. de Lettenhove, XIV, pp. 407-19).

Froissart's sense of gratitude to Philippa was profound and reflected in his generous tribute after her death:

depuis le temps de la roine Genoivre qui fu femme
au roi Artus et roine d'engleterre...si bonne roine n'i
entra, ne qui tant d'onnour recuist...Et
tant comme elle vesqui, li roiaulmes d'Engleterre
eut grasse, prosperite, honnour et toutes bonnes
aventures.

In passing one should note that Froissart's return to the continent on Philippa's death (1369) was not necessarily prompted by the alleged literary indifference of Edward III.² As it seems likely that by this date the vernacular was increasingly used in court circles,³ there would have been a far greater potential range of patronage for his works on the continent. There are some signs that Froissart may already have been preparing for such a change.⁴

Philippa also appears to have sustained an interest in the visual arts: it is significant that she commissioned a strikingly realistic and unflattering tomb effigy from Jean de Liège, which had considerable influence upon tomb portraiture in England.⁵ She also appears to

¹ Froissart, Chroniques, ed. Luce, I p. 286 (cit. Rome MS.)

² Pace inter alia K. Fowler, The age of Plantagenet and Valois: the struggle for supremacy 1328-1498 (London, 1967), p. 192.

³ See below, pp. 180-2, 209 and n.4. It is no coincidence that Chaucer's literary career began c. 1370 (Boke of the Duchesse): his use of Froissart's work as a model suggests that it continued to circulate in England: G. Chaucer, Works, ed. F.N. Robinson, 2nd edn. (London, 1966), p. 773, n. to ll. 1-15.

⁴ E.g. his contact with future patrons Gui de Blois (hostage in London: Froissart, Chroniques, ed. Luce, I, p. lii); Jeanne and Wenceslas of Brabant (payments to 'uni Fritsardo dictori qui est cum regina Anglie', 1366, 1367: Méliador, ed. A. Longnon, I (SATF, Paris, 1895), p. lxxv and n. 4). The high proportion of (relatively few) original passages of the Chroniques covering 1325-50 (composed 1369-72 (?): Luce, I, pp. xvi-ii) which relate to the Avesnes family may conceivably suggest that Froissart hoped for patronage from another member of the family: see e.g. Luce, I, pp. 190-1, 194-6, 199-204; p. xviii for a complete list. Robert de Namur, husband of Philippa's sister Yzabeau, was Froissart's next patron (Luce, I, pp. xx-i): it is impossible to be certain whether these passages were composed before or after his appointment.

⁵ L. Stone, Sculpture in Britain. The Middle Ages (Harmondsworth, 1955), pp. 192, 194, 197.

have commissioned illuminated manuscripts. One of the small number of surviving subsidiary documents relating to the queen's chamber accounts relates to the payment of the widow of an 'elumynour' - a term which very probably describes an illuminator of manuscripts.¹ At Reading on 27 November 1350 Philippa instructed her receiver to pay 10 l. from her chamber monies 'si tost comme vous bonement porrez' to 'nostre bien amee Johanne qui fuist la femme maistre Robert nostre elumynour', owed 'por diuers oeueraiges'.² A note was made in Latin on 19 December of the issue of 100 s. in part-payment.³

It should be stressed that this reference to an illuminator is not one of many similar records, but a rare survival. Although there are a fair number of extant documents from Philippa's household administration, most are concerned with rents and land-management rather than personal expenses.⁴ This highlights what is possibly the most difficult aspect of any attempt to assess royal patronage in the reign of Edward III. Documents issued under the great seal - which provide, for example, the details of wall-paintings in Henry III's palaces⁵ - had become essentially formalised instruments by this date, while the details were communicated in subsidiary documents moved by the lesser seals, and a far higher proportion of these records have perished. This is a particularly acute problem with the smaller households, but even the king's chamber accounts are far from complete and often infuriatingly meagre. The book of chamber accounts for 1344-55, for example, records payments to the king's armourer, John of Cologne, for

¹ Other paintings (e.g. heraldic murals) are generally referred to as pictura: e.g. E101/391/1 fo. 3^r (payments to 'Hugo le Peyntour super pictura').

² E101/683/64(i).

³ E101/683/64(i), referring to 10 l. owing to 'magistri Roberti illuminatoris...pro diuersis operacionibus'.

⁴ E.g. E36/205; E101/384/18; E101/385/5; Manchester, John Rylands Library MS. Lat. 236 (I have not seen this document).

⁵ King's Works, pp. 162-3; cf. e.g. pp. 502-3.

diuersis operacionibus pro justis regis faciendum
per billam Phelippe de Weston senescalli camere,
regis de mandato et per billam ipsius Johannis.¹

The seneschal's schedule and the particulars of account submitted by John of Cologne, which would have contained a detailed break-down of expenses, do not survive.² The problem is exacerbated by what Tout called 'the insuperable difficulty' of the chamberlain's accountability to the king alone at this period.³ As Edward on occasion authorised the burning of recent subsidiary accounts in defence of this principle,⁴ it is hardly surprising that only a tiny proportion of these detailed particulars survive. Although in the case of Edward of Woodstock and John of Gaunt this difficulty is partly offset by the survival of registers,⁵ the overall picture is inevitably negative. The destruction of a high proportion of recorded commissions⁶ has also resulted in relatively few surviving artefacts from this milieu to set against the paucity of record sources. It is in this perspective that the surviving evidence for literary and artistic patronage must be viewed.

Nevertheless, a considerable impression of contemporary taste in English noble circles may be gained from some of the documents which have survived. They not only form a detailed concrete picture, but - in areas such as book ownership and panel painting - provide information which suggests major revision of opinion in these fields.⁷ For this

¹ E101/391/1, fo. 6^v (payment made 6 Mar. 22 Edw. III).

² For a comparable subsidiary account, see E101/391/11.

³ T.F. Tout, Chapters in the administrative history of medieval England, III, (Manchester, 1928), p. 286.

⁴ Tout, Chapters, IV (1928), pp. 287-8.

⁵ Tout, Chapters, V (1930), pp. 309-10; Register of Edward the Black Prince (London, HMSO, 1930); Chapters, III, p. 194 and n. 3; John of Gaunt's Register, 1372-76, ed. S. Armitage-Smith (Camden 3rd series, xx-xxi (1911), 1379-83, ed. E.C. Lodge and R. Somerville (Camden 3rd series lvi-lvii (1937)). Most of this material relates only to the latter part of the reign of Edward III.

⁶ See e.g. below, p. 149.

⁷ See below, pp. 135-6, 140, 148.

purpose record evidence may be placed (unconventionally) within two classes, one relating to items which may reasonably be assumed to have been in use when the document was drawn up, the other comprising those which were unlikely to have been in current use. In this context the distinction is clearly a crucial one and Richard Green's demolition of the notion of Richard II's library (first propounded by Rickert and given general currency by Loomis)¹ is a poignant reminder of the dangers of misinterpretation which surround the literary historian drawing upon administrative records.² The second category of records consists primarily of exchequer inventories of goods in the wardrobe, which were listed in greater or less detail whenever a new keeper of the wardrobe was appointed. The predominantly static nature of their contents is reflected in the way in which distinctive items recur time and again,³ their antiquity in outdated heraldic arms (such as those of England and Castile representing the marriage of Edward I and Eleanor), or simple description: coverlets 'mangee des verins', two tournament helms 'vieux et de petite value', 'j chapel de feer vieux', 'diuerses choses batues pur le turnay' and 'ij tablers petitz de yuoir et de baleyne vieux et debruse' feature among the items

¹ E. Rickert, 'King Richard II's books', Library, 4th ser. xiii (1933), pp. 144-7; R.S. Loomis, 'The library of Richard II', Studies in the language, literature and culture of the Middle Ages and later, ed. E. Bagby Atwood and A.A. Hill (Austin, Texas, 1969), pp. 173-8; J. Harvey, Gothic England: a survey of national culture 1300-1550 (London, 1947), p. 156.

² R.F. Green, 'King Richard II's books revisited', Library, xxxi (1976), no. 3, pp. 235-9, esp. pp. 235-6. Green demonstrates that the 14 books supposedly purchased by Richard were in fact owned by Edward III, and only three of these appear to have been kept by Richard.

³ E.g. two breviaries, two missals with music, a gradual with music (all of the use of Sarum); BL Add. MS. 35 181, fo. 6^r, (31 July 1334); E101/388/9, * (Fos. 21^r ff. list jewels and plate received from R. de Ferriby, late keeper of the wardrobe.)

* fo. 21^r (31 Aug. 1337).

listed in an indentured list of 1324.¹ Although there were exceptions, as a general rule the great majority of articles in these inventories were distinctly out of circulation and only rarely passed from wardrobe stock to daily use in the chamber.²

The second class of record - relating to articles in current use - obviously has a greater relevance to the question of contemporary taste and may cover a wide range of types of document. Specifically dated payments - which may have been recorded in rolls or particulars of account - are of particular use; likewise inventories of goods compiled upon the death of an individual. The latter are especially valuable in presenting a complete picture of the articles within a household at a specific time: an indenture (1358), recording Queen Isabella's goods under sub-headings according to their place of use, for example, as well as the book recording the distribution of these goods give an unparalleled impression of the Queen's tastes and expectations.³

The arbitrary way in which documentary survival has moulded assumptions about the nature of Edward's patronage and taste is strikingly demonstrated by a roll of issues and receipts from the great wardrobe at the Tower (1322-41).⁴ Books were among the items the keeper, John Flete, was concerned to record and no fewer than 160 libri diuersi were recorded in the summa of receipts. Although the majority of these were liturgical and devotional books, 59 were listed as libri de romanciis, and the total number of secular volumes mentioned

¹ E101/390/7; also lists 'xxj [sic under ultra-violet light] liures et autres diuerses quiers en j. saak deinz la huche de South' in the Tower; 'diuerses liures liure a sire William de langele le xxij iour daugust lan xvij'. Although in very poor condition, the latter seems to correspond with the receipt of books by indenture from Langley recorded in the Fleet accounts in 18 Edw. II (see below, pp. 136-7, appendix 17), indicating a revision of the PRO date of 18 Edw. III. (Cf. e.g. 'j bretoun en latin, le testament le roi henri en j liure; j romaunz Dengle [terre]').

² E.g. for this kind of movement, books 'de templo' released to the king in his chamber: see below, p. 145.

³ E101/333/29; E101/393/4; see below, pp. 139, 146, pll. 5-7.

⁴ See appendix 17.

is considerably higher.¹ These figures contrast with the scant two dozen volumes usually associated with Edward III. Flete's roll covers the last years of Edward II's and the first fifteen of his son's reign: it illustrates the plenitude of books in the environment in which Edward III grew up.

Even where specific romance titles are not found, the names of those to whom they were issued are revealing, reflecting the widespread interest in and knowledge of literature of this kind. Among the recipients were close relatives of the king and associates of the royal family, such as Elizabeth de Burgh,² Margaret of Cornwall,³ Isabella the Queen Mother and Roger Mortimer, Earl of March, as well as knights and close companions of the king, such as John de Bohun, Earl of Hereford⁴ and Nicholas Stapleton.⁵ The use of individual names here should not be interpreted as an indication that the volumes were generally read by individuals, rather than within a group.⁶ It seems likely that circles of varying sizes centred around the named individuals would ultimately benefit from these loans, Mortimer's books were, for example, issued to Walter de Lingaigne (a canon of Wigmore and probably one of Mortimer's chaplains) and four-

¹ Viz. c. 85: see appendix 17. The additional vols. comprise mainly law books, copies of the Testamentum regis henrici (which I have been unable to identify) and the ambiguous chronicle Brut or legal Britton. (For Britton, see F. Pollock and F.W. Maitland, The history of English law before the time of Edward I, I (2nd edn. repr. Cambridge, 1952), p. 210.)

² I.e. Elizabeth of Clare (d. 1360), grandmother of Lionel's wife.

³ Margaret daughter of Gilbert of Clare, Earl of Gloucester, who married Piers Gaveston, Earl of Cornwall in 1309? (She m. Hugh d'Audley 1317; d. before Easter 1342). See The Complete Peerage, III ed. G.E.C[okayne], rev. V. Gibbs et alii (London, 1913), p. 434.

⁴ He died prematurely in 1336: see The Complete Peerage, VI (1926), pp. 470-1, esp. p. 470 n. (g) (enthusiasm for feats of arms). The loan is especially interesting in view of the connection of the Bohun family with the English alliterative revival through the commission of a vernacular translation of William of Palerne: William of Palerne, ed. W.W. Skeat, (EETS e.s.i., Oxford, 1867), ll. 164-8, 5529-33. See also T. Turville-Petre, 'Humphrey de Bohun and William of Palerne', NM, lxxv (1974), pp. 250-2.

⁵ See appendix 17; cf. issues of service books to Badlesmere.

⁶ Cf. Chaucer's frequently quoted description in Troilus and Criseyde (Works, p. 402: Bk. II, ll. 81-4), from a considerably later period (c.1385)

teen romances went to William de Langley, clerk of the king's household:¹ it would be perverse to assume that these were intended solely for his personal use. Nor need secular Latin works necessarily have been confined to clerics, as Latin often formed an important component of the young English noble's education.²

A few years earlier three romances had been received from William Langley - presumably works not required in the household at that juncture.³ These included two copies of 'Erraclos' (one old and evidently in a very poor condition),⁴ and 'j libro de romanc', cooperto de linea tela et vocato Tresor', possibly the encyclopaedic Tresor of Brunetto Latini.⁵ (It is worth noting that a return to the wardrobe stock did not necessarily imply that a book had fallen from favour:

¹ Cf. list of books of William de Walcote (once a priest in Isabella's household): E101/508/29, transcribed J. Scattergood 'Two medieval book lists', Library, 5th ser. xxiii (1968), p. 238. Cf. also 'due libri gallic' de romaunces de quibus unus de liber de rose et alius difficilis materie' in St. George's, Windsor (1383): Bodleian, Ashm. Rolls 47, m. 1. See M.R. James, 'The manuscripts of St. George's Chapel, Windsor', Library, 4th ser. xiii (1933), pp. 55-76, esp. pp. 63-5 (transcription of sections relating to books). (James's refs. are to previous numeration of the rolls.)

² K.B. McFarlane, The nobility of later medieval England (Oxford, 1973), pp. 228-47 ('The education of the nobility in later medieval England'), passim.)

³ 18 Edw. II.

⁴ 'j libro de romanc' veteri de Erraclos cooperto de rubro palio, in toto dilacerato; j altero libro de Erraclos minori cooperto de coreo nigro'. This was perhaps more probably Le Livre (or Roman) d'Eracle (a 13th-c. trans. of W. of Tyre, Historia de rebus gestis in partibus transmarinis, bks. 1-22 (Guillaume de Tyr et ses continuateurs, ed. P. Paris (Paris, 1879-80), than the 12th-c. roman courtois of Gautier d'Arras (OEuvres, I. Eracle, ed. E. L8seth (Paris, 1890) and might reflect Edward I's crusading aspirations. It is not clear from the document whether or not the two volumes contained the same text.

⁵ B. Latini, Li Livres dou tresor, ed. F.J. Carmody (Berkeley/Los Angeles, 1948). The list of 73 extant and 15 lost MSS. reflects the work's popularity (pp. xlvi-lvii).

a copy of the Tresor bound with a 'Bruyt' was among the volumes in Isabella's possession at her death.)¹

The romances listed in greatest detail in Flete's roll were those issued to Isabella on 5 March 1327, soon after her successful return to England.² These were all covered in leather of various colours and one, 'historie...de heremitis et pluribus aliis titulis' was illuminated with gold letters and lockable ('cum clavis'), an indication of its value. Whether the subject-matter related to hermits of romance or (perhaps more probable) was hagiographic is not clear. Another volume, entitled 'Les Prologes de gales' is similarly ambiguous. The other 'romances' are a reminder of the wide interpretation that might be placed upon this term, for they include 'liber romancie...de historiis Normannorum',³ a volume of books of the Old Testament,⁴ and Vegetius' De re militari,⁵ as well as more predictable works, such as Le Roman de Renard ('unus liber romanc' de Renard') and the 'romaunz de Meraugys et Sade'.⁶ The list of romances also includes a record of two volumes released by command of the queen to Thomas de Useflete, clerk of the great Wardrobe: 'le romans de guy et guerri'⁷ and 'le romant de perceual'.

¹ 'Unus liber qui vocatur Tresor et Bruyt in Fine': E101/393/4 fo. 8^r. Rickert, 'King Richard II's books', p. 144 identified one of Richard II's books as 'Romance de Trebor' (the Enseignements Trebor of Robert de Ho), but it seems more likely that this was a Tresor.

² See appendix 17.

³ Wace's Roman de Rou? See Wace, Le Roman de Rou, ed. A.J. Holden, 2 vols. (SATF Paris, 1970-1).

⁴ 'De veteri testamento'.

⁵ MS. 'de arte militie'.

⁶ Presumably Le roman de Meraugis de Portlesguez: Raoul de Houdenc, Sämtliche Werke: Meraugis von Portlesguez, ed. M. Friedwagner (Halle, 1897)? ('Sade' seems to be unidentifiable.) Cf. 'j liuret de Romans de Maugis' owned by Simon Burley: Bodleian MS. Eng. hist. b. 229, fo. 3^r (see below, pp. 143-4).

⁷ Probably Guy of Warwick and Fulk Fitz-Warin ('Gwaryn', 'Guarines'): see London, BM, Catalogue of romances in the department of manuscripts, I, ed. H.L.D. Ward (London, 1883), pp. 502, 505.

A Perceval et Gauwayn was also listed in the inventory of goods made after Isabella's death, possibly the same volume.¹

This inventory with the ten titles listed under 'Libri romanizati' is a particularly valuable source in this context, a testimony to Isabella's long-standing and wide-ranging interest in secular literature: her collection included Arthurian romance ('de gestis Arthuri', 'de Tristram et Isolda' 'de Perceual et Gauwayn'), chanson de geste, such as 'Emery et [sic] Nerbon'² and 'de duce de Basyns', a volume relating to the Trojan war ('de bello troiano') and another 'de Baudrous'.³ Although the subsequent division of books left two of the Arthurian volumes to Edward III's sister, Joan (wife of David II of Scotland),⁴ it appears that on her death (1362), they re-entered the royal collection.⁵ As a result of these exceptional documentary survivals there has perhaps been a tendency to assume that Isabella possessed a taste in books that was far from typical of the rest of the royal family and households at this time: both her nationality and alleged retirement from public life have been cited in this connection.⁶ In fact, although Isabella retired from public life, she was far from ostracised by her family: Edward III certainly visited

¹ EL01/393/4, fo. 8^r; see below, pl. 5.

² Aymeri de Narbonne: chanson de geste, ed. L. Demaison, 2 vols. (SATF, Paris, 1887). See I, pp. xxiv - xxxvi (extant MSS., all 5 of mid 13th or 14th c.), xxxvi - xli (lost MSS.)

³ Possibly Le Roman de Baulduin de Constantinople?

⁴ She was in England 1357-62: R. Nicholson, Scotland: the later Middle Ages (Edinburgh, 1974), p. 169.

⁵ EL01/393/4, fo. 8^r. (Cf. appendix 18 (a): the first 4 items went to Joan, the rest to Edward). Items from both legacies were recorded on Edward's death: Green, 'King Richard II's books', pp. 235-6.

⁶ Tout, Chapters, V p. 249. Cf. the unwarranted theory that Isabella's interest in romances was new and fostered by Richard de Bury in Paris: H. Johnstone, 'Isabella, the she-wolf of France', History, n.s. xxi (1936-7); her contrast between Isabella's enthusiasm and Philippa's lack of literary interest (p. 215) is particularly untenable: cf. above, pp. 128-31. At least 3 of the volumes owned by Isabella - Aymeri de Narbonne, Li Livres dou Tresor and the Apocalypse also appear in the books of Guy de Beauchamp (1305?): M. Blaess, 'L'abbaye de Bordesley et les livres de Guy de Beauchamp', Romania, lxxviii (1957), pp. 512-3.

her at Hertford (under a day's ride from one of his favourite residences at King's Langley) and Castle Rising, Norfolk.¹ Her presence is also recorded at seasonal court festivities.² It is clear, too, that she continued to acquire richly decorated objets de luxe after her fall from power.³

The fact that royal books circulated in such numbers indicates that there was in effect a royal library within the privy wardrobe in the Tower of London. John Flete, who styles himself 'clericus et custos privatis garderob' domini regis in turri sua'⁴ was clearly as responsible for the maintenance of records concerning books as, for example, equipment for the tournament. It would be interesting to discover whether there is a consistent absence of books in otherwise similar records:⁵ if so, this would seem to imply an administrative change, conceivably with the appointment of a separate clerk with primary responsibility for the king's books.⁶

¹ See e.g. CPR, 1340-42, pp. 368, 419, 476; CPR, 1343-45, p. 259 (King at Castle Rising 28 Jan., 20 Apr., 12 June 1342, 8 May 1344); CPR, 1348-50, pp. 255, 258 (King at Castle Rising 10, 13 Feb. 1349); pp. 254, 255, 258, 260, 265 (King at Langley 7, 9, 10, 11, 18, 25 Feb. 1349). Cf. 2-year grant of the King's prize of wines at Lynn to Isabella, issued at Hertford, 26 Apr. 1349 (CPR, 1348-50, p. 282).

² E.g. refs. to 'domina regina' and 'domina mater regina' (1343): Adae Murimuth Continuatio Cronicarum, ed. E.M. Thompson (RS. 1889), p. 231; E101/391/15 (printed Nicolas, 'Garter', pp. 61-2); BL MS.Add. 35 181, fo. 9^r: handsome New Year's gift from Edward III to Isabella, 1334 (the cup given to him by Philippa the previous year: cf. above, pp. 126-7).

³ See e.g. E101/393/4, fo. 11^r (8 bench-covers with the quartered arms of England and France, which must post-date Edward's assumption of the French arms in 1340).

⁴ For Fleet's career see Tout, Chapters, VI, index s.v. Fleet (John) (4), esp. IV, pp. 255, 287, and n. 2, 441-2, 445-9, 451.

⁵ This is a point I hope to pursue in subsequent research.

⁶ Cf. the principles on which the well-documented French royal library developed in the late 14th century: L. Delisle, Recherches sur la librairie de Charles V, 2 pts. (Paris, 1907), I, pp. 7-14. See also the as yet untraced ref. (McFarlane, Nobility, p. 244) to 'A list of some 160 books belonging to Henry V...[containing] besides poetry and romances, historical, legal and devotional works in Latin and French'.

The copy of Walter de Milemete's translation of the De secretis secretorum¹ (concerned with the training and responsibilities of the prince) and its companion treatise² give an indication of the probable richness and lavishness of the decoration of some of these manuscripts. Despite the incomplete decoration of the two volumes,³ the heraldry leaves no doubt that they were intended for the young Edward III.⁴

The quality of sumptuous (and predominantly heraldic) ornament doubtless

¹ BL Add. MS. 47 680 (1326-7), formerly at Holkham Hall. The MS. is incomplete: see stubs of leaves between fos. 17 and 18; catchword on (final) fo. 76^v. See T.C. Skeat, 'Manuscripts and printed books from the Holkham Hall Library', BM Quarterly, xvii (1952), p. 26, pl. X; British heraldry, BM exhb. cat. comp. and ed. R. Marks and A. Payne (London, 1978), no. 209.

² Oxford, Christ Church MS. E. 11, ed. in facs.: The treatise of Walter de Milemete De nobilitatibus, sapientiis et prudentiis regum...with an introduction by M.R. James (Roxburghe Club, 1913). See p. xv for ref. to the presentation of De secretis secretorum: 'I have thought well to have that book copied word for word for your use...along with other supplements and instructions concerning the kingly office which I have thought out and added in this book [i.e. the De nobilitatibus]'.
³ See e.g. Add. MS. 47 680, fos. 25^v (unfinished border decoration, inc. shields left blank or with the ground only painted), 40^v - 44^v (surcoated figures in borders lack their heraldic arms on surcoat and shield; some border scenes unpainted), 69^r - 70^r, 71^v - 73^r, 74^r, 75^r (small miniatures with outline drawing and some background painting only). O. Paecht thought a mid-14th century hand completed the miniatures on fos. 21^v - 24^v (see handwritten notes kept with the MS.) Cf. unpainted outline drawings in Christ Church MS. E. 11, fos. 72^r - 78^v (Milemete, Treatise, pll. 143-56). The unfinished decoration does not necessarily imply that the volumes were unfit for royal use: cf. e.g. Jean de Berry's copy of Josephus's Antiquités judaïques (BN MS. fr. 247), with miniatures added after his death by Fouquet: T. Cox, Jehan Foucquet: native of Tours (London, 1931), p. 99 n. 2.

⁴ See esp. repeated use of 3 lions passant (England) and 3 lions passant, an azure label of 5 points (England, heir apparent) for Edward II and the future Edward III, which are apt for the postulated date (1326-7).

reflects contemporary court taste and expectations. It seems that Milemete's treatise, or a related manuscript, may have continued to circulate in royal circles until at least the middle of the century for there are striking iconographical parallels between a miniature in the Christ Church manuscript¹ and a lead badge in the British Museum.² Although the common elements have obviously been designed for a circular, rather than a rectangular, framework in the badge (perhaps struck to commemorate the victory at Poitiers), both badge and frontispiece represent a figure in armour, identifiable by the arms on his surcoat, kneeling before the Gnadenstuhl Trinity.³

Various individual references make it clear that an interest in books was sustained by Edward, his family and companions throughout his reign. Devon, in his extracts from the issue rolls, noted the purchase in 1335 of 'a book of romance...for the king's use, which remains in the chamber of the king' from Isabella of Lancaster, then a nun at Amesbury.⁴ The significance of the literary activities of Isabella's brother, Henry of Lancaster, has also been underestimated.⁵ Henry composed a book on the laws of war which has not survived,⁶ as

¹ Oxford, Christ Church MS. E.11, fo. 5^r (Milemete, Treatise, pl. 9):

² BM M & LA OA 100, illustrated British Heraldry, no. 255. See bibliog. cit. there. I am grateful to Dr. Marks for these refs. and for confirming other details. He points out that there is no room for a label on the prince's surcoat as the figure is in an attitude of prayer (ex. inf. 22/2/1978).

³ For the iconography of the Gnadenstuhl Trinity, see e.g. M. Rickert, The reconstructed Carmelite missal (London, 1952), pp. 47-8, p. 47 n. 5. Cf. Gnadenstuhl Trinity on the tester of the Black Prince's tomb at Canterbury: E.W. Tristram, English wall painting in the fourteenth century (London, 1955), pp. 67-9; Harvey, Gothic England, pl. 68; also mention in his will of an image of the Trinity for the altar of his chantry chapel: Eng. trans. in J. Harvey, The Black Prince and his age (London, 1976), p. 161. It is likely that these final arrangements reflected a long-standing devotion to the Trinity. (Harvey has pointed out that the Prince was born within the Quindene of the Trinity, which might explain this: ex. inf. 19/5/78)

⁴ F. Devon, Issues of the exchequer (London, 1837), p. 144. (His figure of 66 l. 13 s. 4 d. for this transaction looks suspiciously like a mis-transcription.)

⁵ See Fowler, The king's lieutenant, p. 23.

⁶ M. Hayez, 'Une exemple de culture historique au xv^e siècle: la Geste des nobles françois', Ecole fr. de Rome. Mém. d'archéol. et d'hist., lxxv (1963), pp. 122-78.

well as a penitential treatise, Le Livre de seyntz medicines, written in 1354.¹ Henry was the king's loyal cousin and companion, a frequent fellow-participator in court hastiludes, as well as his lieutenant abroad.² Moreover, in 1362 Edward of Woodstock, the king's eldest son, purchased three psalters worth 20 l. from William de Monkelane, confessor and an executor of Humphrey de Bohun, one of the family whose patronage of illumination has been regarded as an isolated phenomenon.³ The price suggests plentifully illuminated work.⁴ In his eventual choice of an epitaph from Petrus Alphonso's Disciplina clericalis, the prince also displayed an unusual degree of literary discrimination.⁵ One of his close friends, Simon Burley, knight of

¹ Le livre de seyntz medicines, ed. E.J.F. Arnould (ANTS 4i, Oxford, 1940), p. 244. For surviving MSS. see E.J.F. Arnould, Etude sur le Livre des saintes médecines du duc Henri de Lancastre (Paris, 1948), pp. lxxvii-lxxii; Stonyhurst MS. (?1355-60), fo. 1 is reprod. in Livre de Seyntz medicines, frontispiece. The books returned to Thomas of Lancaster's executors included three romances and a bestiary (see appendix 17): they probably stayed in the family.

² See Fowler, The King's lieutenant, passim; below, p. 239 and n. 2.

³ 'Three psalters bought for the prince's use from the executors of Sir Humphrey de Bohun [Humphrey IX, 6th Earl of Hereford, d. 1361]': Register of Edward the Black Prince, IV, p. 476. For the Bohun MSS. see below, pp. 154-6. Cf. the assessment of E.G. Millar, English illuminated manuscripts of the XIVth and XVth centuries (Paris/Brussels, 1928), p. 25: 'The revival of the art of illumination in England in the second half of the fourteenth century seems...to have been largely due to the patronage of one family.'

⁴ See Register of Edward the Black Prince, IV, pp. 167, 484 (payments for illumination of charters and the repair of and painting of a breviary: the latter cost 6 s 8 d. and perhaps only involved the addition of arms and badges). Cf. the commission of a missal and breviary for his chantry chapel, illuminated with 'our armorials in diverse places and also with our badges of ostrich feathers': Harvey, Black Prince, p. 162.

⁵ See D.B. Tyson, 'The epitaph of Edward the Black Prince', Med. AEv., xlvii (1977) no. 1, pp. 98-104, esp. 102. The statement holds good even if the text belonged to and was suggested to the prince by one of his clerics. Cf. his Arras hangings 'du pas de Saladyn', left to Richard II (Harvey, Black Prince, p. 163), which suggest familiarity with the legendary exploits of Richard I and his encounter with Saladin: see above, p. 48 n. 3.

the household and son of his former tutor,¹ is known to have possessed eight volumes of French romances (including one on an unspecified Arthurian subject), as well as the Prophecies of Merlin and a Brut.² Three of the romances were illuminated: two are described as decorated with 'ymagery', the third had 'un ymage al commencement', perhaps a full-page frontispiece.³ When an inventory was made in 1393 of the goods of Edward III's youngest son Thomas of Woodstock, he possessed no fewer than ninety-three books at Pleshey castle (nineteen romances there), as well as forty-one books in his chapel.⁴ If Geoffrey Chaucer's upbringing in the household of Elizabeth of Ulster,⁵ and his literary association with John of Gaunt are also remembered,⁶ it becomes still clearer that there was a sustained pattern of literary interest in this milieu throughout the reign of Edward III.

It has already been observed that liturgical and devotional volumes are more frequently attested than secular works.⁷ To list them all would be repetitive and - in this context - unilluminating.

¹ McKisack, Fourteenth century, pp. 424-5. The prince appointed Burley one of his son's three magistri: Mathew, Court of Richard II, pp. 22-3.

² Inventory of 1388: Bodl. MS. Eng. hist. b. 229, fo. 3^r. Another copy (with purely orthographic variants) is transcribed in Scattergood, 'Medieval book lists', p. 237 from P.R.O. E154/1/19. For the context, see M. Clarke, Fourteenth-century studies (Oxford, 1937), pp. 120-1.

³ Bodl. MS. Eng. hist. b. 229, fo. 3^r; Scattergood, 'Medieval book lists', p. 237, A 1, 5, 16.

⁴ Viscount Dillon, W.H. St. J. Hope, 'Inventory of the goods and chattels belonging to Thomas, Duke of Gloucester...(1397)', Arch. J., liv (1897), pp. 280-2, 298-9, 300-3.

⁵ Wife of Lionel of Antwerp (m. 1342: see below, pp. 178-80). See Chaucer, Works, p. xx.

⁶ Chaucer, Works, pp. xx-xxi, 773 (Boke of the Duchess, an elegy for Blanche of Lancaster). Chaucer's relations with the court fall largely outside the chronological span of this thesis and have been studied at length elsewhere: see e.g. Chaucer Life Records ed. M.M. Crow and C.C. Olson (Oxford, 1966), pp. 13-28, 67-70, 94-143, 271-5 etc.

⁷ See above, p. 135.

Nevertheless, some of the available records provide useful insights into contemporary provision in this field within the royal households. Thus in 1332 sixteen volumes were released to the king in his chamber, of which almost all appear to be service-books and were presumably intended for the king's chapel. However, a book of vespers in French ('liber vesperatus in romano') must have been intended for personal devotion.¹ It is interesting that half of these books are described as 'de templo', presumably from the goods confiscated in 1308 from the London Temple, headquarters of the Order of Templars in England.² The fact that these books (with the possible exception of the gospels) do not seem to reappear in wardrobe inventories suggest that they may have continued in use in the king's chapel and chamber. The gospel book ('evangelium', 'textus Ewangeliorum') stands out in records of 1322 and 1332 as the volume with the most lavish external decoration,³ but other service books for use in the royal chapels were evidently also often covered with rich textiles.⁴

¹ BL Add. MS. 35 181, fo. 6^v.

² McKisack, Fourteenth century, pp. 291-2 cit. (p. 292 n. 1) A. Sandys, 'The financial and administrative importance of the London Temple in the thirteenth century', Essays in medieval history presented to Thomas Frederick Tout, ed. A.G. Little and F.M. Powicke (Manchester, 1925), pp. 147-62; C. Perkins, 'The wealth of the Knight Templars in England', AHR, xv (1910), pp. 252-63, esp. pp. 254-7 (comments on movable assets and their documentation). For the trial of the Templars in England, see M. Barber, The Trial of the Templars (Cambridge, 1978), pp. 193-204.

³ BL Add. MS. 35 181, fo. 6^v. E101/390/7 dorse (fragment): '[liure] des ewangelistes, des chasteux et des fleurs deliz les tissus de seye garniz dargent'. Such lavishly jewelled covers were characteristic of gospel-books: W. Maskell, Monumenta Ritualia Ecclesiae Anglicanae, I (Oxford, 1882), p. lx.

⁴ E.g. E101/393/15 (1360-1): breviary for the king's chapel covered with silk, sindon and gold buttons. Cf. similar records temp. Richard II cited in Tout, Chapters, IV, p. 388 and n. 6.

The list of goods belonging to Queen Isabella at the time of her death (1358) are particularly valuable because they state specifically which books and other items were kept in her chapel, thus providing a complete picture of its furnishings at this point. The indentured inventory and the longer and more detailed book recording the distribution of her goods have already been mentioned.¹ There is considerable overlap between the two documents but each is a unique source for some items. Generally the valuations (where they are given) correspond. However, there are occasional discrepancies which make it impossible to be sure whether two distinct items or differing valuations are at issue. A breviary, gradual and two missals 'de usu fratrum minorum' reflect Isabella's devotion to the Franciscan order.² There were also three missals and a portiforium³ of the use of Sarum, two further portiforia, two graduals, two antiphoners⁴ and a martyrologium⁵ and a gradual and ordinal⁶ of French origin.⁷ It is very unlikely that

¹ See above, p. 135 and n. 3. E101/333/29 s.v. 'De capella'; cf. Rhodes, 'Inventory of the jewels...of Queen Isabella (1307-8)', pp. 519-20 ('Aournemens et hostillemens appartenans a la chappelle'). E101/393/4, fos. 6^v (s.v. 'Capella'), 9^v (s.v. 'Jocalia et alia bona').

² E101/393/4 fo. 6^v; E101/333/29. McKisack Fourteenth Century, p. 102 and n. 2; significantly some of these volumes were left to her daughter Joan, who was also buried in the Franciscan church at Newgate: King's Works, p. 486; one of the missals was issued to 'fratri Nicholo de ordo minorum' (E101/393/4, fo. 6^v) - probably her confessor.

³ A service book similar to the breviary, containing the offices and hours for the canonical year (Maskell, Mon. Rit., I, pp. xcvi-iii).

⁴ A music book of antiphons sung at mass: the gradual contained those sung at the hours of divine office (Maskell, Mon. Rit., I, pp. xxxi-iv).

⁵ A book recording the deaths of saints and martyrs for each day of the year (Maskell, Mon. Rit., I, p. clxviii).

⁶ '[A] book which regulated the whole duty of the canonical hours': Maskell, Mon. Rit., I, p. xlvii.

⁷ 'unum gradale de usu francie coopertum cum coreo albo; unum ordinale de usu paris': E101/393/4, fo. 8^r (s.v. 'Libri romanizati'). The gradual only is listed in E101/333/29 (s.v. 'De capella'). See below, pl. 5.

either of these were in fact the psalter given to Isabella as a wedding present by Edward II.¹ Also in the chapel was 'j liber de vita sancte katerine',² but it seems possible that this might at some point also have had a role in individual devotion. Certainly a French bible and apocalypse³ are likely to have been for Isabella's personal use. It is clear from the valuations ascribed that some of these manuscripts were lavishly decorated or illuminated, or both,⁴ but it is impossible to form any exact impression of individual volumes. Nor can the valuations be assumed to give a complete and accurate guide to the nature of the contents: witness in particular the evidently illuminated 'liber de ymageria', listed without value amongst devotional and service books.⁵ It seems likely that other unvalued books, such as the Apocalypse and perhaps also the Life of St. Katherine, were also illuminated.

¹ Pace Johnstone, 'She-wolf', p. 217. The psalter is now Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Cod. Gall. 16. For a detailed study, see D.D. Egbert, The Tickhill Psalter and related manuscripts (New York-Princeton, 1940), pp. 82-9, Apx. II, esp. pp. 86-7 (affiliations with some of the Bohun MSS. viz. continuous sequence of O.T. scenes in the initials of the psalms - parallels with B. Egerton, MS. 3277; Bodl. MS. Auct. D. 4. 4; Oxford, Exeter Coll. MS. 47 -; reliance upon Peter Comestor's Historia Scolastica, in addition to the O.T. - Egerton Psalter.)

² E101/333/29. (Not recorded in E101/393/4.)

³ 'Una biblia in gallicis in duobus voluminibus; Apocalipsis in gallicis'; 'unus liber de matutinarum beate marie' perhaps also fell into this category. All 3 vols. are recorded s.v. 'Jocalia et alia bona' (rather than 'De capella'), E101/393/4, fo. 9^v; below, pl. 6.

⁴ E.g. 3 Sarum missals: 4 l.; Sarum portiforium: 40 s.; Franciscan missal: 20 s.; martyrology: 6 s. 8 d. See appendix 18.

⁵ E101/393/4, fo. 9^v. Cf. chapel furnishings and other objets d'art ascribed no value: e.g. 'una tabula de ebore' (fo. 6^r); 'una ymago beate marie de alabastre' (fo. 6^v); 'una ymago Sancti Georgii de perliis posita in auro', 'una tabula de ueluetto nigro broudada cum perliis de Annunciatione beate marie' (fo. 9^v); various gold, silver-gilt and jewelled statues and reliquaries. Cf. below, pl. 6.

Prominent amongst the items from Isabella's household, which were valued in 1358 are her panel paintings, of which she appears to have possessed between six and ten.¹ The largest comprised seven leaves,² others had six³ or four leaves.⁴ Two tryptychs - one portraying the Virgin Mary - are also listed,⁵ together with a panel of the vernicle.⁶ By far the most important of these paintings, however, were 'tria tabule de opere Lombardorum'.⁷ These Lombard panels provide the earliest documented examples of North Italian painting at the English court and also provide positive evidence for the possible means by which North Italian art might have influenced English work, as well as demonstrating a conscious taste for such a style in court circles. Only three years later (1361) Hugh of St. Alban's, the king's principal painter in St. Stephen's chapel left, in his will, 'unam tabulam de VI peces de Lombardy', valued at 20 l.⁸ Significantly, it is in the St. Stephen's chapel paintings (discussed below) and the related Bohun manuscripts that Lombard influence has been adduced on purely stylistic grounds.⁹

¹ See appendix 18. It is impossible to be more precise because of the uncertainties presented by differing valuations and descriptions.

