

## PAS D'ARMES AND LATE MEDIEVAL CHIVALRY: A CASEBOOK

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### SUPPLEMENTARY SOURCE 2

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#### **The *Pas* of Paris and the *Pas du Chevalier au Souci* (*Pas* of the Knight of the Marigold/Knight of Sorrow), 1484**

This source consists of a translation of a narrative account of these two events organised as part of the celebrations following the coronation of King Charles VIII of France.

*Author(s)*: unknown, but the translator is Sancho de la Forca

*Language*: Medieval Castilian, translated from Middle French source(s)

*Edition used*: Marta López Izquierdo and Lola Pons Rodríguez, eds, *Coronación del rey Carlos VIII de Francia y fiestas que se hicieron (1484): Edición del ms. e-IV-5 de la Biblioteca de San Lorenzo de El Escorial*. Nouvelle édition [en ligne]. Paris: e-Spania Books, 2015: <<http://books.openedition.org/esb/887>>; paragraphs 73–81 (*Pas* of Paris), paragraphs 82–126 (*Pas du Chevalier au Souci*) (= CRC)

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## INTRODUCTION

These two *pas d'armes* took place in Paris in July 1484 as part of the festivities celebrating the coronation of King Charles VIII of France who was only fourteen years old at the time. The coronation itself had been performed in Reims on 30 May 1484 and was followed by Charles's Royal Entry into Paris on 8 July.

The first of these events, which has been termed here the *Pas* of Paris, was organised by the king's cousin, Louis, duke of Orléans, the future Louis XII who would succeed Charles as king of France on his untimely death in 1498. This event was staged in the Rue Saint-Antoine in Paris over seven days, starting on Sunday 11 July and finishing on Saturday 17 July. Consisting solely of jousts, it opened with an elaborate ceremony at which Louis's shield was brought in with great pomp and fanfare to be put up on an imposing *perron* for would-be challengers to come and touch so as to signal their willingness to take part. As *entrepreneur*, Louis was assisted by five (or possible seven) co-defenders, none of whose names have come down to us. Twenty-seven challengers, mostly from high-born families of northern France, came forward to compete in the event. Many of them had either held offices in the household of the previous king, Louis XI, or already held such offices in the households of the new king or the duke of Orléans; some would later go on to occupy positions in the households of Louis XII and Francis I, or would serve in their armies. This *pas d'armes* was most likely intended to demonstrate the support of the French nobility for the newly crowned king who attended it with a large entourage that featured his sister, Anne de Beaujeu, and her husband, Pierre de Beaujeu, who were acting as his regents. However, it was also a show of strength on the part of Duke Louis: barely a year later, he and a coalition of feudal lords would begin an armed struggle against the two regents for control of the king in a conflict known as the 'Guerre Folle' (Mad War) (1485–88) in which the rebels were supported by England, Spain and Austria.<sup>1</sup>

Louis also played a prominent role in the second of the two Parisian *pas d'armes* that was held during these post-coronation celebrations, being the first person at it to have his challenge accepted and to undertake the opening combat. This event, which was staged just outside the town, past the Bastille and towards the Bois de Vincennes, is

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<sup>1</sup> Yvonne Labande-Mailfert, *Charles VIII et son milieu (1470–1498). La jeunesse au pouvoir* (Paris: Klincksieck, 1975, pp. 55–80; Robert J. Knecht, *The Valois Kings of France 1328–1589* (London/New York: Hambledon, 2004), pp. 107–18.

referred to here as the *Pas du Chevalier au Souci* (the *Pas* of the Knight of the Marigold/Knight of Sorrow), the term *souci* referring punningly to both the flower and the emotion.<sup>2</sup> It was organised by the Burgundian knight, Claude de Vaudrey, who had once served Charles the Bold, duke of Burgundy, but who may have been a member of the duke of Orléans's entourage at the time of the event.<sup>3</sup>

Claude had his own reasons for putting himself on display as a jousting knight, coming as he did from a family of illustrious tourneyers: his father, Antoine de Vaudrey, and his uncle, Guillaume de Vaudrey, had both competed as defenders alongside the *entrepreneur*, Pierre de Bauffremont, lord of Charny, at the very first *pas d'armes* to be held in the Burgundian lands: the *Pas de l'Arbre Charlemagne* (Marsannay-la-Côte, 1443).<sup>4</sup> Moreover, Claude himself had fought in the *Pas de l'Arbre d'or* that was held in Bruges (1468) to celebrate the marriage of Charles the Bold to Margaret of York.<sup>5</sup> At this *pas*, the *entrepreneur* of which was Charles's half-brother, Antoine, the Great Bastard of Burgundy, Claude had acted first as a challenger and then as a defender to substitute for Antoine when he sustained an injury to his knee part-way through the contest. Claude then staged his own successful *pas d'armes*, the *Pas de la Dame Sauvage* in Ghent (1470), an account of which was written up by the Burgundian historiographer, Olivier de La Marche,<sup>6</sup> before becoming heavily involved in the decade that followed in the wars waged between the Burgundian duke, Charles, and the king of France, Louis XI.<sup>7</sup> Not only did this period clearly not lend itself to the staging of tournaments, but Claude, like many of those loyal to Charles the Bold, lost his lands when his lord was defeated and killed at Nancy in 1477.<sup>8</sup> Claude's second *pas*, the one held in Paris, is much less well known than his first one. Instead, he is perhaps best remembered for his famous challenge to Maximilian I, which took place in Worms in 1495;<sup>9</sup> this was a single combat that some scholars have termed a *pas d'armes* but is not unanimously thought to have been one.<sup>10</sup>

Chapters of arms pertaining to Claude's *Pas du Chevalier au Souci* are dated 15 June and a tall pillar was put up in the Rue Saint-Antoine on 29 June to publicise it. The event itself was supposed to last eleven days, starting with the presentation of shields on Wednesday 21 July, and finishing on Sunday 1 August. The king, who was the highest-ranking guest

<sup>2</sup> See below, n. 77.

<sup>3</sup> Bischoff, 'Claude de Vaudrey', p. 256. However, see below, p. 14, where Claude is presented as being more directly in the service of the duke of Alençon and enjoying the patronage of the duke of Bourbon (see below, nn. 78 and 100).

<sup>4</sup> *Casebook*, Source 4.

<sup>5</sup> *Casebook*, Source 12.

<sup>6</sup> Olivier de La Marche, 'Traicté d'un tournoy tenu a Gand par Claude de Vauldray, seigneur de l'Aigle, l'an 1469 (vieux style)', in Bernard Prost, ed., *Traicté de la forme et devis comme on fait les tournois par Olivier de la Marche, Hardouin de la Jaille, Anthoine de la Sale, etc.* (Paris: A. Barraud, 1878), pp. 55–95.

<sup>7</sup> Bischoff, 'Claude de Vaudrey'.

<sup>8</sup> After Charles's death, Claude and his brother Guillaume remained loyal to the Burgundian cause and their duchess Mary of Burgundy. They were amongst the most fervent defenders of the Franche-Comté against the invasion by the French king, Louis XI, who seized their property in 1477 and executed Guillaume two years later. Georges Bischoff, "'Vive Osteriche et Bourgogne!" Un preux Franc-Comtois au service de Maximilien Ier, Louis de Vaudrey', in *La Franche-Comté à la charnière du Moyen Âge et de la Renaissance; actes du colloque de Besançon (10–11 octobre 2002)*, ed. by Paul Delsalle and Laurence Delobette (Besançon: Presses Universitaires Franc-Comtoises, 2003), pp. 161–86.

<sup>9</sup> Bischoff, 'Claude de Vaudrey'.

<sup>10</sup> *Casebook*, Essay 1, pp. 359–61.

at the tournament, ordered the fights not to take place on Tuesday 27 July and Wednesday 28 July, or from Saturday 31 July to Tuesday 3 August, for various reasons and at his council's suggestion. For the final day of the event, Wednesday 4 August, the king also ordered that the tournament be moved from Claude's original location to one that was much closer to where the duke of Orléans's earlier *pas* had taken place in Paris. Charles likewise commanded Claude to have his four co-defenders — Pierre de Borne, Pierre de Chandio, Guyot de Dinteville and Philippe de Vaudrey — help him out on this final day so as to ensure that all the remaining competitors had a chance to fight and the event could be brought to a close.

There were thirty-eight challengers at Claude's *pas*, of similar rank and background to those who had fought at Duke Louis's event, but only two of whom — François Baraton and Jean de La Tour — appear to have competed in both tournaments, whilst another — François de Coignac — who participated in the opening ceremony of the first event but did not compete at it, did fight at the second one. Claude took on twenty-four of these challengers on his own whilst the remaining fourteen were met in combat by his four co-defenders (see below, Table 1).<sup>11</sup>

The staging of Claude's *pas* seems to have been much more elaborate than that of the duke of Orléans: it involved a complex material infrastructure with not just a *perron* with a pillar for hanging up the competitors' shields and lists but also multiple pavilions and stands and a statue of a damsel bearing a marigold and holding a golden eagle on a chain; it featured an intricate *mise en scène*, whereby Claude took on the punning chivalric incognito of the hermit-like Knight of the Marigold/Knight of Sorrow who withdrew after each bout to a pavilion dubbed his 'hermitage'; and it had a far larger *dramatis personae* with two aides disguised as hermit-knights, a giant dressed in orientalisised clothing who blew on a horn to warn the *entrepreneur* each time a challenger approached the lists, and a host of musicians including four bears — presumably men in costume — who played trumpets. The actual bouts themselves were not just jousts, as was stipulated at the earlier event: rather, at Claude's *pas*, the initial two courses with lances were followed by eleven strokes with swords, the lances and swords in question being supplied by the *entrepreneur* and the challenger having first pick of them every time.

Yet, spectacular though they doubtless were, neither of these two Parisian *pas d'armes* is at all well known today. A brief and rather generic mention of 'Gentils gens [qui] ont joustéz/Par plusieurs jours devant le Roy,/Lesquels s'y sont bien esprouvéz/Haultement & en beau conroy' (Noble men who jousted for several days before the king, and who put themselves well to the test, in honourable and fine form) is made in an anonymous contemporary poem about the coronation and Royal Entry preserved by the seventeenth-century antiquarian, Théodore Godefroy.<sup>12</sup> Slightly more is known about Claude's *pas*: it was witnessed by Conrad Grünenberg, the southern German crusader, chronicler and armorialist who commented briefly but very admiringly on it,<sup>13</sup> and is attested in some

<sup>11</sup> See below, pp. 22, 35, where the narrative account of the two *pas d'armes* itself gives slightly different figures for those participating in Claude's event.