² Valued at 60 s. (E101/333/29 s.v. 'De capella') and 100 s. (E101/393/4, fo. 6^r).

³ E101/333/29 s.v. 'De capella'.

⁴ E101/393/4, fo. 6^r. (There were two of these, one valued at 40 s.: E101/333/29 s.v. 'De capella'.)

⁵ E101/333/29 s.v. 'De capella', valued at 26 s. 8 d; E101/393/4, fo. 6^r.

⁶ MS. 'facie veronice': E101/393/4, fo. 10^r. See below, pl. 7.

⁷ E101/393/4, fo. 10^r. It is impossible to ascertain whether any of these are to be identified with one of the tryptychs or the six-leaved panel listed in E101/333/29 and not listed as such in E101/393/4.

⁸ M. Rickert, Painting in Britain: the Middle Ages 2nd ed. (Harmondsworth, 1965) cit. J. Harvey, 'Some London painters of the 14th and 15th centuries', B. Magazine, lxxxix (1947), p. 305 (Apx.) Harvey (p. 304) suggested that Hugh purchased the retable in Avignon, but there is no sound evidence that he was there, and it seems more likely that the work was purchased from Italian merchants.

⁹ Rickert, Painting, p. 149, see below, pp. 153-5.

The building of St. Stephen's chapel, Westminster had been begun during the reign of Edward I (1291-7), and continued fitfully in the two following reigns.¹ A college of canons was established there by the king in 1348 and the next fifteen years occupied with the provision of internal furnishing and decoration.² The accounts of those works indicate that

like the Saints Chapelle, [which in many ways it emulated]³ ...[it was] decorated almost as richly and with the same lavish disregard for cost as if it had been a shrine or reliquary on a very large scale.⁴

The years after Crécy also saw the furnishing of the existing chapel in the lower bailey at Windsor Castle as the chapel of St. George for Edward's newly founded Order of the Garter.⁵ Nevertheless, from the great range of artistic work commissioned for these enterprises, only small fragments and an antiquarian's drawings of the wall paintings which covered the interior surfaces of St. Stephen's chapel have survived.⁶ It is largely because of the almost total destruction of the objects of Edward III's patronage that he has come to be remembered - outside the political and military sphere - primarily as a builder, and that the implications of his employment of large numbers of painters and applied artists upon the fabric has been generally ignored.⁷

¹ King's Works, pp. 510-7.

² King's Works, pp. 517-8.

³ King's Works, p. 510.

⁴ E.W. Tristram, English Wall painting, in the fourteenth century (London, 1955), p. 49.

⁵ King's Works, p. 872. Edward's large-scale building works at Windsor and their decoration (1357-65) fall outside the scope of this thesis. For the foundation, see below

⁶ Fragments preserved in the BM.: see T. Borenius and E.W. Tristram, English medieval painting (Paris/Florence, 1927), pl. 56. Drawings by Smirke (now in the possession of the Society of Antiquaries) are reproduced as engravings, with Robert Smirke's colour notes in J. Topham, Some account of the collegiate chapel of Saint Stephen, Westminster (no place or date) (Bodl. Vet. A6 a. 2): see below

⁷ King's Works has done much to correct this balance, but the implications of material there do not appear to have reached less specialised treatments.

The scale of Edward's patronage is perhaps most strikingly revealed in his purchase of a reredos of Nottingham alabaster for the high altar of St. George's, which had to be transported to Windsor in no fewer than ten carts, drawn by a total of eighty horses.¹ No extant Nottingham alabaster suggests that work on this grand scale was being produced in the mid-fourteenth century, and it is possible that royal patronage in this field provided an important stimulus for development.² Some of the chapel's earliest fittings are mentioned in accounts³ and in inventories of 1384-5 and 1409-10.⁴ A number of the items listed are specifically associated with some of the Order's first members and for others an early date may reasonably be postulated. Explicitly linked with the king are 'j ordinale [quod] fuit domini Edwardi regis'⁵ and 'j tabula argentea deaurata de dono Edwardi regis' which contained a reliquary, presumably

¹ King's Works, p. 873. 40 l. was subsequently paid for painting the reredos.

² The earliest surviving, e.g.s, date from the last quarter of the century: see e.g. W.L. Hildburgh, 'An alabaster table of the annunciation with the crucifix: a study in English iconography', Archaeologia, lxxiv (1923-4), p. 216; P. Nelson, 'The woodwork of English alabaster retables', Trans. H. Soc. Lancs. and Cheshire, lxxii (1920), p. 59; Vienna, Kunsthist. Mus., Kat. d. Samml. f. Plastik u. Kunstgewerbe, I: nos. 132-8. Exports of English alabaster are first recorded in 1382: W. St. J. Hope, 'On the early working of alabaster in England', Arch. J., lxi (1904), p. 227.

³ E.g. carved wooden choir-stalls, painted glass windows and a 4 s. statue of St. George: King's Works, p. 873.

⁴ Oxford, Bod., Ashmole Rolls 47, 36. (The latter is inaccurately transcribed in W. Dugdale, Monasticon Anglicanum, VI (London, 1830), pp. 1362-7: cf. A. Roberts, St. George's chapel, Windsor Castle 1384-1416. A study in early collegiate administration (Windsor, 1947), p. 83 n. 2); above, p. 137 n.1.

⁵ Ashmole Rolls 47, m. 1.

of St. George.¹ It seems likely that this relic of the Order's patron would have been donated at, or very close to, its inception.² It appears that the great alabaster reredos was designed to hold a number of richly jewelled reliquaries, of which the Croes Neyd (relic of the True Cross ceded to Edward I by the Welsh in 1283) was the most important.³ Some of the vestments - perhaps the 'velum quadragesimale palleatum blodii et albi coloris cum Gartieres et Aquilis auris poudratis' and matching 'ridellum...pro fronte super summam altarem'⁴ - must also have dated from the time of the foundation; likewise a red cope embroidered with gold figures, presented by Henry, Duke of Lancaster and 'j capa bona de auritexto de dono principis Edwardi diuersis passionibus diuersorum sanctorum'.⁵ The Prince also presented a green tapetum with his badges,⁶ '.ij. vestimenta rubea cum stellis et aquilis orfraid' et ambag' domini principis pro

1

Ashmole Rolls, 47 m. 2 (previously the possession of the bishop of Lincoln and containing '.j. vas oblungum de berillo clausum ex utraque parte cum argento, et .j. crux desuper et arma sancti Georgii in que continentur. iij. ossa'.)

2

Cf. '.j. tabula lignea...cum platis et ymaginibus cupreis deauratis, continens passionem sancti Georgii' on the small altar opposite the high altar: Ashmole Rolls 47 m. 2.

3

'J crux nobilis vocata Gmeth' is listed int. al. under the heading 'Jocalia et reliquiae infra tabulam summi altari' (Ashmole Rolls 47, m. 2). (At the time of the inventory several precious stones were missing.) Cf. above, pp 54-5.

4

Ashmole. Rolls 47 m. 4. Cf. e.g. '.iij. tapeta rubea cum gartiers, valde debilia' (m. 4). For extant material embroidered with the device of an order, see fragment of a vestment of the Hungarian order of the Dragon (dark blue velvet, with flaming gold embroidered crosses appliquéd onto the surface), 1408-44: Vienna, Kunsthist. Mus., Kat. d. Sammt. f. Kunst. u. Plastikgewerbe, I, n. 100. For the range of vestments likely to have been provided, cf. those of the Toison d'or (modelled on the Garter: see below, p. 253) . preserved at Vienna: Vienna, Kunsthist. Mus. Schatzkammer (The crown jewels and the ecclesiastical treasure chamber), by H. Fillitz, trans. G. Holmes, 3rd ed. (Vienna, 1963), pp. 31-2.

5

Ashmole. Rolls 47 m. 1.

6

'Domini principis': Ashm. Roll 47 m. 4; 'domini E' principis': Ashm. Roll 36 m. 3 (where the item is deleted).

.ij. altaris in nau*i* ecclesie'¹ and a missal.² Joan of Kent's wedding vestment was also presented to the College.³ Other early donations include a missal of Lady Clare and a service book for the mass of the Commemoration of the Virgin (an intrinsic part of the Order's ceremonies), given by Bishop Grandisson.⁴

The leading part of the king and his relatives in artistic patronage amongst the founder members of the Garter is clear: at St. Stephen's, Westminster, that role was an exclusively royal one. The stunning visual impact produced by the variety and richness of the decorative techniques employed there is conveyed by the reaction of the antiquary John Topham, who described it as

one universal blaze of splendour and magnificence
...[a] profusion of gilding and minute tracery
and diaper.⁵

St. Stephen's chapel is also unique in the surviving fragments of the wall paintings and later drawings, which make it possible to draw questions of artistic cross-influence and cultural relationships a little further from the field of conjecture. Smirke's drawings of the eastern wall show that here the Adoration of the Magi provided the principal subject, flanked with scenes of the infancy of Christ. Beneath these, in an arcaded framework, St. George presented the kneeling Edward III and Philippa, with their ten sons and daughters.⁶

¹ Ashmole Roll 47 m. 1 (entry deleted).

² Ashm. Roll 47 m. 1 'de dono principis'. The Black Prince is the only obvious holder of this title at this date: cf. above, p. 151 and n.6; below ('principissa'), n. 3

³ 'j uestimentum rubeum de panno ad aur' diuersis aibus poudratum in qua domina principissa fuit desponsata': Ashmole Rolls 47, m. 1.

⁴ Ashmole Rolls 47, m. 1.

⁵ Cited in Tristram, English wall painting, p. 49. Cf. comments of John Carter also cited in Tristram, English wall painting, pp. 48-9. For details of the techniques responsible for these effects, see King's Works, p. 517, Tristram, English wall painting, p. 49.

⁶ Topham, Saint Stephen, Westminster, pp. 13-16, pll. xvi, xvii.

The Job and Tobias fragments formed part of a different scheme, where figures in box-like interiors composed a sequence of scenes that was arranged in two bands of four below window level.¹ The exact chronology of the painting is problematical: Tristram, analysing extant accounting material (1350-1, 1354, 1356-7), concluded that the scheme was 'substantially finished' in 1351.² However, the exceptionally large sums paid to a single painter in 1354 suggests that he was engaged in work of considerable significance,³ and the presence of Edward's youngest son, Thomas of Woodstock, born only in 1355, has been used to adduce a post-1355 date for the whole scheme.⁴ However, Tristram argued convincingly that the figure's placing and smaller size indicate that it is a later addition.⁵

Stylistically, the two wall paintings are distinct: this is perhaps most obvious in the handling of space, where a so-called geometric treatment is employed in the box-like interiors of the Job scenes and a more empirical approach beneath the arcading of the east wall.⁶ In figure style and architectural treatment, but perhaps most distinctly in the handling of heads and facial modelling, the Job scenes reflect Italianate characteristics which are also found

¹ Topham, Saint Stephen, Westminster, pp. 17-22, pll. xix-xxiii.

² Tristram, English wall painting, p. 53. A team of 40 painters was employed in 1350.

³ King's Works, p. 518 n. 10 (unprecedented wage paid to the elder John Barnsley).

⁴ Topham, Saint Stephen, Westminster, p. 13; M.S. Bunim, Space in medieval painting and the forerunners of perspective (New York, 1940), p. 166.

⁵ Tristram, English wall painting, p. 53 and n. 4.

⁶ Bunim, Space in medieval painting, pp. 162-6, figs. 67-70.

in some of the hands of the Bohun manuscripts. This heterogeneous and complexly inter-related group of finely illuminated manuscripts was commissioned by various members of the Bohun family. It encompasses both the East Anglian elements of the first half of the century (in Bodleian Astor MS. A 1)¹ and the bar-borders of the end of the century (in, for example, the Psalter of Eleanor Bohun).² Unfortunately there is no scope here to discuss their inter-relationships and the issues they raise, and what follows is inevitably somewhat generalised and over-simplified.

The central manuscripts of the group are essentially relevant in this context, namely the Vienna, Egerton and Exeter Psalters,³ which all contain hands that display to varying extents the Anglo-Italian characteristics also found in the Job fragments. Among these common features the treatment of faces is particularly noticeable: brownish flesh tones modelled in white result in rather slack, doughy faces with small dark eyes. Often a touch of white highlights a dark pupil and mouths have a characteristic downward droop.⁴ Miss Rickert commented upon the similar use of richly gilded backgrounds patterned in relief in both the Job fragments and the Egerton Psalter.⁵ One might also compare the closely packed figures gesticulating with prominent hands

¹ Also in parts of the Vienna Psalter: see e.g. fos. 7^r, 25^v.

² Edinburgh, Advocates Library MS. 18, 6. 5 (see Rickert, Painting, p. 150). See Rickert, Missal, pp. 74-6 for stylistic analysis of development within the group of Bohun MSS.

³ Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek Cod. 1826*; BL MS. Egerton 3277; Oxford, Exeter College MS 47. See H.J. Hermann, Die westeuropäischen Handschriften und Inkunabeln der Gotik und der Renaissance, 2 (Leipzig, 1936), pp. 17-37; BM. Cat. of additions to the MSS, 1936-45, i (London, 1970), pp. 377-8. (These comparisons do not imply contemporaneous dating of the hands involved.)

⁴ Cf. e.g. Vienna, Öst. Nat. 'bib. Cod. 1826*, fos. 60^r, 72^v, 86^v, 91^v, 109^v, 113^v, 116^v, 152^r; head from the Job frags. reprod. in Rickert, Painting, pl. 154 (B). Parts of Bodl. MS. Auct. D. 4. 4. display these characteristics: see e.g. fo. 40^r. See below pl. 10.

⁵ Rickert, Painting, p. 150.

in scenes such as the Destruction of Job's children, with the smaller-scale crowded and excited figures in some of the Exeter Psalter illuminations.¹

Since the appearance of Millar and James's authoritative monograph on five manuscripts of the group,² the date of c. 1370 onwards and the pre-eminent role of Humphrey X de Bohun, 7th Earl of Hereford and 2nd of Northampton (1342-73) have generally been accepted for the Bohun manuscripts.³ The evidence of subsequently discovered related manuscripts⁴ and the reinterpretation of internal heraldic evidence⁵ (which seems to imply the involvement of other earlier figures, such as Humphrey IX 6th Earl of Hereford)⁶ appears to suggest a date twenty or so years earlier (c. 1350-60).⁷ The Black Prince's purchase of manuscripts from the executors of Humphrey IX⁸ and the affinities with the mid-century paintings at St. Stephen's would also fit more satisfactorily into such an adjusted chronological framework.

¹ E.g. Oxford, Exeter Coll. MS. 47, fos. 33^v, 34^v. Cf. melodramatic little figures in e.g. Vienna Ost. Nat'bib. Cod. 1826*, fo. 100^r; scene from the Egerton Psalter reprod. Rickert, Painting, pl. 153 (A); below, pl. 10.

² E.G. Millar and M.R. James, The Bohun Manuscripts (Oxford, Roxburgh Club, 1936).

³ Millar and James, Bohun Manuscripts, pp. 1-2; Rickert, Painting, p. 149.

⁴ Notably MSS. Egerton 3277 and Astor A.1. which were unknown to Millar and James.

⁵ Ex. inf. Dr. P.A. Newton, autumn, 1977.

⁶ Uncle of Humphrey X; d. 1361. See A collection of all the wills... of the kings and queens of England printed by J. Nicholls (London, 1780) p. 54: ref. to 'nos joiaux...q' nos avoins ew graunt delig't de eux regarder'.

⁷ In the absence of a completed analysis of the MSS. dating can only be very tentative. Lynda Dennison of Westfield College, is currently preparing a D. Phil. thesis for the University of London on this subject. Rickert, Painting, p. 151!

⁸ See above, p. 143 n. 3.

It is interesting that art-historians working on both the Job fragments and the eastern wall paintings drawn by Smirke have been unwilling to accept the c. 1350 (? -60) date to which documentary evidence points. Miss Rickert, for example, thought that the Job paintings were among the last executed:¹ it would be interesting to know how far this judgement was influenced by the generally accepted c. 1370 date for the Bohun manuscripts. Miss Bunim, on the other hand, had refused to accept the 1350-60 date for the eastern paintings because

from the representation of space in some of the scenes at least [it] appears to be too early, judging from developments in French painting (My italics.)²

The main ground of objection is particularly significant, apparently underlining the probability of direct Anglo-Italian contact in this field, which is also reflected in Queen Isabella's possession of Lombard panel paintings.³ Discussion of fourteen-century English cultural development and achievement has perhaps tended to focus upon the emergence of Chaucer as one of the first great vernacular poets, in the context of Richard II's court,⁴ and consequently to emphasise Anglo-Italian contacts of the third quarter of the century.⁵ This emphasis has had the inevitable corollary of under-rating contacts between the two countries that stemmed from the thirteenth century. Many of these continued throughout much of the reign of Edward III.

¹ Rickert, Painting, p. 151.

² Bunim, Space in medieval painting, p. 162. See Tristram, English wall painting, pp. 51-3.

³ See above, p. 148.

⁴ E.g. D. Brewer, Chaucer in his time (London, 1963), pp. 189-202; Mathew, Court of Richard II, e.g. pp. 13-16, 52; Armstrong, 'The golden age of Burgundy', p. 55 ('the phosphorescent court of Richard II').

⁵ Rickert, Missal, p. 75 n. 1. E.g. 1368 marriage of Lionel of Antwerp to Violante Visconti, Chaucer's visit to Italy and the influence upon his own work (summary by McKisack, Fourteenth Century, pp. 530-2).

During Edward I's reign Italian merchants had an important role in royal finance¹ and they were also indispensable in the early phases of the Hundred Years War.² Many of these families (such as the Bardi, Peruzzi and Frescobaldi) were also enthusiastic patrons of contemporary Italian artists,³ and may perhaps initially have played some part in the introduction of Lombard art to England. Clearly the connection did not rest entirely upon such individuals, since it survived their replacement by English financiers after Edward III's default in 1340.⁴ Without more detailed evidence the relationships between painters (English and Italian), entrepreneur and patron must remain conjectural. Nevertheless, Isabella's Lombard panel paintings reveal a taste for North Italian art in the circles close to the king, and the style of the Job scenes at St. Stephen's strongly suggest that Edward shared this taste and was eager to patronise the style.

Edward III's building projects inevitably involved large-scale patronage of painters and various applied artists on the interior of the structure, but his role in this area has been consistently diminished by the almost total destruction of their work. Similarly, the absence from this period of surviving illuminated manuscripts associated with

¹ See e.g. R.W. Kaeuper, Bankers to the crown: the Riccardi of Lucca and Edward I (Princeton, N.J., 1973), passim, esp. p. 112 (employment of Bardi, Circuli and Scala companies). (The Riccardi were employed by Edward I 1275-94, then replaced by the Frescobaldi and others: G. Harris, King, parliament and public finance in medieval England to 1369 (Oxford, 1975), pp. 203-4; E.B. Fryde, 'Financial resources* with Edward III in 1337-40', Rev. belge de phil. et hist., xl (1962), pp. 1174-5.)

² For Edward III's relations with the Bardi and Peruzzi, see Harris, King, parliament and public finance, pp. 238, 241-3, 324, 436-7; McKisack, Fourteenth Century, pp. 155-7; E.B. Fryde, 'Financial resources of Edward III in the Netherlands, 1337-40', Rev. belge de phil. et hist., xlv (1967), pp. 1146, 1152-3, 1155, 1158-9, 1160-5, 1170, 1184-7.

³ Most notably in the Giotto frescoes of the Bardi and Peruzzi chapels, Sta. Croce, Florence.

⁴ McKisack, Fourteenth century, pp. 223-4; Fryde, 'Financial resources of Edward III in the Netherlands', p. 1159.

* of Edward I in the Netherlands 1294-98: main problems and some comparisons.

the court and the apparent lack of documentary references have led historians to place Edward III, if not in an illiterate, at least in a bookless and artistically unaware milieu. The discovery of a royal library of at least one hundred and fifty volumes underlines the insecure foundations of such assumptions. It is clear, too, that the more important members of Edward's court - Philippa, Isabella and Henry of Lancaster - were also eager to surround themselves with objects of artistic and literary value and it is likely that they differed from other members of the court only in material resources, not in taste.¹

It is significant (and typical) that one of Edward's major vehicles for artistic patronage - St. George's chapel, Windsor - should have been inspired by a specifically chivalric impulse, for in practice chivalric activity and cultural expectation were almost inextricably intermingled. This will become increasingly apparent in the next chapter, where taste and cultural expectation also play their part in determining the setting and accoutrements of explicitly chivalric activities.

¹ There are few surviving artefacts connected with any but the very highest of the nobility: e.g. embroidered orphreys made into cushions with the arms of William Clinton, Earl of Huntingdon and Juliana de Leyburne (2nd quarter of 14th c.): London, Victoria and Albert Mus., Dept. of Textiles, Cat. of English ecclesiastical embroideries of the XIII to XVI centuries 3rd ed. (HMSO, London, 1916), pp. 14-15, pll. viii, ix.

CHAPTER 4.

'LUDI' AND 'HASTILUDIA' AT THE COURT OF EDWARD III

This chapter attempts to examine the public manifestations of the chivalry of Edward III and his court,¹ concentrating especially upon the first half of his reign, which culminated in the foundation of the Order of the Garter. This foundation, occurring virtually at the middle point of the reign, bisects it in more ways than one. Although the significance of the order's institution as an unifying force in the kingdom seems to be generally recognised,² there seems to have been little attempt to place the Garter against the background of the preceding two decades of Edward's reign. These earlier events not only sharpen and correct the perspective in which the order itself is viewed, but shed considerable light on the development of the intertwined political and chivalric motive in Edward III and upon the king's relationship with his armigerous subjects. The latter inevitably forms a major theme of any account of the tournaments of his reign and this aspect will be considered in detail in chapter 5.³

Before considering individual tournaments, the terminology of these occasions requires a certain amount of preliminary definition. The two words most commonly employed are Latin, tornamentum and hastiludium (or their plural forms). There appears to have been some consistency in the use of the two terms, although no absolute definitions can be offered. It is striking that writers or administrators sometimes refer independently to specific occasions in the same way: thus, for example, Walsingham, the Bridlington chronicler and the Annales Paulini all agree in describing the Cheapside

¹ See above, pp. 11-13.

² E.g. McKisack, Fourteenth century pp. 251, 253.

³ Below, pp. 236-47.

tournament where the queen's stand collapsed in 1331 as a 'hastilude',¹ while the Annales Paulini and Murimuth unanimously refer to the 'tournament' at Dartford in the same year.² Similarly, the great wardrobe clerk who drew up an issue roll for 1342 unerringly differentiated the 'hastilude' at Northampton and the 'tournament' at Dunstable at six different places in the document.³ This certainly suggests that in some eyes there was a readily recognisable distinction between 'tournaments' and 'hastiludes'. Another great wardrobe clerk, documenting Edward's northern campaign between July 1333 and 1334, made a further distinction, describing three separate occasions as justis, hastiludis and torneamenta et hastiludia.⁴ This suggests that it would be rash to assume that joustes, the most common term in (far less numerous) references in French, was always synonymous with that most often found in Latin sources, hastiludia. Evidently this was sometimes the case: the wardrobe record and its enrolment describe items provided by John of Cologne for the Lichfield hastiludia, while the corresponding chamber document refers to justis at Lichfield.⁵

The joust is perhaps the most easily isolable form, where knights in pairs would run a specified number of courses (usually three), each attempting to unhorse the other with their lance.⁶ Significantly,

¹ T. Walsingham, Historia Anglicana, ed. H.T. Riley (RS 1863), I, p. 193, Chronicles of Edward I and II, I, pp. 354-5 ('Annales Paulini'), II, p. 102 ('Auctore Bridlingtoniensi').

² Chronicles of Edward I and II, I, pp. 352-3; Murimuth, p. 63. (There are two principal MS. traditions of Murimuth's Chronicle: when refs. below are to Cotton MS. Nero D. X, this is stated.)

³ E101/389/14, mm. 1-2; Chronicon Galfridi le Baker de Swynebroke, ed. E.M. Thompson (Oxford, 1889), p. 75 similarly distinguishes between the 'bourdis' at Northampton and solemn 'torneamentum' at Dunstable. For behourds see Cripps-Day, History of the tournament, pp. xvii-xviii, lxiii (cit. BL Harl. MS. 6069); cf. Lancelot and his cousins (returning Guinevere to Arthur) 'venoient bohordant et fesant le greigneur samblant de joie' (La Mort le roi Artu, p. 157).

⁴ E101/386/15: see appendix 20 nos. 18 (jousts), 17 (hastilude), 19 a (tournament and hastilude).

⁵ E101/391/15 (Nicolas, 'Garter', pp. 40, 26); E372/207 m. 50; E101/391/1, fo. 6^v. (Nicolas's transcription of E101/391/15 seems accurate; specific refs. below are therefore to the printed text.)

⁶ F. Buttin, 'La lance et l'arrêt de cuirasse', Archaeologia, xcix (1965), pp. 142-3. (His assumption about the 13th-c. demise of the mêlée is questionable.)

Geoffroi de Charny, whose reputation was high in England,¹ dismissed jousting as an activity very much inferior to the tournois or encounter between teams of knights on a precisely defined and limited area. In the first half of the previous century the torneamentum had consisted of an (infinitely more perilous) cross-country mêlée, but this appears to have largely died out during the reign of Edward I.² However, one cannot entirely rule out the continuing possibility of this unrulier form of encounter, at least on campaign. As late as 1359, after his marriage to Blanche of Lancaster at Reading, John of Gaunt returned to London 'ipse cum militibus suis omnibus sibi occurrere volentibus et in campis et villis hastiludia tenebat.'³ The fluid composition of the participants and the specific reference to itinerant combat in the open fields, beside the more usual strictly limited context, suggest a flexible and spontaneous gathering like the thirteenth-century torneamentum,⁴ although of course it is impossible to be certain that this was not a deliberate revival of an obsolete form. This was atypical, however, and there appears to be no record of any comparable occasion. A picture of the usual pattern of such events can be built up from chroniclers' accounts.

In these narratives three features in particular reflect the continuing importance of the tournois in the first half of the reign of Edward III: severe injuries and fatalities, the capture of horses and a team structure. Since the days of William Marshall at least,

¹ 'Reputabatur melior et sapientior miles de exercitu regis Franciae': Murimuth, p. 129.

² Denholm-Young, 'Thirteenth-century tournament', p. 242.

³ Chronica Johannis de Reading et Anonymi Cantuariensis 1346-1367, ed. J. Tait (Manchester, 1914), p. 131.

⁴ Denholm-Young, 'Thirteenth-century tournament', pp. 242, 243-44.

tournaments had offered opportunities for lucrative advancement (and presumably ruin) through the gain or loss of valuable mounts. At Dunstable in 1342, organisation was so poor and the start so late that dusk was already falling, 'ita quod vix x. equi fuerunt perditii vel lucrati'.¹ The opportunity for such exchange of horses only existed at tournois and was quite impossible in the joust. Frequent reference to two teams, those from within and without (dedens and dehors), further re-enforces the impression that the mêlée within a limited area was common: prizes are awarded to individuals among the intrinsecos and the extrinsecos at Windsor, early in 1344;² the Earl of Warwick was the supreme champion, 'tam intus quam extra' the previous year,³ and the author of the Annales Paulini refers to sixteen members of the parte interiori at Cheapside in 1331.⁴

There are also frequent references to severe injury or death: for Murimuth the 1343 Smithfield hastilude was noteworthy because no-one was hurt.⁵ A considerable list of casualties on other occasions could be compiled.⁶ At the Northampton tournament of 1342 Henry of Grosmont's brother-in-law John of Beaumont was killed and 'multi nobiles fuerunt graviter laesi et aliqui mutilati'.⁷ Injury could, of course, also result from a joust. For example, the encounter between Henry of Grosmont, together with three of his knights, and

¹ Murimuth, p. 124; he also mentions loss of horses at Northampton.

² Murimuth, p. 155.

³ At Smithfield: see appendix 20, no. 34.

⁴ Chronicles of Edward I and II, I, p. 355; cf. e.g. Chronicon Henrici Knighton, Monachi Leycestrensis, ed. J.R. Lumby, II (RS 1895), p. 23. where twelve Scottish knights coming to Berwick in 1342 were presumably matched by an equal number of English knights (see appendix 20 no. 2).

⁵ Murimuth, pp. 230-1 (Cotton MS. Nero D. X).

⁶ Below, pp. 162-3, 183-4, appendix 20 nos. 27, 29, 31, 32.

⁷ Murimuth, p. 124. For the Beaumont - Lancaster connection, see Fowler, The King's lieutenant, p. 26.

William Douglas, with three Scottish knights who came in 1341 'ad hastilandum sub foro guerraee' (a phrase which appears to be an exact translation of joustes de guerre, that is, fought with unrebated lances), resulted in the return of the challengers to Scotland 'letali vulnere attriti'.¹ Perhaps this encounter was made particularly ruthless by the current Anglo-Scots war. (In the Anglo-Scots hastilude probably held near Melrose at about the same time, fatalities were described as accidental, possibly implying that this encounter was fought with rebated lances.)² As a general rule, however, multiple injury was rare in jousts. In peace-time, large-scale injuries, such as those at Northampton, would only occur in a mêlée. Collectively, this evidence seems to indicate that the term hastiludia is not synonymous with joust, but can also refer to the tournois. However, the terms were obviously used very loosely in some cases: the accounts of the duchy of Lancaster, for example, call the 1331 Cheapside tournament, which we know was fought in teams, simply justes.³

Conversely, however, one version of Murimuth's chronicle describes hastiludia where (at Smithfield in 1343) each of the thirteen members of the defending team ran three courses against all comers, evidently in a series of jousts.⁴ Probably the occasion combined a tournois in teams with individual jousting: as this assembly, like so many others in Edward III's reign, lasted several days,⁵ there would have been every opportunity for a varied programme of this kind. The Windsor tournament of 1344, for example, apparently devoted its last day to

¹ Knighton, II, p. 23.

² Murimuth, p. 123.

³ DL40/1/11 fo. 46^v; see above, pp. 159-60; below, pp. 173-4.

⁴ Murimuth, p. 146.

⁵ See e.g. appendix 20 nos. 12, 14, 15, 33, 37. (The two versions of Murimuth disagree over the exact date, but are unanimous in describing a formal Sunday start, followed by 3 days' hastiludes. The date given in Cotton MS. Nero D X (Feb. 8th) is probably more accurate, as this was a Sunday: Murimuth, p. 231.)

activities for the squires, with a hastiludia domicellorum.¹ Such mixed arrangements were far from innovatory and had characterised tournaments of the previous century.² It was very probably the dominant pattern in the first decades of Edward III's reign, giving scope for individual achievement, but emphasising above all the prestigious and rigorous team encounter.

It is important to remember that the tournois still provided essential training and experience of fighting, both as part of a large team and in smaller sub-units, just as on campaign a knight would fight as a member of a small group or conrois within the retinue of a banneret.³ Although the role of archers proved crucial in the well-known pitched battles of the period,⁴ the skills of the knight were demanded in countless other encounters in the war and, interestingly, many of these episodes seem to have been more highly prized by contemporaries than in retrospective analysis.⁵ This emphasises the value which was placed on the role of the skilled and well-trained knight and, by implication, on the tournois as a means of fostering those skills. Peace-time tournament activity was the essential counterpart to periods of warfare.

A study of the tournaments and related activities in Edward III's reign before the foundation of the Garter thus constitutes an essential element of any study of the war-time activities of the period (with

¹ Murimuth, p. 155.

² See above, p. 19.

³ See above, p. 27 and nn. 3, 4.

⁴ See e.g. J.E. Morris, 'The archers at Crécy', EHR, xii (1897), pp. 427-36; T.F. Tout, 'The Tactics of the Battles of Boroughbridge and Morlaix', EHR, xix (1904), pp. 711-15; A.E. Prince, 'The Importance of the Campaign of 1327', EHR, 1 (1935), p. 300.

⁵ See e.g. the depositions in the Scrope-Grosvenor case (1389), where service at Crécy or Poitiers is not distinguished from that on 'minor' or 'insignificant' campaigns: The Scrope and Grosvenor Roll, ed. N.H. Nicolas (Chester, 1879), pp. 145-6 (detailed catalogue of John de Rither).

which, as will be seen, they were closely inter-linked), as well as providing a rich and rather neglected source of insights into the attitude of the king and his associates. It would doubtless be revealing to continue the investigation into the second, post-Garter period of Edward's reign and this would probably provide information concerning such important issues as, for example, the increasing popularity of the joust and decline of the tournois fought in teams.¹ By and large, however, that period is dominated by the Garter feasts on St. George's day, so that - although there is undoubtedly much additional unpublished material concerning these events - I have chosen to concentrate rather on the circumstances that led to the foundation of such a remarkably influential institution than to document its own not-unfamiliar ceremonies further.² (Material from later in the reign is, however, used for occasional comparison and analogy.) It should be stressed that this in no sense claims to be a comprehensive account, even of the limited period covered, and it is not based on an exhaustive examination of the surviving evidence. The value of tournament records is limited if they are considered in isolation: this survey consequently attempts to place them in as precise a contemporary context as is practicable and in the framework of a chronological narrative. Inevitably, because some of the chroniclers' accounts of the most famous occasions have been repeated so often, this involves synthesis of some very familiar material. To have omitted this, on the other hand, would have resulted in a distorted and unbalanced picture. The well-known occasions (with published sources) have therefore generally been

¹ Already in 1389, one witness in the Scrope-Grosvenor case referring to tournaments of the reigns of Edward II and III found it necessary to elucidate this term: 'tournamentz...que fuist adout lescole darmez' (Scrope and Grosvenor, p. 152, similarly, p. 155).

² See inter alia: G.F. Beltz, Memorials of the Order of the Garter (London, 1841), pp. 3-11; E. Ashmole, The Institution, Laws and Ceremonies of the Most Noble Order of the Garter (London, 1672), pp. 202-641; J. Anstis, The Register of the Most Noble Order of the Garter, from its cover in velvet usually called the Black Book (London, 1724), I, pp. 1-129, 279-488; II, passim; H. Nicolas, History of the Orders of Knighthood of the British Empire (London, 1852), I, passim.

accorded a more cursory treatment and for ease of reference the material has been appended in tabular form.¹ Shortage of space has made it necessary to incorporate a number of postulated conclusions, however, and the relevant texts should be consulted for points of detail. Finally, it should be added that in what follows the word 'tournament' is not employed in the thirteenth-century sense of Latin torneamentum,² but in a more general sense, approximating to the fourteenth-century use of hastiludium -a, implying primarily the tournois or team-encounter within a limited area, but not excluding jousts or a combination of various related activities.

It was scarcely surprising that the accession of Edward III should co-incide with an efflorescence of tournament activity. In this respect it was natural that the personal example and policy of his grandfather should have been followed,³ rather than the repressive policy of tournament bans that had been associated with a weak king and rebellious nobility in the reigns of Edward II and Henry III.⁴ The young king's own ability and aptitude for the exercise could only encourage such a line. Mortimer and Isabella were quick to capitalise upon his enthusiasm in the hope that this would unite the potentially

¹ Appendix 20. (The selection of tournaments after 1349 has largely been governed by the factors mentioned above, p. 165.)

² See above, p. 161.

³ See above, pp. 47-52. Edward I was nearly twenty years older than Edward III at his accession and had been an enthusiastic tourneyer at an equivalent age: see e.g. T.F. Tout, Edward the First (London, 1903), pp. 31, 44; Powicke, Thirteenth Century, p. 159; Denholm-Young, 'Thirteenth-century tournament', pp. 255, 264.

⁴ Denholm-Young, 'Thirteenth-century tournament', pp. 245-9; Maddicott, Thomas of Lancaster, pp. 99-100, 101-2, 124-5; A. Tomkinson, 'Retinues at the tournament of Dunstable, 1309', EHR, lxxiv (1959), pp. 70-87.

divisive elements behind their rule.¹ It is interesting that the first general bans on tournaments apparently occur after the unpopular Anglo-Scots treaty of Northampton.² Although the second of these was ostensibly proclaimed to ensure full attendance at parliament, it suggests that Mortimer and Isabella may already have been anticipating - and perhaps pre-empted - the rebellious absence of the Lancastrian party, which did not in fact occur until late the following year.³

It seems impossible that the tournament at Northampton, attended by Lord Berkeley in the first year of Edward's reign, had any connection with this treaty, or the negotiations for it.⁴ Berkeley household accounts also record his attendance at a tournament at York that year, and this may have been connected with the celebrations for the king's marriage to Philippa of Hainault, in York Minster, on the first anniversary of his accession.⁵ Strictly speaking, these festivities took place in the second regnal year, and one cannot entirely rule out the possibility that the tournament of the Berkeley accounts (ascribed to anno 1) was held on the return of the English army to York in the

¹ Mortimer himself may also have been an enthusiast, holding a Round Table at Bedford 1328 (Knighton, I, p. 449) and a tournament at Hereford (below, p. 168; appendix 20, no. 5).

² Foedera, II, ii (1821), pp. 732 (15 Mar. 1328), 739 (30 Apr. 1328).

³ McKisack, Fourteenth century, p. 100; G.A. Holmes, 'The rebellion of the Earl of Lancaster, 1328-9', BIHR, xxviii (1955), pp. 84-7.

⁴ J. Smyth, Lives of the Berkeleys, ed. Sir J. Maclean (Gloucester, 1883), I, p. 325; Thomas de Berkeley was the elder brother of Maurice, a chamber knight of Edward III: see below, p. 170 n. 5. The negotiations for the treaty took place in the late spring, 1328: Stones, History n.s. xxxviii (1953), p. 54; appendix 20 no. 1.

⁵ Smyth, Lives of the Berkeleys I, p. 325; Lucas, The Low Countries and the Hundred Years War, p. 72 and n. 133. For the May-time jousting to welcome Queen Philippa to London, see Froissart, Chroniques, ed. Luce, I, pp. 76, 287.

middle of August 1327, after the Stanhope Park fiasco.¹ This would be in keeping with Edward's practice in other campaigns.² Another group of noble household accounts record the attendance of young Henry of Grosmont and his brother-in-law, the Earl of Ulster, at a tournament the following month at Blyth (South Yorks.), a traditional site and one of those licensed for tournament by Richard I.³ For four other tournaments we are again almost entirely dependent upon the isolated survival of details from baronial accounts recording Lord Berkeley's expenses at Hereford, Coventry, Exeter, and Bristol in 1328.⁴ The first was doubtless that held by Mortimer at the marriages of his daughters, attended by the royal family.⁵ Both chronicles and administrative records are apparently silent about the other events, a salutary reminder of the very selective and inevitably biased nature of any survey based largely upon the records of a central administration. Comparable material from the Lancastrian and Berkeley accounts has unfortunately not survived for any other period of the reign,⁶ but it is highly probable that, for example, the knights of the West Midlands and the South-West continued to hold regular tournaments at all these places.⁷

¹ See R. Nicholson, Edward III and the Scots (Oxford, 1965), pp. 37 n. 3. (For a general account of the Weardale campaign, see pp. 31-7.)

² Cf. e.g. Brussels, 1339 (below, p. 134; appendix 20 no. 21).

³ DL 41/9/1 m. 18. Denholm-Young, 'Thirteenth-century tournament', pp. 243-4; Rev. J. Stacey, 'On the Site of the Blyth Tournament Field', The Dukery Records, ed. J. White (Worksop, 1904), pp. 61-9.

⁴ Smyth, Lives of the Berkeleys, I, p. 325; appendix 20 nos. 5, 6, 7, 8.

⁵ Murimuth, p. 57; see above, p. 167 n. 1.

⁶ The Berkeley accounts were rich in material relating to tournaments, unfortunately undervalued by their extractor, who comments laconically: 'and so in divers other years till age grew on: I avoid prolixity' (Smyth, Lives of the Berkeleys, I, p. 325).

⁷ Cf. e.g. appendix 20 nos. 34, 40, 53.

The next year found Berkeley at Guildford where justis et torneamentis, indubitably centred on the royal court and households, took place.¹ At this date the royal palace adjacent to the castle was held by Isabella: it also boasted a park and one of the royal stud farms - useful, though of course by no means essential, adjuncts for tournaments.² This was probably a pre-Lent festivity, beginning with Quadragesima ceremonies on Sunday, 5 March and continuing with jousts and tournaments on the following Monday and Shrove Tuesday.³ According to the close and patent rolls the king and council were still at Eltham the first few days of the month, but by the week beginning 5 March the administration had clearly moved on to Guildford.⁴ The following Sunday (March 11th), however, the king was at Chertsey.⁵ The great proportion of administration was transacted in the second half of the week and only two letters, Teste Rege, were issued, both on Ash Wednesday (8 March).⁶ This evidence would corroborate a postulated tournament held at the beginning of the week. Edward was also at Guildford in early July of the same year, but his movements suggest that - as in later summers

¹ Smyth, Lives of the Berkeleys, I, p. 325; D. Sandberger, Studien über das Rittertum in England vornehmlich während des 14. Jahrhunderts (Historische Studien, Heft 310, Berlin, 1937), p. 44 nn. 95-8 [sic] citing E361/3 m. 13.

² King's Works, p. 953 and n. 7; M. Burrows, The Family of Brocas of Beaurepaire (London, 1886), p. 59. Burstwick (in Holderness), site of Whitsun 1334 tournament, was similarly endowed: see E101/386/15; King's Works, p. 905; appendix 20 no. 17.

³ Cf. e.g. Norwich 1341, Dunstable 1342, (appendix 20 nos. 25, 30). Handbook of Dates, ed. C.R. Cheney (London, 1961) has been used throughout to establish feast days etc. Chronological evidence (valuable in determining the nature of the festivity) for the king's itinerary is discussed in full here to demonstrate the working method. This will not be repeated in each instance as the problems are by and large the same.

⁴ CPR, 1327-30, pp. 377, 368-69; CCR, 1327-30, pp. 432, 441-42, 430, 442.

⁵ CPR, 1327-30, p. 373. The administration was still partly at Guildford: CCR, 1327-30, p. 443. (This illustrates a typical difficulty in the use of close and patent rolls for royal itineraries.)

⁶ CPR, 1327-30, pp. 373, 375.

in this area - the visit was for hunting.¹ Equipment for the Guildford tournament was released into the hands of another of the king's future chamber knights, Thomas de Bradeston.²

This apparently insignificant piece of information demonstrates something of the potential value of tournament records for the political historian. Bradeston was to become not merely a knight of the king's chamber, but a banneret and evidently one of the king's closest friends:³ at this date, however, he was a mere king's yeoman, feathering his nest, but not apparently marked out for such an elevated position.⁴ Interestingly, Bradeston's knighthood occurred in the summer of 1330, just a few months before the 'palace revolution', when Mortimer was captured and Edward III gained real control.⁵ In subsequent grants unusual emphasis is placed on 'the special affection which [the king] bears him', royal gratitude for 'his assiduous attendance at the king's side', and, perhaps most revealing, a pardon in April 1339 'in part recompence of his labours and charges in the service of the king from his early years in constant attendance at his side'.⁶ The obvious inference is that Bradeston played a crucial

¹ CPR, 1327-30, pp. 403-05, 410-11, 413-14, 432-33 (5-10 July): note his interim stay at Reigate 7, 8, July (ibid p. 404).

² Sandberger, Studien über das Rittertum, p. 44 nn. 95-8, cit. E361/3 m. 13. It is impossible to tell what Bradeston's own part in the tournament might have been.

³ CPR, 1338-40, p. 395. The extent of the king's favour is reflected in the constant shower of royal grants of all kinds (CPR, passim), his remarkable intervention and retaliation against Lucca merchants when Bradeston's son was captured in Italy (CPR, 1345-48, pp. 21, 330) and the exasperated petition of townsfolk near Gloucester: 'At court he is like a little saint, in his own country like a raging lion.' (N. Saul, The Gloucestershire Gentry in the Fourteenth Century (unpub. Oxford D. Phil. thesis, 1977), ibid cit. S.C. 8/97/4826).

⁴ CPR, 1327-30, p. 342; described as scutifer of the king's household 1328: Cal. of Memoranda Rolls (Exchequer). 1326-7, p. 374.

⁵ See R. Austin, 'Notes on the family of Bradeston', Tr. B.G. Arch. Soc., xlvii (1925), p. 280 and refs. cit. there. Bradeston's knighthood may have been connected with the life retainership of Maurice de Berkeley with the king, July 1330 (CPR, 1327-30, p. 530) as they were brothers-in-arms: Smyth, Lives of the Berkeleys, I, p. 252. CPR, 1338-40, pp. 381, 389, 399.

⁶ CPR, 1334-38, p. 180; CPR, 1338-40, pp. 381, 389, 399.

part in the overthrow of Mortimer, which Edward never had cause to forget.¹ The tournament evidence, however, presents us with a more subtle picture and another element in the development of Edward's plans. It demonstrates that early in 1329 Bradeston was already closely linked with the king's household and might have been privy to Edward's schemes as they developed.

In October 1329 Edward, Philippa and Isabella visited Dunstable for a tournament where houses had to be especially repaired before their arrival.² It seems probable that this is the Dunstable tournament attended by 'le Roy...et lez grandez seigneurs de tut le roialme', mentioned by two witnesses in the Scrope-Grosvenor submissions.³ Neither dates the event more precisely than before the siege of Tournai (1339), but each mentions a series of tournaments (at Guildford, Newmarket and Dunstable) which seems to agree only with the evidence for this period of Edward's reign.⁴ The otherwise unrecorded Newmarket tournament presumably took place in the summer of 1329.

The gatherings so far considered have had exclusively provincial locations. This may have been one consequence of Edward's focus on Scotland at the beginning of his reign and of the resulting transference of the administration to York for some of this period,⁵

¹ Cf. the more striking rewards for some of the other participants: McFarlane, Nobility, pp. 159-60.

² E101/384/14 (Sandberger, Studien über das Rittertum, p. 44 nn. 95-8 prints this in full without reference) is full of practical details about nails, tiling etc. but lacks any information about the tournament itself. (The account is apparently enrolled at E372/182 m. 36b: Anglo, 'Financial and Heraldic Records', p. 194.)

³ Scrope and Grosvenor, p. 133; cf. p. 155.

⁴ Rauf de Ferrers' reference to a Northampton tournament as well, very probably alludes to one in the reign of Edward II: Scrope and Grosvenor, p. 155; cf. p. 142.

⁵ See D. Broome, 'Exchequer Migrations to York in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries', Essays presented to Tout, p. 292.

but it is also a reflection of predominantly baronial sources. The contrast with parallel occasions after the fall of Mortimer is marked. The summer of 1331 is dominated by a sequence of three tournaments held at, or fairly near, London, each proclaimed by one of the king's chamber knights. Although this might reflect a genuine shift (it would not be unnatural for Edward to spend more time in the capital once he was his own master), any such possible development is no doubt accentuated by the primarily London-based chronicle sources for this period,¹ and it would clearly be unwise to assume that this trend was entirely at the expense of provincial tournaments. (It is interesting that the previous year Henry of Grosmont's itinerary took him to several known tournament locations.)² After Easter 1331 Edward, accompanied by a few of his chamber knights and administrators, went on a 'secret journey' to France, disguised - for no very obvious reason - as merchants.³ The real purpose of the visit was to pay liege-homage to Philip VI for Ponthieu and Guyenne, but even administrative sources presented the episode as a pilgrimage and the fulfilment of a vow.⁴ On his way back to the capital, a tournament was held at Dartford (Kent), apparently proclaimed by William Clinton, under whose standard the king himself fought with distinction for the pars interioris.⁵

¹ In particular the Annales Paulini; also Murimuth's chronicle, which bears some relation to it: see Chronicles of Edward I and II, I, pp. lx-lxxiv.

² E.g. Lichfield, Northampton, Newmarket: DL 40/1/11 fo. 46^v.

³ Murimuth, p. 63; Baker, p. 48. A ban on tournaments in the king's absence was issued 11 April: Rymer, II, ii (1821), p. 815.

⁴ McKisack, Fourteenth century, p. 112; E. Déprez, Les Préliminaires de la guerre de Cent Ans: la Papauté, la France et l'Angleterre (Paris, 1902), pp. 74-7: the ceremony of homage seems not to have been performed when the two kings met, Philip VI apparently accepting Edward's written acknowledgement of his status as a liege-vassal.

⁵ Murimuth, p. 63; Chronicles of Edward I and II, I, p. 352 ('Annales Paulini') places this in 1330, but there is no evidence to support this date, probably a scribal error: however there seems no reason to doubt the detailed account itself. Edward disembarked at Dover 20 April and spent that night at Wingham (c. 12 miles east of Canterbury): Déprez, Les préliminaires de la guerre de Cent Ans, p. 76. This suggests that he made oblations at Canterbury and continued through north Kent to Dartford, which lay on Watling Street.

A couple of months later a hastiludium at Stepney was proclaimed by Robert de Morley. The account of the proceedings in the Annales Paulini is one of the fullest descriptions of an English tournament from this period and provides a valuable analogical framework for scantier evidence about other occasions.¹ Its true purpose seems to have been unrecognised. The event lasted four days, 16-19 June. The first, a Sunday, saw a general procession of the masked knights and squires to St. Paul's cathedral, where all the knights made their offerings. On the three following weekdays, 'celebrarunt solempne hastiludium juxta curiam domini episcopi Londoniensis'.² The event celebrated was undoubtedly the first birthday of Edward's only son and heir, which fell on the Sunday³ - an occasion that would demand the presence of the majores de regno, beside the king and Earl Marshal.

The third of these tournaments is chiefly remembered for the collapse of the queen's stand in Cheapside.⁴ It was ostensibly proclaimed by another of the king's close friends, William Montacute 'capitaneus illius sollempnitatis'.⁵ The sequence of events was essentially that revealed at Stepney: a solemn procession on Sunday, followed by tourneying Monday to Wednesday. This time 'dominae de nobilioribus et pulcrioribus regni' also featured in the procession, dressed in red velvet tunics and white cameline hoods and led on a silver chain by knights 'splendido apparatu vestiti ad similitudinem

¹ Chronicles of Edward I and II, I, pp. 353-4.

² Chronicles of Edward I and II, I, p. 354.

³ Edward of Woodstock b. 16 June 1330 according to Chronicles of Edward I and II, I, p. 349. (The evidence is conflicting: Walsingham, Hist. Ang., I, p. 193 gives 13 June; Handbook of British Chronology, ed. F.M. Powicke, E.B. Fryde, (2nd edn, London, 1961), p. 36 prints 15 June, presumably following Le Baker, p. 48.)

⁴ E.g. Murimuth, p. 63; Walsingham, Hist. Ang., I, p. 193; Chronicles of Edward I and II, I, p. 355 ('Annales Paulini'), II, p. 102 (Bridlington).

⁵ Chronicles of Edward I and II, I, p. 354 ('Annales Paulini').

'Tartarum larvati', followed by squires and minstrels.¹ Both continental practice and literary models could have provided the inspiration for such episodes. Similarly, the golden arrows embroidered upon green mantles for the Stepney tournament could have represented love's darts and the lover's hope.² Large-scale tournaments of this period seem to have been characterised by some such unifying theme, expressed as a visual motif on the items of livery made for the occasion and (though this is less well documented) the shape of some aspects of the ceremonies themselves. Often inherent literary allusions are obscure and topical implications can only be guessed at: inevitably, much of the resonance such events would have carried for contemporaries is entirely lost. Nevertheless, this is a dimension which is especially illuminated by the details of livery and other issue rolls and one which will be given special consideration when this material is discussed later in the chapter.

In view of Edward III's close links with Hainault and, indeed, his own tournament activities in the Low Countries, it would be particularly interesting to discover any evidence for the involvement

¹ Cameline: apparently woven from a mixture of goat's hair, wool and silk: Godefroy, Lexique de l'ancien français s.v. camelin. The description perhaps suggests only Tartar masks or head-dresses, rather than an attempt at total disguise: see below, pp. 196-9.

² The Ovidian metaphor was commonplace in vernacular literature by this date, disseminated by such works as Roman de la Rose, where Cupid's arrow is one of the mainsprings of the action. Cf. Henry of Grosmont's gold figure of the god of love: above, p. 126 n. 4. For French translations of Ovid, see J. Monfrin, 'Humanisme et traductions au moyen âge', L'Humanisme médiéval dans les littératures romanes du xii au xiv siècle (Colloque organisé par le Centre de Philologie et de Littératures romanes de l'Université de Strasbourg du 29 Janvier au 2 Février 1962) ed. A. Fourrier (Paris, 1964), p. 218.

of the highest-ranking members of the merchant class in chivalric activity instigated by the king. Certainly there is little direct proof of this, but it seems somewhat unlikely that only the wives of prominent London bourgeois should have been invited to the 1344 festivities at Windsor.¹ Their husbands might well also have been amongst the 'all-comers' against whom royal teams made a stand in London locations.² The slightly mysterious feast of the peacock, depicted on the brass of Robert Braunche in St. Margaret's church, King's Lynn (1364) and supposedly attended by Edward III, seems to have had a chivalrically inspired theme:³ this suggests that the king was prepared to join with members of the patriciate at such an occasion.⁴

It may be significant that the only recorded English jousting fraternity was located in East Anglia, the area which, with London, probably had the closest links with the Continent. This association was licensed in Lincoln in 1348, under the captaincy of Henry of Grosmont.⁵ Its declared aim was to provide practice at arms for the knights of the area and it is quite possible that some of the participants also engaged in mercantile activities. The records of the king's household from the very beginning of the reign underline the impossibility of maintaining distinct social categories, such as 'merchant' and 'knight', with the presence of William and Richard de la Pole as scutiferi regis.⁶ McFarlane drew attention to their knighthood in the next decade:

¹ See below, pp. 187-9.

² See above, p. 173.

³ See London, Victoria and Albert Museum, Catalogue of rubbings of brasses and incised slabs by Muriel Clayton (HMSO, London, 1968), pl. 39; below, pl. 8,9.

⁴ Cf. above, pp. 118-20.

⁵ Nicolas, 'Garter', pp. 153-4; appendix 20 no. 39.

⁶ Cal. Mem. Rolls. 1326-7, p. 374 cit. E101/383/10 (24 June 1328).

a useful reminder that merchants and money-lenders could enter the order of chivalry under that most chivalrous king.¹

It was apparently also only in Edward's reign that it became customary to knight the capital's most distinguished citizens.² Taken together, these scraps of evidence suggest that something of the social integration between patriciate and knightly classes which we have observed in Northern France and the Low Countries may also have existed in the England of Edward III.

The presence of the Genoese merchant Antonio Pessagno in a list of household knights at Woodstock in 1332 is further evidence of this trend.³ The liveries issued on this occasion were for the 'festum relevacionis domine regine de domina Isabella filia sua mense Julii'.⁴ The churching of the queen and baptism of the newly-born child were evidently magnificent ceremonies. Although the records do not appear to mention a tournament at Woodstock in 1332, it was evidently a habitual part of the celebrations: 'les justes a la releuee ma dame la roine' are recorded after the birth of Edmund of Langley (June 1341);⁵ so is the king's 'magnum festum et hastiludium grande' after the churching of Philippa and baptism of Thomas at Woodstock in 1356.⁶ The rite of

¹ McFarlane, Nobility, p. 165.

² McFarlane, Nobility, p. 165.

³ BL Cotton MS. Galba E. III, fo. 183^v. For his chequered allegiance, see Fryde, Tyranny and fall of Edward II, index s.v. Pessagno, Antonio (of Genoa); P. Chaplais, The War of Saint-Sardos, 1323-1325 (Camden 3rd ser. lxxxvii, 1954), pp. 135-6 and p. 135 n. 3; 'The chancery of Guyenne, 1289-1453', Studies presented to Sir Hilary Jenkinson, ed. J. Conway Davies (London, 1957), p. 70; CPR, 1330-34, pp. 209-269, 270, 272, 321; Déprez, Les Préliminaires de la guerre de Cent Ans, pp. 73-4.

⁴ BL Cotton MS. Galba E. III, fo. 183^r.

⁵ E101/388/11. (Not 'probably 1342 (5 June)', as stated in The Handbook of British Chronology, p. 36.)

⁶ R. de Avesbury, De gestis mirabilibus Regis Edwardi Tertii, ed. E.M. Thompson (RS 1889), p. 422, p. 422; appendix 20 no. 52. The Antwerp tournament (1338) may have been associated with the birth of Lionel, the king's son: appendix 20 no. 20.

churching was primarily an act of thanksgiving for the woman's survival of the dangers of child-birth; it could also mark her return to normal life.¹ The first day of the festivities was probably occupied with the combined religious ceremonies of churching and baptism, and the following days devoted to tournaments and predominantly secular activities.² A suitably rich background was provided for the occasion: purple silk for different altar frontals had been purchased, worked with various birds, beasts, babewins and serpents in different colours,³ and bed hangings decorated with,

serenis marinis⁴ cum scochon' de armis Angliae et Hanoniae cum una bordura in circuitu operata cum una vita de diuersis foliis, avibus, bestiis et babewinis textis in eadem vite.⁵

A fuller picture of the proceedings emerges from the accounts relating to the queen's churching after the birth of William of Windsor in 1348.⁶

Evidently there was a vigil, for dark blue garments, including a tunic worked with gold birds, each within a circle of pearls, were made for the queen 'pro vigilia Releuagiorum'.⁷ Her tailor was responsible for ceremonially arraying the queen's chamber throughout in strengthened red sindon ('syndon' rub' afforce'), patterned ('vapulat')

¹ For the liturgy, see Maskell, Mon. rit., I, pp. 46-8. See also K. Thomas, Religion and the decline of magic (Hardmondsworth, 1973), pp. 42-3, 68-9. I am grateful to Mr. Thomas for references on this subject.

² Cf. above, e.g. p. 173. A combined ceremony implies a baptism considerably delayed by contemporary standards: see Thomas, Religion and the decline of magic, pp. 40-1.

³ BL Cotton MS. Galba E. III, fos. 175^r, 176^r.

⁴ I.e. mermaids: cf. Chaucer, Works, p. 571, ll. 682-4 ('Romaunt of the Rose'): 'Though we mermaydens clepe hem here/In English... /Men clepe hem seryns in Fraunce.'

⁵ BL Cotton MS. Galba E. III, fo. 176^r. (For what appears to be the same item on an issue roll of Easter 9 Edw. III, see Issues of the Exchequer, p. 145.)

⁶ EL01/391/15: Nicolas, 'Garter', pp. 51-2, 57-8.

⁷ Nicolas, 'Garter', p. 50.

all over with the letter S in gold leaf.¹ The room must have been dominated by two beds of state, one with scarlet covers and hangings for the queen, the other of green taffeta, embroidered with red roses and figures, for the infant, then perhaps five or six weeks old.² He was presumably placed upon it in his green-covered cradle,³ except during the baptism, which took place in the same room. William of London, the tailor, was also responsible for the furnishing of the font and the provision of silver bowl, dipper, spoon and other essentials. The red and green visual theme is striking and it would not be surprising if this had been continued in the tournament that followed.⁴

In 1342, green, red and white were the predominant colours at a not dissimilar occasion, when Edward's second son, Lionel, then aged three, was betrothed at Dunstable to Elizabeth de Burgh, eight-year old heiress to the earldom of Ulster.⁵ The festivities naturally included a tournament and the items provided are in some respects not unlike those required for churching and baptism. Both the king and his son had lavishly embroidered beds of state. Lionel's was red with knots (i.e. love-knots) and leaves, fretted and powdered with roses and other motifs, with quatrefoils enclosing a shield with his arms in each of the four corners. The other was more elaborate: of green tartaryn, it had quatrefoils made of dragons

¹ Nicolas, 'Garter', p. 51. The pattern suggests that the origin of the Lancastrian SS collar may have been earlier than is generally assumed: see A. Hartshorne, 'Notes on Collars of SS', Arch. J., xxxix (1882), pp. 377, 378.

² Nicolas, 'Garter', p. 51.

³ Beds of state were more akin to canopied thrones than modern beds. The baby was wrapped in 'j credelbond solempn' beneath layers of assorted coverlets and fur linings. The Black Prince was one of his godparents: Register of Edward the Black Prince, IV, p. 72.

⁴ There seems to be no record of what the knights wore on this occasion: see below, pp. 179-80.

⁵ E101/389/14 mm. 1-2. The marriage was performed at the Tower of London, 15 Aug. 1342: Murimuth, p. 125. She also inherited the earldom of Clare from her grandmother and was niece of Henry of Grosmont.

with intertwining necks and tails, enclosing a shield with the arms of England and France; the cover had circles at each of the four corners and one in the centre round the king's helm and crest.¹ The ground was worked with other circles, and scrolls with the words 'It is as it is', powdered with losenges with Lionel's arms.² Dorser, celure, green worsted hangings and bench-covers were also worked with some of these elements. The effect must have been extraordinarily rich and beautiful. Twelve scarlet hoods edged with white, perhaps for one of the tournament teams, were decorated with the same motto.³ Two kettle-hats ('capell') beaten with silver and spangled with Lionel's arms, painted buckram armour ('hernes') and a suit of armour for the king, all stamped with the same arms were supplied,⁴ raising the interesting possibility that Edward III was to fight in his son's coat of arms, perhaps as his champion at the tournament. The setting was undoubtedly also rich

¹ Edward's crest (tymbria) at this date is uncertain: earlier, it had been an eagle, but this was ceded out of affection and gratitude to Montagu, 1st Earl of Salisbury (2 July 1335), who in turn passed it to Lionel, his godson (16 Sept. 1339): Cal. Charter Rolls, IV. 1327-1341, pp. 348-9; CPR, 1338-40, p. 393. Cf. E101/386/14.

² 'de panno tartaryn viridi cum circulis quadrangularibus factis de draconibus hachiatis et miniatis de serico interflexis collis et caudis et infra quemlibet circulum unum scutum operatum de armis Angliae et Franciae et coopertorio...habente quatuor circulos in quatuor angulis et unum circulum in medio coopertorio cum galea et cresta regis infra circulum et campedo illius lecti operatus de aliis circulis et rotulis hachiatis de serico dicentis in scriptis it is as it is...et poudratus cum losengis de armis lionelli.' E101/389/14 m.2. Comparison is difficult because of the small amount of secular embroidery surviving from this period. Hachiatis probably refers to a split-stitch infilling worked in silk on the dragons and scrolls: A.G.I. Christie, English Medieval Embroidery (Oxford, 1938), pp. 22, 25-26. Cf. the robe of the god of love: 'all in floures and in flourettes,/Ypaynted al with amorettes, [i.e. love-knots, as Skeat correctly interpreted, Chaucer, Works, p. 874 n. to l. 892]/ And with losenges, and scuchons,/With briddes, lybardes, and lyouns,/ And other bestis wrought ful well.' (Romaunt of the Rose, ll. 891-93.)

³ Other items included green tunics for the king and two favoured chamber knights; a scarlet 'guyt' for the queen and black ones for her two daughters: E101/389/14 mm. 1, 2.

⁴ E101/389/14 m. 2.

and colourful: two painters sent from London were busy for three days beforehand.¹

Despite these preparations, the tournament does not seem to have been a great success. Attendance was high, with a reputed total of two hundred and fifty knights, and perhaps the size of the gathering was responsible for an absurdly late start.² Relating this episode, Murimuth does not mention Lionel but places the tournament in the context of the campaigns against the Scots, recently terminated by a truce. There seems little doubt that these were one and the same occasion: Murimuth's date is substantiated by the patent rolls and there is no sound evidence for an alternative.³ Furred garments for the occasion agree with his February date,⁴ which also coincided with the period for the traditional pre-Lent festivities.⁵

Edward's fatalistic motto, 'It is as it is', so prominent on this occasion, is tantalisingly interesting. Its origins are very probably literary, although no one obvious source suggests itself. Certainly it is the kind of phrase that might have provided the refrain in some forms of contemporary lyric. There are interesting

¹ E101/389/14 m. 2.

² Above, p. 162; Murimuth, pp. 123-24. He states that no foreign knights were present, but 'tota juvenus armatorum Angliae', also naming the Earls of Derby, Warwick, Northampton, Pembroke and Sussex.

³ According to Murimuth, p. 123 the Monday before Lent i.e. 11 Feb. 1342. Documents 'teste rege' were issued from Dunstable 8, 10 Feb., others (including one by the secret seal) 12, 17 Feb.: CPR, 1340-43, pp. 386, 439, 374, 441-42. Doubtless the betrothal took place on Sunday 10 Feb. 1342.

⁴ For the king's squires and his daughters: E101/389/14 mm. 1, 2.

⁵ Tournaments sometimes were held in the course of Lent, e.g. for the churcing of the queen at Woodstock, 1355: see above, p. 176.

parallels in 'syker as ye wodebynd' adopted by the king nearly twenty years later. At Christmas 1360 he had a hooded cota,¹ of black satin, embroidered in gold thread and silks with a wodebynd' and the appropriate motto.² Variations of the theme appeared the following February when he had a long green cloak with embroidered leaves and branches and another embroidered with a wrethe as well, for the feast of the Purification.³ The reference to the honeysuckle can be linked to the large body of medieval literature focusing on the plant as an emblem of true love, that originated in the story of Tristan and Isolda.⁴ Edward's motto highlights the tenacity of the honeysuckle, its salient characteristic in the popular and widespread tradition. Again, the refrain or opening words of a lyric, perhaps set to music, seem the most likely direct source.⁵ Edward appears to have adopted a series of these phrases (although details of relatively few have probably survived) and the example of the Garter motto suggests that their choice was not always whimsical. From the surviving evidence it is im-

¹ In this context perhaps a sleeveless coat (though this seems slightly improbable): Revised Medieval Latin Word List, ed. R.E. Latham, (London, British Academy, 1965), s.v. cota. (The alternative 'tunic' given there is very unlikely, as tunica is habitually employed in this sense.)

² E101/393/15 m. 9 (payments from the great wardrobe a^{is} 34-35.)

³ E101/393/15 m. 9.

⁴ E.g. Marie de France, Lais, ed. A. Ewert (Oxford, 1960), pp. 124-25, 'Chevrefoil', ll. 68-78 uses the image of honeysuckle, entwined round a hazel tree to such an extent that both die if an attempt is made to separate them, as a metaphor of their passionate interdependence. The image was probably inspired by the two plants that were said to have sprung from the lovers' graves and grown with intertwined branches: J. Bedier, Le roman de Tristan par Thomas, (SATF, Paris, 1902-05) II, p. 301; Bruce, Evolution of Arthurian Romance, I, p. 171, A thirteenth-century parody of the figure reflects the extent to which it circulated: Legge, Anglo-Norman Literature, pp. 348-49. Marie de France mentions English and French versions of the lai of Chevrefoil, ll. 115-56: for other medieval references to it see L. Sudre, 'Les allusions à la légende de Tristan', Romania, xv (1886), pp. 551-56.

⁵ Cf. also 'Hay hay the white swan etc', below, Appendix 21(b).

possible to guess at the reasons that lay behind the adoption of 'It is as it is', or to assess whether the choice was fortuitous and frivolous, or grounded in more serious political considerations.¹ Nevertheless, it is clear that Edward III's current motto (often associated with an appropriate emblem) could provide an important thematic element at his tournaments, alongside a relatively controlled range of colours that must have intensified the visual impact.

Only one item supplied for the king at Dunstable seems to stand outside the complex of motifs associated with the motto and Lionel's arms, a green hood 'cum foliis ad modum olerii'.² It is conceivable that this olive-branch device might refer to the recent lull in Anglo-Scots hostilities:³ certainly the association of olive branches and peaceful intentions might be familiar through Geoffrey of Monmouth and Wace.⁴ The war-context of tournaments in Edward III's reign seems to have been neglected, with the possible exception of the series after Crécy that preceded the foundation of the Garter.⁵ They might celebrate the end of a chevauchée, or of a successful siege, or simply form part of the everyday course of events. Tournaments, in fact, highlight one of the main differences between modern and medieval warfare. In modern times it has been customary to establish an absolute polarity between war and peace, and historians have consequently tended to impose this complete dichotomy upon medieval practice.

It was not unusual for members of two opposing forces to participate in tournaments or contests on a smaller scale. Not sur-

¹ Cf. below, p. 221.

² E101/389/14 m. 2.

³ Fowler, The King's lieutenant, p. 37.

⁴ Roman envoys arrive at Arthur's court bearing olive branches: Geoffrey of Monmouth, Hist. reg. Brit.; p. 459; Wace, Le roman de Brut, ed. I. Arnould, (SATF, Paris, 1938-40), I, ll. 10627-28.

⁵ Discussed below, chapter 5.

prisingly, feelings sometimes ran high: the wounds inflicted by Henry of Grosmont on William Douglas at Roxburgh (1341) forced him to return to Scotland badly wounded.¹ There were also some casualties on both sides in another tournament licensed by the king at the same time and which probably took place near his camp at Melrose. Although Murimuth believed these were the result of 'casu fortuito' the possibility of foul play cannot be ruled out entirely.² Even after the declaration of a formal truce there were fatalities when a dozen Scottish knights joined in the tournament held at Berwick.³ No fatalities or serious casualties appear to be specifically reported from similar occasions of about the same date involving adherents of one side only,⁴ such as the 1334 Smithfield hastilude that may have celebrated the king's Scots campaign on his return to the capital.⁵

It is clear that some of these festivities were (or incorporated) jousts of peace: the king's heamer, Gerard de Tournay (Tournai) supplied coronals (used to blunt lances)⁶ to Edward's wardrobe at Ghent 'as justes que illoques estoient a la revenue de la siege de Tornei'.⁷ These jousts marked the truce of Espléchin (signed September 1340) and probably took place at the beginning of October.⁸

¹ Knighton, II, p. 23.

² Murimuth, p. 123.

³ Knighton, II, p. 23. Two Scottish knights and one of Lancaster's (John Twyford) were killed; cf. above, pp. 162-3. Few English knights attended the Edinburgh jousts celebrating the marriage of David of Scotland with Edward III's sister Joan (1328), because of the unpopularity of the match: Froissart, Chroniques, ed. Luce, I, pp. 294-5.

⁴ See above, p. 163; of course this does not rule out the possibility of fatalities. Cf. app. 20 nos. 31, 32.

⁵ E101/386/15; Chronicles of Edward I and II, I, p. 361; appendix 20 no. 19 a, b.

⁶ 'Rebated head for a jousting-lance furnished with a series of blunt points...the English term for rochet.' C. Blair, Glossary to Butin, 'La lance', p. 177 s.v. coronal.

⁷ E101/388/11.

⁸ Edward left Tournai for Ghent 27 Sep. 1340: Lucas, The Low Countries and the Hundred Years War, p. 423, and n. 267.

Although the siege is generally dismissed as a complete fiasco by modern historians,¹ contemporary knights do not seem to have viewed it in the same light: many of the Scrope-Grosvenor witnesses, for example, referred to it and the slightly earlier chevauchées in Cambrésis and Thiérache in the same way as to more obviously glorious episodes, like Crécy and Poitiers.² The contemporary attitude is understandable: Edward's march south to the banks of the Oise, not far from St-Quentin, had offered plenty of opportunity for memorable individual exploits; the French had challenged the allied force to pitched battle but then avoided conflict.³ The failure to engage the enemy is reminiscent of the situation at Stanhope Park (though the French retreat can hardly be compared with the Scots' daring break-through) and, as possibly also on that occasion, Edward proclaimed a tournament soon after the abortive encounter.⁴ This took place in Brussels in the first week of November, 1339.⁵ The Chronographia testifies to the many nobles present, among them 'multi principes Almanie'.⁶ A pair of plates, sumptuously covered in cloth of gold, given by Edward III to John of Hainault were very probably for the same occasion,⁷ since

¹ E.g. 'Thus came to an end the siege which had cost Edward such great effort and expense...nothing had been gained': Lucas, The Low Countries and the Hundred Years War, p. 422. Cf. McKisack, Fourteenth century, pp. 129-30.

² See e.g. Scrope and Grosvenor, passim. Cf. H.J. Hewitt, The organization of war under Edward III (Manchester, 1966), p. 31 for similar comments.

³ Lucas, The Low Countries and the Hundred Years War, pp. 334-8.

⁴ Chronographia Regum Francorum, ed. H. Moranvillé, II (SHF, Paris, 1893), p. 85.

⁵ CPR, 1338-40, pp. 395-6.

⁶ Chronographia, II, p. 85: this seems to be at odds with Lucas's assertion that John of Brabant and the German nobles 'at once turned home' after the French retreat: Lucas, The Low Countries and the Hundred Years War, p. 339 and n. 68.

⁷ E101/388/11. The entry is not dated, but this account is exceptional in that (as far as this can be verified) it proceeds in a chronological sequence with which the Nov.1339 date would accord.

John - unlike his brother - had accompanied Edward into Thiérache, as one of his marshals.¹ This chevauchée is instructive on several counts that illustrate the very close contact of Edward III and English earls and knights with their continental contemporaries. Knights from Brabant and other imperial lands, with Edward's brothers-in-law, Reginald of Guelders and the margrave of Juliers, and Wulfarde de Ghistelles, the count of Berg and the margrave of Meissen were drawn up in battle order beside the English forces at Buironfosse.² Many of them came from those border territories between France and the Empire where we have observed a particularly active interest in tournaments at an earlier period;³ others from areas of the Low Countries also characterised by an enthusiasm for jousts.⁴ Undoubtedly, when circumstances permitted, English knights attended local tournaments on the Continent: Henry of Grosmont, for example, had special leave from his creditors in December 1340 to leave prison for a week to go to 'le joustement a ceste prochaine feste qe sera a le bure'.⁵ Similarly, in 1341 Philippa's brother, Count William of Hainault, Holland and Zeeland took part in the jousts held in his honour at Eltham and knights of his accompanying retinue doubtless also participated.⁶ It is important to realise that Edward III and many of his knights had direct contact with continental knights and first-hand experience of their chivalric practices.

In view of such close continental associations it is not surprising that Edward III's tournaments frequently seem to have

¹ Lucas, The Low Countries and the Hundred Years War, p. 334.

² Lucas, The Low Countries and the Hundred Years War, p. 337.

³ Above, pp. 30-2, 40 and n. 6. Much of the chevauchée covered ground held by some of the participants at Le Hem.

⁴ Above, chapter 2, passim.

⁵ DL 25/983.

⁶ Murimuth, p. 124. Cf. Froissart, Chroniques, ed. Luce, I, p. 287; appendix 20 no. 32.

incorporated a dramatic kernel such as we have observed in the tournaments and festes of Northern France and the Low Countries.¹ This is clearly revealed in prefatory processions, such as that of Tartars and ladies at Cheapside already mentioned, and on occasions where the knights actually fought in disguise. Robert de Morley proclaimed jousts at Smithfield in 1343 where the Pope and twelve cardinals fought against all comers.² From later in the reign the Mayor and twenty four aldermen (1359) and the Seven Deadly Sins (1362) are recorded as tournament disguises.³ Even when disguise was not adopted (or where, at least, there is no record of this) it is not hard to imagine how details and motifs of costume, or the king's motto, might have formed part of a larger framework. The mimetic elements at such tournaments have not escaped comment,⁴ and they are also in evidence at Edward's initiation of his proposed Round Table early in 1344. The details of the foundation and Edward's building plans at Windsor, are too well known to require reiteration,⁵ but they still provide an excellent demonstration of the way in which Edward III could draw on literary inspiration for at least partly political ends.

¹ Cf. above, pp. 42-5, 100.

² Murimuth, pp. 230-1 (Cotton, MS. Nero D. X).

³ John of Reading, pp. 131-2, 151. Cf. Denholm-Young, 'Thirteenth-century tournament', p. 262 for the Boston Fair behourds (1251) where one team dressed as monks, the other canons.

⁴ Wickham, Early English Stages, pp. 187, 189; D.A. Bullough, 'Games people played: drama and ritual as propaganda in medieval Europe', TRHS, 5th ser. xxiv (1974), p. 98; Anglo, 'Financial and heraldic records', p. 189 n. 31.

⁵ Murimuth, pp. 155-6; 231-2 (Cotton MS. Nero D. X); T. Walsingham, Chronicon Angliae, 1322-88, ed. E.M. Thompson (RS, 1874), p. 17; Ypodigma Neustriae, ed. H.T. Riley (RS 1876), p. 282; King's Works pp. 870-72, where it is concluded that a 200-foot open circular space was enclosed within two concentric walls, permanently roofed 'after the manner of an Elizabethan theatre.' For medieval use of circular staging, see Southern, Medieval Theatre in the Round, esp. chaps. 5, 6, 8, 10, 11. The structure would have occupied almost the entire upper bailey: cf. Plan IV, Windsor Castle (King's Works).

The proposed Round Table at Pentecost (1344) seems in fact never to have been held,¹ but the picture is complicated by certain chronological inconsistencies in some documents and by a tendency to call the Windsor tournament, where the foundation was announced, a Round Table. According to the narrative in one manuscript of Murimuth's chronicle, a magnificent feast was held and the participants did not return home until the fifth day following.² It is quite possible that the three intervening days were occupied with feats of arms, which, together with Edward's declaration, earned this second phase the name of Round Table.³ The furred red velvet garments supplied for Edward 'contra festum tabule rotunde tentum apud Wyndesore' certainly seem to have been supplied between Christmas and Easter.⁴ The chronology of the document recording these expenses appear consistent and (in the final section relating to carriage charges)⁵ indicates the king's whereabouts at the principal feasts: All Saints at Langley, Christmas at Woodstock, hastilud' regis at Windsor and Easter at Marlborough. According to the heading of the account, this covers the period from Michaelmas 1344 to the summer of 1345, which would place the events at Windsor (including the festum tabule rotunde) in 1345. The patent rolls, however, confirm that this is an error - Edward was at Langley in November 1343 and

¹ Edward seems to have spent Whitsun (23 May 1344) at Marlborough: CPR, 1343-45, p. 261 (Teste Rege et consilio, 24 May).

² Murimuth, p. 232 (Cotton MS. Nero D. X).

³ The exact nature of Round Tables remains uncertain: see Denholm-Young, 'Thirteenth-century tournament', pp. 153-54 (cf. Bullough, p. 98 n. 3); R.H. Cline, 'The influence of Romances on tournaments of the Middle Ages', Speculum, xx (1945), p. 204 n. 2 and above pp. 58-9; Harvey, Moriz von Craûn, pp. 205-6. The evidence neither confirms nor rebuts Denholm-Young's suggestion that the mêlée had no place at such occasions.

⁴ E101/390/5; Nicolas, 'Garter', p. 6. It is very unlikely that furred garments would have been supplied for Pentecost.

⁵ E101/390/5; Nicolas, 'Garter', p. 8.