<sup>12</sup> 'Le Sacre du Roy nostre Sire à Rheims, & son Entrée en la Ville, & Cité de Paris', in Théodore Godefroy, ed., *Le Cérémonial françois, ou description des cérémonies, rangs et séances observées en France en divers Actes & Assemblées solennelles*, 2 vols (Paris: Sébastien et Gabriel Cramoisy, 1649), vol. 1, pp. 208–19 (p. 219).

<sup>13</sup> For a digitised reproduction of Claude's coat of arms in the Grünenberg Armorial (p. 219), see <[https://www.loc.gov/resource/gdcwdl.wdl\\_14689/?sp=224&r=-0.36,0.547,1.545,0.666,0](https://www.loc.gov/resource/gdcwdl.wdl_14689/?sp=224&r=-0.36,0.547,1.545,0.666,0)>.

The text accompanying his coat of arms reads: 'Hie der her her Clade von Wadri, der furnem vnd

of Charles VIII's financial accounts and letters as leading to Claude's confiscated lands being returned to him by order of the king following the end of the event.<sup>14</sup> This happy outcome to the *pas* may well have been the chief motivation behind Claude's staging of it in the first place.

A much more extensive account of the two tournaments has come to light in an online edition of a Spanish manuscript that also recounts Charles's coronation and Royal Entry.<sup>15</sup> Written in prose in medieval Castilian, the text was most probably compiled from several different texts in Middle French composed by unknown authors which were translated by Sancho de la Forca, a military commander based in Étampes at the time of the festivities. As the translator explains at the end of his account, he wrote it for the count of Benavente on 25 November 1484, thus only a few months after the events themselves had finished.

The narrative pays far more attention to the second of the two events than to the first: it barely recounts any of the combats at the duke of Orléans's *pas*, but summarises twenty-four bouts fought by Claude and one fought by one of his co-defenders, Pierre de Borne. It also provides fascinating detail on a number of aspects that are not often found in *pas d'armes* accounts: a combat between the *entrepreneur* and one of his challengers, Jean de La Roche, that nearly spirals into a riot when disgruntled supporters of the challenger invade the lists; the money made by Parisian merchants in renting out the stands to spectators who come in their tens of thousands to watch it; and, most notably, the part played in the proceedings by the duke of Orléans's own mother, Marie of Cleves. This focus on an actual woman is exceptional as the lady in question is neither an abstract, fictional entity such as the 'Dame Sauvage' (Wild Lady) of Claude's previous *pas*, a chivalric muse for love of or in defence of whom the *entrepreneur* lays down his challenge to all comers,<sup>16</sup> nor a person acting out this role in the *mise en scène*, such as at the Angevin *Pas de la Bergère* (Tarascon, 1449) where the eponymous Shepherdess was played by Isabelle de Lenoncourt, a daughter or sister of one of the *entrepreneurs*.<sup>17</sup> Here, at Claude's *pas*, Marie of Cleves not only speaks on behalf of her son, Louis, when she accompanies him into the lists so as to present him to the *entrepreneur* and serves as a diplomatic intermediary between the king and Claude in order to have the latter's confiscated lands returned to him, but she also asserts herself as an amorous figure,

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streng ritter, der sich zu Paris in der konniglich<en> krönung ainlifffzag nach einander mit wem der daz begert hat zuo ross geschlagen, hat vntter denselben be [?] auch bej achten ire schwert genommen vnd an der gleichn tatten vil volbracht da<.> ain wunder zu schreibn wär. das hat conrad Grunemberg, ritter, gesech<en>.' (Here (is) the lord, Messire Claude de Vaudrey, the noble and steadfast knight, who fought at Paris during the royal coronation eleven days in a row on horseback against all who wanted to do so; on this same occasion, he took the swords of eight of them and performed other similar deeds that it would be miraculous to describe. This was witnessed by Conrad Grünenberg, knight). Bischoff, 'Claude de Vaudrey', p. 256.

<sup>14</sup> 'Donations successives de la terre de Rochefort à Claude de Vaudrey par Louis XI, Maximilien d'Autriche et Charles VIII', Dijon, Archives Départementales de la Côte d'Or, B1068; letter written by Charles VIII in 1497 demanding that Claude be granted the lordship of Pontailleur-sur-Saône, in LCRF, vol. 5, p. 136.

<sup>15</sup> CRC; El Escorial, Real Biblioteca del Monasterio de San Lorenzo, e-IV-5, is a paper manuscript comprising 97 folios: <<https://rbme.patrimonionacional.es/s/rbme/item/13537#?xywh=-486%2C-91%2C3310%2C1804>>.

<sup>16</sup> La Marche, 'Traicté d'un tournoy'.

<sup>17</sup> *Casebook*, Source 6.

one nearly sixty years of age, who openly kisses the substantially younger Claude<sup>18</sup> on at least two occasions, causing tongues to wag at court about a possible liaison between herself and the bold knight! It is, of course, impossible to know if this multi-faceted and highly unconventional representation of Marie is simply an invention of the French author(s) of the original sources or of the Castilian translator, but it may have been inspired by rumours circulating at the time of her, a widow since 1465, having contracted a clandestine marriage in 1480 with one of her own household officers, a ‘sieur de Rabodanges’.<sup>19</sup>

A final important aspect of this Spanish manuscript that underscores its greater emphasis on Claude’s *pas* than on that of Louis, is the programme of visual illustration in pen and wash of the second of these two events that it provides over a number of folios. First, an exceptionally detailed and reasonably faithful representation of the text’s elaborate *mise en scène* of the *Pas du Chevalier au Souci* that picks up on many of its allegorical and physical features appears over a double-page spread (see below, Figure 1). Understandably, the image omits both the twelve passages that are built for the various competitors to make their entrance into the lists, and the multiple stands constructed for both the courtly and urban audience that come to watch the spectacle, as this would block out much of the other detail, but otherwise most of the narrative elements are portrayed. Various different pavilions are seen in the background, complete with banners showing the coats of arms of the duke of Bourbon, constable of France, who had lent them to Claude.<sup>20</sup> Inside the palissaded area, the *entrepreneur*, with his marigold crest on his helmet, jousts against the duke of Orléans in the lists in front of these pavilions, accompanied by various officers of arms on foot. To the right of the lists and above them on a platform are the four bears playing their trumpets hung with banners emblazoned with Claude’s coat of arms. Outside the lists and in the right foreground is the statue of the naked damsel holding the marigold symbol and an eagle on a chain on top of a pillar bedecked with the two competitors’ shields and a larger green shield that was used to write down the names of those who had requested permission to compete. This pillar is itself positioned on a stepped *perron* above a fountain where the orientalisised giant is seen blowing his horn. Finally, to the left of the lists are the two hermit-knights in their clerical robes holding two standards in front of a stand — perhaps that intended for the king? — which is guarded by an officer holding a long pike.

The second remarkable aspect of the manuscript’s visual programme is its depiction over several folios (see below, Figures 2–6) of emblazoned shields hung up on hooks attached to the pillar on the *perron*. These shields belong to the challengers who are explicitly described in the narrative as coming on particular days to have their shields put up and their names written down by the attending heralds in letters either of gold (if a knight) or of silver (if a squire, as is the case of most of them). It is impossible to say whether or not these coats of arms are accurately rendered as belonging to particular people since only two of them — those of Louis, duke of Orléans, and Jean Martel — have been verified against a modern database of medieval armorials.<sup>21</sup> This does not

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<sup>18</sup> Marie was born in 1426 and Claude in 1443, hence there was a gap of seventeen years between them.

<sup>19</sup> JdA, vol. 1, pp. 259–63; ‘Marie de Clèves (a.k.a. Madame d’Orléans)’, in *An Encyclopedia of Continental Women Writers*, ed. by Katharina M. Wilson, 2 vols (New York/London: Garland Publishing, 1991), vol. 1, p. 258.

<sup>20</sup> See below, n. 107.

<sup>21</sup> See, for example, <<http://www.armorial.dk/>>: grateful thanks are due to Steen Clemmensen for

necessarily mean, however, that the compiler of this manuscript was not well versed in heraldry; rather, it suggests that the competitors at Claude's event were mainly from low-ranking noble families, only a few of whom were knights while the rest were squires.<sup>22</sup> This pictorial display of emblazoned shields is nonetheless extremely rare in manuscripts commemorating *pas d'armes* which usually either omit all mention of competitors' coats of arms or simply describe them verbally. Given that there are no known occasional rolls preserving the coats of arms of those who competed at specific *pas d'armes*, this manuscript comes closest to providing just such a visual record, albeit one of unverifiable accuracy.<sup>23</sup>

The inclusion of this heraldic material may have been at the specific request of either the translator, Sancho de la Forca, or of the intended recipient of the manuscript, the count of Benavente, given that there was a certain vogue at the Castilian court for such illustrations due to the popularity of manuscripts of the anonymous fourteenth-century geographical and armorial manual known as the *Libro del conocimiento de todos los reynos et tierras e señoríos que son por el mundo et de las señales et armas que han*.<sup>24</sup> A single artist would seem to have been responsible for both the double-page illumination and the coats of arms, judging by the similarities in their execution, but he is more likely to have been French than Castilian. Not only was the manuscript produced in France just a short time after the end of the events recounted, but also there are no illuminated manuscripts of Castilian *pas d'armes* narratives, whereas there are numerous examples of Angevin, French and Burgundian illustrated codices/early printed books of these tournaments.<sup>25</sup> Whatever his provenance, the artist had clearly read the narrative carefully and had a certain understanding of heraldry: this might suggest that he was perhaps himself a herald — albeit a very skilful one in view of the sophistication of the double-page scene of the tournament setting — or at the very least that he executed his work under the guidance of someone who was an heraldic specialist.

In the translation that follows, numbers in parentheses have been provided for ease of reference to the respective paragraphs in the online edition by López Izquierdo and Pons

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having checked these shields against his database (private communication, January 2024). In his view, several of these coats of arms do not tally with those that are known to be associated with particular families, as in the cases of Tristan de Lavedan, Michel de Montgilbert, Raymond de Pardiac, Foucault de Pierre-Buffière, Louis de Saint-Simon and Philippe de Vaudrey, but this could be explained by the fact that the form of someone's name does not always imply ownership of a specific coat of arms.

<sup>22</sup> This impression is confirmed by the prosopographical research that has been undertaken here to identify these figures and is summarised in the footnotes provided.

<sup>23</sup> *Casebook*, Introduction, p. 9. On the illustration of *pas d'armes* narratives more generally, see Guillaume Bureaux, 'Pas d'armes et vide iconographique: quand le texte doit remplacer l'image (XVe siècle)', *Perspectives médiévales*, 38 (2017): <<https://journals.openedition.org/peme/12792>>.

<sup>24</sup> See, for example, a fifteenth-century copy of this work preserved in Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional de España, 1997: <<http://bdh.bne.es/bnesearch/detalle/bdh0000043289>>.

<sup>25</sup> See, for example, St Petersburg, National Library of Russia, fr. F. p. XIV, 4 (*Pas de la Joyeuse Garde/Pas de Saumur*, 1446); Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fr. 1974 (*Pas de la Bergère*, 1449); Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fr. 16830, Comte de Lalaing, private collection, no shelfmark, dated 1518, and Los Angeles, J. Paul Getty Museum, 114 (*Pas de la Fontaine des Pleurs*, Chalon-sur-Saône, 1449–50), and Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France Arsenal, 3958 Réserve, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fr. 1436, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Vélins 1033 and Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Vélins 1034 (*Pas des armes de Sandricourt*, 1493). For discussions of these various manuscripts, see *Casebook*, Sources 5, 6 and 13, and Essays 2, 4 and 7.

Rodríguez. Where it has been necessary to expand the translation in order to render a passage in the original text more fully and comprehensibly, this has been indicated through the use of square brackets. In the footnotes, the Castilian form of a person's name or of a place as it appears in the manuscript has also been given in square brackets.

#### TRANSLATION

[...] (73) The next day,<sup>26</sup> the king<sup>27</sup> left his palace in the morning and went off to his residence at the Tournelles<sup>28</sup> near the Bastille<sup>29</sup> in the street known as Saint-Antoine;<sup>30</sup> in that street some very fine lists had been put up for the jousts organised by the lord of Orléans<sup>31</sup> that were to be performed there.

#### **How the most magnificent lord of Orléans had the jousts set up and how he and five knights<sup>32</sup> defended the field for seven days**

(74) The following day,<sup>33</sup> after the king had arrived at his aforesaid residence at the Tournelles in the morning, nearby to it a very fine [set of] list[s] was put up where, on one side, there was a very large stand that was richly decorated and embellished with cloths of gold and silk. In the middle of the stand was a *perron*,<sup>34</sup> that is to say a tall wooden pillar that was all green in colour. On this pillar were twenty or thirty hooks in the same colour

<sup>26</sup> Presumably, the day after the Royal Entry (Thursday 8 July), hence Friday 9 July.

<sup>27</sup> [el rey]. Charles VIII (1470–98), son of King Louis XI and Charlotte of Savoy, was king of France (1483–98).

<sup>28</sup> [Tornelas]. The Hôtel des Tournelles, dating from the fourteenth century, was a collection of buildings north of the Place des Vosges in Paris that belonged to the French royal family; it was situated close to the Rue Saint-Antoine and later served as the location for numerous small-scale tournaments and for training in combat techniques. Viallon, 'Les tournois', vol. 1, pp. 241–3; Valentine Weiss, *La demeure médiévale à Paris: répertoire des principaux hôtels* (Paris: Archives nationales, 2012), p. 143. See also below, n. 188.

<sup>29</sup> [Vastilla]. The Bastille was a medieval fortress situated on the east side of Paris.

<sup>30</sup> [Sant Antuena]. The Rue Saint-Antoine was a long street that ran up to the Bastille and had a wide bulge in the middle that opened out into a kind of square; it thus lent itself well to the staging of large-scale tournaments for the benefit of both a courtly and a much larger urban audience. This *pas* organised by the duke of Orléans in 1484 was the first tournament to be held there but the location would be much more heavily used for such events in the following decades. Viallon, 'Les tournois', vol. 1, pp. 242–3.

<sup>31</sup> [el señor de Horlienes]. Louis, duke of Orléans (1462–1515), son of Charles, duke of Orléans, and Marie of Cleves, became Louis XII, king of France (1498–1515) on the death of his cousin, Charles VIII, who died childless.

<sup>32</sup> The duke's co-defenders are not named in the account; later the text mentions that there were seven of them: see below, p. 10.

<sup>33</sup> Saturday 10 July.

<sup>34</sup> A large upright stone, pillar or column often imbued with magical or symbolic significance in imaginative literature of the period, with the exact object it refers to in a *pas d'armes* account being dependent on the particular context. It was frequently used to hang the shields signifying the challenge of the event that those wishing to compete had to touch or have touched by a herald; the shields of those challengers accepted for combat would also often be hung up on it, as is the case here. *Casebook*, Glossary, p. 535.



as the pillar itself and around it were four of the king's Kings of Arms<sup>35</sup> who were waiting for the shield of the lord of Orléans [to arrive].

(75) Shortly afterwards, around midday, came one François de Coignac,<sup>36</sup> *maître d'hôtel* of the lord of Orléans who was carrying this lord's shield with great magnificence as he was mounted on a very special courser<sup>37</sup> and was accompanied by many knights and squires as well as by a great number of other people on both foot and horseback; the coat of arms [itself] was absolutely resplendent. On either side of this knight were two very lovely damsels, both of whom were most richly dressed and adorned with very expensive gold chains as well as girdles and gemstones of such high worth that it would be an extraordinary thing to put a price or value on them. Each of these damsels wore a gold hairnet on her head and, on top of that, a very rich gold crown; their hair as it hung down behind them was very long and redder than gold in colour. Each of the damsels was mounted on a white hackney<sup>38</sup> that was led by the bridle by two squires who were very well dressed. On either side of the knight who was carrying the aforesaid lord's coat of arms, the damsels each had one hand holding onto the shield that he bore.

(76) Ahead of them were many squires, ladies and damsels and a nobleman mounted on a very lively courser decked in a trapper<sup>39</sup> of crimson velvet with a thick collar of golden bells around its neck; the jumps and pirouettes it made entertained everyone greatly. In front of this nobleman were many musicians playing trumpets and instruments of different kinds and making a great noise. In this manner they processed along the length of the Rue Saint-Antoine until they arrived at the lists, whereupon they did a complete circuit. Afterwards, they went over to the above-mentioned stand where they dismounted and climbed on top of it in order to place the lord of Orléans's shield on the pillar of the *perron* mentioned above. Then the knight with the damsels — who were each still holding onto one side of the shield — and the Kings of Arms, had a King of Arms known as Orléans<sup>40</sup> pronounce and proclaim the following words:

(77) 'My lords, officers of arms: you see before you two gentle<sup>41</sup> damsels very young in age who present to you the shield of my aforesaid lord in order for you to hang it up two

<sup>35</sup> Kings of Arms held the highest heraldic office above that of heralds who, in turn, were of higher rank than pursuivants. Only one of these four Kings of Arms is later identified in the narrative (see below, n. 40): this is Orléans King of Arms, probably the highest in rank of the four, being named after the duke of Orléans's territory.

<sup>36</sup> [François de Conaque]. This is probably François I de Coignac (d. 1536), lord of Merle, Saint-Jean-Ligoure, Villefavard, Jumillac, Château-Chervix, Colacie (1518) and Saint-Julien-du-Bois, son of Antoine de Coignac and Gasparde de Merle. HMF, vol. 4, p. 787, para. A. His office of *cavalleriço mayor*, which probably equates to *mayordomo*, has been translated here as *maître d'hôtel*, that is a high-ranking knight in charge of a lord's household. He competed in the second of the two Paris events (see below, n. 142) and later served as a *maître d'hôtel* during the festivities related to the *Pas des armes de Sandricourt* (1493). *Casebook*, Source 13, p. 277 n. 107.

<sup>37</sup> A horse bred for speed and intended as much for hunting and jousting as for war. Philippe Contamine, 'Le cheval "noble" aux XIVe–XVe siècles: une approche européenne', *Comptes rendus des séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, 152.4 (2008), 1695–1726.

<sup>38</sup> Named after the London borough, this horse had an ambling gait and was used for everyday purposes — especially, though not solely, by women — rather than for fighting. *Ibid.*

<sup>39</sup> A fabric horse-cover usually made of fine textiles. *Casebook*, Glossary, p. 537.

<sup>40</sup> See above, n. 35. It is not known who held this office in 1484.

<sup>41</sup> The meaning of the term 'gentle' applied to people generally indicates their noble birth, rather

hours after midday for the following seven days so that any lords, princes, barons, knights, squires or gentlemen in both name and arms who are keen to touch it might have their names and surnames registered. They will be informed that, on the Sunday following the king's Royal Entry into the city,<sup>42</sup> they will find the said lord and seven noblemen [with him]<sup>43</sup> in the lists who will receive them and take up their challenge, each of them in turn in the order in which they are written down according to the content of the said articles that have been recently publicised beforehand.<sup>44</sup>

(78) After these words had been spoken by these Kings of Arms and the shield had been very honourably received and taking over to be hung from the *perron*, a whole host of barons, knights and squires arrived to ask these officers for permission to touch the shield on their behalf so that they could take part on the day of the said *pas* and *emprise*.<sup>45</sup> This was granted to them; all of those who touched the shield were registered one after the other in the order outlined below.