1345, not 1344; he spent Christmas 1343 at Woodstock and Easter 1344 at Marlborough, but there is no indication that he was also there twelve months later.¹

The detailed account of Edward's announcement in the Cotton manuscript of Murimuth's chronicle illuminates some neglected aspects of the proceedings.² This description reveals a splendid sense of occasion, even of dramatic flair, in Edward's manipulation of the sequence of events. In the first place there is no prior hint of his plans or advance rumour: at the end of what has clearly been an extremely successful tournament he simply instructs all present to await his pleasure next day. Their curiosity could only have been whetted,

Quo mane...circa horam primam fecit se dominus rex solempniter parari vestibus regalibus et solempnibus; sed superius habuit indutum unum mantellum de felveto [sic] pretiosissimum, et coronam regiam in capite positam. Regina similiter nobilissime fuit adornata...³

Still mystified, they accompanied him to a mass in the castle chapel and then, in solem procession, to the place of the king's announcement. This took the form of an oath on the relics and gospel,⁴ that

mensam rotundam inciperet, eodem modo et statu quo eam dimisit dominus Arthurus quondam rex Angliae, scilicet ad numerum trecentorum militum, et eam foveret et manuteneret pro viribus, numerum semper inaugendo.⁵

¹ CPR, 1342-45, pp. 135, 141, 125, 131, 570; 184, 154; 221, 223, 226, 235.

² Murimuth, pp. 231-32 (Cotton MS. Nero D. X).

³ Murimuth, p. 231 (Cotton MS. Nero D. X).

⁴ '...oblato libro...tactis sacrosanctis': Murimuth, p. 232 (Cotton MS. Nero D. X).

⁵ Murimuth, p. 232 (Cotton MS. Nero D. X).

The Arthurian inspiration here is explicit. It can also be seen in the choice of Pentecost for the first round table¹ and in the succession of oaths by earls, barons and knights in support of the venture, which clearly echoes the swearing of the grail quest by the original knights of the Round Table.² Although this appeared to be a spontaneous expression of chivalrous zeal (and loyalty), at least some of the earls - and almost certainly Derby and Salisbury - had undoubtedly been instructed in their role to ensure a ready response. The scene betrays a masterly command of suspense, spectacle and illusion.

Edward also enjoyed dramatic activity in other forms. Ludi domini regis characterised many royal celebrations of Christmas and Epiphany. The term ludi is consistently used for these occasions which, as we shall see, were supplied with items quite distinct from those provided for tournaments. There is no evidence that the word was ever employed as a synonym for hastiludia in these accounts.³ However, while it is true that tournaments do not seem to have been specifically associated with Christmas or Epiphany, they did - contrary to general belief and, indeed, logical expectation - take place sometimes in the winter months.⁴ A relationship between tournaments and the ludi has been acknowledged but its exact nature still requires clarification. It is this aspect which I shall attempt to explore

¹ Murimuth, p. 156.

² Murimuth, p. 232 (Cotton MS Nero D. X). Cf. La Queste del Saint Graal, ed. A. Pauphilet, (Paris, 1975), p. 16. The allusion to 300 knights of the Round Table is puzzling, as conventional literary sources give a smaller total. It perhaps stems from a desire to include all knights present, rather than any literary source.

³ Cf. Wickham, Early English stages, p. 189, where he is unjustifiably non-committal.

⁴ Tournaments were held in Jan./Feb. 1348 at Reading: cf. CPR, 1345-48, p. 472. (Teste Rege et consilio, 6 Jan. 1348); CCR, 1346-49, 491 (16 Feb. 1348); and on New Year's Day at Bristol, 1357 (Eulogium Historiarum, ed. F.S. Haydon (RS 1863), III, p. 227.) Cf. appendix 20 nos. 41, 53.

and elucidate. Fairly detailed accounts for items provided for the king's games have survived in livery rolls dating from the years soon after the foundation of the Garter. For ease of reference they are tabulated below.¹

In the winter of 1347 Edward evidently took a break from the siege of Calais and returned home to spend Christmas at Guildford. This, the first Christmas since the victory at Crécy, was celebrated with great panache - as the number and variety of issues amply demonstrate. The list also raises a number of points that affect some or all of the other occasions. Some items are self-explanatory; others more obscure. They fall into two main groups: tunics or cloaks, and head-cover of various kinds, sometimes with wings to match. There appear to have been three distinct types of head-cover: crestes, viseres and simply 'heads'. The last were perhaps pulled right over the wearers' own heads.² Swans, peacocks and dragons fell into this category.³ Obviously each peacock's head was complemented not only with a pair of matching wings but also with a tunic painted with peacock's eyes, while the painted white tunics (perhaps simulating swans' feathers?), with a pair of wings, probably completed the swan costume. Viseres are less easily determined. Clearly, they were related to the visor (a movable piece of armour on the helm to protect the face and especially the eyes)⁴ equally clearly, they could not have been identical with it. Most probably they were masks of some kind: this meaning has been tentatively assigned to a fifteenth-century use of the word.⁵

¹ See appendix 21.

² Wickham, Early English stages, p. 397, suggests parallels in the famous chari-vari scene of Le roman de Fauvel in B.N. fr. 146 fo. 36b, reprod. pl. xxii, no. 31.

³ See appendix 21.

⁴ J. Mann, Wallace Collection Catalogues, European Arms and Armour, I (London, 1962), p. li.

⁵ Medieval Latin Word List s.v. visera (c. 1440). (They were emphatically not 'masks...against contagion', B.W. Tuchman, A Distant Mirror. The Calamitous Fourteenth Century (London, 1979), p. 205, on the 1348 Canterbury tournament.)

It is probably safe to assume that, whereas the crestes (just like heraldic crests of the period) sat above the head, impaled on a cap,¹ viseres obscured the face. Sometimes they also projected above the head, as at the following Christmas, when lions' and elephants' heads surmounted those of men.² The viser' might therefore be defined as a mask with a painted face - generally human, but possibly imaginary, like those of dragons or wild men - covering the wearer's own features. Their use was not confined to ludi: in 1348, 288 viseres for dominae et domicellae were provided at the Lichfield tournament, forty-four for the king, nobles, knights and ladies at Canterbury and an unspecified number for that at Reading, held earlier the same year.³ These were largely made of red sheep's leather (bazano), with some sinдон and other materials.⁴ It is more likely that these were for an opening procession than the tournament itself, just as masked (larvati) knights and squires appeared at the first days of the Stepney and Cheapside tournaments of 1331.⁵ We may therefore visualise the

¹ Wickham, Early English stages, p. 46 fig. 6 (sketch from René of Anjou's Livre des Tournois shows how this was done).

² See appendix 21.

³ E101/391/15; Nicolas, 'Garter', pp. 29, 30, 39. The date of the Reading tournament is problematic, but conflicting regnal years (a^o 21 in E101/391/15; a^o 22 in E373/207 m. 50) might suggest a January date; an Epiphany celebration is possible: Cf. above, p. 189 (The livery and pipe rolls disagree similarly over the date of the Bury tournament: see below, 2px 20 m. 4). Cf. E101/389/14 m. 2: 'lxx viser' contra hastilud' de Northampton (1342 - see appendix 20 no. 31); below, p. 194 n. 1 for 131 'visers et chapeus pur miracles'.

⁴ Skins of Roan and a durable cloth, such as Rheims or worsted were other main constituents: see Nicolas, 'Garter', pp. 29, 30, 39.

⁵ Chronicles of Edward I and II, pp. 353, 354; above, 8 tunics with hoods and 12 ghitas were supplied 'ad ingrediendum civitate Cantuar' pro hastiludis': E101/391/15; Nicolas, 'Garter', p. 42.

participants at Cheapside, larvati ad similitudinem Tartorum, disguised in masks painted with Tartars' faces and appropriate head-dresses.¹ The viseres consistently represented a living individual, animal, human or bird: it is reasonable to assume that their wearers felt to some extent that they were acting the character of the mask. Crestes, on the other hand, (as far as one can generalise from the two instances noted) were impersonal and their purpose unclear. The shoed and reversed legs² and hills suggest an emblematic or a stage-setting function. (No details of large-scale scenery, such as was later used for entremets at the court of Charles V,³ seem to have survived from Edward III's court, although it would be hazardous to conclude e silentio that none was ever employed.)⁴

Perhaps the most striking characteristic of the items supplied is their numerical consistency. Batches of thirteen of each type were provided for Epiphany 1349 and Christmas 1352.⁵ Groups of fourteen dominated the Guildford celebrations: there were clearly fourteen swans, fourteen peacocks and so on. The larger numbers are all multiples of fourteen: three groups of different viseres, two of crestes, each group the same size; eighty-four buckram tunics

¹ For details of probable appearance and 14th-c. ideas of Tartars see below, p. 199 and nn. 4.5.

² Perhaps like the Isle of Man emblem?

³ L.H. Loomis, 'Secular Dramatics in the Royal Palace, Paris, 1378, 1389, and Chaucer's "Tregetoures"', Speculum, xxxv (1958), pp. 244-50.

⁴ Cf. e.g. E101/391/1, fo. 7^v where there is a 40 l. impresto to John of Cologne 'super diversis operacionibus ad opus regis faciendis' 29 Dec. 1348, which might have covered items provided for the ludi. The reference to 'j qoeyntise entiere por le tornoient de Aillesham' suggests that scenery was not unknown (E101/390/7).

⁵ Appendix 21.

would have clothed six of these groups.¹ Unfortunately it is impossible to produce any definite picture, despite this obvious concordance, and some elements may be missing - tunics, for example, outnumber head-dresses, though some may have been provided for those only peripherally concerned with the event, or worn without head-gear. The picture is complicated by our ignorance about the nature and scope of the proceedings: might the costumes, for example, have been worn by a number of actors in succession? If they were not, at least 140 individuals were involved in the spectacle.

The notion that it was performed in front of the court by a vast number of specially employed minstrels or histriones cannot seriously be entertained. Moreover, the king's buckram armour of 1348, decorated with his motto, suggests that Edward himself participated.² (Such items were not provided at Christmas as a matter of routine.) One may hazard a guess that he - and probably the Earl of Lancaster, who was also provided with horse-armour - participated on horseback. Horses certainly might appear in indoor entertainment,³ but this is an early example of the appearance of jousting armour indoors.⁴ This would lead credence to the hypothesis that the royal household as a whole participated: perhaps the clerics abstained, but such groups as chamber knights and royal minstrels would probably have been included. Without detailed analysis of household personnel it is impossible to be more specific. The numbers at the ludi other than

¹ Cf. appendix 21, where the total number of viseres provided would cover five groups of thirteen.

² Appendix 21.

³ Cf. Velthem's description of Edward I's marriage banquet (1299): see above, p. 46; the appearance of the Green Knight on horseback: Sir Gawain and the Green Knight, ll. 133-233.

⁴ Wickham, Early English Stages, p. 215, to p. 189 cites Paris, 1378 as the earliest N.W. European example known to him. (His source does not in fact stipulate whether the knights actually josted.)

those of 1347 were perhaps more modest, and comparable with figures for some tournaments. Large-scale household participation would eliminate the possibility that the games were an interlude or entremes performed to the assembled company, but was more probably some form of mommyng or desguysing.¹ Such participation would also make sense of the term ludi with its active implications.

It is possible that there was a considerable overlap of personnel at some of these games and royal tournaments. At both activities they were divided into equal teams or groups, each characterised by distinctive clothing and marks of identity, some of them shared. Among the provisions for the tournament at Bury St. Edmunds (1348) were diversos apparatus pro corpore regis, whose unusual constituents - including eleven pieces of copper pipe for pheasants' wings, thirty pheasants' feathers and various cloths and skins - suggest that Edward appeared there in a bird outfit similar to those in the ludi of the previous Christmas.² For the feast of Christmas itself the king and eight chamber knights had worn green garments embroidered with pheasants' feathers.³ This is typical of the continuous thread of motifs, in different combinations, that runs through the costume of king and court

¹ Wickham, Early English stages, Chapter VI. The situation is complicated by two consecutive reference to miracles in E101/390/7 m. 7 (a^o 18). This indenture lists items of which the majority are not in use and some possibly dating from the previous century (e.g. with the arms of England, Spain and France, or leopards and castles, which suggest a connection with Eleanor of Castile). 131 visers et chapeus pur miracles suggest that miracles were the equivalent (in a document written in French) of hastiludia. (For the controversy about the development and nomenclature of miracle plays see R.G. Thomas, ed., Miracle Plays (London, 1966), pp. 2-7) For interludes see E101/389/15 m. 9: 7 'gouns de card' were furred 'pro interludis regis' at Woodstock, Christmas 1360/1.

² E101/391/15; Nicolas, 'Garter', p. 39.

³ E101/391/15; Nicolas, 'Garter', p. 38.

for festivals, games and tournaments.¹ Buckram jousting armour appeared at the games,² viseres at tournaments. Crests were also common to both; and some of the eight known crests of founder-members of the Garter suggest that the ludi may have been more closely connected with chivalric activity than might be expected. Some of these are fairly conventional, such as a hind's (or horse's?) head, swan's plume and coronet, or griffon's head with wings and coronet.³ Others have more than a hint of the fantastical: a man's or Saracen's head, wreathed about the temples (Chandos, Stapleton), a man's head in profile with asses' ears (Grailly), the leaves of a plant issuant from a flower pot (Loring).⁴ It may or may not be coincidence that the three crests with coronets (an unexpectedly high proportion of this small sample to share the same basic combination), belonging to Courtenay, Montagu and Wrotesley,⁵ were all on the

¹ Cf. e.g. furred robe with gold stars and moons (Nicolas, 'Garter', p. 25); tunics with gold and silver stars for Guildford ludi (appendix 21); items for Dunstable in 1342 (above, pp. 178-80); the king's breast-plates covered in green camoca with two figures carrying scrolls with the king's motto [unspecified, but the context is clearly similar to others where 'It is as it is' is found] embroidered in gold or silk; white linen doublet with a green border worked with 'It is as it is', clouds and a gold vine (E101/391/15; Nicolas, 'Garter', p. 44). (For clouds cf. e.g. E101/391/15; Nicolas, 'Garter', p. 35; vines were one of the most common elements in contemporary embroidery and recur frequently throughout the reign: see e.g. above, pp. 177, 203 n. 2. E101/393/15 mm. 8, 12; BL Add MS. 35 181 fos. 7^v, 8^r.)

² Appendix 21. For buckram tournament armour, see above, p. 179.

³ Beltz, Memorials, pp. 39, 54, 95 (Montagu, Courtenay, Paveley, respectively).

⁴ Beltz, Memorials, pp. 33, 62, 68, 75; cf. p. 105 (crest of Reginald Cobham, KG 1352, also a 'saracen's head...wreathed about the temples'). Wickham, Early English stages, p. 189 mistakenly asserts that the crest 'is usually a three-dimensional representation of a motif in the knight's coat-armour': this seems to have been the exception rather than the rule.

⁵ Anachronistically described as ducal coronets by Beltz.

sovereign's side in St. George's chapel.¹ It is possible that these crests may have had some relationship to, or even derive from, some of the multiplicity of elements in the ludi domini regis.

Since no description of any of these occasions has survived, any discussion of possible sources is necessarily extremely tentative. There appear to have been two main areas of inspiration, topical and literary - both fields being susceptible to extreme hypotheses. Nevertheless, it is reasonable to assume that Edward and his familiars knew the Arthurian romances, the story of Troy, the Nine Worthies and at least some of the chansons de geste - witness his 1344 foundation, the choice of 'Lionel' for his second surviving son, and the records of books and joyaulx about these subjects in their possession.² It is probably futile and simplistic to look for any single direct origin of, for example, the bird figures - especially when so little is known of their immediate context.

Interestingly, however, the knights of 1331, larvati ad similitudinem Tartorum, do point to a different range of possible sources.³ 'Tartar' was the name invariably, though inaccurately, given in the West to the

¹ Beltz, Memorials, pp. 53, 39; appendix 23; Cf. e.g. crowned men at Merton 1349 (appendix 21). For discussion of possible relations between the tournament teams and the two sets of stalls see below, pp. 234-7.

² Lionel was in effect the first son over whose Christian name Edward could exercise much free choice: those of Edward of Woodstock and William of Hatfield were dictated by the names of their paternal and maternal grandfather. Suggestions concerning the name's romance connection seem more plausible than those that would link it with the heraldic lion of his birth-place. Familiarity with the Troy story is also reflected in frequent allusions to it in 14th-c. vernacular literature: see e.g. Sir Gawain and the Green Knight, ll. 1-19; A good short debate between Winner and Waster, ed. I. Gollancz (repr. Cambridge/New Jersey, 1974) ll. 1-2; Morte Arthure, ed. E. Brock (2nd edn 1871, EETS o.s.8), ll. 1694-1699.

³ Above, pp. 173-4.

Mongols who, under the dynasty of Chingiz Khan, unified central Asia and - with their declared ambition to conquer the world - threatened Europe in the thirteenth century.¹ Direct information about them first reached Europe through the accounts of friars sent on diplomatic or evangelising missions.² One of these, the Historia Mongalorum, was incorporated into Vincent of Beauvais' Speculum Historiale and thus achieved remarkably wide distribution.³ Further information was disseminated by Marco Polo's Description of the World⁴ and the account of the Premonstratensian, John Heyton (1307) also devotes a considerable section to the Tartars.⁵ It is impossible to pinpoint any specific literary source for the 1331 procession, but it is clear that fairly detailed knowledge - possibly amplified by manuscript illumination - was necessary to provide distinctive masks, or alternatively, that tales of Tartars and their appearance were extremely well-known in these circles.⁶ Either way, the subject indicates a familiarity with travellers' accounts.

¹ Hungary and Bulgaria fell temporarily to them: see L.S. Olschki, Marco Polo's Asia tr. J.A. Scott (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1960), pp. 9, 54, 56, 63, 66, 80-81. For the corrupt etymology from 'Tatar' (one of the tribes bordering eastern Mongolia, conquered by the Mongols), by analogy with Tartarus, the classical underworld, see pp. 309-10, 309 n. 19.

² Notably the Dominican Julian of Hungary (who crossed into the western borderlands, bringing an account to Rome in 1236), the Franciscan, John of Plano Carpine (Papal envoy to central Asia, 1245-6), William of Rubruc (envoy of Louis IX, 1253-4): see Olschki, Marco Polo's Asia, pp. 54-5, 58, 66-73; A.S. Atiya, The crusade in the later Middle Ages (London, 1938), pp. 238-46.

³ J. of Plano Carpine, 'Ystoria Mongalorum', Sinica Franciscana, I. Itinera et relationes fratrum minorum saeculi XIII et XIV, ed. P.A. van den Wyngaert (Florence, 1929), pp. 3-130; Vincent of Beauvais, Speculum historiale (?Augsburg, 1474), III, liber 31 et seq.

⁴ Marco Polo, The description of the world, ed. A.C. Moule and P. Pelliot (London, 1938), I, pp. 192-253; see Atiya, Crusade, pp. 246-8.

⁵ Summarised in M. Meiss, French painting in the time of Jean de Berry: the Boucicaut Master (London/New York, 1968), pp. 116, 121-2. For Hayton's account (Le livre des hystoires des parties de l'Orient, 1307), see Paris, Bibl. impériale, dép. des manuscrits, Cat. des manuscrits français, I. Ancien fonds (Paris, 1868), s.n. 2810 art. 8.

⁶ 'Habitum virorum vidistis': 'Itinerarium Willelmi de Rubruc', Sinica Franciscana, I, p. 182 (addressed to Louis IX), presumably referring to the Mongol embassy to the French of 1248-9 (Atiya, Crusade, pp. 241-2.)

Moreover, a strong English interest in the works of these travellers is suggested by the high proportion of extant fourteenth-century English manuscripts. A miscellany of this date from St. Mary's abbey, York contains both works;¹ copies of Rubruc's itinerary have also survived from Bury St. Edmund's² and (in two different miscellanies) from the library of Simon Bozoun, prior of Norwich (1344-52).³ Given the flow of personnel between ecclesiastical and royal administrations and clerical participation in diplomatic missions, it is not difficult to see how such material might have been diffused among circles close to the king. There were also royal visits to all the towns connected with these manuscripts - frequent ones to Bury and prolonged stays at York.⁴ These manuscripts lend credence to the notion that such accounts were also circulating and discussed in court circles. This is, of course, not to suggest that any of the surviving manuscripts were direct sources of inspirations: that from Bury might in any case well date from later in the fourteenth century, and the inclusion of Oderic of Pordenone's narrative in BL Royal MS. 14 C XIII suggests a date in the second quarter of the century.⁵ A certain interest in eastern matters in court circles in the early 1330's is, however,

¹ Cat. CCCC s.v. MS. 181.

² Cat. CCCC s.v. MS. 66: vol. II of MS. 66 constitutes one half of the 14th-c. Bury St. Edmund's MS; the rest is now Cambridge Univ. Lib. MS. Ff. 1. 27 (see Cat. CCCC, I, p. 145 for table of contents and provenance).

³ Cat. CCCC s.v. MS. 407; BL Royal MS. 14 C. XIII (miscellany of historical and geographical writings including a Latin version of Marco Polo (c. 1320), Oderic of Pordenone and the Historia orientalis of Jacobus de Vitracio).

⁴ See e.g. appendix 20 no. 25 (Norwich); E101/388/11 (Bury); Broome, 'Exchequer Migrations', pp. 292, 300 (York).

⁵ For Oderic of Pordenone see Atiya, Crusade, p. 254. His itinerary was 'fait en latin' 1330 (Cat. des MSS. fr. I s.v. 2810 art. 2): Sinica Franciscana, I, pp. 381-495.

reflected by brother Roger de Stavegni's presentation to Edward III of his treatise, Du Conquest de la Terre Sainte in March 1332.¹

One of the illuminations in the Duke of Berry's Livre des Merveilles (a miscellany of travellers' accounts, translated into French)² gives an insight into the way in which 'Tartars' might have been visualised at this period. The 'Festivities at the court of the Grand Khan'³ shows them characterised primarily by extravagant hats, often with crowns shaped like cones or inverted flower pots, with stiff scalloped or incised brims turned right back. The majority also have long hair.⁴ It is easy to see how these distinctive hats could have been selected and converted into extremely effective masks, perhaps with an attempt at Mongol features on the faces painted below.⁵ The term larvati might imply a total disguise, rather than just a mask, and the Historia Mongalorum provides specific information on this point as well:

Cappis palliis vel caputiis vel pelliibus
non utuntur, tunicis vero portant de bucarano
purpura vel baldakino...⁶

¹ Déprez, Les préliminaires de la guerre de Cent Ans, p. 85.

² For contents see Meiss, Boucicaut Master, p. 166.

³ Meiss, Boucicaut Master, fig. 83 (BN MS.fr. 2810 fo. 44).

⁴ Cf. the Kalmuck archer drawn by Pisanello, now in the Louvre: Drawings by Pisanello, selected G.F. Hill (New York, 1965), pl. xv no. 18. The similarity reflects favourably upon fourteenth-century accuracy. Brothers John and William both give detailed accounts of the way Mongols shaved and dressed their hair: Sinica franciscana I, pp. 32-33, 182.

⁵ Hist. Mongalorum describes their faces in detail: Sinica franciscana I, p. 32. The ultimate source of the hats was perhaps Rubruc's description of the extraordinary bocca, a tall, hollow, silk-covered, circular head-dress for women, with a rod sticking out at the top, designed to simulate a soldier's helm and lance: Sinica franciscana I, pp. 182-83. Cf. Saracens in 1379 Paris performance of the siege of Acre, who have darkened faces in the corresponding miniature in the Grandes Chroniques: Loomis, "'Tregetoures'", pl. opp. 244 (BN MS. fr. 2813 fo. 473^v). It is unclear why Bullough, p. 98 assumes the 1331 Tartars had 'helmets of the type worn by the Saracens in the Paris performance in 1378.'

⁶ Sinica franciscana I, pp. 33-34. John continues with detailed instructions on how they were to be tied. (For fur garments and hide trousers, see Sinica franciscana I, pp. 181-82) Bullough, p. 98 translates larvati as 'dressed' without discussion.

The possible existence of an earlier mimetic tradition in court circles has been a striking imponderable throughout this discussion. As yet, our knowledge is scanty,¹ but there is nothing to indicate that the activities of Edward III's reign were at all innovatory: his grandfather's close contact with the tournaments of northern France (which were clearly on occasion characterised by mimetic episodes of direct literary inspiration) and the use of Arthurian material in entertainments at his court² would certainly suggest a continuing tradition. Although it has sometimes been exaggerated, the literary inspiration for such events at this earlier period is striking. It is impossible to calculate the exact relationship between any 'ceremonial' tradition and literary inspiration several decades later, but, even assuming a dominant tradition of this kind, it would be reasonable to suppose that changes in taste or interpretation, besides possible new influences, would result in a process of continual modification. It is interesting that the Arthurian-based interlude (c. 1299?) recorded by van Velthem also incorporates clearly topical allusions to the main areas of Edward's military achievements (Wales, Scotland and possibly Kenilworth), as the focus for each interlude.³ The same thread of topicality is apparently evident in both the ludi and the hastiludi of his grandson's reign.

Perhaps this is most strikingly reflected in the Smithfield tournament of 1343, where the choice of Pope and Cardinal figures seems a reflection of current animosity over papal influence and policies in the kingdom.⁴ Any topical element in the king's games is naturally extremely elusive because of the relatively small body

¹ Search of earlier records would probably amplify the picture.

² See above, pp. 15 n.1, 46.

³ See above, p. 46 (refs. cit. n.1).

⁴ McKisack, Fourteenth century, pp. 272-3.

of surviving evidence. However, some affinities between the items provided for the Christmas ludi of 1352 and the undeniably topical alliterative debate poem Wynnere and Wastoure seem too striking to be the result of coincidence alone. Briefly, the poem shows two hostile armies who are brought before a king (clearly Edward III, from heraldic and other evidence) to present their rival points of view. The armies consist of a number of social groups, each under their own banner: the army of Winner comprises merchants, friars and lawyers; that of Waster the military classes - knights, squires and archers. Each attacks the other for their intrinsic characteristics: in Waster's eyes, Winner is avaricious, mean and miserable; to Winner, Waster is an idle spendthrift,

Alle þat I wynn thurgh witt he wastes þurgh pryde;
 I gedir, I glene, and he lattys goo sone;
 I pryke and I pryne, and he the purse opynes.¹

In an equivocal judgement the king finds roles for both disputants in his service.² The date of the poem continues to give rise to controversy (not least because the author was not concerned with leaving well-documented clues on the subject for posterity: it surely remains a realm where certainty in such matters should be regarded as an additional bonus, not a sine qua non.)³ A date of 1352 (anno 25 Edward II) has, however, been deduced: Winner's critical reference to Sir William Shareshull (l. 317) is crucial to this argument, together with the statement that the king has

¹ Winner and Waster (henceforth cit. WW) ll. 230-32.

² Although the position is complicated by the incomplete state of the unique MS. of WW, such equivocal endings were characteristic of vernacular debate poems: cf. e.g. The Owl and the Nightingale, ed. E.G. Stanley (Manchester, 1972) ll. 1792-93, 'Ah hu heo spedde of heore dome/ Ne can ich eu na more telle.'

³ Cf. Morte Arthure where the poet does not map out the political situation in northern Italy in sufficient detail to prove conclusively the justice (or, some would argue, the injustice) of Arthur's activities there.

ruled 'this fyve and twenty wyntere' (l. 206).¹ Alone, this phrase would carry little weight, but together with the outline of the general economic situation, hostility to the Papacy and friars, and the relevance of the issues under debate to those raised at the 1352 parliament,² it seems clear that the poem bears some relationship to the events of that year.³

Gollancz first noted the similarities of the king's clothes in the poem, embroidered with 'Fawkons of fyne golde, flakerande with wynges' (l. 92), and the motifs on robes provided for Edward III in 1351.⁴ It has since become commonplace to remark upon the poet's close acquaintance with the capital and point to possible

¹ The context, 'þat [Shareshull] saide I prikkeð with powere his pese to distourbe' (l. 318) reflects the period 1350-61 when he was chief justice of the king's bench (B. Putnam, The place in legal history of Sir William Shareshull (Cambridge, 1950), p. 23). D. V. Moran, 'Wynnere and Wastoure: an Extended Footnote', NM, lxxiii (1972), pp. 683-84 pointed to parallels between themes of WW and Shareshull's preoccupations with the ill-effects of 'les destourbours de la pees et meinteinours des querels et des riotes' (cit. Rot. Parl. s.v. a^o 25). J.R. Hulbert, 'The Problems of Authorship and the Date of Wynnere and Wastoure', MP, xviii (1920), p. 36 attempts to extend this period to 1366, citing Shareshull's continuing western juridical activities and the poet's supposedly western origins: this is unconvincing in view of the detailed knowledge of the court displayed.

² Moran, p. 684 notes some specific parallels.

³ Cf. T. Turville-Petre, The Alliterative Revival (Cambridge/New Jersey, 1977), p. 129 n. 1: 'Individually many of the references used to determine the date might be questioned, but cumulatively the evidence is strong.' Some of the dating arguments previously employed will not bear scrutiny e.g. ll. 124-33 do not necessarily refer to the Statute of Treasons 'as a recent enactment' (J.M. Steadman, 'The Date of Wynnere and Wastoure', MP, xix (1921), p. 212; see E. Salter, 'The Timeliness of Wynnere and Wastour', Med. AEv. xlvii (1978), pp. 41-43); the reference to English besants need have no bearing on a new issue of coinage in 1351 (Steadman, p. 212; Gollancz, Preface s.v. Date (v); cf. below, p. 203); for dating and interpretation of the lines referring to activities in France see below p. 206. Hulbert and Salter reject the conventional date, without offering any clear alternative.

⁴ Gollancz n. to l. 90 cit. Beltz, Memorials, pp. 3, 4.

parallels with Langland's experience.¹ Other details reflect a mid-century court scene with remarkable accuracy. For example, there are elements - apart from the embroidery motif of encircling garters - that can be paralleled in household accounts in the description of the caban,

Alle raylede with rede the rofe and the sydes,
 With Ynglysse besantes full brighte, betyn of golde,
 And ichone gayly vmby-gone with garters of inde,
 And iche a gartare of gold gerede full riche. (ll. 60-3)

Joan, Edward's second daughter, took a red silk bed, whose decoration included besants of gold, when she departed for her marriage in Spain in 1348.² About the same time,³ Edward himself was provided with two tunics and a 'caban' (purpose unspecified) of chalouns,⁴ the latter trimmed with fur and crystal buttons. The quantities of cloth support the interpretation that this was a cabin of some kind, presumably with a button closing, so that any one within could be revealed or hidden from the public gaze at will⁵ suggesting that the caban of the poem would have been familiar to those acquainted with the court. The same context may shed some light on one of the poem's mysterious characters, a man

¹ E.g. Steadman, 218; T.E. Bestul, Satire and Allegory in 'Wynnere and Wastoure' (Lincoln, Nebraska, 1974), p. 105; for structural comparisons of Piers Plowman and WW see Turville-Petre, p. 33; S.S. Hussey, 'Langland's reading of alliterative poetry', MLR lx (1965), pp. 167-68.

² 'unum lectum...operatum cum draconibus pignantibus broudatum de serico, operatum in bordura cum i vinea et poudratum per totam campedinem cum bysantis auri': El01/391/15; Nicolas, 'Garter', pp. 77-8; cf. above, pp. 178-9.

³ This section of the account runs from 21 Dec. a^o 19 to 31 Jan. a^o 23 (Nicolas, 'Garter', p. 18): it is impossible to be certain of the internal chronology.

⁴ Cloth from Châlons-sur-Marne: Godefroy, Lexique de l'ancien français s.v. chalun.

⁵ 16 ulns were supplied (Nicolas, 'Garter', p. 21). Tunics at this period seem to have required from one to 2.66 ulns (Nicolas, 'Garter', pp. 20, 24). The quantity of fur is the same as that required for a complete tunic (cf. Nicolas, 'Garter', p. 19 item 7). Bestul, pp. 69, 102, notes the resemblance of the setting to contemporary tournaments, but proceeds nonetheless to characterise it as a 'romance setting'. Cf. below, p. 207 n. 2.

Wroghte als a wodwyse, alle in wrethyn lokkes,
 With ane helme one his hede, ane hatte appon lofte,
 And one heghe one þe hatte ane hat[e]ful beste,
 A lighte lebarde and a longe, lokande full kene,
 3arked alle of 3alowe golde... (ll. 71-5)

with mantling of the quartered arms of England and France.¹

Parallels have been drawn with the Black Prince's magnificent leopard crest, preserved in Canterbury cathedral,² but there has been no convincing interpretation of the figure as a whole.³

Indeed, it is difficult to imagine any realistic context where such a strange figure, wild man with a leopard crest, might exist.

Yet surely this is exactly the kind of fantastical combination that the records of the king's Christmas games present.⁴ Interestingly, the basic scenario of the poem, with its groups from different areas of the social hierarchy, can be translated without difficulty into the terms of the festive games, with their identically dressed teams of participants. Costumes for a team of Dominicans and one of merchants (as well as devils) were in fact provided for the Christmas ludi of 1352.⁵ It seems possible that some of the more fantastical elements that have proved particularly resistant to literary criticism might be explained by a postulated relationship between

¹ WW ll. 76-80.

The combination of helm and mantling (galea et lappekyn) is common in documents by this date, e.g. E101/386/15.

² Described by Sir J. Mann, The Funeral Achievements of Edward, the Black Prince (Canterbury, 1972), pp. 15-17.

³ There is no evidence to support Gollancz's identification with Garter Herald (n. to ll. 70-71). Bestul, p. 69 sees the figure simply as the wild man of romance tradition, apparently choosing to ignore the crest - which has no literary parallel - . The literary wodwose was doubtless the original inspiration of the wild men in Edward's ludi: see L. Benson, Art and Tradition in Sir Gawain and the Green Knight (New Brunswick, 1965), pp. 74-80 esp. 77-78 for the man clothed entirely in his own hair, who had become the stock image in fourteenth-century England. See also Wickham, Early English Stages, pl. I, pp. 391-2.

⁴ Crestes were supplied for Christmas 1347, viseres of wild men, Christmas 1348: see appendix 21.

⁵ The extant records are incomplete: cf. above pp. 132-3. There was perhaps no need for special costume for the military classes, and banners were a habitual provision ad opus regis: cf. e.g. E101/391/1 fo. 6^r; E101/389/14 m. 2.

Wynnere and Wastoure and the ludi, while the poem might in turn throw light upon the nature of the games.¹

It is not difficult to visualise the king's caban, perhaps raised on a dais,² with two opposing armies, composed of distinctively dressed teams under their own banners, confronting each other from either side of the area allotted to the participants. On a literal plane, the mechanics of the poem are of the simplest kind: the king sends his sandisman to bring the armies before him, and the messenger obeys. Thereafter the poem is static.³ It would be naïve to imagine that Edward identified himself so completely with war-faring interests that he was unaware of, and unresponsive to, other points of view within the kingdom. Indeed, one would expect him to be particularly aware of the mercantile and clerical viewpoints: finance had after all been a particular factor in earlier campaigns and the issue which had precipitated the domestic crisis of

¹ A relationship with the ludi need not eliminate the possible influence of literary, allegorical battles: see Bestul, pp. 13, 38-39.

² 'At the creste of a clyffe a caban was rerede' (l. 59). Conceivably like a stage-scaffold? See Wickham, Early English stages, frontispiece and p. 391.

³ Cf. Bestul, p. 98: 'By the time the debate itself is reached, the narrator has receded completely, and the debate is reported as drama.' Mummings and disguisings from the 15th and 16th centuries are recorded in debate form: see Wickham, Early English stages, pp. 204-05, 219. Wickham is at pains to stress the links between this form of dramatic activity and tournaments: chap. VI passim. The bird costumes (see appendix 21) might conceivably have some relation to the tradition of bird-debate, which continued to flourish. E.g. all the birds of the ludi feature in The Parliament of Fowls (ll. 337-64): see Chaucer, Works, pp. 791-92 and refs. cit. there.

1340,¹ while clerics were to be found in administrative circles close to the king. The king's promise in the poem to knight Winner 'at þe proude pale[y]s of Parys þe riche' (l. 498) prompts speculation as to whether this refers to the social advancement of merchant families, such as the de la Poles, whose services had been particularly valuable to Edward III.² It is not difficult to see how the framework and some of the visual details of the king's ludi might have contributed to the structure of Wynnere and Wastoure, although, of course, it is impossible to gauge the relationship between the two forms of expression, - whether for example, there might have been a lapse of time before the composition of the poem, or certain satirical elements heightened.³ However, although the

¹ Below, pp.241-3. Cf. Bestul, p. 44: 'The debate is not so much over the moral or religious consequences...but rather over the larger social, even national consequences resulting from avarice and prodigality.'

² WW ll. 498-99. See McKisack, Fourteenth century, pp. 156, 162, 168 and n. 3, 385 n. 1; McFarlane, Nobility, pp. 9 and n. 3, 165-167. The poet cannot refer to the (then unbuilt) Louvre (thus Gollancz n. to l. 498), but to the palais de la Cité. Although an earlier reference (l. 461) seems simply to refer to Winner's duty in safeguarding the king's interests abroad, this (ll. 498-99) seems to reflect a continuing claim to the French crown. He would be unlikely to choose Paris for a knighting ceremony, followed by lavish rewards to his followers (ll. 500-01) except as sovereign. This attitude is probably typical of the period before the disastrous winter chevauchée, 1359-60: J. Le Patourel, 'Edward III and the Kingdom of France', History, xliii (1958), pp. 178-9, 188-9. The precise stage of the war cannot be reliably inferred from the poem.

³ There has been some tension in the reconciliation of the assured technique of WW and its early place in the fourteenth-century alliterative canon. The absence of devils in the poem precludes any direct correspondence.

poet employs some elements of satirical convention,¹ the king himself is free from criticism and appears in a consistently favourable light.² Of course, the hypothesis is beyond categorical proof with the evidence at present available. Nevertheless, it not only re-enforces the impression of court connections among some alliterative poets (this is clear in Winnere and Wastoure, regardless of any relationship with the ludi), but also raises the possibility of a taste for the topical and satirical in the same circle.³

Even such a brief and selective survey as this demonstrates the extent to which tournaments and related activities were an integral part of court life in the two decades that led up to the foundation of the Garter. Despite the patchy nature of the surviving evidence, it is clear that royal tournaments, or those attended by members of the court, were a regular feature. Many of those held by the king, at least, can be shown each to have had a distinctive character, resulting from decorative motifs and motto, colour schemes and overall

¹ See e.g. J. Mann, Chaucer and Medieval Estates Satire (Cambridge, 1973), pp. 154-230 n. 114, 50 and n. 131, 232 n. 139, 99 and n. 51, 101 and n. 61, 157 and n. 38; Bestul, pp. 55-58, 70-73.

² See e.g. J. Speirs, Medieval English Poetry. The Non-Chaucerian Tradition (London, 1971), p. 289. This has not prevented critics from maintaining that Edward III 'typified both the winner and the waster' (Bestul, p. 50; see pp. 48-50). Cf. p. 68: 'Although there is no explicit criticism of the king, the insignia of the Order of the Garter and the opulence of the pavillion may have been taken by the audience as symptoms of royal extravagance.' This conviction weakens Bestul's interpretation: see further p. 69: '...the placing of Edward in a romance setting (cf. above, p. 203) and then shifting the scene to have him preside over a debate concerned with topical social economic questions makes for some disjuncture and lack of unity in the style and theme of the poem. However, there is no evidence that Edward's heroic aspirations are being satirized or that the juxtaposition of ideal and mundane is used for ironic effect.' These problems are avoided if it is accepted that the opening of the poem is also rooted in contemporary experience and that Edward, rather than embodying two extremes, has a duty to reconcile them within his kingdom.

³ There is nothing inherently improbable in this: it was from similar ground that Chaucer's work was to spring a few decades later.

theme, or a combination of these elements. Although so much of the contemporary context of these events is lost, sufficient indirect evidence survives to reveal a surprisingly varied field of reference, from the roman to less predictable spheres of topical comment. The tournaments we have been considering were essentially ephemeral occasions, the Order of the Garter an institutionalised and permanent body. Nevertheless, in the next chapter we shall observe the extent to which they shared much common ground and the way in which the Order was fundamentally rooted in the practice of the occasional tournament.