(79) First of all came Messire Guyon d'Estouteville, lord of Moyon,<sup>46</sup> who touched the shield and acquired very great honour because, over the seven days of the jousts, he proved himself [to be] superior to the others. After the seven days were up, he then defended the field all on his own for another seven days against all those who wished to come; there he made his mark against three or four of them such that the memory of it will last his entire lifetime.<sup>47</sup>

(80) The next ones to touch the shield were: Messire Jacques d'Estouteville, provost of Paris;<sup>48</sup> then came Jean de Chambes, lord of Montsoreau;<sup>49</sup> then André de Vivonne;<sup>50</sup> then

than their temperament: the term is derived from the Latin *gens/gentilis*, meaning someone who was a man, not a serf, i.e. a member of the lower classes. *Casebook*, Glossary, p. 533.

<sup>42</sup> That is, Sunday 11 July.

<sup>43</sup> See above, n. 32.

<sup>44</sup> Whilst the articles (also known as *chapitres* or 'chapters of arms') of this first *pas* have not been preserved in this account, those of the second *pas* have been included in the narrative: see below, n. 90.

<sup>45</sup> These two terms are often used as if synonymous, but a more precise distinction is made in the chapters of arms of Claude de Vaudrey's event between his *pas* and an *emprise* (as signalled by an object such as a chain, cuff or veil) that an individual challenger may wish to wear to it so as to perform his own feat of arms at the same time as Claude's tournament was going on (see below, pp. 14–15). For a more detailed discussion of the differences between a *pas* and an *emprise*, see *Casebook*, Introduction, p. 2.

<sup>46</sup> [Gujon de Totavila señor de Moyon]. Guyon d'Estouteville (c.1450–1512), son of Michel d'Estouteville, was lord of Moyon, Hambye, Briquibec and Gascé. GDH, vol. 3, p. 491.

<sup>47</sup> There is no separate record of this event featuring Guyon d'Estouteville as the main defender. Also, given that the duke of Orléans's *pas* ended on Saturday 17 July and Claude de Vaudrey's *pas* started on Thursday 22 July, there would not have been time for this event to last seven days, unless it overlapped with Vaudrey's tournament, which seems unlikely given the latter's prominent place in the calendar of the king's post-coronation festivities.

<sup>48</sup> [Jacques de Totavila probot de Paris]. Jacques d'Estouteville (c.1450–89), lord of Estouteville and Vallemont, was a councillor-chamberlain of Louis XI, and provost of Paris. GDH, vol. 3, p. 491; PPR, p. 1233.

<sup>49</sup> [Juan de Janbas, señor de Monsoreo]. Jean III de Chambes (1445–after 1515), became lord of Montsoreau (1476); he was a chamberlain of Louis XI. DN, vol. 5, p. 44.

<sup>50</sup> [Andres de Bibona]. André de Vivonne (1452–1532), lord of La Châtaigneraie and La Mothe-Saint-Héray, was a councillor-chamberlain of successive kings from Louis XI onwards, seneschal of Poitou and a governor to Francis, the dauphin, son of Francis I. GDH, vol. 6, p. 128.

Charles de Villars;<sup>51</sup> then Louis de Poysieux, who is also known as Capdorat;<sup>52</sup> then Messire Pierre Dupuy;<sup>53</sup> then Olivier Baraton;<sup>54</sup> then François Baraton,<sup>55</sup> Jacques de Beaufort,<sup>56</sup> Jean de Puignet,<sup>57</sup> Geoffroi de Villars,<sup>58</sup> Guyon de Barras,<sup>59</sup> Hugues de Villeneuve,<sup>60</sup> Guy de Châteaueux, lord of Poux,<sup>61</sup> Antoine de Guill,<sup>62</sup> Jean d'Aulnay, who is from Crussol,<sup>63</sup>

<sup>51</sup> [Xarles de Vilad]. Charles de Villars: no further information is available about him but several members of the Villars family served in French royal households: see, for example, Georges de Villars, also known as Le Désert, who was a *maître d'hôtel* of Charles VIII (1491). CdF, no. 2375.

<sup>52</sup> [Loys de Ponsoe, que es dicho Cadoraque]. Louis de Poysieux, lord of Sainte-Mesme, also known as Capdorat, was a squire of the stables of Charles VIII and Louis XII before becoming the latter's *maître d'hôtel* (1512). CdF, nos 2472, 2737, 2783.

<sup>53</sup> [Pierres Dupuy]. Pierre Dupuy (b. c.1468), lord of Vatan, was a squire in the duke of Orléans's household and later bailiff and governor of Berry. PPR, p. 1231.

<sup>54</sup> [Olibier Baraton]. Olivier Baraton (d. before 1539), the eldest son of François Baraton, lord of La Roche, Baraton and Champiré, succeeded his father as lord of La Roche and Champiré, and was also lord of Ambrières; he was married to 1. Françoise de Surgères (1497), and 2. Jeanne de Casault (1522). GDH, vol. 1, p. 898; HMF, vol. 8, pp. 583–4. He is mentioned in a list of wages paid to members of the king's guard (1483–84). HCRF, p. 397.

<sup>55</sup> [François Baraton]. François Baraton, second son of François Baraton, lord of La Roche, Baraton and Champiré, was a councillor-chamberlain of Charles VIII and later the *grand échançon* (grand cupbearer) of France (1516–19). GDH, vol. 1, p. 898; HMF, vol. 8, pp. 583–4. He is mentioned in a list of wages paid to the gentlemen and pensioners of the king's household (1490–91). HCRF, p. 611.

<sup>56</sup> [Jaques de Beofort]. Jacques de Beaufort, son of Louis de Beaufort and Jeanne de Norry, was marquis of Canillac after the death of his two elder brothers, Robert and Charles; he was married to Jacqueline de Créquy, daughter of Jean V de Créquy and Louise de La Tour. HMF, vol. 6, p. 223, para. C.

<sup>57</sup> [Juan de Polgante]. This may be Jean de Puignet who is mentioned as being an *écuyer tranchant* in the household of Charlotte of Savoy, wife of Louis XI. HCRF, p. 366.

<sup>58</sup> [Jofre de Vilas]. Geoffroi de Villars: no further information is available about him but he is likely to be from the same family as Charles de Villars (see above, n. 51).

<sup>59</sup> [Gujon de Barras]. Guyon de Barras: no further information is available about him but a Louis de Barras, lord of Mélan, was a chamberlain of Charles VIII: <[http://racineshistoire.free.fr/LGN/PDF/Barras\\_Provence.pdf](http://racineshistoire.free.fr/LGN/PDF/Barras_Provence.pdf)>.

<sup>60</sup> [Hugus de Vilaneba]. Hugues de Villeneuve: no further information is available about him but several members of the Villeneuve family served in French royal households: see, for example, Bernard de Villeneuve who served as an aide to various competitors at the *Pas des armes de Sandricourt* and who was a squire of the stables, *valet de chambre* (1496) and a chamberlain of Charles VIII as well as a *valet de chambre* of Louis XII (1499–1512). CdF, nos 2742, 2889, 3103.

<sup>61</sup> [Guines de Xatelvill el señor de Pous]. This may be Guy, lord of Châteaueux, whose daughters Marie and Anne de Châteaueux were married, respectively, to Guillaume de la Platière (after 1511) and to Philibert de Coligny (after 1503). HMF, vol. 7, p. 160, para. A and p. 221, para. C. The link with the lords of Poux cannot be corroborated. Châteaueux is nowadays a commune in dép. Loir-et-Cher, rég. Centre-Val de France.

<sup>62</sup> [Anton de Guill]. This may be Antoine de Grailly, who is mentioned in a list of wages paid to members of the king's guard (1483–84). HCRF, p. 396. Alternatively, it may be Antoine de Guines, who is mentioned as being a messenger sent to Liège in a letter from Charles VIII to Louis de La Trémoille, his lieutenant-general in Brittany (September 1488). LCRF, vol. 2, p. 234 and vol. 5, p. 315.

<sup>63</sup> [Juan de Aoneja que's de Crosol]. This may be Jean d'Aulnay who was later a *maître d'hôtel* of Charles VIII (1496). CdF, no. 2400; HCRF, p. 704. His link with the Crussol family from the traditional region of the Vivarais in modern-day dép. Ardèche, who married into the Uzès dynasty at the end of the fifteenth century, cannot be corroborated. Jean Baptiste Pierre Jullien de Courcelles, *Dictionnaire*

Jean de Culant,<sup>64</sup> François de Bueil,<sup>65</sup> Jacques de Tenay,<sup>66</sup> Jeannot de Tardes,<sup>67</sup> Louis de Culant,<sup>68</sup> Mathieu Aubin,<sup>69</sup> Messire Jean d'Étampes,<sup>70</sup> Charles de Loubes,<sup>71</sup> Jean de La Tour,<sup>72</sup> [and] Antoine de Loubes,<sup>73</sup> all of whom fought with the lord of Orléans and the knights in his company who defended the field; however, nothing is said about which of them performed the best because that would make for a lengthy tale.

(81) Nonetheless, hereafter is a description in which it is recounted how and in what manner the Enchanted Pillar<sup>74</sup> was set up, how the lord of Moyon came to touch the shield and then how the duke of Orléans and he came into the lists and how they were equipped as is mentioned in this description.<sup>75</sup>

*universel de la noblesse de France*, 2 vols (Paris: Bureau général de la noblesse de France, 1820), vol. 2, p. 416. However, a François de Crussol was an *enfant d'honneur* of Charles VIII (1490) and later, when lord of Beaudinier, a *valet de chambre* of his (1497). CdF, nos 2542 and 2659.

<sup>64</sup> [Juan de Culant]. Jean de Culant, the second son of Charles, lord of Culant, and *Belle-assez* de Sully, was lord of Châteauneuf-sur-Cher, Saint-Julien and Beauvoir-sur-Arnon; he married Anne de Gaucourt in 1480. GDH, vol. 3, p. 133; HMF, vol. 7, p. 82, para. C.

<sup>65</sup> [Franciso de Buel]. This may be François de Bueil, about whom no further information is available, or François du Breuil, who was a squire of the stables in the household of Charles VIII; for the latter, see CdF, no. 2468.

<sup>66</sup> [Jaques de Teni]. This may be Jacques de Tenay: no further information is available about him but a Jean de Tenay, squire, is mentioned in a list of the representatives of Burgundy in a report of the assembly of the Estates General held in Tours (1484). HCRF, p. 401.

<sup>67</sup> [Juan de Targas]. This may be Jeannot de Tardes who was a cupbearer then a *maître d'hôtel* of Charles VIII (1496). CdF, nos 2386 and 2435. His wife, Louise des Biars, was a *damoiselle d'honneur* in the household of Charlotte of Savoy, wife of Louis XI. HCRF, p. 366.

<sup>68</sup> [Loys de Culan]. Louis de Culant (d. c.1486/7), the eldest son of Charles, lord of Culant, and *Belle-assez* de Sully, was lord of Culant and Saint-Désiré. GDH, vol. 3, p. 133; HMF, vol. 7, pp. 82–3.

<sup>69</sup> [Matio Obin]. Mathieu Aubin: no information is available about him but he may be a member of the Aubin family, the lords and ladies of Surgères, who were in turn linked to one of the Baraton family members who competed at this *pas*: Françoise Aubin, lady of Surgères, was the wife of Olivier Baraton (see above, n. 54). HMF, vol. 8 p. 584 C; PPR, p. 1207.

<sup>70</sup> [Juan de Tanpas]. This may be Jean d'Étampes, lord of La Ferté-Imbault (1477, following a divided inheritance with his brothers), Salbris and Souesmes. HMF, vol. 7, p. 544.

<sup>71</sup> [Xarles de Lubres]. Charles de Loubes: no further information is available about him, but he was probably a member of the same family as Antoine de Loubes (see below, n. 73).

<sup>72</sup> [Juan de Latur]. This may be Jean de La Tour (1467–1501), lord of Auvergne and Le Lauragais, who was knighted immediately after the coronation of Louis XII (1498). HMF, vol. 4, p. 530, para. E. Alternatively, it may be Jean de La Tour, lord of Montgascon, the eldest son of Godefroy de La Tour and Anne de Beaufort, who were married in 1460. HMF, vol. 4, p. 532. This person's name also appears later in the list of challengers at Claude's *pas*, where he is referred to as 'lord of Glatinor' (see below, n. 150), hence he was one of the very few competitors to have fought at both events.

<sup>73</sup> [Antuena Lobres]. Antoine de Loubes was a pantler in the household of Charles VIII (1484–98). CdF, no. 2419; HCRF, p. 704.

<sup>74</sup> No further mention is made of this object at the first *pas*, but a similar object is also mentioned at the second *pas* (see below, p. 16); in both instances, this would seem to be echoing the famous 'Enchanted Column' that was featured at the eponymous *Pas du Perron Fée* (Bruges, 1463) organised by the Burgundian knight, Philippe de Lalaing. *Casebook*, Sources 11a and 11b, Essay 3.

<sup>75</sup> No such description follows, unfortunately, as the translator does not seem to have followed his source here.

**Here begins [the account of] the *pas*, jousts and feats of arms performed  
by Messire Claude de Vaudrey<sup>76</sup> who called himself the ‘Knight of the  
Marigold’, which also means the ‘Knight of Sorrow’<sup>77</sup>**

(82) The Knight of the Marigold had it publicised that he is ready to perform a feat of arms. Firstly, (83) he lets it be known that he is from the desolated land of Burgundy and is the servant of the most high and most noble prince, my lord the duke of Alençon.<sup>78</sup>

(84) This Knight of the Marigold, moved by heartfelt compassion and [laden] with the very heavy burden of having seen his dead lord, the duke of Burgundy,<sup>79</sup> picked up and taken to the Valley of the Hermits,<sup>80</sup> received such a terrible shock to his heart that he was overwhelmed with grief and had to abandon his lord<sup>81</sup> and take his leave of both him and his lady<sup>82</sup> in order to withdraw to the great forest of Chaos. There in the middle of the forest, in his [state of] great displeasure, he had a hermitage built at the foot of a mountain known as Mont-Roland.<sup>83</sup> And because the Knight of the Marigold had been known in his hermitage for the services that he rendered in that land, he was obliged to leave it.<sup>84</sup> Out of a fervent desire to head straight for the marches of Granada in order to wage war on the Infidel,<sup>85</sup> it was his intention to do his utmost to render service to the most

<sup>76</sup> [Glaoda de Baudre]. Claude de Vaudrey (1443–1518), lord of L’Aigle, was a cupbearer of Philip the Good (from 1465) and a chamberlain of Charles the Bold (1474); he was also a military commander in the service of both dukes. PCB no. 2285. He was married to 1. Claudine de La Palu, and 2. Marie de Challant (1510), both of whom were noblewomen at the court of Savoy. Samuel Guichenon, *Histoire de Bresse et de Bugey, justifiée par chartes, titres, chroniques [...]* (Lyon: Huguenon et Ravaud, 1650), pp. 74 (Marie), 300 (Claudine). For an account of the various tournaments in which he was involved in the course of his career, see Bischoff, ‘Claude de Vaudrey’.

<sup>77</sup> The original text reads ‘cavallero a la Susia’, presumably translated from the Middle French ‘chevalier à la Soucie’. At that time, although *soucie* was a feminine word meaning ‘marigold’ and was intended here to be a pun on *souci*, a masculine word meaning ‘sorrow’, the two words adopted the same spelling and gender in modern French which makes the pun more understandable, hence this convention has been adopted here for the title of the *pas* itself.

<sup>78</sup> [el duque de Alanson]. René, duke of Alençon (d. 1492), son of Jean II, duke of Alençon and his second wife, Marie d’Armagnac, was a peer of France and count of Le Perche in Normandy. GDH, vol. 1, p. 251.

<sup>79</sup> [el duque de Borgoña]. Charles the Bold (1433–77, r. 1467–77), fourth duke of Burgundy, died at the battle of Nancy.

<sup>80</sup> This is a rather obscure allegorical allusion to Charles’s having lost his life on the battlefield.

<sup>81</sup> This would seem to refer to Maximilian I (1459–1519), the Habsburg successor to the Valois dukes of Burgundy through his marriage in 1477 to Mary of Burgundy, Charles the Bold’s heir (see below, n. 82).

<sup>82</sup> This would seem to refer to Mary of Burgundy (1457–82), daughter of Charles the Bold and Margaret of York.

<sup>83</sup> [Monrolan]. Mont-Roland, in the Rhône-Alpes region of France, is on one of the pilgrimage routes to Santiago de Compostela.

<sup>84</sup> This rather convoluted allegorical reference is to Claude’s having lost his lands due to his involvement in the duke of Burgundy’s wars against the king of France (see below, n. 199).

<sup>85</sup> Bischoff, ‘Claude de Vaudrey’, makes no reference to Claude’s having any aspirations to go on crusade, so this would seem to be a literary trope designed to cast him in a pious light, perhaps in remembrance of an earlier illustrious Burgundian jousting, Jacques de Lalaing, whose *Pas de la Fontaine des Pleurs* was explicitly designed to express his ambition to go on crusade. *Casebook*, Source 7; and CL, Introduction, p. 26.

high and most powerful king of Spain.<sup>86</sup> As he travelled through the kingdom of France, he found himself in the duchy of Alençon where he came across the noble and powerful lord, the duke of Alençon, who stopped him and appointed him to his service, giving him permission and a place to build his hermitage in the high forest of the Andaine.<sup>87</sup> There, one Thursday morning, the knight was walking along a wide path saying his Paternosters when he met a very lovely and noble damsel who came from the marches of Paris. On seeing this knight so full of sorrow, she questioned him until he was obliged to tell her about his undertaking. At this, the lady, moved to pity [and wishing] to relieve the knight of the heavy burden that he bore, told him that the Most Christian king<sup>88</sup> was on his way to Reims to be anointed and crowned; in the month of June, he would make his entry into Paris, the most important and finest city of his kingdom.

(85) Because the Knight of the Marigold knew that in that place there would be a great number of knights and squires [keen to] win fame and honour, he took leave of his lord, the duke of Alençon, with his consent, and took the path out of the forest of Andaine in order to set up his hermitage between Paris and the Bois de Vincennes.<sup>89</sup>

(86) In that place, the said Knight of the Marigold let it be known to all knights and noblemen who wanted to find their way to the lists that, in order to be relieved of his Marigold, he was determined to receive them and to fight in harness of war to the best of his ability, by running two courses with lances and dealing eleven strokes with swords; at this [tournament], the one who came from outside would have his choice of the lances and the swords.<sup>90</sup>

(87) No one would be permitted to perform a feat of arms against the said Knight of the Marigold unless he could have heralds of arms prove that he was a nobleman and of noble lineage.

(88) On top of this, the one coming from outside would be obliged to abide by the rules and to bring his shield for putting up on the pillar and the *perron* before he could fight. If he was a knight, he would have his name written out in letters of gold; if a squire, in letters of silver. They would then have these names written down and recorded on a large green shield that was attached to the said *perron*.

(89) Moreover, the said Knight of the Marigold let it be known that, if there was any nobleman whose heart was set on performing any other *emprise* of arms, before he was able to complete this undertaking he must send his articles in written form to the said Knight of the Marigold who would receive and sign them [so as] to deliver him of his

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<sup>86</sup> [el señor rey d'España]. Ferdinand II (1452–1516), king of Aragon and king of Castile (as Ferdinand V) from 1479, ruled jointly with Queen Isabella I (see below, n. 169); he waged a successful campaign to conquer the kingdom of Granada (1482–92).

<sup>87</sup> [floresta de Antona]. The forest of the Andaine is situated near Orne in Normandy.

<sup>88</sup> This way of styling the French king as 'Most Christian', from the Latin *Rex Christianissimus*, came from the view that, due to the long association of the Franks and the Catholic Church, the French king had a special role as protector of the Church; this became an hereditary and exclusive title from the late fourteenth century onwards. Graeme Small, *Late Medieval France* (Houndsmill, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), pp. 8–19.

<sup>89</sup> [el bues de Binçenes]. The Bois de Vincennes, nowadays on the eastern edge of Paris, was originally part of the ancient forest surrounding the Roman town of Lutetia before being enclosed as a royal hunting preserve by successive French kings from the mid-twelfth century onwards.

<sup>90</sup> Paragraphs 86–93 are the articles or chapters of arms for Claude's *pas* that would originally have circulated independently but were incorporated into the narrative account here.