CHAPTER 5.

THE FOUNDATION OF THE ORDER OF THE GARTER

The precise circumstances of the foundation of the Garter and the motivation behind the institution of the order are clearly essential to any understanding of the chivalric spirit which Edward III was able to turn to such good account in his relations with his noble and other armigerous subjects. Yet, despite the exhaustive accounts of Ashmole, Anstis and Beltz,¹ (this arguably the most interesting) aspect of the order's history remains the most obscure. Sir Nicholas Harris Nicolas's careful examination of contemporary wardrobe accounts seems only to emphasise the apparently arbitrary - even quirky - nature of the foundation, when he concludes that it very probably

...arose out of some celebrated tournament or joust, [which he later identifies as that held after the baptism of William of Windsor]² at which the King and "his" twelve knights, and the Prince of Wales and "his" knights tilted, each having a Garter round his left knee in the lists, and³ wearing robes covered with Garters during the Festivities.³

This explanation leaves so many unanswered questions: why did this one out of the many celebrated jousts of Edward's reign lead to the foundation of a solemn order of chivalry? Why was the Garter, just one - as we have seen - in a series of devices adopted for royal tournaments, singled out for immortality in this way, while the rest sank into oblivion? Why, at a time when growing national identity was fostering the gradual development of the English vernacular,⁴ should Edward III whose other known mottoes are in English,⁵ choose one in French for

¹ See above, p. 165 n. 2. R. Barber, Edward, Prince of Wales and Aquitaine (London, 1978), pp. 83-93 provides the most recent assessment of the published sources, with original suggestions as to possible influences from Castile and Dauphiné.

² See above, p. 177-8.

³ Nicolas, 'Garter', p. 125.

⁴ E.g. see Rot. Parl. ii, p. 147 for fears that the French were trying to destroy the English langue in 1344.

⁵ See above, pp. 180-1. The mottoes are convincing evidence of Edward's own knowledge of English and perhaps suggests a more active English element in the bi-lingual situation at the English court than is sometimes supposed at this date.

his order? Considering the 1340's dispassionately, common sense would lead one to associate the foundation, not with the celebrations for the birth of William of Windsor in 1348, but with the superlative victory over the French in pitched battle at Crécy two years before. This was presumably the reasoning that lead, for example, to Du Chesne's confident and entirely unsupported assertion that the Garter was founded to commemorate the victory at Crécy.¹ Ashmole, drawing upon a manuscript from the library of the sixteenth-century herald Peter Le Neve, presented the foundation in similar terms:

...whereas King Edward the Third had set on foot a Title to the Kingdom of France, and in right thereof assumed its Arms; he from the Colour of them caused the Garter of the Order to be made Blue, and the circumscription Gold. And it may...be inferred from the Motto...that he retorted shame and defiance upon him, that should dare to think ill of so just an enterprise, as he had undertaken for the recovery of his lawful right to that Crown; and that the magnanimity of those Knights, whom he had chosen into this Order was such, as would inable [sic] them to maintain that Quarell, against all who durst think ill of it.²

Is there any means by which this highly plausible explanation can be reconciled with the documentary evidence on which Nicolas based his conclusions? My purpose is to show that there is indeed, and that, moreover, the Garter was an integral part of Edward's Norman campaign from its inception, and not merely a retrospective commemoration of its success.

The energies of earlier historians of the order were greatly absorbed by the problems resulting from the complete disagreement on date between Froissart and all other contemporary chroniclers.³ Froissart's account (of a supposedly 1344 foundation) is not only

¹ A. Du Chesne, Histoire générale de l'Angleterre, d'Ecosse et d'Irlande, (Paris, 1614), p. 802

² Ashmole, Institution of the Garter, p. 184.

³ Froissart had no first-hand knowledge of this period and relied on Le Bel (see below, p. 211), but his employment in Philippa's household in the 1350's and 60's might have been expected to provide him with accurate supplementary information. See also Anstis, Register, pp. 94-106; Beltz, Memorials, pp. xxx-xlii etc.

longer but also very much more vividly detailed and plausible, and consequently that much harder to dismiss as inaccurate. His initial statement, that Edward III rebuilt the castle at Windsor founded by King Arthur and scene of the Round Table, was clearly taken directly from Jean le Bel.¹ Whereas le Bel continues with an account of Edward's re-institution of and general summons to the Round Table there at Whitsun 1344,² Froissart insists that Edward instituted a knightly order ('une ordenance de chevaliers'), whose members were called 'les chevaliers dou Bleu Gartier', and that their feast was to be held annually on St. George's day in the chapel at Windsor, from 23 April next,³ (It is interesting to note that this assertion entails a conscious contradiction of his written source.) His details concerning the rebuilding and foundation of the college of St. George's at Windsor clearly relate to 1348-9,⁴ but the reference to forty knights 'de par dedens', fighting against all-comers, and forty squires, might well describe the arrangement of the 1344 Round Table. It clearly cannot refer to the far smaller (and limited) numbers of Garter knights and Froissart must have ignored the problem his statement raised in relation to the structure of the order as he knew it. However, Nicolas has shown that it is clear from the total absence of any mention of garters in accounts submitted to the great wardrobe for the Round Table in 1344-45,⁵ contrasting with their appearance in similar documents later in the decade, that Froissart has conflated the Windsor Round Table of 1344 with the foundation of the Garter a

¹ Froissart, Chroniques ed. Luce, III, (1872), p. 37; Le Bel, Chronique II (1905), p. 26.

² Le Bel, ii, pp. 26-7.

³ Froissart, Chroniques, ed. Luce, III, pp. 37-38.

⁴ See below, pp. 225-7.

⁵ E101/390/5, printed Nicolas, 'Garter', pp. 5-8. For discussion of chronology see below, pp. 213-5.

few years later. This is further borne out by the knighting of the Prince of Wales and other founder members at La Hogue in Normandy at the start of the 1346 campaign.¹ It is self-evident that knighthood is a pre-requisite for membership of an order of chivalry, and this is reflected in the stipulation in the Garter statutes that 'nul ne sera esleu compaignon dudit ordre sil nest gentilhomme de sang et chevalier sans reproche'.² Froissart was still a youth in 1344, so that his must necessarily have been a far from first-hand account.³ Contemporary documentary material, however, does provide another source of more reliable details, often equally vivid, though also tantalisingly cryptic or ambiguous. Despite his extensive use of the records of the great wardrobe, some aspects of Nicolas' interpretation are open to question. These apparently minor details are in fact crucial to the chronology of the Garter and consequently to an understanding of the contemporary significance of the foundation. It is therefore essential to discuss the nature of the relevant documents in some detail.

The great bulk of material concerning special supplies for ceremonies (in the form of hangings, costumes, banners and so on) is to be found in the records of the great wardrobe then based in the Tower of London.⁴ For the crucial period of the late 1340's rolls

¹ Rot. Parl. ii, p. 163; Nicolas, 'Garter', p. 118 n.c. citing Rot. Franc. 20 Edw. III m. 6. Beltz's casuistical notion that the prince was made a banneret in 1346, having been knighted on some earlier unrecorded occasion (pp. xl-xli) can be safely dismissed; there would have been no delay in collecting the feudal aid, and in 1346 arrangements for the disposal of the aide had been made a month before the dubbing: see Harriss, King, Parliament and Public Finance, p. 410.

² Bodl. Ashmole MS. 764 fo. 123^r (art. 2). All quotations are from this 15th-c. manuscript of the statutes (fos. 123^r - 36^v). The text contains the additional clauses of Henry V (see Ashmole, Institution of the Garter, pp. 191-2); details of fees for marquises and viscounts (created 1385, 1440) are interlined in the margin (art. 17, fo. 129^r).

³ See above, p. 117.

⁴ For the great wardrobe at this period see Tout, Chapters. IV, pp. 374-437 passim.

have survived recording both purchases into the wardrobe (of raw materials - cloth, thread, fur and trimmings) and issues out of the department (of the same materials to those, such as the king's tailor and his armourer, who would make them into finished articles).¹ These were drawn up under the clerkship of John Cook (Johannes Cok') between 29 September 1347 and 31 January 1349.² It is vital to realise that the roll of issues (which is of primary importance) is far from being a running account, on which each issue was noted as it occurred in a satisfying chronological sequence. It records instead copies of groups of subordinate documents (most of which have since perished) and thus has an idiosyncratic structure and internal chronology. Issues to John Marreys, the King's tailor, for example, form a clearly defined unit, terminated by a section headed 'summa',³ just as those of the king's armourer, pavillioner and all the other royal tailors do.⁴ The time-span specified in the heading of the account as a whole is no guide to that of the contents. Marreys' expenses, for example, state explicitly that they cover a period from 21 December 1345, and here officials were clearly copying the heading of documents Marreys submitted to them.⁵ In the issues to Marreys the items appear in regular chronological order, following the seasons and principal feast days.⁶ The situation is rather different in the section recording the expenses of John of Cologne, the king's armourer.

¹ E101/391/14, 15 (latter printed in Nicolas, 'Garter', pp. 9-103).

² Nicolas, 'Garter', p. 9.

³ Nicolas, 'Garter', pp. 9-18.

⁴ Nicolas, 'Garter', pp. 33-56 (armourer), p. 56 (pavillioner), pp. 56-61 (Queen Philippa's tailor), etc.

⁵ Nicolas, 'Garter', p. 18.

⁶ Nicolas, 'Garter', pp. 9-18.

In the first place there is no heading to indicate the period they cover; and it is also evident that chronological order is by no means rigorously pursued. (This is demonstrated clearly, for example, by items for the funeral of William of Windsor which precede those required for his christening.) The surviving record must have been compiled from a group of assorted documents relating to different occasions: for instance, there are references to indentures for items supplied for specific occasions,¹ while the grouping together of aketouns and doublets suggests that a pile of individual particulars of account for each item was copied out.² Obviously there was great potential for confusion. Ceremonial items - for tournaments or jousts, the king's Christmas games and so on - have at least the appearance of chronological order and it is these items that are especially relevant to the foundation of the Garter. Fortunately, records of exchequer and chamber payments to John of Cologne (for his labour and materials not issued by the wardrobe) have survived to supplement and clarify the record kept by the great wardrobe clerks. The exchequer payments, recorded in a later Pipe Roll,³ are detailed and consequently provide a valuable check on the manifest inaccuracies of the wardrobe record (where the burial of William of Windsor antedates his birth by two years).⁴ The much briefer chamber records simply note that John of Cologne was paid or given advances for the provision of 'diversis operacionibus' in the late 1340's for the king's Christmas games, his tournaments and, most important, 'pro

¹ E.g. items for the queen's churching delivered to her tailor; others for the marriage of Joan the King's daughter and her journey to Spain, delivered to her treasurer: Nicolas, 'Garter', pp. 50-51, 52-54.

² Nicolas, 'Garter', pp. 47-69. Cf. e.g. E101/391/11 (above, p.133).

³ E372/207 m. 50.

⁴ Nicolas, 'Garter', p. 50.

societate sua de Garteris'.¹ Nevertheless, despite their general nature, the chamber entries are an important - and apparently hitherto neglected - source for the foundation. Their significance stems not only from the loss of the great wardrobe accounts between 1348 and 1361 (by which time robes supplied to the king and Garter knights for the feast of St. George have become a regular annual issue from the great wardrobe),² but also from the fact that the chamber accounts (which include references to 'robis et garteris ad opus regis' as early as 1349)³ emphasise the extent to which the order was the king's personal creation and its strong links with his chamber, an important aspect of the foundation to which we shall return. Supplementing the information of the wardrobe roll with this additional material and bearing in mind its internal structure, it will be seen that the evidence suggests a construction rather different from that which Nicolas placed upon it.

Briefly, Nicolas argued that two worsted streamers, made by John of Cologne, one with the quartered arms of the king and another with the quartered arms of the king, garters and the figure of St. Lawrence, must have been used at a ceremony associated with the order that occurred on St. Lawrence's day, as the saint has no obvious connection with chivalry. In 1348 his feast (10 August) happened to fall on the first Sunday after the king's issue of letters patent re-establishing the chapel at Windsor castle as a collegiate foundation.⁴ The inclusion of provision for poor knights in particular convinced Nicolas that 'all the details of the order were arranged' by this date and he reasoned that the streamers must have been carried at a ceremony

¹ E101/391/1, fos. 6^v, 7^v.

² Nicolas, 'Garter', pp. 135-40; Anstis, Register, I, pp. 50-1 nn., passim; II, pp. 10-16 nn. passim.

³ E101/391/1, fo. 7^v.

⁴ See below, p. 226 n. 2.

on St. Lawrence's day to mark the establishment of the college with its associated order. The hastiludes at Windsor on 24 June 1348, where the king, queen and Black Prince were all present, were then assumed to have been the 'celebrated tournament or joust' at which the foundation of the order occurred.¹ The St. Lawrence streamer is obviously crucial to his argument, but scrutiny of the relevant passage suggests that its nature and purpose have been entirely mistaken.

The entry is just seventh in the long list of issues to John of Cologne from the great wardrobe. It is important to remember that this sub-section of the account has no heading and there is therefore no explicit indication of the period to which the earliest items might refer.² The preceding items include a worsted bed for the king, seventy-two standards with his quartered arms and another 244 incorporating the shield of England with a leopard and the arms of St. George. Then follows the crucial entry:

ad faciendum ij stremar' de Worsted uno videlicet de armis quartellatis et altero de armis quartellatis cum ymagine sancti Laurencij in capite operato de j pala alba pouderala cum garteriis bluettis. Et ad faciendum ij stremar' curt' de armis Regis quartellatis. Et...ij Guydon' de eisdem armis Regis.³

The account also tells us that eighteen pieces of worsted were used to make these six items. It is instructive to compare this with the amounts required for the other items.⁴ The seventy-two larger standards, for example, took just over a third of a piece each; a lance pennoncell just 0.02 pieces. These figures contrast dramatically with those for the streamers: even if we allot a quarter of

¹ See above, p. 209.

² See above, p. 214.

³ Nicolas, 'Garter', p. 33.

⁴ The figures from which these conclusions are drawn are summarised in appendix 22. Barber, Edward, Prince of Wales, p. 84 independently identifies the item as a ship's streamer, without investigating the implications of this interpretation.

the material to the short streamers and small flags ('Guydon'), each of the other streamers used 6.75 pieces and these must have been more than sixteen times the size of the larger standards. Given the elongated shape of the streamer, too, it is difficult to imagine how such a vast, heavy and unwieldy object could ever have been carried in procession at Windsor. Streamers were, however, habitually provided for ships and this seems a much more probable use. Certainly, too, it would explain their vast scale: one might compare the statistics for pennoncells, which reveal that those for ships were over twenty times as large as those for lances, and in fact bigger than any of the standards supplied. Moreover it seems that the closest parallel for this arrangement of garters on a pale, associated with the figure of a saint, is also to be found on the pennons and streamer of a ship, namely the Cog Thomas in 1351.¹ In this instance the figure of St. Thomas was placed alone on a streamer and the design of one pair of pennons included three garters on a white pale. The ship for which the earlier streamers were intended might well have been called the Lawrence.² This puts a very different construction on the context in which the use of the garter device is first recorded. Certainly the nature of the items and the quantities in which they were supplied suggest the full heraldic panoply for a large-scale expeditionary force, rather than any domestic ceremony or tournament.³

During the period between Michaelmas 1347 and January 1349, to which Nicolas assumed these entries referred, there was of course no expedition of the size suggested by these figures.⁴ The unrelia-

¹ Nicolas, 'Garter', p. 136.

² For ships called the 'Lawrence', see Hewitt, Organisation, p. 185; I have been unable to trace an obvious candidate called the 'Lawrence' in 1346; possibly the king's ship, 'La Dyuyt' (referring to the Garter): see E101/391/1, fo. 1^r.

³ See above, p. 216; cf. 800 pennoncells for lances, 5 for trumpets and clarions 'pro factis suis bellicis': Nicolas, 'Garter', pp. 33, 36.

⁴ Nicolas, 'Garter', p. 37 explained 2 beds and other items 'for the king's voyage to Normandy' as 'prepared for his intended second invasion of France in October 1348' (p. 121).

bility of the heading of the account as a guide to the date of the contents has already been indicated and there is no reason why other entries might not, like Marreys', refer to an earlier period. The most logical explanation is that these items were provided for the campaign of 1346. Doubtless they were some of the last to have been supplied before embarkation, and as Cologne was with the king in France in 1346-7,¹ these articles might easily have been officially recorded only during the period after Michaelmas 1347 - perhaps because they were only submitted by Cologne on his return to England - although supplied at the beginning of the campaign. Cologne's absence in France would also explain the apparent jump in the account from these entries, relating to, say, midsummer 1346 to those for the following year's Christmas festivities. It is difficult to conceive for what purpose, other than a major campaign, such quantities of pennons and standards would have been required. References to one hundred quilted fustian garments ('punctat' et stuffat' cum cotoun') and sixteen pavillions for the king's armourers would make sense in this context, too.² It is particularly interesting that the number of large standards supplied tallies closely with the postulated number of bannerets on the Crécy expedition. The records of 1346-7 were left in such confusion by the death of Walter Wetwang, keeper of the wardrobe, within weeks of the king's return to England in 1347, that afterwards even the barons of the exchequer were unable to solve problems about wages of 1346.³ No original copy of his accounts has survived, but a sixteenth-century version in the College of Arms.

¹ CCR, 1346-49, p. 81; G. Wrottesley, Crecey and Calais (London, 1898), p. 90 (Letters of attorney issued to J. of Cologne when about to set out with the king, 20-26 June 20 Edw. III.)

² Nicolas, 'Garter', pp. 33, 34.

³ Tout, Chapters, IV, p. 118.

lists seventy-nine bannerets receiving wages at Calais, of whom about six seem to have joined the king from Gascony or Scotland after Crécy.¹

It might, however, be argued that the items which follow cannot have any relation to a campaign. These entries record the provision for the king of a blue taffeta bed powdered with garters and the motto 'Hony soit q' mal y pense'; a jupon of the same material and one of blue satin, both powdered with garters and silver-gilt buckles and pendants; a blue cloak, hood, tunic and super-tunic similarly decorated; a satin doublet and another jupon of blue and red velvet with the king's quartered arms.² Modern utilitarian notions encourage rejection of any idea that Edward III might have taken such an array of impractical luxury garments with him, preferring to relegate them to the ceremonial of jousts at home. Before questioning such a divorce of ceremony from the practice of medieval warfare, a comparison with garments supplied for known tournaments at this period is instructive. In the first place, the king is provided with far more clothes at this point than for any of the hastiludes mentioned in the same document and the larger quantities of material involved show that this cannot be attributed to mere differences of wording.³ Secondly, ceremonial beds do not seem to have been required for such occasions unless they were specifically associated with other ceremonies, such as christenings and churchings, or betrothals.⁴ Both points make the provision of this group of items for a tournament improbable.

¹ Wrottesley, Crecey and Calais, pp. 5-6, 177 and n. 1; A.E. Prince, 'The strength of English armies in the reign of Edward III', EHR, xlv (1931) pp. 363-4.

² Nicolas, 'Garter', p. 34.

³ Nicolas, 'Garter', passim.

⁴ See above, pp. 177-9. No obvious alternative suggests itself in the surviving evidence.

There was nothing in the least unusual about taking apparently unsuitable precious objects on campaign in the Middle Ages - witness the crown jewels lost by King John at Poitiers,¹ or the Burgundian treasures looted by the Swiss in 1476-7.² Indeed Edward III perhaps behaved with more than average circumspection on his departure in 1346, as it was not until the following Easter that his chapel ornaments were sent to him overseas.³ Rank was automatically expressed at this period in outward forms.⁴ A king was expected to be distinguished from his other subjects, however noble, by the richness of his dress and it was essential that he should be able to do so whenever occasion demanded. A foreign campaign might entail meetings with other rulers and diplomatic exchanges at the highest level; it might involve single combat,⁵ and (the participants hoped) celebrations of victory. Are we to imagine the king receiving envoys from the king of France or negotiating the marriage of his eldest daughter with the count of Flanders in a well-worn worsted jupon? On the contrary, Jean le Bel comments specifically on the magnificence of Edward III's preparations for the proposed marriage:

Le noble roy fist faire si grand appareil pour celle grand court que merveilles, et se pourveit de beaulx dons et de riches joyaulx et la royne aussy.⁶

¹ See e.g. Register of Edward the Black Prince, IV, pp. 302, 333.

² See Bern, Historisches Mus., Die Burgunderbeute und Werke burgundischer Hofkunst. [exhb. cat.] 18 Mai - 20. September 1969 (2nd ed. Bern, 1969), pp. 31-4, 205-70.

³ J. Viard, 'Le siège de Calais, 4 septembre 1346 - 4 Août 1347', Le Moyen Age, xxxix, (1929), p. 163.

⁴ As e.g. in the sumptuary laws of 1363: McKisack, Fourteenth century, p. 346.

⁵ See e.g. Viard, 'Calais', pp. 183-4; Froissart, Chroniques, ed. Luce, IV (1873), p. xxiii n. 1.

⁶ Le Bel, Chronique, II, p. 138.

It is clear from chronicle narratives that (despite the appalling problem of insanitary conditions) the English camp was at least in parts a sophisticated community.¹ Clearly there were resources that enabled the king to behave with suitable magnificence: his court was held in splendour on Christmas day and at the beginning of Lent Derby's arrival was 'grandemeut [sic: misprint for 'grandement'?] recheu et festie'.² It is inconceivable that Edward III, invading France and claiming the kingdom as his by right, should embark without an array of richly decorated garments of the finest materials - without them, in the eyes of his contemporaries, his claim itself would lack substance. Moreover, against the bed of state and dressed himself in the same blue fabric, shimmering with gold embroidery and hundreds of silver-gilt buckles and pendants,³ he must have seemed not only the image of kingly splendour, but the very personification of his claim. The eye of the observer was assaulted with Edward's pugnacious assertion: 'Hony soit q' mal y pense'.

That the motto is in French is itself revealing: all the other recorded mottoes of Edward III are in English, even those of earlier date, when one might expect French influence to be strongest.⁴ The choice of language must surely be a deliberate allusion to the motto's frame of reference.⁵ The summer of 1346 was also the most apposite period in which to adopt such a device. The forthcoming campaign was the first in which

¹ Froissart, Chroniques, ed. Luce, IV, pp. 1-2.

² Le Bel, Chronique, II, p. 137.

³ The satin and taffeta jupons had 62 buckles and 62 pendants each; 168 pendants adorned the cloak and associated garments: Nicolas, 'Garter', pp. 34, 35.

⁴ Cf. above, pp. 180-1.

⁵ As were the blue and gold colour scheme: see Ashmole, Institution of the Garter cited above, p. 210. Barber, Edward, prince of Wales, p. 86 and J.L. Nevinson, 'The earliest dress and insignia of the knights of the Garter', Apollo, xlvii (1948), p. 81 are also convinced that this is an allusion to Edward's claim.

Edward's claim to the crown of France (first proclaimed in October 1337) was not subordinated to other interests and alliances.¹ During the campaign Edward consistently defied Philip VI and clearly regarded the encounter with Philip and his army as guerre mortelle.² The English victory over the French in pitched battle at Crécy brought vindication of his claims and its psychological impact can hardly be exaggerated, not only exonerating all the king's actions in his cause, but giving moral justification to every participant. The prolonged trial of nerves that led to the surrender of Calais was the other achievement of the campaign, but it was in no sense comparable to victory in the field. It seems reasonable to assume that the same victory prompted Edward to make the devise he had adopted for the campaign the basis for an order of chivalry.³ It was an act of complex motivation: a pious act of thanksgiving; a fitting reward for those who had served him outstandingly in the battle; but also a means of enshrining in perpetuity the symbol of his vindicated claim.

The chronology of this second stage in the history of Edward's Garter presents another, distinct chronological problem and one that is perhaps even more resistant to solution than the first. It should be stressed that John Cook's roll, which provides so much information about the adoption of the Garter as a devise, '[gives] us no certain Light as to the Institution of the Order'.⁴ Neither

¹ See e.g. the remarks of Le Patourel, 'Edward III and the kingdom of France', pp. 186-8 on the campaigns in Brittany of 1342-3.

² No prisoners were to be taken at Crécy: Froissart, Chroniques ed. Luce, III, pp. 169-70, 405-8. For guerre mortelle, see M.H. Keen, The Laws of War, (London, 1965), pp. 104-6.

³ For the distinction between a devise and an order of chivalry, as comprehended in the fifteenth century, see O. de la Marche, 'Epistre pour tenir et celebrer la noble feste du Thoisson d'Or (1500)', Mémoires, IV, ed. H. Beaune and J. d'Arbaumont (SHF, Paris, 1888), pp. 161-2.

⁴ Anstis, Register, p. 103.

these accounts nor any other reliable source explains why a garter was chosen as the vehicle for Edward's motto. No contemporary basis can be found for the legend associating the foundation with a garter dropped by the Countess of Salisbury.¹ The apocryphal nature of this tale is perhaps best demonstrated by the fact that at this period female garters took the form of simple tapes.² Cook's roll does, however, record the provision of twelve garters for a royal tournament at Eltham (one of the series held on return from France, which might, very tentatively, be placed in the early summer of 1348),³ which has been interpreted as an indication that, if the order had not been formally founded, the garter emblem had at least been distributed among one tournament team.⁴

¹ Nicolas, 'Garter', pp. 131-2, citing P. Vergil (BL MS. Royal 18 C. VIII); cf. version omitting reference to the Countess: P. Vergil, Urbinatis Anglicae historiae (Basel, 1534), p. 373. For judicious comment, see Barber, Edward, the Black Prince, pp. 85-7 (esp. his remarks on M. Galway, 'Joan of Kent and the Order of the Garter', U. Birmingham Hist. J., i (1947), pp. 13-50); A. Gransden, 'The alleged rape by Edward III of the Countess of Salisbury', EHR, lxxxvii (1972), pp. 333-44.

² Nevinson, 'Dress and insignia', pp. 80-1. (His remarks about the left leg as one of the few possible places for heraldic display (the right being obscured by the barriers) are anachronistic, as combat at barriers is not recorded until the next century: see Viscount Dillon, 'Barriers and foot combats', Arch. J., lxi (1904), pp. 276-7, 281-2.)

³ Nicolas, 'Garter', pp. 40-41. There is no direct evidence for date: if a roughly chronological sequence is assumed for the celebrations in this section of the account, then it is reasonable to place the Eltham tournament between those at Lichfield ('celebrat' *ibidem* ix^o die April' according to Marreys' accounts: E101/391/15, Nicolas, 'Garter', p. 26, but letters patent suggest that he was there in the first week of May: see CCR, 1346-9, p. 511, also pp. 457, 510-11, 512, 515; CPR, 1348-50, pp. 10, 88, 90, 91) and that at Windsor 24 June 1348.

⁴ 'ad faciendum xij garteria de blu, broudata de auro et serico quolibet habent' dictamen "Hony soyt q'mal y pense": E101/391/15; Nicolas, 'Garter', pp. 40-41; cf. p. 121; Nevinson, 'Dress and insignia', p. 80.

However, the entry for the same items on the pipe roll makes it clear that these were twelve garters to decorate a robe for the king, not for distribution among members, or potential members, of an order.¹

It is not in the accounts of the large administrative departments of the wardrobe, but rather in those of the chamber - the body closest to the king and instrument of his personal wishes - that evidence for activity associated with the preparations for the new order is to be found.² The problem is complicated by the absence of wardrobe accounts, like those of John Cook already discussed, for the corresponding period. When the series recommences in 1361, annual issues of robes seem to have become a regular expenditure and nothing can be reliably inferred from them about the order's very first ceremonies.³ It seems a reasonable presumption that, once the order had been formally instituted, the provision of robes was (or increasingly became) the responsibility of the wardrobe, but at the earlier stages everything associated with the order was very much opus regis, and accordingly financed by the chamber. Unfortunately, this was a notoriously non-accountable department; surviving entries are very much less detailed than those of exchequer records and subsidiary documents almost non-existent.⁴ The situation is to some extent remedied by the survival of records of the order and of its ecclesiastical counterpart, the college of St. George at Windsor.⁵

¹ E372/207 m. 50: 'in factura xij gartior broudat' cum hac scriptura hony soit q' mal pense pro uno harnes' pro rege pro hastiludis suis apud Eltham'. This entry follows references to the Lichfield tournament and is followed by that at Windsor; although the sequence is broken by items not related to any specific occasion, they all refer to payments on one indenture 'liberat' eidem Thome de Rolleston per eandem indenturam' (1348).

² Primarily E101/391/1. For the chamber at this period, see Tout, Chapters, IV, pp. 254-311, esp. 293-5.

³ See above, pp. 212-5.

⁴ Largely the product of the doctrine of chamber accountability to the king alone: see Tout, Chapters, IV, pp. 286-88.

⁵ See A.K.B. Roberts, St. George's Chapel Windsor Castle 1348-1416. A study in early collegiate administration (Windsor, 1947?), passim.

The foundation of the order was inevitably bound up with that of the college, whose origins and early history are relatively well-documented, As St. George's of course fell under ecclesiastical jurisdiction, however much the foundation was the result of the king's personal initiative, his dealings with and for it were inevitably conducted on a more public level than those concerning the order, and this led to the preservation of many more of the records involved. As the scene of the annual St. George's day ceremonies, the chapel at Windsor castle, refounded by Edward III on a grand scale that quite transformed it,¹ was the focal point of the order. The college was responsible for the spiritual well-being of the order, besides the material condition of the chapel.² Although college and order were so closely linked - members of the college (warden, canons and poor knights) feature in the statutes of the order³ - it is important to remember that they were always quite distinct institutions with

¹ For the early history of the chapel see Roberts, St. George's, pp. 2-6.

² Roberts, St George's, passim for an exemplary study of the college's duties and activities.

³ E.g. arts. 4-7, 22. The original statutes have not survived: Ashmole, Institution of the Garter, appendix prints six texts, including the early 15th-c. 'Registrum Ordinis Chartaceum', since lost; cf. p. 191 (Hatton MS. of the statutes). Although the opening statement clearly refers to the foundation as an historical event ('Edouard...a ordonne estably et fonde etc. '), it is possible that much of the rest of the text is the same as at the foundation: see e.g. art. 3 (fo. 123^v), 'que les vingt et six dessusnommez [viz. the founders] porteront les manteaulx et les jarretieres ordonnez ou dit lieu quant ilz seront presens dedens ledit chasteau.' Barber's conclusion (Edward, prince of Wales, p. 84), based on the opening sentences of the 15th-c. text, that 'This is clearly not the original foundation deed, but an abstract of it, and therefore carries little weight.' seems to be too hasty and dismissive a judgement.

their own separate statutes and officers.¹ Letters patent founding the college of St. George's were issued on 6 August 1348: an annual endowment of 1000 l. was to support a warden with 24 chaplains, 24 poor knights and 'other ministers' - vicars choral, choir boys and so on.² The advowsons of the churches of Wraysbury, South Tawton and Uttoxeter were also granted to the college by the king to help provide further financial support.³ Those of Tawton and Uttoxeter in fact belonged to the Earls of Warwick and Derby respectively,⁴ and it is extremely unlikely that they would have been made over to the king for this purpose unless the composition of the Garter (or, at least, their own definite inclusion in the order) had been determined. It seems certain that by this date Edward's plans to make a chivalric order of his garter device were well-developed and probably also generally known in court circles. However, in some respects this was simply a declaration of intent: the obligation of the exchequer to make up the college endowments to 1000 l. was not referred to again and a more modest fixed annual grant of 100 l. established in 1354;⁵ only a tiny number of poor knights seem ever to have come into residence.⁶

Some changes of plan were to be expected in that the foundation was not a speedy process. Papal approval for the project came in letters of 30 November 1350,⁷ and the statutes of the college were

¹ See e.g. Roberts, St. George's, pp. 12 n. 2, 7 and n. 2 (statutes of the college); 13-14 (verger of the college).

² CPR, 1348-50, p. 144; original latin text printed in Ashmole, appendix no. I.

³ CPR, 1348-50, p. 144; Roberts, St. George's, p. 14.

⁴ Roberts, St. George's, p. 14. Licence for the alienation of Uttoxeter and South Tawton to St. George's was granted 8 June 1349: CPR, 1348-50, 372.

⁵ CPR, 1354-58, pp. 76-77; Roberts, St. George's, pp. 43-4.

⁶ E.H. Fellowes, The military knights of Windsor (Windsor, 1944), p. xviii: none are recorded before 1363, when a solitary poor knight is mentioned in the treasurer's roll (WR XV. 34:1); there seem to have been two in the late 1360's and 70's (WR XV. 34:4, 6, 13).

⁷ Roberts, St. George's, p. 7, citing Cal. Pap. Reg. Letters, III. 1342-62, p. 395.

not drawn up for another two years. It was perhaps this as much as the Black Death that was responsible for the delay in building works at St. George's:¹ there is certainly a contrast here with the commencement of the building for the Round Table in 1344, which began only a month after Edward announced the scheme.² The delay over the formal institution of the college did not prevent activity on other fronts, however, Chamber accounts record the payment of 9 l. 0 s. 6 d. on 31 October 1349 to Walter atte Halle, goldsmith, 'pro pondere et factura trium sigillum de argento pro collegii sancti Georgii'.³ One of these was doubtless the chapter seal showing Edward kneeling before St. George,⁴ where the evidence of armour indicates a mid-fourteenth century date.⁵ The iconography is of particular interest because of its similarities with other works of art associated with Edward and the Black Prince.⁶ Edward's continuing enthusiasm and personal interest is reflected in the fact that the seals were received by the king 'penes se ipsum' and the payment made under the griffin seal.⁷ The previous April (1349) seems to have witnessed the first formal celebration of St. George's day at Windsor. John of Cologne was paid 139 l. 18 s. 4 d. for making three gold and three satin garters, armour for jousts, 24 robes

¹ King's Works, p. 872.

² King's Works, pp. 870-2.

³ E101/391/20 m. 1.

⁴ Reproduced in line-drawing in D. and S. Lysons, Magna Britannia, I. Bedfordshire, Berkshire and Buckinghamshire (London, 1806), fig. 1 opposite p. 424; see frontispiece.

⁵ Cf. e.g. brass of Sir Hugh Hastings at Elsing, Norfolk (1347-8): see Stone, Sculpture in Britain, pp. 164-6 and fig. 4.

⁶ Cf. e.g. presentation of Edward III to St. George, St. Stephen's, Westminster paintings; Gnadenstuhl badge of the Black Prince and the Trinity: see above, p. 142 and n.2.

⁷ E101/391/20. For the griffin seal, see Tout, Charters, IV, pp. 276-78.

powdered with garters and the words 'Hony soit'; and 8 l. 10 s. for matching sindon altar-hangings for the chapel.¹ Lump-sum advancements to him from the chamber concerning the order are recorded as early as 11 January anno 22 (1349), (30 l. 'pro diversis operacionibus pro corpore regis et pro societate sua de Garteris') and another of the same value on 2 March (anno 23) ('pro robis et garters ad opus regis').² A 40 l. disbursement to him recorded on 6 April 1349 for items 'ad opus regis' possibly also relates to the order's ceremony later that month.³

This previously neglected evidence does not conflict with the long-accepted terminus ad quem of 2 September 1349 for the foundation of the order of the Garter. Queen Philippa offered a cloth of gold that day at the tomb of Hugh de Courtenay, heir to the earldom of Devon and a founder-member.⁴ Two other members also seem to have died in this early period. Richard FitzSimon was succeeded in 1349 by the Earl of Suffolk (in whose retinue he had earlier served),⁵ while William Fitzwaryn, who followed Sanchet d'Abrechicourt, also probably replaced him in 1349.⁶ It seems likely that the Black Death was responsible for these casualties. Moreover, it is possible to take at face value the statement about the formal institution of the order that was constantly reiterated in the copies of its statutes:

Le roy dangleterre Edouard troiziesme...en lan de son reigne vingt et troiziesme a ordonne estably et fonde en son chasteau de Wyndsore une compaignie nommee lordre de la jarretiere en la maniere qui sensuit.⁷

¹ E372/207 m. 50. There is no indication of the colour of the robes: Le Baker, p. 109 may be correct in assigning russet togae to the first knights, but his dating of the foundation (1350) is wrong and it is impossible to be certain to which year this description refers. (There is no indication that the knights' garments were the same each year.)

² E101/391/1, fo. 7^v. I am grateful to Dr. Chaplais for pointing out that the round sums involved indicate that these were lump-sum disbursements in advance, rather than payments for particulars of account submitted after the event.

³ E101/391/1, fo. 7^v.

⁴ Beltz, Memorials, p. 393 cit. book of the controller of the household of Philippa a^{1s} 23-24 (now E36/203), s.v. 'Elemosina'.

⁵ Beltz, Memorials, p. 60.

⁶ Beltz, Memorials, p. 96.

⁷ Ashmole MS. 764, fo. 123^r.

The text continues with a list of the original members - including Courtenay, FitzSimon and d'Abrechicourt.¹ It seems likely that although after his return from the Crécy campaign Edward continued to use the garter personally in the period of frequent tournaments that followed, the device does not seem to have been used by a body of knights before 23 April 1349, when we may reasonably imagine a formal promulgation of the order of the Garter and its statutes, with the reception of all the founder-members.

However, the situation is somewhat complicated by entries in the Black Prince's Register, although at present it does not seem possible to extract any definitive interpretation. In 1352 William de Northwell, then the prince's clerk and treasurer of his household, submitted an account for the period prior to 31 January 1349, when he had been keeper of the prince's wardrobe.² The request seems to have been met in full and the account was consequently copied into the register of the prince.³ It records 'the jewels, horses and other things which were given by the prince and delivered to divers persons by his command'⁴ and is divided under headings according to the year of purchase.⁵ Entered under 1348 are several references possibly concerned with the Garter:

A plate, gilt and enamelled, of the companionship of the Garter, with a hatchment, made for a herald of arms, bought the same day [last date mentioned: 18 December]; to William de Stafford, herald of arms of Alvan'.
Twenty-four garters made for the prince and bought the same day; to the knights of the companionship of the Garter.

¹ Spelling is predictably varied, but the list of names seems constant in all texts.

² Register of Edward the Black Prince, IV, pp. 56, 66, 73-4, 76.

³ Register of Edward the Black Prince, IV, pp. 66-73.

⁴ Register of Edward the Black Prince, IV, p. 66.

⁵ There is also a final heading 'oblations' (p. 73) containing entries that refer to the span of the whole account e.g. cloth placed on the bier of the earl of Lancaster, d. 23 September 1345 (Fowler, The King's lieutenant, p. 72). A terminus ab quo for the first entry (cloth for the 'body of the lady de Gistels, deceased') is provided by grant of 18 January 1345 to Wulfard de Ghistelles and his wife: CPR, 1343-5, pp. 382-83.

Thirty buckles, sixty girdle-tips (mordantz), and sixty bars, bought the same day; to Sir John Chaundos for his robes, of the prince's livery.

Seven ouches worked with eagles, bought on 20 December; to divers knights of the prince's companionship.

Sixty buckles, sixty girdle-tips and a hundred and twenty bars, bought the same day; to the knights of the prince's companionship for the tournament of Wyndesore.