*emprise* in whatever manner it might be, either on foot or on horseback, and this to the end of his days.<sup>91</sup>

(90) If it so happened that it was God's will that the said Knight of the Marigold were to be defeated and killed by one coming from outside, he would ensure that up to four other noblemen would undertake the said knight's *emprise* against anyone coming from outside, and this to the end of his days.<sup>92</sup>

(91) If it was the case that any knight caused his companion to lose his sword, the one who lost his sword would be obliged to give his companion<sup>93</sup> a gold buckler to the value of 1000 *écus*<sup>94</sup> or thereabouts.

(92) If it so happened that anyone wounded or killed his companion's horse,<sup>95</sup> he would be obliged for having committed this offence to go and beg for mercy from the lady of the one whose horse had been struck; moreover, he would have to obey the order of the judges who had been appointed for this purpose. For this reason, the Knight of the Marigold entreats all ladies to strive to persuade and beg their servants to find themselves at his *emprise* in order that he might by this means be relieved of his Marigold and [be able to] fulfil the wishes of his own lady<sup>96</sup> by giving her a good report of his Marigold, since it is for love of her that he puts himself at the service [of the ladies] so as to honour them in every possible way.

(93) It is the intention of the Knight of the Marigold, in order to accomplish these things described above, to defend the *pas* for eleven days, starting from the following twenty-second day of July; he will be prepared to receive eleven noblemen on each day.

<sup>91</sup> No mention is made in the text of anyone coming along during Claude's *pas* with his own *emprise* to fulfil, but this did occur in some earlier tournaments such as the *Pas de l'Arbre Charlemagne* where the Castilian knight, Diego de Valera, wore an *emprise* that was touched by the Burgundian knight, Jacques de Challant, and the two of them fought in the lists as a separate event from the *pas* itself. See *Casebook*, Source 4, pp. 73–4; and Henri Stein, 'Chanson du Pas de Marsannay (1443)', *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes*, 82 (1921), 330–7.

<sup>92</sup> Again, it was not unusual for an *entrepreneur* to make provision for another defender to take his place if he was unable to continue: see, for example, the *Pas de l'Arbre d'or* where the defender Antoine, the Great Bastard of Burgundy, had to be replaced due to an injury sustained earlier in the contest, one of these substitutes being Claude de Vaudrey himself. *Casebook*, Source 12, pp. 251–2. The mention here of this substitution being 'to the end of his days' is somewhat tautological as the preceding text makes it clear that this would only occur if Claude were killed.

<sup>93</sup> The term 'companion' can be applied to a fellow combatant either on one's own team or on an opposing one. It stresses the fact that such fighting men were of a similar elite status. *Casebook*, Glossary, p. 532.

<sup>94</sup> In the 1480s, the French golden *écu au soleil* was worth 1 lb. 16 s. 3 d. *livres tournois*, so this means that 1000 *écus* are worth 1,812 lb. 10s. *livres tournois*. Peter Spufford, *Handbook of Medieval Exchange* (London: Offices of the Royal Historical Society, 1986), p. 193.

<sup>95</sup> A forfeit for wounding or killing an opponent's horse was a common stipulation in chapters of arms for these events: see, for example, the *Pas des armes de Sandricourt*. *Casebook*, Source 13, p. 263.

<sup>96</sup> The text alludes both here and towards the end of the *pas* (see below, p. 34) to Claude's fighting for love of a particular lady, but this seems to be in line with the standard trope in *pas d'armes* narratives of the *entrepreneur* and his competitors claiming to be performing love-service to their ladies through these combats: see, for example, the *Pas de la Joyeuse Garde/Pas de Saumur*, the *Pas de l'Arbre d'or* and the *Pas des armes de Sandricourt*. *Ibid.*, Sources 5, 12 and 13, respectively. Claude's later favourable response to Marie of Cleves's amorous advances towards him somewhat muddies the waters here of his supposed fidelity to this lady.

Executed in Paris on the fifteenth day of June, in the year of Our Lord 1484; thus signed by Claude de Vaudrey.

(94) Now begins [the account] of how the field was set up and organised, how the aforesaid pillar and *perron* were built and installed above the fountain, how four banners were placed around the fountain with the knight's coat of arms, how on the other side of the field the knight's hermitage was put up, and how the competitors fought and what their names were.

(95) After Thursday, the twenty-second day of July in the year of Our Lord 1484, [on the] feast day of Mary Magdalene, the Knight of the Marigold opened his *pas* in Paris where he had a field set up in front of Saint-Antoine-des-Champs<sup>97</sup> in the following manner. First of all, around the fountain of Saint-Antoine he had had a tall pillar put up on the Wednesday two days before the beginning of July<sup>98</sup> that was very authentically and magnificently made of jasper marble with many other colours: it was six or seven armlengths high and one armlength wide; around the column fourteen thick sticks all green in colour were placed around the *perron* to serve as hooks for hanging the shields of those whose wish it was to perform feats of arms against the knight. Around the very top of it were very thick leaves that were twisted and decorated with fine gold; this pillar was known as the Enchanted Pillar.<sup>99</sup> Around the *perron* were five or six finely painted steps that had to be mounted in order to reach the foot of the pillar. On top of it was a statue in the likeness of a very lovely damsel who was completely naked and whose hair falling down to her feet was as red as fine gold; she was as beautifully made as any creature ever was. In her right hand, she held a flower known as a marigold and had her face turned towards the right, [looking] towards the field where the feats of arms would take place; in her left hand, she held a great golden eagle on a chain that was linked to a gold chain round its neck that was of great value. The eagle also had round its neck a shield with the duke of Alençon's coat of arms.<sup>100</sup>

(96) The following Wednesday, on the twenty-first day of the month of July, two shields were put up on the *perron*: one was painted with the knight's arms and was placed on the highest hook of the *perron*; the other shield was placed below it. This one was a large, green shield with a white and violet stripe across the middle; it was placed there for writing down all the names of those who wished to perform feats of arms against the knight according to the content of the above-mentioned chapters and which were there on this shield. The first shield that was put up belonged to the most excellent, powerful, valiant and noble duke of Orléans and was richly emblazoned with his coat of arms.<sup>101</sup> This shield was taken over to be put up on the *perron* with great fanfare and a large

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<sup>97</sup> [Sant Antuena de Xans]. This Cistercian convent founded at the end of the twelfth century in Paris was located in what is nowadays the Faubourg Saint-Antoine in the 12th *arrondissement*: <<https://arts.st-andrews.ac.uk/monasticmatrix/monasticon/paris-s-antoine-des-champs>>.

<sup>98</sup> This date is correct.

<sup>99</sup> See above, n. 74.

<sup>100</sup> The prominence of the duke of Alençon at this event suggests that he was effectively one of the sponsors of it.

<sup>101</sup> For a reference to a receipt paid on 16 September 1484 to Pierre Le Liassier who held the office of Orléans Herald at that time, regarding the painting of this shield for the duke's participation in Claude's *pas*, see CAA, vol. 1, p. 105. Le Liassier, who had previously been Coucy, pursuivant to the duchess of Orléans, may possibly have still held the office of Orléans Herald at the time of the *Pas des*



procession that it would take too long to describe, for on that Wednesday between three and four o'clock in the afternoon, the magnificent duke of Orléans arrived, accompanied by my lady of Orléans,<sup>102</sup> his mother, and by a large number of knights and squires as well as ladies and damsels. It was marvellous to behold this company of people and the splendid sight of the riches they wore on [their clothes]. There in the presence of the Knight of the Marigold, [the shield] was presented to the Kings of Arms and they received it very honourably, with great willingness and in good faith. It was then put up at the very top of the *perron* and, once it was in place, there was a great sounding of trumpets, clarions, sackbuts and other wind instruments [that were being played by] so many minstrels that it was a wonder to behold! Once this had been done, they withdrew; the most noble lady of Orléans, the mother of the said prince, then came and very sweetly entreated the Knight of the Marigold that it be his pleasure to begin [the competition] with her son, saying that he was of a young and tender age and that she commended him to [the knight] above all. To this the knight replied: 'With great reverence, most noble and powerful lady, your lord son is a most magnificent, virtuous and noble prince, and I commend myself [in turn] to him and to you above all others such that I, of all those who are alive today, am most obliged, considering the honour and great favour that both of you are doing me by saying that he wishes to test himself in battle against me. For I am but a poor knight who has been desolated and disinherited such that I could never serve either him or you, my most noble lady, [with] my person and my goods being of such little value and worth; yet, [these] are his and yours to do with as it pleases you to command me to the very end of my days'. After these words and speeches had been made, the gentle duke of Orléans with his noble mother and his company went back to Paris, [having taken] great pleasure in the way [this was done], whilst the knight went back to his lodging inside his hermitage. Shortly afterwards, the Kings of Arms had the name of the gentle duke of Orléans inscribed in letters of gold very high up on the platform, at the very top of which were the letters of his name, 'Louis'; he was the one who fought first against the knight as you will hear hereafter, since it was at the will and pleasure of the king that this be so.

(97) Afterwards, at the top of the fountain together with the *perron* was a great stone tomb completely square in shape above which, in each quarter, was a small iron pillar four feet high painted with the colours of violets and white roses; on top of each of these was a small banner painted with the coat of arms showing the four sides from which the Knight

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*armes de Sandricourt* in 1493, this person being responsible for publicising the event and later writing up a narrative account of it. *Casebook*, Source 13.