At first sight this certainly seems to suggest that by 18 December 1348 the order ('companionship') of the Garter had been formally instituted and a list of its members drawn up. There is nothing inherently improbable in this, as the grant of Uttoxeter and Tawton the previous summer also suggests that the future members were known.² The prince's purchases might have been New Year's gifts to his fellow founder-members elect. However, there have also been attempts to argue that these were in fact retrospective payments for items used the previous summer, and also to identify the tournament at Windsor conclusively with that of the previous St. John the Baptist's day associated with William of Windsor.³ If the account is taken at face-value the assertion of December purchase entirely rules out use at an earlier date. There is also a clear distinction between 'the companionship of the Garter', and 'the prince's companionship' present at the Windsor tournament. The latter surely refers to the prince's retinue:⁴ the prince's knights at the Windsor tournament might well have worn his livery, perhaps with the ostrich-feather badge. It is certain that evidence for only a small proportion of tournaments has survived and there are no sure grounds for identifying this with the Windsor tournament of midsummer 1348.

Scrutiny of the adjacent entries in the Black Prince's Register reveals a number of disturbing factors which pose further problems.

¹ Register of Edward the Black Prince, IV, pp. 73-73.

² See above, p. 226.

³ Nicolas, 'Garter', pp. 124-5.

⁴ Membership of the two groups might overlap: see below, pp. 236-7.

The other recipients of gifts that year included a large proportion of foreigners, especially Germans. The count of Hainault and marquis of Juliers were both supposedly given palfreys bought in July and November,¹ the lord castellan of 'Haveryg' and one of his knights also received two that had been purchased in July, whilst the 'Lord de Cuke' (Otto, lord of Cuyk) had one bought for him on 12 August.² (There had in fact been no count of Hainault since September 1345, when Edward's brother-in-law, William IV, died without a male heir.³ This is perhaps an error for William IV's uncle, John of Hainault, but it is also an indication of the document's unreliability.) A further six palfreys bought in July were given 'to knights of Almain who came to the king in England with reports of his election as Emperor' and on 18 December gilt and enamelled ewers and cups were purchased to give to ambassadors from the Empire: the count of 'Catnelbow';* the provost of St. Maurice, Mainz; Sir Ralph Dassenhuse; Sir Henry Veise, Sir Henry Harleghon and their notary.⁴ Again, the dating seems to be inaccurate. An embassy that included Conrad de Krykel, provost of St. Maurice was in England the previous December.⁵

¹ The logical assumption is that the gifts were presented about the same time as purchase, but cf. below, p. 232, where it seems that 'purchase' may occur at a later date.

² Register of Edward the Black Prince, IV, pp. 71-72. Cuyck was also involved in Anglo-Imperial diplomacy: see Lucas, The Low Countries and the Hundred Years War, p. 539.

³ H.S. Offler, 'England and Germany at the beginning of the Hundred Years War', EHR, liv (1939), p. 626.

⁴ Register of Edward the Black Prince, IV, p. 72.

⁵ CPR, 1346-9, p. 417 (letter of 3 Dec. 1347). It also included Sir Heilmann de Prumheim, who does not appear to have received a gift from the prince. I have been unable to find any reference in the patent or close rolls to a later embassy.

* Katzenellenbogen: I owe this identification to Dr. M. Prestwich.

They represented the Wittelsbacher faction that hoped Edward III would accept imperial candidature as a rival to Charles of Moravia, the Emperor Lewis having died in the autumn of 1347.¹ Although negotiations continued into the following summer, Edward had in fact concluded an alliance with Charles in April and there seems no indication that the issue re-emerged in December 1348.

The obvious conclusion is that these entries have been misplaced by a year, but it is very difficult to make out a case for such a simple chronological shift for the rest of this section of the account. There is, for example, a reference to presents for the nurse and attendants of William of Windsor (the prince's godson), also supposedly bought on 18 December 1348. However, the burial of the infant (probably born in May that year) is recorded in September,² and the entry seems to demonstrate the difficulty of ascertaining any constant relationship between the date of purchase and presentation. Until further details of relevant diplomatic and domestic affairs are discovered it seems impossible to deduce the month or year of the presentation of any of these items - and especially those relating to the Garter - from the date of purchase given in this intractable document. In the present state of knowledge any argument which relies upon it rests upon extremely insecure foundations.

In passing, one might also note the problems raised by the reference to the Garter plate presented to William de Stafford, 'herald of arms of Alvan'. Who was he and why was he given it? Nicolas would doubtless have suggested that he had officiated at the Windsor tournament when the order - as he believed - had been instituted,

¹ Offler, 'England and Germany', p. 629.

² See above, pp 177-8. It was presumably this reference that made Nicolas decide that the whole series of purchases referred to May-Sept. 1348, but this seems a rash assumption, given the diplomatic complications.

and that the gift was to commemorate the occasion, perhaps even making him ex officio the order's herald. The theory is attractive and the absence of any mention of a herald of the order in the statutes, and the formalisation of Garter King's supremacy only in 1415, are by no means insuperable objections, given the lack of explicit references to the herald's developing role in this period. It is possible that this herald, whose name perhaps reflects service with Ralph Stafford rather than his place of origin,¹ passed into royal service as a result of this association, becoming Edward's herald, William Volaut.² This is pure speculation, however, and it offers no explanation for his title, 'herald of arms of Alvan'. The name does not seem to correspond to any march of arms in England or France.³ A scribal error for Alman provides a logical and superficially acceptable explanation. (It would not have been impossible for an English herald to have entered German service in the late 1330's.) The arrival of a German herald with the embassy of the Wittelsbach is a reasonable hypothesis, but it does involve postulating the inception of the order as early as the winter of 1347. There is no corroborative evidence for such a date, although it seems psychologically very likely that Edward might have announced his intention formally (with a list of members elect) soon after his return from the siege of Calais.

Whatever problems remain outstanding, at least one of those with which earlier scholars had to grapple seems to have been largely

¹ Cf. Chandos Herald in the 1370's: he would have left no trace without La Vie du Prince Noir. It seems likely that knights' heralds were more common than the scanty surviving evidence suggests.

² See e.g. 40 l. payment to 'William Volaut, the king's herald, and his companions the minstrels' for attending a tournament at Smithfield in 1359: Issue roll of Thomas Brantingham, ed. F. Devon (London, 1835), p. xxix; 60 s. 8 d. payment from Edward III to William Valaut, king of the heralds 'for his good services at the feast of St. George' (1358), Nicolas, 'Garter', p. 138. Cf. Wagner, Heralds and heraldry, p. 22; H.S. London, William Bruges, the first Garter King of Arms (Harleian Soc., London, 1970), p. 93. (Volaut is clearly the herald's title, not a personal name.)

³ See e.g. Le Bouvier, Armorial de France, passim; Wagner, Heralds of England, p. 65.

resolved, for there is now a generally accepted list of founder-members.¹ The rest of this chapter will be concerned with an examination of its composition in an attempt to identify some of the factors which determined the choice of a founder-member and to see what light it throws upon Edward III's aims and motivation. The Garter knights were divided into two groups, according to their seating position in the choir of St. George's chapel, where two rows of stalls were provided for them, one headed by the sovereign and the other by the prince. The main sources for the original composition of the order are the so-called Windsor Tables,² and copies of the statutes which also list founder-members. In addition, a few of their stall-plates^{survive} (enamelled with the knight's crest and coat-of-arms and fastened to his stall on his decease).³ It is immediately apparent that the seating arrangement also provided two potential tournament teams.⁴ The analysis that follows will investigate whether their internal balance makes it likely that the two groups were designed with this function in mind. It will also consider whether their composition reveals any bonds between the participant members of a putative team similar to those which have been observed operating at the Chauvency tournament.⁵ Some of the founder members' salient characteristics are tabulated in appendix 23, but it should be emphasised that many of these are tentative assumptions: the table is a basis for possible future research

¹ See e.g. Anstis, Register, II, passim; Beltz, Memorials, e.g. pp. 28-9 (Grailly: confusion because of an error on his stall plate, perpetuated in the Hatton MS. of the statutes), 75-84 (James Audley of Oxon., not Heighley), 86-9 (Henry Eam, not Sir Henry of Flanders), 53-4 (Courtenay, heir-apparent to the 2nd Earl of Devon, despite his youth).

² The text of the Windsor Tables (preserved in the Chapter house, Windsor) is printed in Ashmole, Institution of the Garter, Appendix.

³ See St. J. Hope, The Stall Plates of the Knights of the Order of the Garter, 1348-1485 (Westminster, 1901), pp. 12, 14-16, pl. II-VI, XXXI, XXXV.

⁴ Cf. Pope and 12 Cardinals at Smithfield tournament in 1343: see above, p. 186; appendix 20 no. 33. It is also clear that St. George's day celebrations at Windsor included feats of arms: see e.g. John of Reading, p. 130 (1358).

⁵ See above, pp. 26-8, 32-40.

rather than a vehicle for definitive conclusions.

May McKisack's interpretation of the foundation of the Order of the Garter as a unifying act little short of political genius is one that has perhaps come to be generally accepted, less frequently analysed within the wider political context of Edward's reign.¹ The scale on which monetary resources had to be mobilised in the late 1330's for his continental alliances provoked a crisis with damaging political repercussions that attacked the basis of royal government.² Paradoxically, it is in this dislocation of confidence between the king and his noble subjects that some of the order's roots are to be found. It is no co-incidence that Edward's 're-institution' of the Round Table, whose political aspects and unifying intention have already been observed, occurred near the beginning of this more harmonious period.³ The Garter, too, needs to be seen as an integral element in this broader political frame rather than as a superficial and unrelated trimming, or a bright idea that happened to inaugurate a new period of harmony between Edward and his knightly subjects. It crystallised a co-operative relationship that had been gradually developing over several years. The order had its immediate origins in the battle of Crécy and Edward's adoption of the Garter device on that campaign, but it was also firmly grounded in the crisis of the 1340's.

Participation at Crécy is the most immediately striking common factor among the first knights of the Garter: almost all of them were present at the battle.⁴ Lancaster and the Captal de Buch were

¹ McKisack, Fourteenth century, pp. 250-4.

² Harriss, King, parliament and public finance, pp. 231.

³ See above, pp. 186-9.

⁴ See appendix 23.

fighting a vital subsidiary action in Guyenne (arguably essential for the success of Edward's campaign further north),¹ while the whereabouts of Abrechicourt and Eam are apparently undocumented.² There is^a further clear-cut distinction in that all the founder-members in stalls on the 'prince's side' had fought in the first division³ - nominally commanded by the prince of Wales and to which the king had in fact transferred some of his ablest lieutenants, prominent among them Thomas, Earl of Warwick and Ralph, Baron (later Earl) Stafford,⁴ who occupied the second and third stalls on the prince's side. Some had especially close links with the prince - Mortimer, Mohun, Wale and Audley served in his retinue at Crécy, and Richard FitzSimon was his standard-bearer there.⁵ Moreover, many of the knights on his side remained close to the prince in various ways that reflected their different status: Warwick accompanied him on the Gascon campaign of 1355-6 and acted as Commissioner to take homage on the prince's behalf there in 1362;⁶ Bartholomew Burghersh (the younger), a friend from childhood, was appointed steward of the honour of Wallingford and constable of the castle, and

¹ Fowler, The king's lieutenant, pp. 54, 66-7.

² Eam was probably at Crécy in the prince's retinue: see CPR, 1348-50, p. 336 (inspeximus of 28 June 1349 of letters patent dating from the previous Jan., declaring his knighthood at the hands of the Prince and retention with him for life). It seems unlikely that anyone who was not a knight by the time of the battle would have been included in the order.

³ Loring's exact place at Crécy is unrecorded, but his close connection with the prince and his household (as bachelor and later chamberlain) make it unlikely that he served anywhere else: see Register of Edward the Black Prince, IV, pp. 9, 31, 215, 453, 527. See appendix 23 s.v. household.

⁴ For lists of the divisions see Wrottesley, Crecy and Calais, pp. 31-40. Among bannerets transferred from the king's household to the prince's division, he names Reginald Cobham, Maurice Berkeley, Thomas Ughtred, William FitzWarene and John Darcy, le fils.

⁵ Wrottesley, Crecy and Calais, pp. 93, 99, 111, 114, 175; Beltz, Memorials, p. 76 and n. 2. See Récits, p. 232 (cited Baker, p. 261) for FitzSimon's heroic role at Crécy and defence of the prince. Pavely served in Burghersh's retinue: see Wrottesley, Crecy and Calais, p. 171.

⁶ Complete Peerage, XII, ii, p. 373.

the register of the Black Prince reflects his continuing importance in the prince's establishment.¹ All those who were not of sufficient rank to maintain any independent household entered the prince's: Pavely, Eam, Audley, Loring, Mohun and Wale were all subsequently 'bachelors of the prince'.²

Between them these knights offered a remarkable range of age and experience: some, like the prince, had relatively little military experience;³ Warwick and Stafford were able commanders and most of the others seem to have served on several of Edward III's campaigns in the 1330's and 40's.⁴ The 'king's side' seem to have had a similar overall balance: particularly experienced knights, like Lancaster, the Captal de Buch and the king himself, were offset by Montagu and Courtenay, who had only just been promoted from the rank of bachelor.⁵ Age and experience seem very carefully matched in the two sides, who would evidently provide an evenly balanced encounter. In itself this parity strongly suggests that Edward's distribution of the knights was influenced by the need to compose two fairly matched tournament teams. His task might perhaps be compared to that of the diseurs at Chauvency.⁶

The closely-knit grouping round the prince illuminates the way in which that team was bound together by ties of allegiance similar to those which were observed at Chauvency. It is also clear that

¹ See Register of Edward the Black Prince, IV, pp. 26, 32, 382.

² Register of Edward the Black Prince, IV, pp. 69, 87, 242, 380, 382, 384, etc. (Pavely); 10, 31-2, 146, 245 (Eam); 70, 71, 149, 167 etc. (Audley); 9, 13, 72, 167 etc. (Loring); 73, 136 (Wale); 67, 268 and Beltz, Memorials, p. 49 and n. 11 (Mohun). FitzSimon's exact position is difficult to determine because of his early death: see above, p. 228.

³ E.g. Mortimer, Eam: see appendix 23.

⁴ See appendix 23.

⁵ See appendix 23.

⁶ See above, pp. 25-6.

many of the members would have been accustomed to fighting together. Their opposite numbers appear a less homogeneous and clearly defined group (very little is known, for instance, of the career of Sanchet d'Abrechicourt), but they highlight some of the other principles which seem to have guided the king's choice of members. Thus, for example, the 'king's side' includes at least two knights, Chandos and Wrottesley, who had fought in the first division with the prince at Crécy.¹ On the other hand, it embraced a nucleus of chamber knights whose relations with the king in his household are well-documented in the years roughly contemporary with the foundation, a period from which no comparable records from the Black Prince's household survive.² Lisle, Grey, Beauchamp, Stapleton and Courtenay perhaps represented a quarter of the king's chamber knights at this period.³ Of these it is possible that Grey was a particularly close companion of the king's - a pair of green hunting tunics were made for the two of them alone, for example.⁴ John Beauchamp, banneret and younger brother of the earl of Warwick, had carried Edward III's standard at Crécy.⁵ The king's cousin, Henry of Lancaster, despite

¹ Wrottesley was in the prince's retinue: Wrottesley, Crecy and Calais, p. 175. Chandos became a bachelor of the prince (see Register of Edward the Black Prince, IV, p. 136, cited above, p. 230); for his participation in earlier continental campaigns from 13 Edward III, see Ashmole, Institution of the Garter, p. 702.

² Tout, Chapters, V, pp. 306-10.

³ See e.g. E101/391/15; Nicolas, 'Garter', pp. 24, 25, 26, 49. Other chamber knights mentioned in this document include Walter Manny (KG 1359: Beltz, Memorials, p. 120); Richard de la Vache (KG 1355; Beltz, Memorials, p. 106); Guy de Brian (KG 1370: see Beltz, Memorials, pp. 180-1).

⁴ E101/391/15; Nicolas, 'Garter', p. 29. He also received a tunic from the king (p. 25), one of the few chamber knights recorded here as being singled out in this way, Cf. also John Beauchamp who received a doublet as a gift (p. 49).

⁵ Beltz, Memorials, p. 47 and n. 6; Wrottesley, Crecy and Calais, p. 36 and n. 1. For marks of royal favour, see CPR, 1345-8, pp. 66, 123, 124, 263, 314-5. See W. Dugdale, The history of St. Paul's cathedral in London (London, 1658), p. 52 for his splendid tomb. Sometimes distinguished in the accounts as John Beauchamp, Warwick (e.g. Wrottesley, Crecy and Calais, p. 176), he is not to be confused with John Beauchamp, son of Giles (Egidius), knighted at Crécy (Wrottesley, Crecy and Calais, p. 259), and, with his father, also an official in the royal household. (See e.g. Nicolas, 'Garter', p. 26 for the presence of father and son at the Lichfield tournament of 1348).

his own independent status as a great magnate (the most powerful in the kingdom, after the Black Prince), often also formed part of the same circle when he was not abroad. He was a frequent recipient of gifts from the king, and seems to have participated in tournaments alongside chamber knights.¹ At other royal tournaments it looks as if Lancaster headed the opposing team, composed of members of his own retinue.² This central grouping of knights on the 'king's side' re-enforces the impression gained from the documents about the foundation that have survived in the central administration, highlighting the king's personal involvement in the institution and demonstrating how, in some ways, it was an extension of the tournament activities of the chamber.

Even had Lancaster not been so close to the king, his omission from the founders was unthinkable. The great danger with an order of limited number was that those excluded - above all, the higher nobility - would feel resentful and alienated from the king, deprived of their traditional advisory role close to him.³ Edward was careful to include anyone who might otherwise be a potential focus for discontent. The inclusion of young Roger Mortimer, as well as Lancaster, is significant in this respect.⁴ It is interesting to note also

¹ See e.g. E101/391/15; Nicolas, 'Garter', pp. 24, 25, 41, 42.

² See e.g. E101/391/15; Nicolas, 'Garter', p. 27.

³ See King, parliament and public finance, pp. 270-4, 290-8 etc. for the part that the assertion of this right played in the crisis of 1340-1.

⁴ Born c. 1329; grandson of the infamous first Earl of March: see Complete Peerage, VIII, pp. 442-45. His step-father, William Bohun, Earl of Northampton, probably exerted his influence with the king on Mortimer's behalf. Edward III granted him livery of his lands under age (18 Oct. 1347) for 'laudable service...wishing to do him a special favour', which perhaps reflects particular distinction on the Crécy campaign (Wrotesley, Crecy and Calais, p. 159 citing Memoranda Roll 22 Edw. III).

the inclusion of the Gascon vassal Jean de Grailly, Captal de Buch and Sanchet d'Abrechicourt, whose family also served Edward III on the continent of Europe.¹ With Henry d'Eam, from the Empire,² Edward honoured a representative of another area that had been useful to him in the past - and presumably might be in the future too. Moreover, a purely insular order would scarcely reflect well on Edward's continental pretensions. He was also careful not to pack the order with chamber knights or with others close to him. None of those whom he had raised to earldoms in 1337 for their part in the coup of 1330 were among the founders,³ but two of them - Northampton and Suffolk - were the first replacements.⁴ Doubtless, if Edward had been guided by personal preference alone, they would have been included from the start.⁵

The replacements also underline some of the rather puzzling omissions from the order. There is no great difficulty in explaining omissions at the founder-member stage, if the strong link with Crécy, and especially the first division, is accepted, but no comparable

¹ For the N. French family of Abrechicourt see, Barber, Edward, Prince of Wales, pp. 141, 162, 194, 90. A Hainault origin for Abrechicourt has often been suggested: see e.g. Ashmole, Institution of the Garter, pp. 707-8; Beltz, Memorials, pp. 90-1.

² For Eam's origin in 'Almain' see Register of Edward the Black Prince, IV, p. 13.

³ The son of one of these, William Montagu, first Earl of Salisbury, was included, probably partly from a wish to commemorate the father (d. 1344), one of the king's closest advisers (see Complete Peerage, XI; pp. 385-7; McFarlane, Nobility, pp. 160-1.)

⁴ c. 1349, with William FitzWarenne: Beltz, Memorials, pp. 254 ff.

⁵ The next four vacancies were filled by chamber knights: Reginald Cobham, Richard de la Vache, Walter Manny, Thomas Ughtred (Complete Peerage, II, Apx. B). Cf. above, p. 238 n. 3.

master-plan can be postulated for the replacements. Nevertheless, investigation of the possible grounds for such exclusion illuminates further the qualities which Edward III sought in his Garter knights and also reveals something of the complex motives which might inform his choice. In particular, the continued omission of the Earls of Arundel and Huntingdon is striking.¹ Arundel's attendance at tournaments as well as the Crécy campaign is recorded, and he continued to serve the king faithfully for the rest of the reign.² Although Edward was careful not to show undue favour at the foundation to those whom he had advanced beyond expectation to earldoms in 1337, all of them (or their heirs) were Garter-knights by 1350, with the single exception of William Clinton, Earl of Huntingdon. He was never appointed to the order,³ although he, too, served Edward until his death in 1354.⁴

If, however, we look to the past, it is striking that Arundel and Huntingdon were the two earls most prominent in the home councils whilst Edward was abroad during the period that led up to the constitutional crisis of 1340. They were the only magnates in the purely subordinate, fund-raising council of 1338, apart from Lord Neville, who was largely occupied with the defence of the realm in the North.⁵

¹ Cf. McKisack, Fourteenth century, p. 256: 'curiously enough, he was never a knight of the Garter',

² For biographical details, see Complete Peerage, I, pp. 242-4; McKisack, Fourteenth century, p. 256; below, pp. 243-4, 246-7.

³ Cf. above, p. 240.

⁴ For biographical details, see Complete Peerage, VI, pp. 648-9; Tout, Chapters, III, p. 37 outlines his rise in the 1330's (including service in Edward's household as steward for twelve months before his promotion to an earldom). Arundel and Huntingdon were the only two surviving English earls at Calais who did not become Garter-knights: see Wrotesley, Crecey and Calais, p. 5 citing accounts of Wetwang.

⁵ Harriss, King, parliament and public finance, p. 237; cf. comments on the relatively self-contained nature of the defence of the north of England at this period: J. Campbell, 'England, Scotland and the Hundred Years War in the fourteenth century', pp. 192-93.

With Stratford, they were the principal figures in the archbishop's council of May 1340.¹ On Edward's departure the following month they were joined by a group of northern lords (again responsible for the defence of the Scottish border),² of whom Thomas Wake of Liddell emerged with Arundel and Stratford as leading figures in the course of the summer. Arundel and Huntingdon, however, were involved in the crucial collection of the money that was to be sent overseas to the king to finance his expedition,³ and they must surely have been foremost in Edward's mind when he suspected the council of undue leniency towards local collectors.⁴ On the king's sudden return at the end of November 1340, his fury was unleashed against the home-council who, in his eyes, had been responsible for the personal shame and humiliation he had suffered abroad. Edward saw the failure of Stratford's council to provide him with adequate financial support as responsible for the collapse of his military plans. (He was so deeply in debt abroad at this time that Derby, Salisbury and Northampton had to act as sureties for the king in prison whilst he returned to his own kingdom.)⁵ Edward's acute

¹ Harriss, King, parliament and public finance, pp. 263, 285. The elderly Earl of Lancaster and Arundel's uncle, John de Warenne, Earl of Surrey were also nominally responsible for 'the great business of the realm'. Tout, Chapters, III, pp. 106, and n. 3, 112 and n.2 emphasises Huntingdon's leading role.

² Henry Percy, Thomas Wake, Ralph Neville. Derby was also theoretically part of the council, but he sailed with the king and (unlike Arundel and Huntingdon) stayed abroad. Arundel, Huntingdon and Surrey were responsible for marine and coastal defence in May 1340: Harriss, King, parliament and public finance, p. 283.

³ Appointed March 1340: Harriss, King, parliament and public finance, p. 286.

⁴ Harriss, King, parliament and public finance, p. 287.

⁵ See above, pp.126 n.4, 185.

sensitivity to this public humiliation and loss of face should not be underestimated.

The king's accusation of treason against Stratford was inspired by anger and by a sense of outraged individual honour that Edward seems to have been careful subsequently to subordinate to wider political considerations. However, in 1340 there was an inevitable polarisation between the home council and the king's council abroad, who were drawn mainly from his own household. It seems that the majority of the nobility - even Edward's close supporters like Salisbury and Northampton¹ - realised that, if the breach between the king and archbishop was not healed, the kingdom would be torn apart. The nobles' criticism of self-interested councillors close to the king - directed mainly at Kilsby, Darcy père, Parving and Stafford - was an inevitable product of the situation. However, when antagonism reached its highest levels Arundel emerged as the most vigorous supporter of Stratford's case amongst the earls.² As reconciliation between king and nobles was gradually established, it was Arundel, Huntingdon and Surrey³ who remained aloof longest. Edward's Scottish campaign of the winter 1341-2 achieved little and was ill-supported,⁴ but it at least brought the northern lords literally to his side, and on his return to the South Warwick, Oxford, Pembroke and Suffolk joined

¹ According to one source they listened sympathetically to Stratford's request: B. Wilkinson, 'The Protest of the Earls of Arundel and Surrey in the Crisis of 1341', EHR, xlvi (1931), p. 181. It is misleading to think of them as baronial opposition in the Lancastrian sense (pace Clarke, Fourteenth-century Studies pp. 128-29; Tout, Chapters, III, pp. 120-1.)

² Harriss, King, parliament and public finance, p. 294. See Wilkinson, 'Protest', p. 179 for the French Chronicle of London's account of the scene in which Surrey and Arundel supported the Archbishop and criticise the king's handling of the situation.

³ Surrey died before the foundation of the Garter (on 29 June 1347). For details of his career see Complete Peerage, XII, i, pp. 508-11.

⁴ Harriss, King, parliament and public finance, p. 307.

the king at the tournament of Dunstable and subsequent council.¹ Gloucester, Devon, Surrey, Huntingdon and Arundel pleaded age or infirmity to excuse their absence - probably a pale excuse for the last two.² Surrey, Huntingdon and Arundel did not serve in Edward's expedition to Brittany in October 1342, only finally joining the council and offering troops in November. Apparently by the time the king returned two months later 'war and political tact had healed the enmities of the last five years'.³ There were no further recriminations or persecution of those who had been with the king or those who had at some point criticised him.⁴ The inclusion of Ralph Stafford among the first Garter knights is an indication of the extent to which old animosities had dissolved, as well as a reflection of his abilities as a military commander.⁵

Both Arundel and Huntingdon seem to have continued to serve the king faithfully for the rest of their lives. In the 1346-7 campaign Arundel commanded the second division at Crécy with Northampton,⁶ and Clinton (who seems to have joined Edward at Calais about

¹ Harriss, King, parliament, and public finance, pp. 307-8. For details of the tournament, see above, pp. 178-80.

² Harriss, King, parliament and public finance, p. 308.

³ Harriss, King, parliament and public finance, p. 308. He is surely right to stress the importance of Henry of Derby in this process of reconciliation (p. 305). In terms of personalities, his integrity and loyalty were one of Edward's greatest assets.

⁴ See e.g. Tout, Chapters, IV, p. 273, VI, p. 46, Complete Peerage, IV, pp. 58-61 (service of Darcy père and fils in the king's household); Tout, Chapters, III, pp. 162, 169 n. 7, VI, p. 125 (Kilsby's position, close to the king but deprived of political influence).

⁵ See Complete Peerage, XII, i, pp. 174-7; Tout, Chapters, III, pp. 128, 129, 135, IV, p. 82, n. 7 (for his position in the king's household); Ashmole, Institution of the Garter, pp. 688-90 (military career).

⁶ Wrottesley, Crecey and Calais, index s.v. Arundel, Rich., Earl of; Clinton; CPR, 1345-8, p. 514.

25 April 1347)¹ was involved with Lancaster in peace negotiations with papal intermediaries.² The same year he was promised the large sum of 823 l. 12 s. 4 d. as a gift 'for good service in the war in parts beyond the seas'.³ In isolation, however, these indications of royal favour toward Clinton are perhaps misleading, for there is certainly an overall contrast between the important diplomatic missions in which he was engaged in the 1330's and the preponderance of run-of-the-mill county commissions that followed the constitutional crisis.⁴ The wording of Edward's regrant of the office of warden of the Cinque Ports and constable of Dover castle to Bartholomew Burghersh on 3 December 1343, after they had been surrendered by Clinton, is significant. The letters mention an earlier grant to Burghersh that had been returned by the king and committed to Clinton 'during good behaviour'.⁵ The phrase reveals the extent to which the relationship between king and servant had been dislocated.

It would be wrong to depict Clinton as an exile from the court, however. Interestingly, Arundel is often recorded with him on such occasions;⁶ and the con-

¹ CPR, 1345-8, pp. 529, 530, 534, 533, 549, 553.

² CPR, 1345-8, p. 562. The same commission was issued to Stafford, Darcy, Bouchier and Cobham.

³ CPR, 1345-8, p. 514. Arundel was granted a general pardon 'for good service in the wars of France' (p. 479).

⁴ See CPR, 1334-8, pp. 420, 428 (Flanders); CPR, 1338-40, p. 371 (Frankfurt); CPR, 1330-4, pp. 277, 471, 532-4 (France); CPR, 1334-8, pp. 26, 423 (France). For his activities at county level, see e.g. CPR, 1343-45, pp. 278, 284, 427, 66, 172, 282, 293, 583, 584, etc. He was abroad in the king's service at Avignon (CCR, 1349-54, p. 13 (25 Mar. 1349); Cal. Pap. Letters, III, pp. 2-3) and on an unspecified mission in Aug. 1344 (CPR, 1343-45, p. 334).

⁵ CPR, 1343-5, p. 152. There is no indication of the circumstances in which Clinton resigned the commission. Although the entry refers to details of the earlier regrant in other letters patent, I have as yet been unable to trace these. Clinton was in possession of the office on 6 May 1341, 15 Dec. 1342 (CPR, 1340-43), p. 216, 519); 26 Jan., 24 Feb. 20 April, 26 May, 20 Octo, 12 Dec. 1343 (CPR, 1343-5, pp. 84, 95, 309, 118, 247, 255-6).

⁶ CPR, 1343-45, pp. 319, 569; CPR, 1345-48, pp. 136-8; CPR, 1350-54, p. 30.

tinuing association of the two earls is reflected in various other ways.¹

It was impossible for Edward to treat a magnate like Arundel, from an established family, in exactly the same way that he might a man like Clinton, who owed his ennoblement entirely to the king's favour. Especially after his succession to the Warenne estates in 1347, Arundel was territorially the second most powerful member of the nobility.² Edward had therefore to proceed with circumspection to prevent Arundel from becoming alienated and a rallying-point for other discontents. Apart, however, from his territorial and genealogical base, Arundel was obviously a man whose financial abilities any ruler - let alone one in the position that Edward III found himself in the early 1340's - would be loath to forego.³ Conspicuous solvency in a subject was a further attraction to the king, and the earl - who is thought to have died with 100 000 marks ready cash⁴ - was an invaluable source of cash loans.⁵

It seems very likely that Lancaster exerted his influence with the king on behalf of his brother-in-law's cause in his difficulties

¹ See e.g. CPR, 1345-48, p. 226, CPR, 1350-54, pp. 103, 322, 426 (attorney for Arundel's aunt, the countess of Surrey); CPR, 1343-5, pp. 487-8 (Arundel's second marriage settlement allowed for the remainder to Huntingdon on his death of various lands and castles).

² Tout, Chapters, III, pp. 30, 190. (His estates were second only to Lancaster's.)

³ For attempts to direct this professional ability to the profit of the crown, see e.g. Tout, Chapters, III, p. 395.n. 4; CPR, 1343-5, pp. 54, 103, 112, 55, 59, 110, 189, 223.

⁴ G.A. Holmes, The estates of the higher nobility in fourteenth-century England (Cambridge, 1957), pp. 4-5.

⁵ E.g. 1200 marks in 1345 (CPR, 1343-45, p. 528), 4000 marks in 1351 (CCR, 1350-54, p. 106), 5000 marks in 1377 (CPR, 1374-7, p. 441) - all to the king; 2000 l. in 1350 to the Black Prince, for which he received the French regalia as security (Register of Edward the Black Prince, IV, pp. 302, 319, 333). (For repayment of various other loans to the prince, see pp. 99, 159, 163, 363.)

over the Warenne inheritance,¹ and he may also have pressed for his co-lieutenancy in Aquitaine in 1344. It was with Lancaster that most of Arundel's diplomatic work for the king was done - notably the Guines negotiations of 1354-5.² The missions entrusted to him after Crécy give no hint of any earlier breach with the king, and it seems likely that, had Huntingdon lived longer, he would have followed a similar path.³ Against this background of an apparent return to Edward's confidence, their exclusion from the Garter - and especially that of Arundel, for nearly thirty years - suggests that although Edward was quite ready to accept their service and certainly did not intend to risk alienating them, he was not prepared ever to admit them into the company of the Garter. In the king's eyes at least their behaviour had not been 'sans reproche'.

These omissions reveal perhaps more strikingly than the founder members' records of service the extent to which unswerving and untarnished loyalty was the cornerstone and sine qua non of the order. Edward's achievement in the institution of the Order of the Garter was remarkable in its complexity. He drew up two finely-balanced tournament teams with a view to engaging in chivalric encounter of the very highest quality, yet at the same time exploited existing allegiances and groupings between the members of the kind which, as we have seen, governed tournament team structure in the previous

¹ See CPR, 1345-8, p. 800. For his marriage to Eleanor de Beaumont, sister of Henry of Derby (1344), see Fowler, The king's lieutenant, p. 46; Holmes, Estates, p. 50.

² Fowler, The king's lieutenant, pp. 122-46 passim, esp. pp. 77, 97 112.

³ Cf. e.g. his association with Lancaster and Arundel in the early 1350's: Fowler, The king's lieutenant, pp. 100, 131-2. It is probable that he was in poor health throughout this period; his county administrative work was greatly reduced (cf. above, p. 245 n. 4 and CPR, 1350-54, index s.v. Clynton); cf. reference to his 'grievous infirmity' at an unspecified point in the Crécy campaign (Wrottesley, Crecey and Calais, p. 155). Clinton died 25 Aug. 1354 (Complete Peerage, VI, p. 649).

century. His simultaneous political achievement was two-fold: to provide a perpetual memorial to the justification of his own kingly claims; and also to create a prestigious chivalric élite comprising representatives of every section of society that could aspire to inclusion - established noble families and allies abroad, as well as members of his own household and family - who were characterised first and foremost by loyalty to the order's head. In the Order of the Garter Edward III created an institution which incorporated the ties and allegiances which traditionally bound the tournament team together while subsuming them in a greater loyalty to the sovereign.

CONCLUSION

One of the most striking features of this survey has been the degree of continuity in tournament practice between the late thirteenth and mid-fourteenth centuries. This is strikingly demonstrated by the similarity of principles upon which the 'sides' of the founder members of the Order of the Garter and the two teams at Chauvency were chosen, although some sixty years separated the two events.¹ It is clear, too, that the chivalric contacts between England, and Northern France and the Low Countries which we have observed in the reign of Edward I continued unabated in the first half of the next century - witness the foreigners who participated in Edward III's *hastiludes* and the tournaments he himself held on the Continent.² These links were fostered rather than dislocated by the first stages of the Hundred Years War.

These continental parallels are valuable not only in outlining a broader comparative framework within which English activities may be set, but in providing details which can animate the often rather skeletal English material. Thus, Le Tournoi de Chauvency and Le Roman du Hem provide evidence concerning, for example, practical organisation and procedure; both civic festes and Le Roman du Hem illuminate some of the possible thematic and mimetic developments which might occur. They provide a very important, resonant dimension into which the assorted scraps of evidence from the first decades of Edward III's reign can be projected with some confidence. In many ways this comparative material supplies a view of the underside of an iceberg, whose tip alone is revealed by fourteenth-century English evidence.

¹ See above, p. 237 and n.6.

² See above, pp. 183-5; appendix 20.

Nor was it just in the sphere of tournament and similar chivalric activities that Edward III and his court can be seen to be an integral part of a broader continental society. Indeed, it is hoped that one of the dominant themes to have emerged in the course of this thesis is the pointlessness and artificiality of isolating chivalric activity either from warfare, or - more importantly - from other forms of cultural expression in the society which fostered it. It should therefore come as no surprise that, for instance, members of Edward III's court were in touch with some of the latest developments in Northern Italian painting or that the king was eager to surround himself with expressions in the visual and applied arts of the chivalric ethos which inspired his tournaments. Clearly, too, Queen Philippa not only fostered links with the Continent through personal contact and literary and artistic patronage,¹ but also found in the English court a milieu which was not essentially different from that which she had left in Hainault. The range of books in the collection in the Tower of London at this period does not suffer by comparison with the (rather better documented) literary interests of the Avesnes.²

It seems that the English court must have been familiar throughout this period (c. 1270-1350) with a wide range of romance and chanson de geste literature.³ Direct evidence of the kind furnished by Rustichello of Pisa is extremely rare.⁴ The picture has instead to be built piece-meal, attempting always to place the evidence in as realistic a documentary context as possible - indeed, this is in many ways as true for details relating to tournament accessories as for aspects of more obviously literary or artistic patronage.

¹ See above, pp. 126-32.

² See above, pp. 122-5, 135-8.

³ See above, pp. 60-4, 126, 138-9, 144 etc.

⁴ See above, p. 60.

One of the most interesting aspects of this evident knowledge of literary ideals and figures is the development of the king as a chivalric cult-figure. This has been demonstrated with regard to Edward I by the way in which the peak of John of Howden's list of heroes is surmounted by Alexander, Arthur and Edward,¹ and by Lodewijk van Velthem's extended treatment of the English king in the mould of the questing knight of Arthurian romance.² It is therefore particularly interesting to observe another Brabançon writer, Jan Boendale, treating Edward III in very similar fashion. In his verse chronicle of Edward's campaigns in the Low Countries after the declaration of his claim to the French throne (1337-40), 'Van den derden Edewaert', Boendale sets the scene for the king's military achievements by placing him in the company of the heroes of the past: the Trojans, Cyrus of Persia, Alexander, Maccabeus, Charlemagne, and Godefroy de Bouillon, no less.³

This unexpected Flemish literary parallel underlines some genuine affinities between ^{the} two kings' political dealings with the Continent. Like Edward I, Edward III attempted to put pressure on France from the East with an imperial alliance. It is tempting to wonder whether his early adoption of an eagle crest might have been influenced by such imperialist allusions as Edward I's Eagle Tower at Caernarvon.⁴ Edward III's continental alliances of the late 1330's precipitated first a financial, and then a politico-constitutional, crisis not dissimilar to the effects of Edward I's campaign in Flanders of 1297.⁵

¹ See above, p. 64.

² See above, pp. 55-6.

³ 'Van den derden Edewaert, coninc van Ingelant', Belgisch Museum, iv (1840), p. 304, ll. 59-88.

⁴ See above, pp. 57 and n.5, 179 n.1.

⁵ See Harriss, King, parliament and public finance, pp. 231-2. See also Th. M. Chotzen, 'De Vlamingen voor Calais (1346-47)', Rev. belge de phil. et hist. vii (1928), pp. 1485-6 for the possibility that Edward III declined an offer of Flemish help at the siege of Calais because of the memory of the outbreak of violence between the Welsh and the Flemish in 1297.

Given the differences in circumstance - and doubtless also in temperament - between the two situations and personalities, one is obviously wary of postulating an over-simplistic correspondence.¹ On the other hand, it must have been almost impossible for the young Edward III to have been unaware of his grandfather's relative success and lasting reputation, and surprising if the contrast with his father's wretched end did not to some extent influence his own course of action. On his first campaigns soldiers such as Henry de Beaumont, who had served with Edward I, might have influenced the inexperienced king's strategy, as well as provided him with first-hand accounts of his grandfather's deeds.² Scenes from Edward I's life decorated the walls of Westminster Palace, whilst a casual reference in an Exchequer inventory betrays how his reputation lived on.³ A dagger is listed as 'un cultell' dount le roi Edward estoit naufray en la terre seinte en Acres'.⁴ Evidently the details of the episode were assumed to be familiar. The semi-legendary figure of Edward I may have been a more powerful presence at the beginning of his grandson's reign than dispassionate objectivity several centuries later is prepared to admit.