<sup>102</sup> [madama de Horlienes su madre]. Marie of Cleves (1426–87), daughter of Adolf, duke of Cleves, and Marie of Burgundy, sister of Philip the Good, was married to Charles, duke of Orléans; she was a guest in the household of Philip the Good and Isabel of Portugal (1439–40). PCB no. 4320. In the chivalric biography of the Burgundian knight, Jacques de Lalaing, who was under the protection of Marie's brother, Johann, duke of Cleves, she is said to have witnessed Lalaing's early exploits at the tournament in Nancy (1445) that is often presented as a *pas d'armes* and to have regarded him as her courtly servant; as to whether or not Lalaing himself harboured amorous feelings for her, as some modern scholars have claimed, see CL, pp. 17, 32, 45, 104–6, 144–5 n. 228. Olivier de La Marche states that Marie was also present at Lalaing's own *pas d'armes*, the *Pas de la Fontaine des Pleurs*, with her husband, the duke of Orléans. Henri Beaune and Jules d'Arbaumont, eds., *Mémoires d'Olivier de La Marche, maître d'hôtel et capitaine des gardes de Charles le Téméraire*, 4 vols (Paris: Librairie Renouard, 1883–84), vol. 2, p. 172.

of the Marigold was descended. In the middle of these stands and above the fountain was a seat for accommodating a great giant who was very richly decked out in chains [belonging to] the knight and dressed in white damask in the manner of a Saracen or a Moor. A frightening thing it was to see him granting entry to all the knights and squires who had come to fight, for they could not pass before the knight had been warned that they wished to do combat and before they could take part in his *emprise* according to the content of his chapters! This giant held in his hand a very artfully wrought horn which he sounded whenever a stranger arrived in harness; this was to warn his lord, the Knight of the Marigold, from that day forward until the *pas* had come to an end. Placed around the *perron* were two heralds of arms, dressed in the colour[s] of the knight and in his coat of arms, to receive and to register those who wished to do combat with him and to paint their names on the *perron* and to inscribe them on the shield, [those of] knights in letters of gold and [those of] squires in letters of silver. [They were] also there to certify that those who had come to fight were noble on all four sides and to receive each day a certain number for that day. From that time onwards until the end of the *pas*, the whole area around the *perron* and the field where they were due to compete was enclosed with a wooden palisade; in the space inside, twelve passages were built through which those who were there to fight the knight would make their entrance, and which they were not supposed to leave until the knight had left his hermitage and entered the field to do combat, as described above. The small enclosure with the twelve passages led into the field which was about one hundred and forty paces long by thirty paces wide; it was surrounded on all sides by a wooden fence about four or five feet high in order to stop people from encroaching and to [allow them to] watch the combats. On the side facing away from Paris there were a certain number of stands, the main one of which was to accommodate the king and my lady of Beaujeu, his sister,<sup>103</sup> as well as the many other great lords who were a permanent part of the king's entourage; this stand was very richly decorated with fine tapestries. The second main stand was for my lady of Orléans, which was also very finely done out: she was accompanied by lords, knights and squires, ladies and damsels. The lady was dressed that day more expensively than any of the other ladies to be found there, and she made a very fine show of it. The third main stand was partly for those of the king's household, that is to say for people of all estates such as lords, knights, squires, ladies and damsels, and partly for those belonging to the king's guard. On the same side [of the field] there were also other stands that some people from Paris had had made for the lords of the Parlement<sup>104</sup> and for any others who could fit into them. On the other side, that facing the Bois de Vincennes, was a further stand that ran from almost one side of the field to the other; it was big enough to accommodate fifty thousand people. The merchants who had ordered its construction were making them pay by demanding from them a certain fee, which earned [them] a great deal of money over the duration of the *pas*.<sup>105</sup> To one side of the field was a large square

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<sup>103</sup> [madama de Beoju su hermana]. Anne de Beaujeu, also known as Anne of France (1461–1522), was the sister of Charles VIII and acted with her husband, Pierre II of Bourbon (see below, n. 108), as his regents (1483–91). GDH, vol. 3, p. 706.

<sup>104</sup> The Parlement of Paris was the highest court of justice in France.

<sup>105</sup> This mention of merchants making money by renting out seats in the public stand is extremely rare for a *pas d'armes* narrative account; it is much more usual for a financial account to detail who benefitted from renting out a house or a stand to a high-ranking person. See, for example, the town account of Bruges for the *Pas du Perron Fée* that was held there (1463): *Casebook*, Source 11b, pp. 240–5.

pavilion with a kind of tower at each corner [that was] made of the same canvas as for each of the four corners; the centre of the pavilion was topped with something like a keep<sup>106</sup> that dominated the pavilion, the top of which was open and let in a great deal of light. Flying above each of the four towers was a banner with the coat of arms of the lord of Bourbon, constable of France.<sup>107</sup> This pavilion was there to represent the hermitage of the Knight of the Marigold; in it he armed himself and rode out on horseback ready to do combat before coming into the field, as mentioned above. Inside he had everything organised according to his needs, as well as lots of skilled people who were on hand to help him put his armour on; these included armourers who saw to it that his harness didn't lack for anything, as well as grooms and farriers who supplied him with horses, all of them being people with immense experience. Near the hermitage on the Bois de Vincennes side was a small, completely circular pavilion where the knight heard Mass. On the other side, towards Paris, was a great tent which served as a stable that could hold up to twenty horses; on one side of the tent was a room where the grooms slept and where hay and oats were stored for the horses. In between the hermitage and this tent was a lovely square pavilion that served as the knight's store cupboard. For the most part, all the tents and pavilions had banners with the coat of arms of the duke of Bourbon, for it was this lord who had lent them to the knight for him to use as he saw fit; the way they were set up in the field made it look like a castle. On the Thursday, around four or five o'clock in the afternoon, the noble king of France arrived, accompanied by the duke of Bourbon, his constable, and by the lord of Orléans, the lord of Beaujeu,<sup>108</sup> the lord of Vendome,<sup>109</sup> the lord of Dunois,<sup>110</sup> the marshal of Gié,<sup>111</sup> and the marshal of Burgundy,<sup>112</sup> as well as many other great lords of his kingdom, along with three captains of his guard and all his archers of whom there were up to four hundred, all of them marching around the king. He then entered the field by the side where the knight's hermitage was and then crossed right round the field to Saint-Antoine to see the gentle duke of Orléans who had already armed himself in order to do combat with the knight. When the king saw that [the duke] was ready for combat, he left to go and climb into his stand. Shortly afterwards and at the same time, my lady of

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<sup>106</sup> The term used in the text is 'torre de homenaje', which means the central tower of a castle, effectively its keep, hence the translation here.

<sup>107</sup> [el señor de Borbon, conde estable de Franzia]. Jean II, duke of Bourbon (1426–88), was constable of France (1483–88). GDH, vol. 2, p. 241.

<sup>108</sup> [el señor de Beoju]. Pierre de Beaujeu/Pierre II of Bourbon (1438–1503), duke of Bourbon and of Auvergne, was married to Anne de Beaujeu (1473) and acted with her as regents of Charles VIII: GDH, vol. 2, p. 241.

<sup>109</sup> [el señor de Bandomo]. François of Bourbon (1470–95), was count of Vendôme (1477–95). GDH, vol. 2, p. 242.

<sup>110</sup> [el señor de Dumes]. François I of Orléans (d. 1491), count of Dunois, Longueville and Tancarville, was governor of Normandy and the Dauphiné; he was married to Agnès of Savoy (1466): see below, n. 113. GDH, vol. 5, p. 384.

<sup>111</sup> [el margal Dege]. Pierre de Rohan-Gié (1451–1513), also known as 'the marshal of Gié' as he is termed here, was marshal of France (1476–83) and a trusted councillor of Louis XI, Charles VIII and Louis XII. GDH, vol. 5, p. 567.

<sup>112</sup> [el mariscal de Borgoña]. Philippe de Hochberg (1454–1503), count of Neuchâtel, was marshal of Burgundy (1477–98); he was also a member of the Order of St Michael (1483), grand chamberlain of France (1491) and governor of Provence (1491). *Dictionnaire historique de la Suisse*: <<https://hls-dhs-dss.ch/fr/articles/044491/2006-11-08/>>.

Beaujeu, accompanied by my lady of Dunois, her aunt,<sup>113</sup> with a very large number of ladies and damsels mounted on large hackneys whilst others were in suspended carriages<sup>114</sup> and all of whom were very richly arrayed; they then dismounted and went up into the king's stand. However, shortly before this, the king arrived and went up into his stand after the Knight of the Marigold had gone into his hermitage to put on his armour and get himself ready; he had been accompanied up to the hermitage by the duke of Orléans and my lady, his mother, before going off to put on his armour and make ready to go and perform his *emprise*. Whilst the king was climbing into his stand, the hermitage was opened and out came four bears who went straight over to the *perron*, each of whom held a trumpet in its paws from which hung a large banner with the knight's coat of arms. They sounded their instruments so loudly that it was an extraordinary thing for those who were there to see it! Behind the bears came two heralds of arms, followed by the giant who went over to sit on his seat in order to guard the entry to the *pas*; from that moment onwards, and for as long as the *pas* lasted on each of the days that the knight did combat, the giant went over as mentioned above. Once he had taken his seat, the heralds of arms and the bears returned to the hermitage. Then came the duke of Orléans in great state on his horse; he and his mount were both fully armed, his black horse wearing a very expensive trapper over the top of which was a very costly brocade covering.<sup>115</sup> He was accompanied by a whole host of great lords of France who were preceded by a large number of Kings of Arms, trumpeters and other minstrels. Then, when he arrived at the entrance to the field at the vermilion *perron*,<sup>116</sup> the knight's two heralds, each of whom was carrying a lance, with two great lords behind them each carrying a sword, one of whom was the duke of Bourbon and the other the marshal of Burgundy, together presented the lances and swords to the gentle duke of Orléans for him to take his pick as he saw fit. This he soon did, whereupon the other lance and sword were taken back to the knight. Immediately, the hermitage opened up again and the four bears came out playing their trumpets; in between them were two knights mounted on jennets.<sup>117</sup> Dressed in a Moorish fashion, in clothes of white damask in the knight's colours and sporting great beards and hats in the Turkish style, they ran the full length of the field. Soon afterwards came two hermit-knights dressed in a manner whereby they wore white damask and hats made of the same material; they had great white beards and thick rosaries round their necks. One of the two hermits held up the knight's banner painted in his coat of arms whilst the other one held up a great standard on which was depicted a man in full armour who, on his armet,<sup>118</sup> bore a crest<sup>119</sup> [in the form of] a

<sup>113</sup> [madama de Dumies]. Agnès of Savoy (1445–1508), who married François I of Orléans (1466), was the sister of Charlotte of Savoy, Anne de Beaujeu's mother. GDH, vol. 5, p. 384.

<sup>114</sup> The original text reads 'garriotes branlando', a translation of the Middle French *chariot branlant*, this being a type of carriage suspended between traces. DMF; Marjorie Nice Boyer, 'Suspended Medieval Carriages', *Speculum*, 34.3 (1959), 359–66.