The issue is a very real one in relation to the image of the king as chivalric hero: it is quite possible that Edward III came to understand how his grandfather had cultivated the Arthurian legend and became alert to ways in which he might derive similar political advantage. The Round Table of 1344 especially lays itself open to

¹ See e.g. the reservations expressed in Prestwich, The Three Edwards, p. 296.

² For the importance and influence of Henry de Beaumont see Nicholson, Edward III and the Scots, p. 133 and n. 3, citing J. Morris, The Welsh Wars of Edward I (Oxford, 1901), p. 279.

³ King's Works, p. 508. Cf. the similar scheme of paintings of 'The coronation, marriages, wars and funeral of Edward I' at the episcopal palace, Lichfield: S. Erdeswicke, Survey of Staffordshire, ed. Harwood (London, 1844), p. 281.

⁴ E101/333/15, dorse (dated 14 May 14 Edw. III).

this interpretation.¹ Engaging - and excelling - in chivalric activities, Edward III doubtless discovered that he was able to meet and re-enforce contemporary expectations of the successful king and chivalric hero, and that it was also politically advantageous to do so. Considerable political skill as well as a genuine personal enthusiasm for and commitment to the chivalric ideal were thus combined and of course found their supreme expression in the institution of the Order of the Garter.² This was undoubtedly a most important element in Edward's generally happy relations with his noble and knightly subjects - a subject of considerable relevance to this thesis, but one so vast that it has been possible only occasionally to touch upon it.

That eighty years later Philip the Good, Duke of Burgundy, should deliberately have chosen Edward III's order as an exact model for a much more consciously political order of chivalry (the Toison d'Or), is one of the best indicators of the Garter's success at many levels.³ By then (1430), however, the joust had entirely replaced the tournament as the supreme form of knightly encounter. Indeed, the tournaments of Edward III seem to be among the last recorded:⁴ his reign was perhaps the apogee of the tournament, and it is not surprising that the pattern of allegiances within a team structure which characterised that form of encounter should have been a dominant feature of the order which outlived it.

¹ See above, pp. 187-9.

² Cf. Harriss, King, parliament and public finance, p. 308: 'The fact that the principal business was war, that partnership between king and magnates in politics was part of a wider partnership in chivalry and profit, may help to explain why this lasted for a generation. It should not lead us to accept it as inevitable or to underrate the political adaptability or skill with which Edward accomplished his retreat from the policies of 1338.'

³ See e.g. the contacts between William Bruges, Garter King of Arms, and the future Toison d'Or, King of Arms, prior to the establishment of the Burgundian order: London, William Bruges, pp. 43-4.

⁴ Cf. the explanatory comments of some of the Scrope and Grosvenor witnesses: see above, p. 165 n.1.

APPENDIX 1: GROUPINGS AND ALLEGIANCES OF KNIGHTS AT THE TOURNAMENT OF CHAUVENCY (1285).

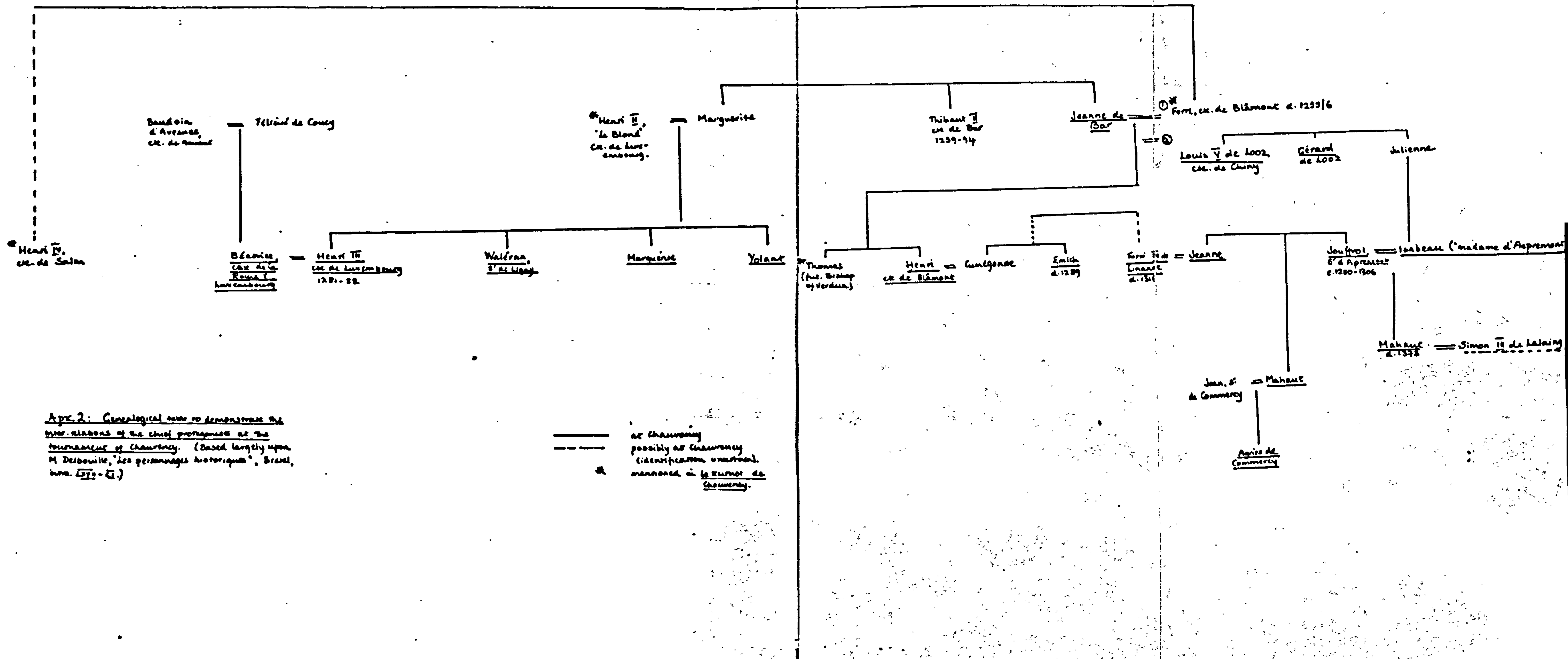
A) Dedens

Name	Fief(s)	Location	March of Arms	Allegiance	Source(s)
JEAN DE PRIE	Buzancois & Molins		Berry		Le B.
LE COMTE DE SANCERRE		Ch a. Bourges	Berry		
LE BACHELER DE SANCERRE		" " "	Berry		
HAIMON DE FAUCOGNEY		Mod. Faucogney-et-la-Mer HS a. Lure	Burgundy	B ^v	P. 772
ETIENNE D'OISELAY ¹	La Ville-Neuve ¹¹	i: mod. Oiselay-et-Grathaux HS a. Vesoul, c. Gy. ii: ?mod. com. La Villeneuve-Bellenoye-et-la-Maise, HS.	Burgundy	L-Lux. B ^v (1295, 1299, 1301)* Ms (1253)	Le B. 124; P. 653; Bretel, lxxxvi.
JEAN D'OISELAY	Flagey	?mod. Flagey HS a. Vesoul, c. Port-sur-Saône.	Burgundy	B ^v Faucogney ^v (1290), B ^v	Bretel, lxxxvi Bretel, lxxxvi-ii; P. 772.
MILLES DE ROMCHAM ¹		HS a. Lure, c. Champagne	Burgundy	L	Bretel, lxxxvi-ii; P. map of duchy & <u>mouvance féodale</u> , 776.
SIMON DE MONCLER ¹ (MS. Moncler)	Montclair ¹¹	i: Doubs, a. Besançon, c. Audeux; ii: e. bank of Sarre, n.w. Metz.	?Burgundy	Faucogney ^v (1290)	Bretel, lxxxviii.
SAINT-REMY (2 brothers)		?HS a. Vesoul, c. Amance	Burgundy	(Grouped with Burgundians)	Bretel, l. 361.
HUGUES DE NEGREZ			?Burgundy		
CONRAD WARNIER	Hastat	Hattstatt HR a. Guebwiller, c. Rouffach.	Ruyer		
CONRADIN WARNIER (son)	"	" " "	Ruyer		
RENAUT DE TRIE	Vauvain	Trie-Château O a. Beauvais, c. Chaumont-en-Vexin.	France	(Future marshal of France.)	Bretel, lxxxiii.
ANDRE D'AMANCE ¹	Bioncourt ¹¹	i: MN a. Nancy, c. Nancy-est; ii: M a. & c. Château-Salins	Lorraine	L ^v (1269)	P. 347, 773, 481, 616.
WICHART D'AMANCE	"	" " " "	Lorraine		
JOFFROI D'APREMONT ¹	Apremont & Dun	i: mod. Apremont-la-Forêt, a. Commercy, c. St-Mihiel	Lorraine	B ^v ; Mz ^v ; important source of French influence in the <u>Verdunois</u> B (senéchal of <u>conté</u>)	P. 386, 364, map of châteaux de Metz 13c. 482 ^{bis} , 762, cf. 92 ^{bis} 'La Base de la seigneurie d'Apremont'; Table 17 ^{bis} . G. de M. 438; P. map of Bar mouvance. Presumably cadet branch: cf. P. Table 21 (Pierre I fl. 1236, Liébaud III fl. 1255, 1303).
PIERRE DE BEAUFREMONT ¹ (1. 368)	Bulgnéville ¹¹	i: V a. & c. Neufchâteau; ii: V a. Neufchâteau;	Lorraine (?) (see opp.)		
PIERRE DE REMONVILLE (1. 3596)	Removille ¹¹¹	iii: V a. Neufchâteau, c. Châtenois	Burgundy		
(Assumed by Delbouille to be a single individual, viz. Pierre de Beaufremont, agr. de Removille and treated as such in all statistics in the text.)					
RAOUL DE BECHY ¹ (MS. Balasy)			Lorraine (?Chaspagne)		P. 772 (without specific proof); Bretel, xciv.
HENRI DE BLAMONT	Blamont	MM a. Lunéville	Lorraine	B-L (ducal senchal); Mz ^v ;	P..Table 23; G. de M. 392; P. 605 n.53;
HENRI DE BRIEY		MM a & c.	Lorraine	B ^v	Bretel, lxxxiii; G. de M. 368, 365; P. map B <u>mouvance & châteaux de Mz</u> ; Dic.top. Mes.39.
CURRI DE BRIEY		" "	Lorraine	B ^v (1275)	Bretel, lxxxiii.
FERRI DE CHARDOGNE	Chardogne	M a. Bar-le-Duc, c. Vavincourt	Lorraine		
LOUIS V, COMTE DE LOOZ ET DE CHINY	Montaëdy	M a. Verdun-sur-Meuse	Lorraine	B ^v (1270); V; (Mz (1277. [ag. B])	Bretel, lxxxiii; Dic. top. M, xxxix; P. 386; G. de M. 385.(n. 9)..(398).
EUSTACHE (Oxford MS.)/ HUE (Mons MS.) DE CONFLANS		Conflans-en-Jarnisy MM a. Briey	Lorraine	B (held by J. d'Esch; Lux. but B vassal here; see below. Castellan?)	P. 459, 608 ^{bis} (map of castle guard).
RAINIER DE CREUE		M a. Commercy, c. Vigneulles-lès-Hattonchâtel	Lorraine	pV-B ^v (temp. Thibaut II); Mz (1289)	Le B. no. 857; Bretel, xciv.
COLART DE CUMIERES		mod. Cumières-le-Mort-Homme M a. Verdun-sur-Meuse, c. Charny-sur-Meuse.	Lorraine	B ^v (1282)	Bretel, lxxxviii.

GERART DE LOOZ	Chauvency ¹ & Moiry ¹¹	i: mod. Chauvency-le-château M a. Verdun-sur-Meuse, c. Montmédy; ii: mod. Moiry a. Verdun-sur-Meuse, c. Dauvillers.	Lorraine			
BEKART DE MARZKI		mod. Maisey M a. Commercy, c. St-Mihiel	Lorraine	V-B		V castle: P. 514 ^{bis} ; Havet.
ROGER DE THERCY (MS. Mriessai)		MM a. Briey, c. Audun-le- Roman.	Lorraine?			P. 772 n. 68.
JEAN DE MURAUT			Lorraine	B; pV		P. 364, map B mouvance; freq. confusion w. Murvaux: <u>Dic.top. M.</u> , 162-3.
JOFFROI DE NEUVILLE		(a) Neuville-sur-Ormain M a. Bar-le-Duc, c. Revigny-sur- Ormain (b) La Neuville-sous-Coiffy? (Barrois fief)	Lorraine	B, B ^V (1310)		Bretel, lxxiv-v; Havet. (For J. as cadet, see P. 320 n. 46). P. 365. (Thos. de N. <u>châtelain de B.</u> 1265; P.359 - (a)/(b)?)
GUIART DE NEUVILLE		" " " "	Lorraine			
JEAN DE ROSIÈRES	La Malmaison	mod. Rosières-sux-Salines MM a. Nancy, c. St-Nicholas de Port	Lorraine	L Ducal <u>bailli</u> soon after 1285		P. 569, map of ducal <u>mouvance</u> , 773.
FERRI DE SIERCK		Sierck-les-Bains Mos. a. Thionville-Est	Lorraine	Mz ^V		P. 478 ^{bis} , map of <u>châteaux de Metz</u> .
ROBINET DE WATRONVILLE		M a. Verdun-sur-Meuse, c. Frennes-en-Woëvre	Lorraine	pV B		
AUBERS D'ORNE		M a. Verdun-sur-Meuse, c. Charny-sur Meuse	Lorraine	pV B		<u>Dic. top. M.</u> , 173; Havet.

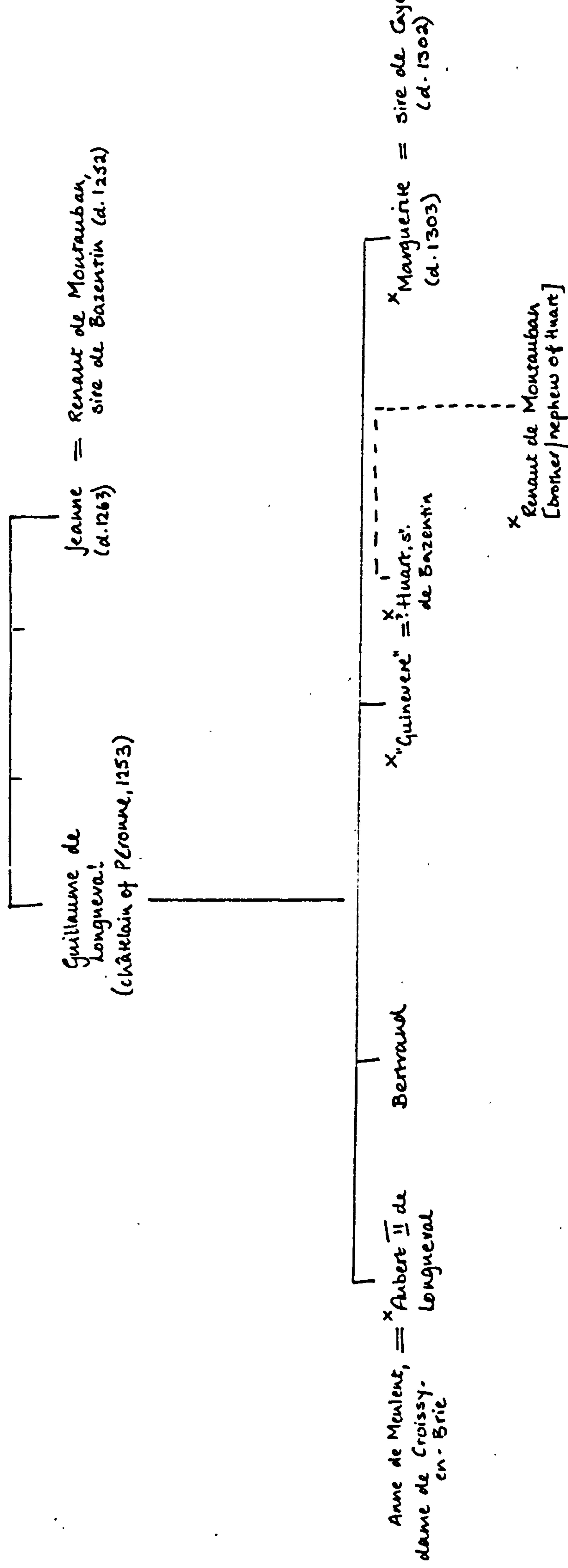
B) Dehors

Name	Fief(s)	Location	March of arms	Allegiance	Source(s)
HENRI III DE LUXEM- BOURG			Alemagne	Lux.	
WALERAN DE LUXEMBOURG	Ligny-en Barrois	M a. Bar-le-Duc	Alemagne (Lorraine)	Lux. ^V ; B ^V .	P. 794-b; Bretel, lxxviii.
CONON D'OUREN	Ouren (grand duchy of Luxembourg)		Alemagne	Lux. ^V (1290)	Bretel, xcii.
JOFFROI D'ESCH	Esch, & Conflans-en- Jarnisy	i: MM a. Briey	Alemagne?	B-Lux.-L	P. Table 28; Bretel, lxxix.
WALERAN DE FAULQUEMONT	Montjoie (Liabourg)		Hesbaye	Lux.	Bigot roll, 68.
LE CHATELAIN DE BERGUES		M a. Dunkerque	Picardy		Le B. 193 no. 1883.
PHILIPPE DE FLANDRE (Count of Flanders)			Flanders	pFrance	Le B.
BAULET DE FLECHIN (Simon, dit Baulet)		PC a. St-Omer, c. Fauquembergues	Artois?		Bretel, c.
WALTIER DE HONDSCHOOTE		M a. Dunkerque	Flanders?		
HUART DE BAZENTIN	Bazentin, Montauban, Ribécourt		Picardy	vFlanders as Ct. of Artois	Cf. <u>Le Hem</u> ; appendix 3.
BAUDUIN D'ABRECHICOURT		(Branch of the family of <u>chatelains</u> of Douai.)	Hainault	H	Cf. chap. 5; appendix 23.
FLORENT DE HAINAULT (Count of Hainault)			Hainault		
PASTRE DE LIGNE	Ligne	Belgium, province H, a. Tournai	Hainault	Eventually cte. de Corbell, baron de Lignes, sgr. d'Ollignies, Florenne etc. 1st mention 1280.	Le B pp no. 477; Bretel, xcvi.



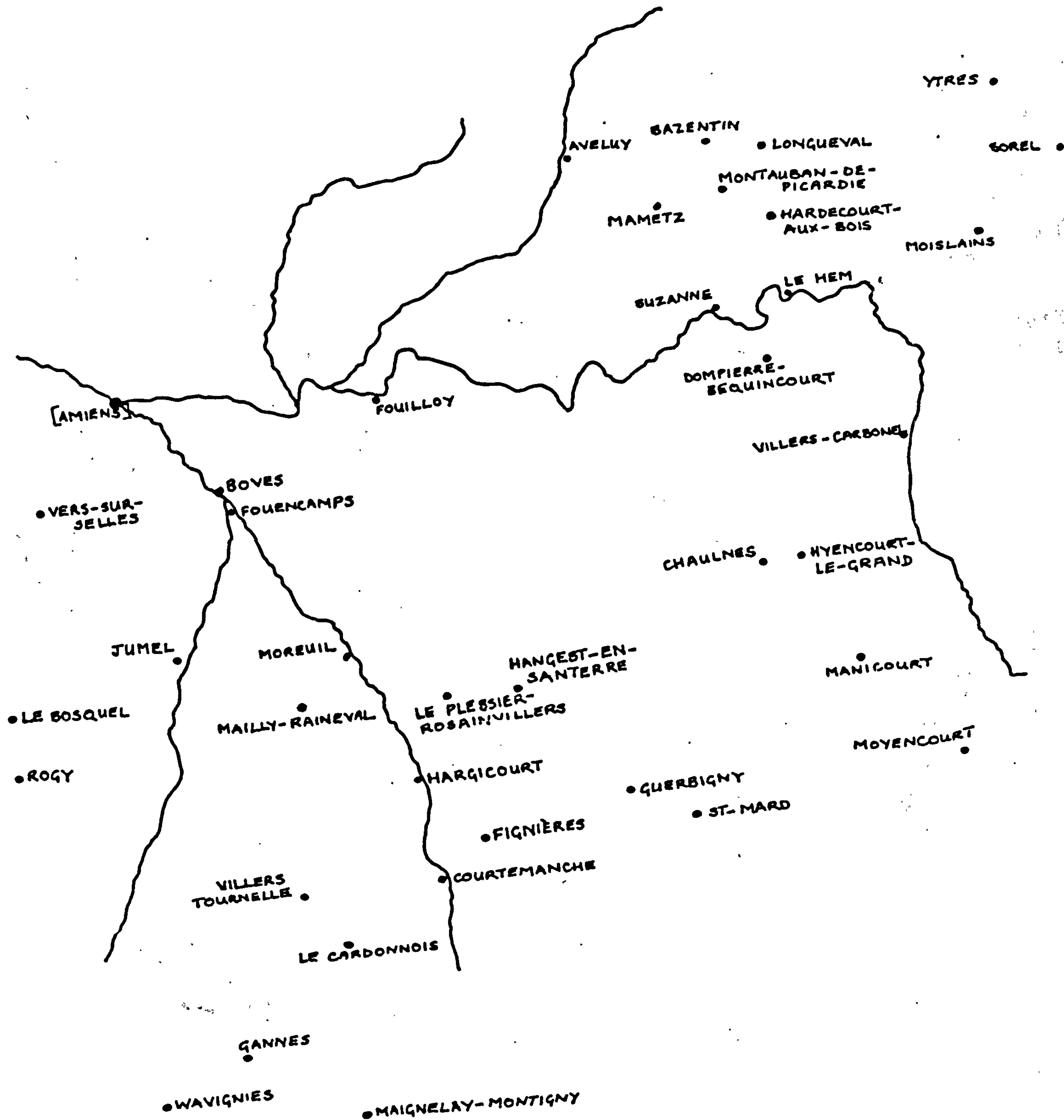
App. 2: Genealogical chart to demonstrate the inter-connections of the chief protagonists at the tournament of Chauvigny. (Based largely upon M. Delbouille, 'Les personnages historiques', Brézel, 1970-71.)

———— at Chauvigny
 - - - - possibly at Chauvigny (identification uncertain).
 * mentioned in the Summa de Chauvigny.

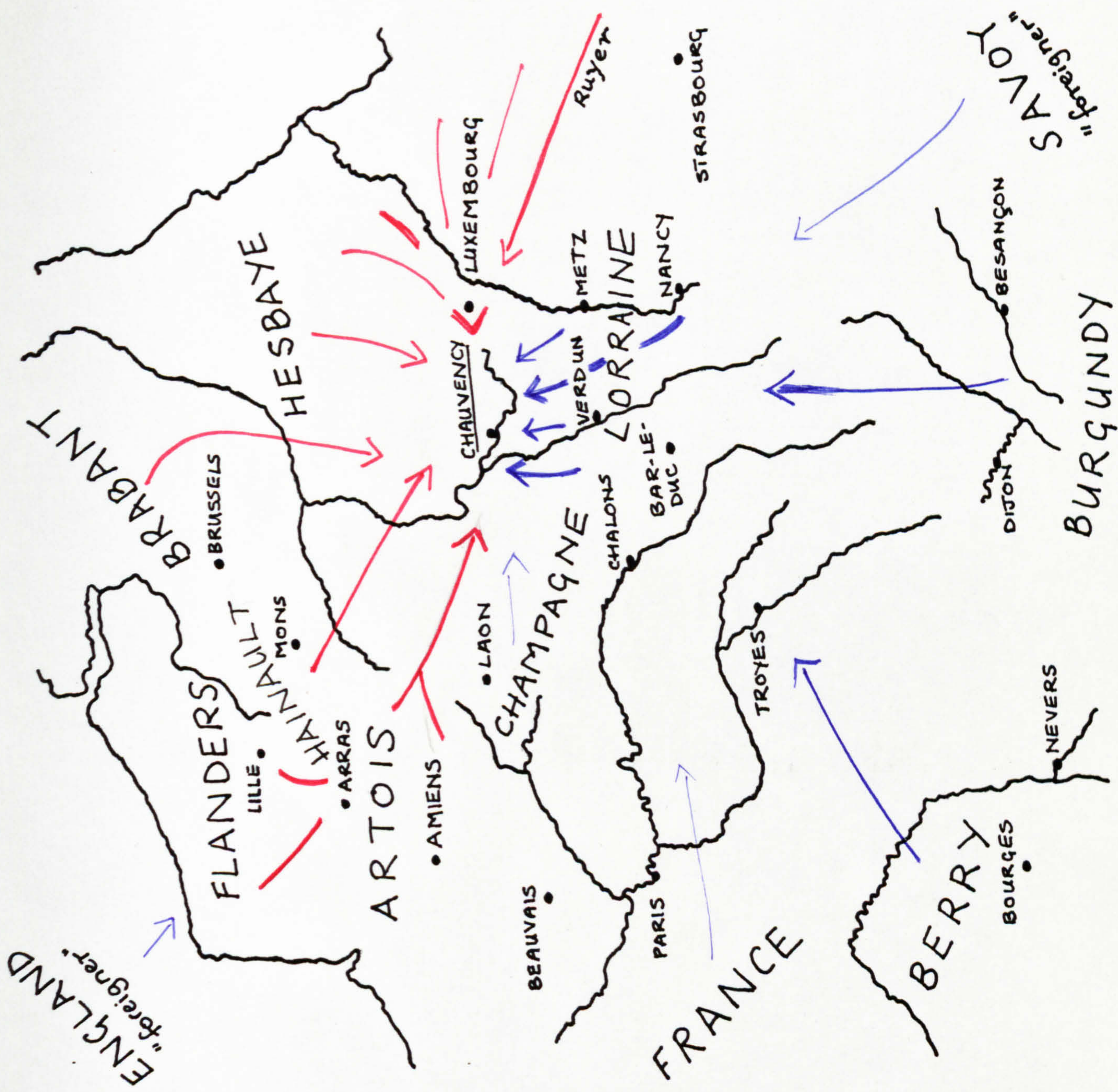


x = participant at feste of Le-Hem.

Appx. 3: Genealogical table to show the inter-relations of the Longueval and Bazentin families. (Based on Sarrasin, pp. lx-lxiv.)

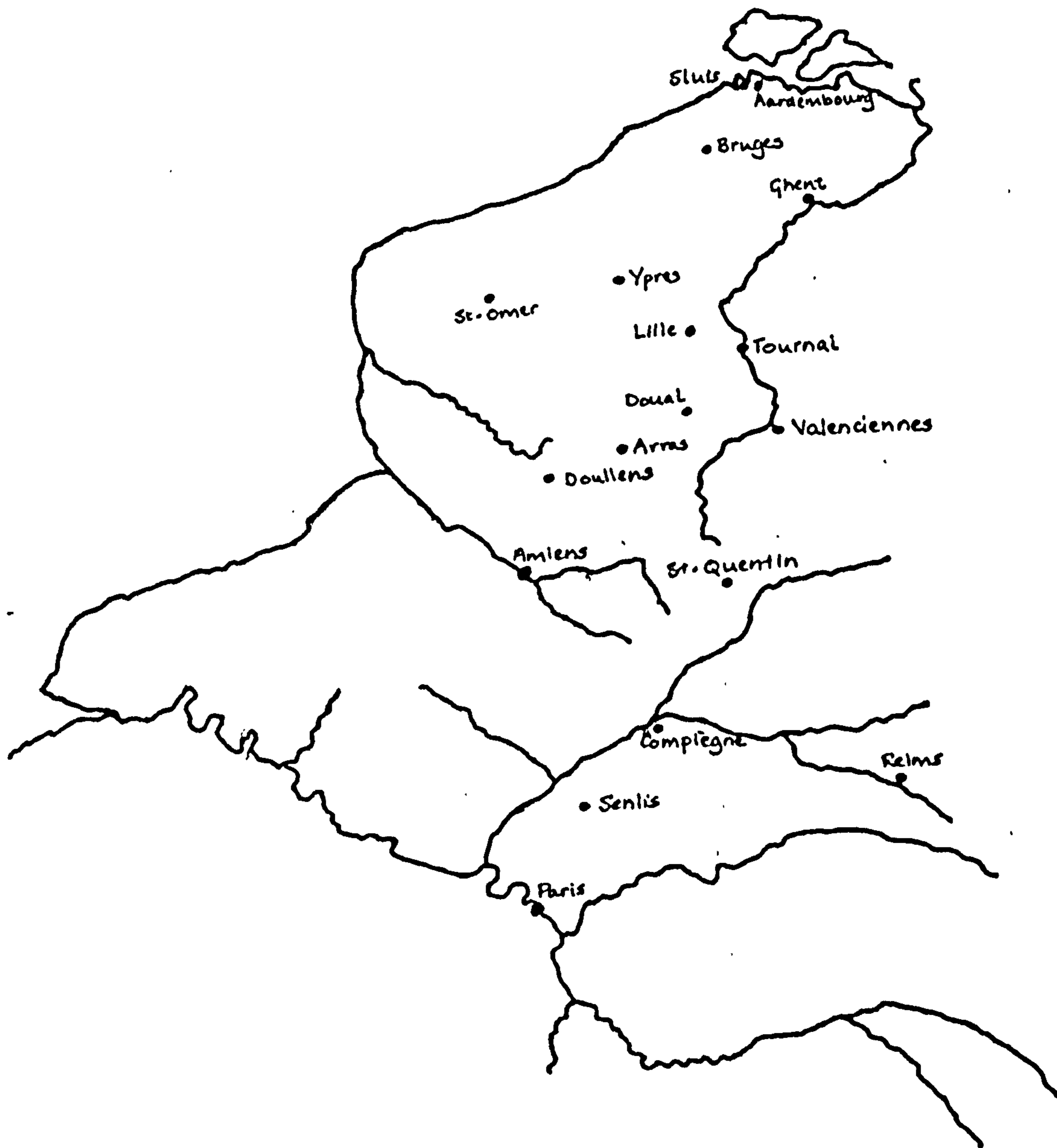


APPENDIX 4: SKETCH-MAP TO SHOW THE POSTULATED ORIGINS OF LOCAL KNIGHTS PARTICIPATING IN THE 'FESTE' HELD AT LE HEM (1278).



Key:
 — dedens team
 — dehors team

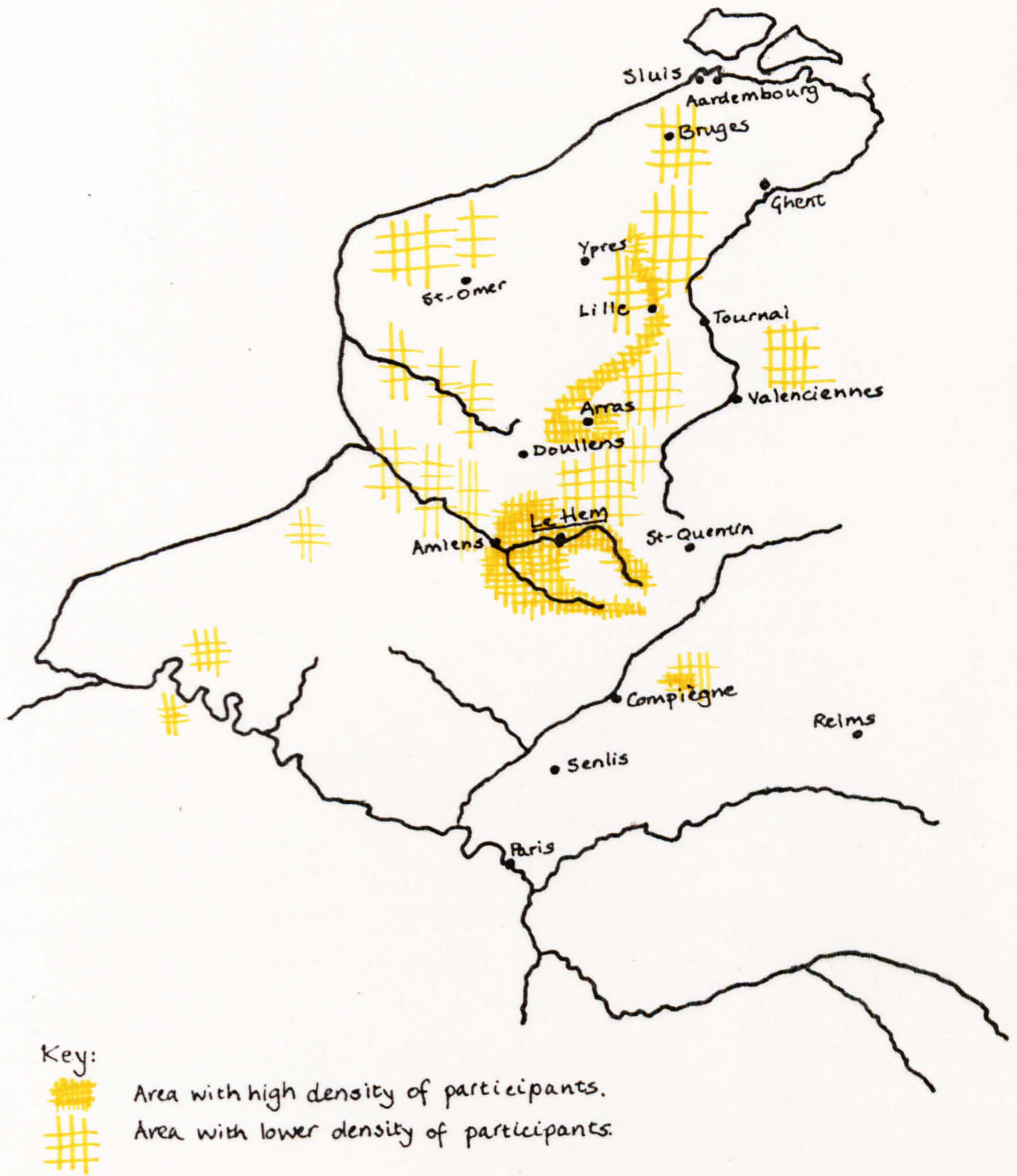
APPENDIX 6: MAP TO SHOW THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE COMPOSITION OF THE TOURNAMENT TEAMS AT CHAUVENCY AND THE GEOGRAPHICAL PROVENANCE OF THE PARTICIPATING KNIGHTS.



APPENDIX 7: MAP OF THE PRINCIPAL TOWNS IN NORTHERN FRANCE AND THE LOW COUNTRIES PARTICIPATING IN CNIC 'FESTES', LATE 13TH AND EARLY 14TH CENTURIES (BASED ON LILLE, B. MUN. MS. 730, pp. 23-7).



APPENDIX 8: MAP TO SHOW TOWNS NOTIFIED OF THE LILLOIS 'FESTE DE NOSTRE DAME' (1372); BASED ON LILLE A.MUN. 16.914/16.928 S.V. 'V EN JUING'.



APPENDIX 9: MAP TO SHOW APPROXIMATE DISTRIBUTION OF PARTICIPANTS AT THE LE HEM 'FESTE' IN RELATION TO THE PRINCIPAL TOWNS OF NORTHERN FRANCE AND THE LOW COUNTRIES.

Manuscript	Date	Liste	Entrées	Other (esp.)	T	Other contents
BN MS. fr. 10 469	16c	✓	-	Letters of Philip the Good, Charles V.	✓	Charles VI's <u>cour amoureuse</u> .
Valenciennes, b. mun. MS. 806	16c	✓	1435, 1438, 1442, 1447	'Discours temporel'	✓	See appendix 11; Philip le Bel's <u>gaige de bataille</u> (1306); misc. heraldic items.
Lille, Université MS. 104	16/ 17c	✓	-	-	-	<u>Pas d'armes</u> of Philippe de Lalaing; misc. genealogical items (incl. Hangouart family).
Tournai, b. cent. MS. 222 (destroyed May 1940).	16/ 17c	✓	-	-	✓	Cf. appendix 11.
Lille, b. mun. MS. 440 ('Vepracularia')	17c	✓	1435	General comments	-	Genealogical details re Hangouart family.
Cambrai, b. mun. MS. D. 872	17c	1283 -6	1435, 1438, 1442, 1447.	'Discours temporel'	✓	Cf. appendix 11; misc. genealogies.
Douai, b. mun. MS. ('Vepracularia') (destroyed in World War I).	17c.	✓	? - { very sparse catalogue entry	? 'Discours temporel'?	-	?
Lille, b. mun. MS. 466 ('Vepracularia')	1706	✓	1435, 1438, 1442, 1447, 1479	Letter of Philip the Good; various extracts	-	<u>Forestiers de Bruges</u> ; 1320-1481.
Brussels, BR MS. 14 935	18c	✓	-	'Discours temporel'	-	Cf. appendix 11; Philip le Bel's <u>gaige de bataille</u> (1306).

Abbreviations:

Liste

entrées

other (esp.)

T

liste des rois de l'espinette

entrées at the feste de l'espinette

other items relating to the feste de l'espinette

feste des 31 rois, Tournai (1331)

APPENDIX 10: PRINCIPAL MSS. OF THE 'FESTE DE L'ESPINETTE'.

Manuscripts	Date	AG	Tournai 1331	G. A	Provenance	Other contents
Cambrai, b. mun. MS. B. 888	c. 1460	✓	-	✓		Incl. Eng. armorial (c. 1360); armorial of Round Table knights.
BN MS. fr. 18 561	15c.	✓	-	✓		Misc. heraldic treatises.
Cambrai, b. mun. MS. 890	15c/ e16c	-	Armorial section only. No expli- cit reference.	-	Commisioned by Artus fam- ily of Lille.	None.
BN MS. fr. 10 469	16c.	-	✓	-		<u>Espinette</u> ; <u>cour amoureuse</u> of Charles VI.
Valenciennes, b. mun. MS. 806	16c.	-	✓	-		<u>Espinette & entrées</u> ; Compiègne etc.
Tournai, b. cent. MS. 222 (destroy- ed 1940)	16/ 17c	-	✓	-	Copy of Schohier MS.	<u>Espinette</u> ; Compiègne etc.
Cambrai, b. mun. MS. D. 872	17c	-	✓	-		<u>Espinette (1283-6) & entrées</u> ; Compiègne etc.
Lille, b. mun. MS. 730	18c	-	✓	-	Copy of Schohier MS.	'Théâtre généalogique de la nob- lesse de Flandre' incl. regional <u>nobiliaire</u> .
Lille, b. mun. MS. 491	18c	-	Incomplete	-		'Annales de la Flandre gallicane'; misc. re regional nobility; her- aldic treatises.

Abbreviations:

AG Armorial of Galehaut and the 30 kings
G. A General armorial

APPENDIX 11: MSS. OF THE GALEHAUT ARMORIAL TRADITION AND THE 1331 TOURNAI 'FESTE'.

APPENDIX 12: SOME PATRICIAN FAMILIES OF TOURNAI PARTICIPATING IN THE 'FESTE' OF 1331.

Abbreviations: I.S.-P. Tournai, Inventaire d'archives paroissiales de la ville et de l'arrondissement de Tournai, ed. . Wymans, I (Brussels, 1970), pp. 37-77 (Saint-Piat).
Reg. 'Extraits des anciens registres des consaux de la ville de Tournai, 1385-1422', ed. H. Vandebroek, Mém. de la soc. hist. et litt. de Tournai, vii (1861).
Mag. obit. 'La Magistrate tournaise', Mém. de la soc. hist. et litt. de Tournai, éd. H. Vandebroek, x (1871).
 Pious foundations, including chantry chapels.

<u>Family</u>	<u>Appendix 13 no(s).</u>	<u>Individuals recorded</u>	<u>Source</u>
Hellems	2, 19	Sire Jean de Hellems, <u>prévôt</u> (1393) <u>deputé devers le roi</u> (1394) Jacques de Hélesmes } <u>obits</u> (1408-52) Henry de Hélesmes } Marie Vilain, wife of Henry } Jacques de Hellems, <u>juré</u> } fils du feu Henry, receiver general (1409) Marc de Hélesmes, <u>obit</u> (1483)	<u>Reg.</u> , pp. 15,24 " p. 20 I.S.-P. no. 263 <u>Reg.</u> , p. 51 " p. 75 I.S.-P. no. 264
Le Musis	23	Jean le Musis, <u>obit</u> (1402) Sire Pierre le Muisit (<u>fl.</u> 1388) <u>ewarder</u> (1393) (1419) <u>deputé @ Arras</u> (1420)	I.S.-P. no. 455 <u>Reg.</u> , p. 6 " p. 15 " p. 190 " p. 219

Family	Appendix 13 no(s).	Individuals recorded	Source
Vilain	3, 15, 17	<p>Libert Vilain (fl. 1321)</p> <p>Catherine Villaine, obit (1361-1422)</p> <p>Pierre Villain, receiver general (1393-1408)</p> <p>" " notable bourgeois (1406)</p> <p>Jeanne Villaine, wife of Jean Le Muisit (q.v.), obit, confrérie de N.-D. au choeur (1402)</p> <p>Miquiel Vilain (fl. 1420)</p> <p>Sire Marc Vilain, prévôt, obit, confrérie de N.-D. au choeur (1339-1449)</p> <p>land and property transactions (1409, 1412, 1413)</p> <p>juré (1396)</p> <p>deputé @ Paris (1403)</p> <p>prevôt (1411)</p> <p>request for discharge from duties because of old age and infirmity (1420)</p> <p>role as civic representative</p> <p>Members as 16th-c. magistrates</p>	<p>I.S.-P. no. 768</p> <p>I.S.-P. no. 308</p> <p>Reg., p. 15</p> <p>" p. 71</p> <p>" p. 62</p> <p>I.S.-P. no. 455</p> <p>Reg., p.219</p> <p>I.S.-P. nos. 457-</p> <p>I.S.-P. nos. 824-7</p> <p>Reg., p. 27</p> <p>" p. 54</p> <p>" p. 84</p> <p>" pp. 196-9</p> <p>" pp. 62-3, 115, 209</p> <p>Mag., pp. 142-3</p>
Du Porch	5	<p>Jehan and Jacquemin Au Porch, minors, grandchildren of Nicholas Villain Au Porch and Marie (1301)</p> <p>Sire Jacques dou Puch, canon of Séclin (fl. 1374)</p>	<p>I.S.-P. no. 760</p> <p>I.S.-P. no. 804</p>

Family	Appendix 13 no(s).	Individuals recorded	Source
Wettin	8, 9	Jean Wettins (<u>fl. 1344-57</u>)	I.S.-P. no. 787
		Watier Wettin, <u>juré (1402)</u> (1420)	<u>Reg.</u> p. 51 " p. 219
		Agnès Wettin, will (1408)	I.S.-P. no. 822
		Sire Jehan Wettin, <u>échevin (1396)</u>	<u>Reg.</u> p. 27 " p. 42
		<u>chef de consaux (1398)</u>	" p. 54
		<u>deputé devers le chancelier de Bourgogne (1403)</u> <u>deputé auprès du duc de Bourgogne (1406)</u> <u>prévôt (1414)</u> <u>deputé @ Arras (1419)</u>	" p. 62 " p. 115 " p. 190
Mouton	4, 10	Gilles Mouton (<u>fl. 1318</u>)	I.S.-P. no. 765
		Gilles Mouton, <u>fils (fl. 1326)</u>	" no. 311
		Catherine Mouton, widow of Jean Vilain (d. c. 1408)	" no. 2
		Sire Michel Mouton, <u>ewardeur (1393)</u> <u>prévôt (1402)</u>	<u>Reg.</u> p. 24 " p. 51
		Jehan Mouton as 16th-c. magistrate	<u>Mag.</u> p. 138
Darre	6	Sire Henry Dare, <u>prévôt (1393, 1396)</u>	<u>Reg.</u> pp. 15, 35
		Henri Dare, <u>juré (1402, 1403)</u>	" pp. 51, 55 n.1
		Jacques Dare as 16th-c. magistrate	<u>Mag.</u> p. 117

APPENDIX 13: COMPARISON OF THE NAMES OF THE THIRTY-ONE KINGS IN (A) THE ARMORIAL TRADITION (CAMBRAI, B. MUN. MS. B. 888) AND (B) THE RECORDS OF 1331, WITH THE IDENTITY OF THE TOURNAI PARTICIPANTS (BN MS. FR. 10 469).

No.	Name of participant, 1331	Fictitious identity, 1331	Armorial tradition
1.	Jacques de Cobry	Le Roy Galehot	Gallehalt
2.	Guillaume de Hellemmes	Le Roy Pelez du Castel perilleux	Pelles du chastel pereilleux
3.	Collart Villain	Le Roy Glines pere Kalogrenant	Glines pere galofrenant
4.	Jacquet Mouton, <u>filz</u> Gillon	Le Roy Bannenoit, Banst de Bonence, Barbenech, Banst de Bonence, Baudenicq; (Lille, b. mun. MS. 730: Bault de Bonence; Valenciennes, b. mun. MS. 806: Baudenicq).	Bans de Benoit
5.	Guillaume du Porch	Le Roy Boort de Gaines	_____
6.	Vincent Dare	Le Roy Lyonniaux	Lyonneaux
7.	Jehan Payen	Le Roy Baudemagu de Gore	Baudemagu de Gorre
8.	Henry Wettyn	Le Roy Godenore gande	Gandenoir
9.	Jehan Wettyn	Le Roy de Cornuaille	Mars de Cornuaille
10.	Jacques Mouton, <u>dit</u> Finars	Le Roy Abillars de Carmelide	Abillas de Carmelide
11.	Jacques d'Avelin	Le Roy Erech	Erech
12.	Pierron Waudripont	Le Roy Boort d'Irlande	Boors d'Irlande
13.	Jean de Colissen / Cossenbre	Le Roy Hamel de Bretagne	Hammeaux de Bretagne

No. Name of participant, 1331 Fictitious identity, 1331 Armorial tradition

14.	Pierre Nechure	Le Roy de cent cheualliers	Le Roy de cent chevaliers
15.	Michel Vilain	Le Roy Claudas de Gaulle	Claudias de Gaulle
16.	Jean de Sottenghien	Le Roy Glinet le petit	Ghiuers le petit
17.	Jacquemon le Will (. . .) Jacquem (. . .) le villain li biert	Le Roy Pellenos de Listelos [sic] Pelinons.	Pelinos de listenois
18.	Jehan Thiebegod, Thiebegot	Le Roy Carad(o)s Bombas, Caradcs Bribas	Carados bribas
19.	Jean de Hellemmes	Le Roy Abilacq de Constantinople	Abillars empereur de constantinoble
20.	Godefroy d'Orcques	Le Roy Tenor de la haulte riuere	Thenoy's de la haulte riuere
21.	Gossun du Mortier	Le Roy descoche	Le Roy descoche
22.	Jean d'Anthoing	Le Roy Galegant in	Gallogantins
23.	Jean le Musis	Le Roy Urien, (Tournai, b. cent. MS. 222; Li roys Urin pere a monseigneur Yelbain).	Urien pere a saint yuain
24.	Jacques Ricoirs	Le Roy de Brangore	Brangores de gheulle
25.	Jehan Prevost	Le Roy Claudas de la deserte	Claudias de la deserte
26.	Jehan Warlison	Le Roy Lach de roche lisse	Lach de roche bise [c-brise?]

No. Name of participant, 1331 Fictitious identity, 1331 Armorial tradition

- | | | | |
|-----|------------------|--|------------------------------|
| 27. | Jehan Gargatte | Le Roy Sibor de la rouge montaigne;
(Valenciennes, b. mun. MS 806;
Silor etc.; Tournai, b. cent. MS.
222; Sitor etc.) | Silor de la rouge montaigne |
| 28. | Pierre Cent Mars | Le Roy de Norgalles | _____ |
| 29. | Jacques Gargatte | Hamel de Nantes | _____ |
| 30. | Colart Bourlines | Locq dorcanie | Locq dorcanie |
| | _____ | _____ | Le roy pere a Clifflet [sic] |

APPENDIX 14: SELECTIVE COMPARISON OF ARMS AT THE 1331 TOURNAI 'FESTE' AND IN THE
 GALEHAUT ARMORIAL AND 'DEVISE' TRADITIONS.

Name	Devise tradition (Lille, b. mun. MS. 329)	Tournai 1331 record (Valenciennes, b. mun. MS. 806)	Galehaut armorial tradition (Cambrai, b. mun. MS. B. 888)
------	--	--	--

Galehaut	Argent, a lion gules armed sinople, semé of stars azure.	Azure, semé of crowns or.	Azure, fifteen crowns or.
Glines	_____	Azure, two griffons' heads or; on a canton argent, a crown gules.	Azure, two griffons' heads or; a canton gules.
Lionel	Argent, on three bends gules, nine stars sable.	Argent, semé of lions rampant gules.	Azure, semé of lioncells passant gules.
Baudemagu	Gules, three gloves argent.	Vert, semé of crowns or. (BN MS. fr. 10 469; sinople, semé of crowns or.)	Vert, three crowns or.
Pelleus du chastel perilleux	_____	Vairy, three crosses or.	Vert, three crosses argent.
Ban de Bancoic	Argent, three bends gules.	Argent, three bends gules.	Argent, three bends gules.
Boort de Gaunes	Ermine, three bends gules.	Or, three bends gules.	_____

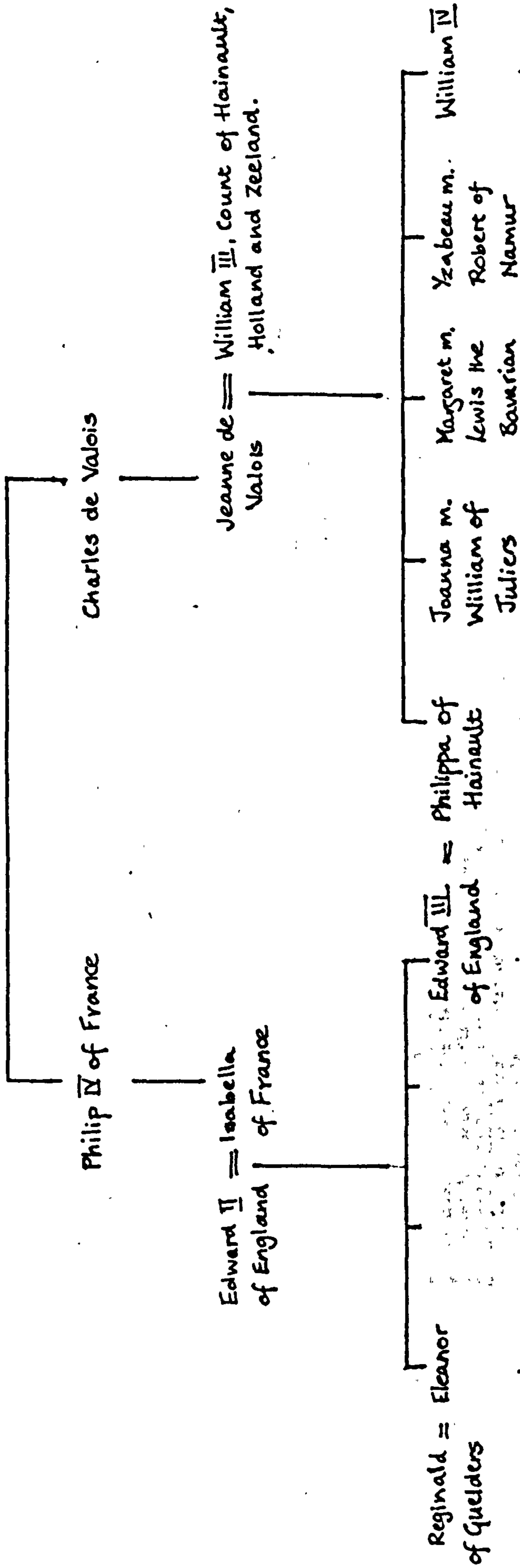
Manuscript reference	Date	C	M	T	Esp	I	K	G	A	Gh	Provenance etc.
Vienna, Ost. Nat'bib. Cod. 3297	1405	✓	✓				✓	✓			Written by Beyeren, Gelre King of Arms.
Valenciennes, b. mun. MS. 806	16c.	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	In Dille until 1835.
Hesdin, b. mun. MS. 2	1582	✓	✓					✓			Copy of original at Liège of canon mgr. de Wachtendonck.
Tournai, b. cent. MS. 222	16/ 17c.	✓	✓	✓	✓						Destroyed in May 1940.
Cambrai, b. mun. MS. D. 872	17c.	✓	✓	✓	1293 -6	✓	✓	✓	✓		
Besançon, b. mun. MS. Chifflet 186	17c.	✓	✓								
Avignon, b. mun. MS. 2048	1757	✓	✓					✓			Copied at Ghent.
Brussels, BR MS. 14 935		✓	✓		✓						

Abbreviations:

C tournament of Compiègne (1238)
M tournament of Mons (1310)
T 'jouste des 31 roys', Tournai (1331)
Esp 'liste des rois de l'espinette', Lille
I tournament at Ingelheim/Rh. (1337)

K those on the Kunere (Frisia), (1396)
G those before Gorinchem (1402)
A tournament of Arras (1430)
B marriage jousts and tournament at
Besançon (1440)
Gh tournament at Ghent (1469)

APPENDIX 15: PRINCIPAL MANUSCRIPTS OF THE TOURNAMENTS AT COMPIEGNE (1238) AND MONS (1310),
SHOWING THE INTER-RELATIONS OF RECORDS OF SIMILAR EVENTS.



APPENDIX 16: GENEALOGICAL TABLE TO SHOW THE INTER-RELATIONS OF THE RULING HOUSES OF HAINAULT AND ENGLAND.

Title	EB	MC	TL ex.	RM	JB	NS	JM	WL	RS	Isabella	'Summa' of stock	Details of stock
Romances	4	4	3	4	1	2	2	14 ¹	4	9 Renard 'De Meraugys et Sado' 'De heremitis' De historiis Normannorum Vegetius: De arte militiae 'Les Prologes de Gales' 'De veteri testamento' Perceval 'Guy et Gueri [sic]'. } 2	59	23 books of romances, large and small, bound in boards. 12 pieces of romances, bound and unbound, in quires. 11 pieces of romances. 1 romance 'De Anglia et Scotia'. Tresor Eracles (2 copies) 'Reymond'.
Books of surgery	3											1 book; various quires,
De regimine principum												1 book containing 11 unbound quires.
Testamentum regis Henrici				1							1	
Britton/Brut				4							15*	
Bestiary				1							1	
Law books												
Mapa mundi												
Notes												

11 released to Master William de Weston (16 June, 1 Edw. III).

4 rolls released 'ad opus regis' (28 June, 12 Edw. III).

1 14 diverse romances for Edward II.

2 Issued to Thomas de Usflete, clerk, by command of the queen.

3 Raymond of Toulouse? I have been unable to identify this work.

4 'De Britton in latino' in list of issues; 'De Brittonibus in latino' in sub-total.

5 'De Erioton' in 2 vols.

* Bound together.

Abbreviations:

- EB issued to Lady Elizabeth de Burgh (17 Feb., 1 Edw. III).
MC " Margaret, Countess of Cornwall (17 Feb., 1 Edw. III).
TL ex. " the executors of the will of Thomas, late Earl of Cornwall (14 Mar., 1 Edw. III).
RM Roger Mortimer, by the hands of Walter de Lingeigne, Canon of Wigmore and Walter de Evesham, clerk (19 Feb., 1 Edw. III).
JB issued to John Bohun, Earl of Hereford, by the hand of R. de Pertenhale, clerk (4 Mar., 1 Edw. III).
NS Nicholas de Stapeltone, knight (12 Aug., 2 Edw. III).
JM John Montgomery (28 Feb., 4 Edw. III).
WL William de Langelegh, clerk of the king's household (12 Mar., 20 Edw. II [sic]).
Isabella Isabella, late Queen of England (5 Mar., 1 Edw. III).

APPENDIX 18

(a) BOOKS AND (b) PANEL PAINTINGS IN THE POSSESSION OF QUEEN
ISABELLA ON HER DEATH IN 1352 (E101/393/4, E101/333/29).

(a) Queen Isabella's books.

(i) liturgical and devotional volumes.

E101/333/29 'De capella'.

j grad[u]ale de usu francie; sine precio.

j portiforium de usu fratrum minorum; sine precio.

j librum de vita sancte katerine; sine precio.

E101/393/4, fos. 6^v - 9^v.

Tria missalia de usu sarum; 4 l.

Due missalia de usu fratrum minorum, unde .j. missale in
precio xxs., j missale sine precio.

Unum portiforium de usu sarum; 40 s.

Due antiphonalia.

Due grad[u]alia.

Unum grad[u]ale de usu fratrum minorum; sine precio.

Unum portiforium de usu fratrum minorum.

Unum martologium; 6 s. 8d.

Unum grad[u]ale de usu francie coopertum cum coreo albo.

Unum ordinale de usu paris'.

Unus liber matutinarum beate marie.

Unus liber de ymageria. [More probably a devotional than a
secular work.]

Una biblia in gallicis in duobus voluminibus.

Apocalipsis in gallicis viz de vitis patrum.

(ii) secular books.

E101/393/4, fo. 8^r.

Libri romanizati.

Unus liber qui vocatur Tresor et Bruyt in fine.

Unus magnus liber coopertus cum coreo albo de gestis Arthuri.

Unus liber cons' de sanguine regali.

Unus liber de Tristram et Isolda.

Unus liber romanizatus de Duce de Basyns.

Unus liber cons' de Emery et [sic] Nerbon.

Unus liber cons' de Perceual et Gauwayn.

Unus liber cons' de bello troiano.

Unus liber cons' de Baudrous.

Unus liber cons' de Oviel [Oniel?] in gallic'.

(b) Queen Isabella's panel paintings.

E101/333/29 'De capella'.

Unam tabulam de vij foliis depictis; 60 s.

Unam tabulam depictam de vj foliis; 60s.

Unam tabulam depictam de iiij foliis; 40 s.

Unam tabulam depictam de iij foliis cum ymagine beate marie;
26 s. 8 d.

E101/393/4, fos. 6^r, 10^r.

Tres tabule depicte unde j de vij foliis, 100 s.; j de iiij
foliis, 13 s 4 d.; et tercia de iij foliis.

Tres tabule de opere Lombardorum.

Unam tabulam de facie veronice.

APPENDIX 19

SELECTED LIST OF THE JEWELS OF HENRY OF DERBY, LENT TO
EDWARD III IN 1340 AS SECURITY FOR A LOAN (E36/203, P. 320).

Adhuc recepta jocalium.

Jocalia comitis Derbiae accomdata regi ad inuadiandum pro rege et liberata Willielmo de North[well].

- J. leo auri cum .v. rubeis baleis et .iiij. saphiris orientalibus grossis pulverizatus de rubeis et eymeraldis et grossis perlis integer sine defectu.
- Item .j. deus amoris auri de rubeis et emeraldis et grossis perlis integer sine defectu.
- Item .j. castellectum de auro cum .iiij. grossis emeraldis electis et de minutis rubeis et .iiij. grossis perlis et xxvij. perlis orientalibus.
- Item .j. Tristram et Isolda de auro et rubeis et emeraldis et perlis orientalibus electis et .iiij. grossis emeraldis.
- Item .j. castellectum de auro et montan' de .j. grosso perlo rubeis et emeraldis electis et campo aymellato.
- Item .j. nucha auri de rubeis et emeraldis et perlis electis orientalibus et ij ymaginibus.
- Item .j. nucha auri de Sancto Eustachio¹ de rubeis et emeraldis.
- Item .j. alia nucha de .j. losenga cum magno saphiro de armis ffrancio.
- Item .j. nucha ad modum losenge cum .iiij. emeraldis et .iiij. perlis orientalibus et cum .j. baleis' in medio.
- .j. nucha ad modum .y. cum .iiij. deamantis et .iiij. emeraldis et .xv. grossis perlis.
- .j. nucha auri de rubeis et emeraldis in medio .j. montana de .j. grosso perlo et super montanam .j. domicella et .j. leo.
- .j. nucha auri facta ad modum foliorum de rubeis et emeraldis et de .vj. perlis et .j. perlo grosso in medio.
- .j. nucha auri cum .j. baleis' coronata et .iiij. emeraldis et .xij. perlis electis.
- .j. nucha auri ad modum k cum .j. ymagine de domina nostra infra de rubeis et emeraldis et .xv. perlis orientalibus.
- .j. nucha auri cum .j. castellecto .iiij. rubeis .iiij. emeraldis et .ix. perlis orientalibus.
- Una .m. de rubeis et emeraldis et .vj. perlis orientalibus cum .ij. ymaginibus infra.

¹ Cf. figures of the soldier saints Mercurius and Eustace in the St Stephen's, Westminster wall paintings: see Topham, St Stephen's, Westminster, p. 22, pl. xxviii.

APPENDIX 20: SOME OF THE TOURNAMENTS HELD IN ENGLAND, 1327-55.

No.	Date.	Place.	Purpose.
1	1 Edw. III	Northampton	
2.	1 Edw. III	York	Possibly connected with Edward III's marriage.
3	Feb. 1328	Blyth	
4	May 1328 (3 weeks)	London	Entry of Queen Philippa into London.
5	Early June 1328 (soon after the feast of the Trinity).	Hereford	Marriage of Mortimer's daughters to the son of the Lord Marshal and John of Hasting's heir.
6	2 Edw. III	Coventry	
7	2 Edw. III	Exeter	
8	2 Edw. III	Bristol	
9.	[5-7 Mar.] 1329	Guildford	[Pre-Lent celebration.]
10	c. 1st week June 1329	Amiens	Honage by Edward III to Philip VI.
11	[Summer 1329]	Newmarket	
12	8-12 Oct. 1329	Dunstable	
13	2 May 1331	Dartford	On the king's return from France.
14	16-19 June 1331	Stepney	[1st birthday of Edward of Woodstock.]
15	22-5 Sep. 1331	Cheapside	
16	[July 1332]	[Woodstock]	[Churching of Queen Philippa; baptism of Isabella.]
17	1334	Burstwick	[Whitsun.]
18	[10-17 July] 1334	Nottingham	
19a	1333/4	?	
19b	1333/4	Smithfield	Celebration in the capital of military successes in Scotland.
20	[? Dec.] 1338	Antwerp	[Churching of Queen Philippa; baptism of Lionel.]
21	1st week Nov. 1339	Brussels	Return from <u>chevauchée</u> .
22	c. Easter (April 16) 1340	Windsor	[Easter.]
23	[? beg. Oct.] 1340	Ghent	Return from the siege of Tournai; truce of Esplechin.
24	Betw. 9 & 15 Dec. 1340	Le Eure	
25	2nd part of Feb. 1341	Norwich	[Pre-Lent celebration.]
26	June 1341	Langley	Churching of Queen Isabella; baptism of Edmund.
27	Christmas 1341	Melrose	Christmas; mid-Anglo-Scots campaign.
28	Christmas 1341	Roxburgh	As no. 27.
29	Early 1342	Berwick	Immediately after Anglo-Scots truce.
30	11 Feb. 1342	Dunstable	After conclusion of Anglo-Scots truce; [pre-Lent festivity.] Betrothal of Lionel of Antwerp.
31	14 Apr. 1342	Northampton	

Individuals known to have attended.

Lord Berkeley.

Lord Berkeley.

Henry of Grosmont; his brother-in-law, the Earl of Ulster.

William of Hainault. William of Juliers, le sire d'Enchien; a great number of lords, earls, barons, knights and ladies.

Lord Berkeley;
Edward III, Queen Isabella.

Lord Berkeley.

Lord Berkeley.

Lord Berkeley.

Lord Berkeley;
Edward III, Geoffrey le Scrope.

Edward III, Philip VI.

Geoffrey le Scrope

Edward III, Queens Philippa and Isabella, Henry le Scrope, the great lords of the kingdom.

Edward III, William Clinton (capitaneus).

Edward III, Robert de Horley (capitaneus), Earl Marshal, 23 other knights, over 50 squires.

Edward III, his sister Eleanor, Queen Philippa, William Montacute (capitaneus). Total 12-16 knights against all-comers. Henry of Grosmont, William Blount (Lancastrian retainer), 60 squires; many noble ladies.

Edward III, Henry of Grosmont, household knights etc.

Edward III.

Edward III.

Edward III.

Edward III.

Edward III; German, Hainault and other allied nobles.

Edward III.

Edward III.

Henry of Grosmont.

Edward III.

Edward III.

Licensed by Edward III; participants on both sides killed.

Henry of Grosmont with his knights; William Douglas with 3 other Scots knights (jousts of war).

Henry of Grosmont with [11] Lancastrian knights incl. John Twyford (who was killed); 12 Scottish knights (of whom 2 were killed).

Edward III (as miles simplex), Derby, Warwick, Northampton, Pembroke, Suffolk, barons, 236 knights (almost all the armed youth of England). No foreigners.
Queen Philippa, Lionel and his brothers and sisters.

Edward III, Queen Philippa, John of Beaumont (killed), many nobles (wounded), 8 chamber knights, 22 household squires.

Source(s).

Smyth, I, p. 325.

Smyth, I, p. 325.

DL41/9/1 m. 18.

Froissart (L), I, pp. 76, 287.

Smyth, I, p. 325;
Muriuth, p. 57.

Smyth, I, p. 325.

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Smyth, I, p. 325; E361/3;
Scrope-Grosvenor, p. 133.

Chronographia, II, p. 12; Récits, p. 153 (cit. D'apres

Scrope-Grosvenor, p. 133.

E101/384/14; Scrope-Grosvenor, p. 133.

Annales Paulini, p. 352; Muriuth, p. 63.

Annales Paulini, pp. 353-4.

Annales Paulini, p. 354; Muriuth, p. 63; Walsingham Hist. Ang., I, p. 193; Fridlington chronicler, p. 102; Fowler, The King's lieutenant, p. 28.

BL Cotton MS Galba E. III, fos. 175^v-176^r, 183^r, 183^v;
DL40/1/11, fo. 52^v

E101/386/15.

E101/386/15.

E101/386/1^r.
Annales Paulini, p. 361.

E101/388/11.

Chronographia, II, p. 85; E101/388/11.

E101/388/11.

E101/388/11.

DL25/983.

Foedera, II, 11, p. 146; E101/388/11.

E101/388/11.

Muriuth, p. 123.

Knighton, II, p. 23.

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Muriuth, pp. 123-4; Baker, p. 75.

E101/389/14.

Muriuth, p. 124; E101/389/14.

32	c. 9 May 1342	Eltham	Visit of Queen Philippa's brother, William; Ascension.
33	24-7 June 1343	Smithfield	Nativity of St John the Baptist (midsummer).
34	Summer 1343 (from July)	Hereford	
35	1343	Canterbury	
36	1343	Many other places	
37	[Jan./Feb.] 1344	Windsor	To herald the announcement of the foundation of the Round Table.
38	Projected Whitsun (23 May) 1344	Windsor	
39	Projected yearly from 1344	Lincoln	To meet local demand; jousting fraternity.
40	9 Sep. 1344	Hereford	Begins the day after Nativity B. V. M.
41	[Jan./Feb.] 1348	Reading	
42	1348	Bury St Edmund's	
43	After Easter (20 Apr.) : 1340	Lincoln	
44	April/May 1348	Lichfield	
45	1348	Eltham	
46	24 June 1348	Windsor	Churching of Queen Philippa; baptism of William; nativity of St John the Baptist (midsummer).
47	[After Michaelmas?] 1348	Canterbury	
48	23 April 1349	Windsor	Order of the Garter; St George's day.
49	1351	Bristol	
50	[Mar.] 1353	Smithfield	In honour of Breton visitors, who afterwards return home.
51	[Jan.] 1354	Eltham	
52	22 Feb. 1355	Woodstock	Churching of Queen Philippa; baptism of Thomas.
53	1 Jan. 1357	Bristol	New Year's Day; Feast of the Circumcision.

Edward III; Queen Philippa; William, count of Hainault, Holland and Zeeland (wounded).

Edward III, Robert de Borley (capitaneus), and 11 knights against all-comers, including Edward of Woodstock, knights and squires. Defendants dressed as the Pope and 12 Cardinals; the overall prize was won by Earl of Warwick.

Not Edward III, who was hunting.

Edward III, Queen Philippa, Derby, Salisbury, Warwick, Arundel, Pembroke, Suffolk, southern lords, wives of London citizens. King & 19 knights (incl. Edward of Woodstock) against all-comers incl. Blount, Stapleton etc.

No evidence it ever took place; preparations from the end of January.

Life-captaincy for Henry of Grosmont.

Hereford, Pembroke, young Mortimer versus Warwick, Arundel, Suffolk, baron Stafford. Edward III not present.

Edward III.

Edward III, Edward of Woodstock; c. 10 chamber knights.

Henry of Grosmont, Earl of Derby (capitaneus).

Edward III; many household knights etc.

Edward III.

Edward III, Queen Philippa, Edward of Woodstock.

Edward III, Edward of Woodstock, Isabella of Woodstock, Lancaster, Suffolk, Grey, John Beauchamp, Roger Beauchamp, Robert Borley, Chandos etc.; household officers. Women present.

Edward III, 23 other knights (KG's).

Edward III.

Visiting leetons.

Edward of Woodstock.

[Edward III], Edward of Woodstock.

(First nocturnal jousts in England.)

Murimuth, p. 124.

Murimuth, pp. 146, 230-1;
Annales Paulini, p. 361.

Murimuth, p. 146.

Murimuth, p. 146.

Murimuth, p. 146.

Murimuth, pp. 155-6, 231-2.

Murimuth, p. 156.

Foedera, III, i, p. 5; Nicolas, 'Garter', pp. 153-4.

Murimuth, p. 159

E372/207 n. 50; E101/391/15;

Register of Edward the Black Prince, IV, p. 67;
E372/207 n. 50; E101/391/15.

Baker, p.

E372/207 n. 50; E101/391/15.

E372/207 n. 50; E101/391/15.

E101/391/15; Baker s.e. 1349; Register of Edward the Black Prince, IV, p. 67.

E101/391/15; E372/207 n. 50.

E372/207 n. 50.

E372/207 n. 50.

Avesbury, p. 419.

Register of Edward the Black Prince, IV, pp. 123-4.

Ibid.; Avesbury, p. 420.

Eulog. hist., III, p. 227.

APPENDIX 21

TABLE TO SHOW ARTICLES PROVIDED FOR EDWARD III'S GAMES AT CHRISTMAS AND EPIPHANY (1347-52).

a) Guildford, Christmas 1347¹

- 84² buckram tunics of various colours.
 42 viseres viz. 14 likenesses of women's faces.
 14 likenesses of the faces of men with beards.
 14 likenesses of angels' heads of silver.³
 28 crestes viz. 14 with reversed legs with shoes.
 14 with hills and rabbits [rabbit warrens?]⁴
 14 painted cloaks.
 14 dragons' heads.
 14 painted white tunics.
 14 peacocks' heads and 14 pairs of wings.
 14 painted tunics with peacocks' eyes.
 14 swans' heads and 14 pairs of wings.
 14 painted linen tunics.
 14 tunics painted with gold and silver stars.

b) Oxford, Christmas 1348⁵

- 14 green worsted tunics.
 14 red worsted supertunics gouted with gold.
 1 complete buckram harness [i.e. armour for man and horse] for the king, spangled with silver, the tunic and shield worked with the king's motto, 'Hay hay the wythe swan by goddes soule I am thy man'.
 65 viseres viz. 12 heads of men with lions' heads above.
 12 heads of men with elephants' heads above.
 12 heads of men with bats' wings.
 12 heads of wodewoses.⁷
 12 heads of girls.

c) Merton, Epiphany 1349⁸

- 13 viseres with dragons' heads.
 13 viseres with crowned heads of men.
 10 black buckram courtepies.⁹

d) Windsor, Christmas 1352¹⁰

- 13 devils of carde.¹¹
 13 friars preacher in black habits.
 13 merchants of white cloth.
 Armour ('harnas') made by John of Cologne.¹²

Notes

- ¹ E372/207 m. 50; E101/391/15; Nicolas, 'Carter', pp. 37-8.
² Wickham, Early English stages, p. 188 gives '84 ? 28', but the figures are clear.
³ 'capita angelorum de argento': there is no reference to haloes (pace Wickham, Early English stages, p. 188).
⁴ 'cum montibus et cuniculis': E101/391/15; Nicolas, 'Carter', p. 37.
⁵ E372/207 m. 50; E101/391/15; Nicolas, 'Carter', p. 43.
⁶ 'cropar' pectorale testar' et arcenar'.
⁷ I. e. wildmen: For contemporary illustration see BL Harl. MS. 4380, fo. 1 (reprod. Wickham, Early English stages, pl. xxii no. 32).
⁸ E372/207 m. 50; E101/391/15; Nicolas, 'Carter', p. 43.
⁹ Upper short coat: see Chaucer, Works, glossary s.v. courtepy.
¹⁰ E372/207 m. 50: MS. reading 'a xxij' is clearly an error. As the entry falls between others for the years 25 and 28, the scribe probably omitted v in error.
¹¹ A sort of muslin; see Medieval Latin word list s.v. carda.
¹² E101/391/1, fo. 6^v, recording payment in March 1353, presumably for the previous Christmas.

APPENDIX 22

TABLE TO SHOW THE RELATIVE SIZES OF STREAMERS, PENNONS ETC.

Number*	Item*	Total of pieces of worsted required.*	Material required for each item. (in pieces).
72	standards	29	0. 403
244	standards	33	0. 133
86	pennoncells for ships	37	0. 43
800	pennoncells for lances	16	0. 02
2	streamers		6. 75
2	short streamers	18	
2	'Guydon''		
			estimated quarter of total material provided for this group.

* Figures from E101/391/15; Nicolas, 'Garter', p. 33.

APPENDIX 23: TABLE TO SHOW THE COMPOSITION OF THE ORDER OF THE GARTER AT ITS FOUNDATION.

(A) The King's side

Death	Household	Role at Crécy	C.	K'hood	i camp'n	Birth	SP	WT	Name
	-	d. 3; not involved in action.	✓		Scotland 1328.	1312	-	1	EDWARD III.
	-	Subsidiary campaign in Gascony.	-		Scotland 1328?	c.1310	-	2	HENRY OF GROS'MONT, EARL OF LANCASTER.
	Gascony	With Lancaster.	-				✓	3	LE CAPTAL DE BUCH.
	-		✓	1346 (LH)	France 1346.	1328	✓	4	WILLIAM MONTAGU, 2nd EARL OF SALISBURY.
	E. III	d. 3.	✓		Scotland 1328.	1299	✓	5	JOHN DE LISLE.
	E. III	d. 3; E.III's sb.	✓		Flanders 1338.		-	6	JOHN PEAUCHAMP
1re-8' 1349	E. III	d. 3.	✓		France 1346.	Mar. 1326/7	✓	7	HUGH COURTENAY.
	E. III	d. 3?	✓		Scotland 1328.		-	8	JOHN GREY.
	E.III		✓		Britanny 1342	c.1321	✓	9	MILES STAPLETON.
		d. 1; r. W.P.	✓		Flanders 1338		✓	10	HUGH DE WROTTESELEY.
	EBP	d. 1.	✓	1339	Cambrai &c 1339.		✓	11	JOHN CHANDOS.
	E.III	?	(✓)				-	12	OTES HOLLAND.
	H'nault /N. Fr?		?				✓	13	SANCHET D'ABRECHICOURT.

Abbreviations:

WT Windsor Tables (I, II)
 SP Stall plate extant
 K Date of knighthood
 C Present at Crécy
 E. III Edward III
 EBP Edward of Woodstock

r. retinue
 E created Earl
 d. division
 sb. standard bearer
 LH La Hogue

APPENDIX 23: TABLE TO SHOW THE COMPOSITION OF THE ORDER OF THE GARTER AT ITS FOUNDATION.

(E) The Prince's side.

Name	WT	SP	Birth	1 camp'n	K'hood	C.	Role at Crecy	Household	Death
EDWARD, PRINCE OF WALES.	1	-	1330	France 1346	1346 (LH)	✓	d. 1.	-	
THOMAS BEAUCHAMP, EARL OF WARWICK.	2	-		Scotland 1333.		✓	A marshal in d. 1.	-	
RALPH, BARON STAFFORD.	3	-	1299	Scotland 1328.	1325	✓	d. 1.	E. III (E 1354).	
ROGER MORTIMER.	4	-	c.1329	France 1346.	1346 (LH)	✓	d. 1; r. EBP.	(E. 1354).	
BARTHOLOMEW BURGHESH.	5	-		Flanders 1339.		✓	d. 1.	-	
JOHN DE MOHUN.	6	-	1320	Britanny 1342.	4/7/1340	✓	d. 1; r. EBP.	EBP	
THOMAS HOLLAND.	7	-		Flanders 1340.		✓	d. 1; r. Thos., Earl of Warwick.	-	
RICHARD FITZJON.	8	-		1338.		✓	d. 1; EBP'S sb.		1349
THOMAS WALE.	9	✓		Flanders 1339.		✓	d. 1; r. EBP.		
NEIL LORING.	10	✓		Sluis 1340.		✓	?	EBP	
JAMES D'AUDELEY.	11	(✓)		France 1346.		✓	d. 1; r. EBP.	HBP	
HENRY EAM.	12	-			By 1/1349	?		Germany; EBP.	
WALTER PAVELY.	13	✓	1319	Britanny 1342.		✓	d. 1; r. B. Burghersh.	EBP	

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Ce sunt les noms armes & blasons de
 compagnons de la table ronde au temps du roy artus
 et ysi quis estoient assis au comencement de la
 grant queste du saint greal par ordre aladite table

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Galhad portoit
 de grant anne
 croiz de guelles

perfaul de
 pouce fene
 de coye tes

Lancelot dav
 yent atoye
 bend de belle



Perceval
 avoit bend
 de belle hune

Le roy artus
 deus a puy
 couronne de

Guinegan
 prince
 deus huy
 a y leste de
 mentee deus



BIBLIOTHEQUE DE L'ARSENAL
 PARIS
 11108 (s. Arsenal 5024 fol. 1)

Plate 2

ame de tous que chünte deiroit auoir. Et
 portoit en ses armes vng escu de smople. Et
 nul cheualier ne losoit porter fors que luy
 sans autre tant. Et tel estoit le bon Roy
 meliadus



y deuse Le Roy ban de Benoit
 Et Roy ban de Benoit estoit Roy
 d'une partie de gaulle - qui s'appe
 loit benoit. Et moult estoit armé
 de ses voisins fors d'un Roy qui
 s'apeloit claudas de la terre de serce
 Et estoit homme de belle taille. les cheueux
 auoit courts. les yeus beaux & vng peu
 grosses. le visage ot auques cler brun. les
 espaulles auoit belles et droictes & les bras



Titulus 12

1. Doms libey qui vocantur: Cyprius & Symon in fine
 2. Doms libey qui vocantur: Cyprius & Symon in fine
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Titulus 13
Doms libey qui vocantur: Cyprius & Symon in fine

Titulus 14
Doms libey qui vocantur: Cyprius & Symon in fine



1364. R. Brunche and two wives, St. Margaret, Lynn, Norfolk.



Plate 9