<sup>115</sup> For a reference in a financial account of the ducal household to the duke's purchase of various arms, armour and textiles for his participation in this event (and possibly for his own earlier Paris *pas d'armes*), see CAA, vol. 1, p. 109.

<sup>116</sup> It is not totally clear which pavilion is being specified here as this colour has not previously been mentioned.

<sup>117</sup> A small, smooth-gaited Spanish horse for light riding. *Casebook*, Glossary, p. 534.

<sup>118</sup> An armet (Cast. *armeta*) is a close-fitting helmet that protects the head by means of deep, hinged cheekpieces that are secured to one another beneath the chin. *Casebook*, Glossary, p. 531.

<sup>119</sup> The text uses the term 'yrna', the meaning of which is unclear, since the more usual Castilian word

marigold. Around his neck he wore a sack with which a peasant sows his wheat; this was hanging upside-down to signify that everything had been sown. The standard itself was all strewn with *nobles*<sup>120</sup> from one side to the other and with letters that said: ‘Out of loyalty, I have sown everything’.<sup>121</sup> After the two hermits, the Knight of the Marigold then came out of his hermitage in full armour, with nothing out of place. He was riding a gentle horse that was covered with two trappers that fell to the ground; the top one was made of brocade with fringes of silk that were two feet long; the horse also had round its neck a collar made of heavy gold paternoster beads.<sup>122</sup> As he emerged from the hermitage, he raised his hand to make the sign of the cross; with his hand held high, he performed three or four pirouettes on his courser until he reached the stand where my lady of Orléans was. She entreated him to remove one of the trappers that he had on top of his horse because underneath it there was another one made of grey taffeta strewn with golden eagles, each of which was holding in its beak a paternoster bead of gold. Behind the knight came six men on foot dressed in white damask who followed him at a run. The kind and gentle lady of Orléans then graciously commended her son to the knight, who replied to her most humbly, saying: ‘My lady, if it pleases God, I will do everything such that you and everyone else will be content’. After [uttering] these words, the knight was given his sword and lance and he began to make his way at great speed over to the duke of Orléans. He then waited for him, as [the duke] was not fully armed to his satisfaction since he could not lower his lance as he wished; for this reason, the knight did not want to touch him with his [lance] and so threw it down to the ground behind him. They then rode past each other and put their hands to their swords. The duke of Orléans rode up to the knight and dealt him great heavy blows with his sword to the best of his ability. However, the knight, who was well armed and on his horse did not make much effort to sidestep [away from him]. In the end, though, in order that it not seem that he was doing so out of flattery, he dealt the gentle duke two or three strong blows but without hurting him or doing him any harm, for the knight had absolutely no desire to do so and his opponent was also well armed.<sup>123</sup> The guards appointed for the purpose then stepped between the two of them and the combat was completed, whereupon the two opponents went over to the king who was told by his great lords that the two of them had fought very well. At this, in front of the king, the gentle duke of Orléans embraced the knight, putting his person and his goods at his disposal if they could be of service to him, for which the knight thanked him most humbly for the honour that he did him. After these words had been exchanged, the gentle duke took his leave of the king and went off with the same company as had been with him on his arrival in order to disarm himself in his lodgings. The king and his people went off to

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for crest would be *cimera*; however, both the context here and the accompanying image (Figure 1) make clear that this flower is worn by the *entrepreneur* on top of his helmet, hence as a crest.

<sup>120</sup> English gold coin, first introduced in the mid-fourteenth century: see Peter Spufford, *Money and its Use in Medieval Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), p. 282.

<sup>121</sup> This allusion serves to underline Claude’s presentation of himself in the preamble to his chapters of arms as having devoted himself wholeheartedly to the cause of the Burgundian duke, to the detriment of his own possessions.

<sup>122</sup> These were beads strung on a rosary for the purpose of saying prayers.

<sup>123</sup> Claude’s carefully judged treatment of the duke of Orléans in the lists, neither harming him nor giving him too easy a fight, not only underlines Louis’s high status as a close relative of the king but also suggests that he may well have been a patron of Claude’s.

dine in his city of Paris whilst the knight returned to his hermitage making jumps and pirouettes. As he passed by my lady of Orléans, he expressed his great thanks to her for the offer that the magnificent duke of Orléans, her son, had made him, which pleased her immensely. The knight went off to remove his armour. All those people who had come from Paris to watch the combats numbered ninety-eight thousand in total. As the knight was disarming himself, over came the duke of Orléans, who had already removed his armour and was riding on a mule, and went inside the hermitage. There he found the knight who was ready to go to his lodgings so the duke requested him with great forcefulness to dine with him, from which the knight tried to excuse himself. As this was happening, his mother, my lady of Orléans, along with Jacques de Luxembourg<sup>124</sup> and François Montbis<sup>125</sup> and many others, took him over to their lodgings in Saint-Antoine where they found the dinner all ready, whereupon the magnificent duke and his most noble mother begged to dine with him in their lodgings. Despite the fact that the knight did not deem himself to be of the same rank as befitted such persons, they were very forbearing. Thus, in order to honour the knight, the duke sat on one side of the table and his mother on the other; above them and on his orders, the duke had the knight sit at the head of the table between him and his mother, with the other great lords all seated according to their rank. There they were served with one delicacy after another, in such order that it would take too long to recount, as would the tunes played by all the different kinds of instruments. There were many ladies and damsels at the dinner who, after the meal, danced for love of the knight, as did the duke and my lady, his mother, which delighted the knight immensely. Once the feast and the dancing were over, the knight thanked them most graciously for the forbearance and honour that it had pleased them to show him, and he begged them to pardon the poor fare at his own hermitage before they took their leave of him because the knight didn't want to leave them until he had accompanied them to their own lodgings. Saying goodbye most graciously to them at their door, he went back to his own lodgings, thanking God profusely for the great honour that it had pleased Him to grant him that day.

**Here begins [the list] of the names of those who fought against the Knight of the Marigold and against the four men of arms who helped the knight on the last day in order to bring his *pas* to a close**

(98) The total number of those who competed against the knight was thirty-seven, of whom twenty-seven are mentioned in this book according to the names and shields of each of those described above;<sup>126</sup> of the other days it makes no mention because nothing happened that was worth writing down, except for the particular day when the knight fought eleven men.<sup>127</sup> First of all came the duke of Orléans on Wednesday, the twenty-first of July; he

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<sup>124</sup> [Jaques de Lisanburgo]. Jacques de Luxembourg (1420–87), lord of Richebourg. PCB no. 2279. He had competed as a challenger at the *Pas du Perron Fée* (Bruges, 1463).

<sup>125</sup> [François mon B]. François de Montbis: no further information is available about him but he may be related to Guillaume de Vienne, lord of Montbis, who was one of the defenders at the *Pas de l'Arbre Charlemagne*. *Casebook*, Source 4, p. 76 n. 21.

<sup>126</sup> See above, Introduction, p. 4, for the slight discrepancy here in the number of challengers.

<sup>127</sup> Again, there is a slight discrepancy here as Claude is never recounted in the text as fighting eleven challengers in a single day: see below, Table 1. The maximum number is five, on three different days.

had his shield hung up and his name written down in letters of gold, 'Louis'. Next came Jean Baucher, king of Yvetot,<sup>128</sup> who had his shield hung up and his name written down in letters of gold. Jean Martel, lord of Rames,<sup>129</sup> had his shield hung up and his name written down in letters of gold. After this the Kings of Arms took off the letters of gold and instead used letters of silver: Robert de Luxe,<sup>130</sup> who had his shield hung up and his name written down in letters of silver; Jean de Susanne,<sup>131</sup> who had his shield hung up and his name written down in letters of silver; Jean de La Roche,<sup>132</sup> who had his shield hung up and his name written down in letters of silver; and Jean Chenu,<sup>133</sup> who had his shield hung up and his name written down in letters of silver. The following Friday<sup>134</sup> came Claude de Saint-Aignan,<sup>135</sup> who had his shield hung up and his name written down

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<sup>128</sup> [Juan Baoger, rey di Berot/Verot]. Jean Baucher, lord of La Forest, was known as the 'roi d'Yvetot' (king of Yvetot) following his marriage (1474) to Clémence de Dresnay, widow of Jacques Chenu, the previous holder of this title which stemmed from the fact that Yvetot was a small lordship in Normandy that was traditionally recognised as sovereign, even by the kings of France. Auguste Beacousin, *Histoire de la principauté d'Yvetot, ses rois, ses seigneurs* (Rouen/Yvetot: Ch. Métérie Libraire/Am. Delamare Libraire, 1884), pp. 108–15. Baucher was a lieutenant of Charles VIII in charge of his hundred gentlemen and is consistently referred to in several letters from the king to Louis de La Trémoille during the campaign in Brittany in 1488 by his 'royal' title; he also later took part in Charles's Italian campaign. LCRF, vol. 1, pp. 330, 338, 354; vol. 2, p. 119; vol. 3, p. 383. The editors of the Escorial manuscript have wrongly transcribed this title as 'di Berot/Verot' when in fact the text clearly reads 'd'Yvetot'. Grateful thanks are due to Torsten Hiltmann for helping to make this identification.

<sup>129</sup> [Juan Martel, señor de Ramas]. Jean Martel III, lord of Bacqueville; the lordship of Rames came into the possession of his family when his great-grandfather, Guillaume Martel, married Mahaud d'Estouteville, lady of Rames. GDH, vol. 4, p. 924.

<sup>130</sup> [Rober de Lusas]. Robert de Luxe is mentioned in a list of wages paid to members of the king's guard (1483–84). HCRF, p. 396.

<sup>131</sup> [Juan de Susana]. Jean de Susanne is mentioned in a financial account of Normandy in 1476 and in a list of wages paid to members of the king's guard (1483–84). CAA, vol. 1, pp. 294; HCRF, p. 396. He was bailiff of Rethelois for Charles VIII and later a gentleman in the household of Louis XII. LCRF, vol. 1, p. 373 and vol. 5, p. 339; JdA, p. 544. Further on in the text, he is referred to as the lord of Corinen, but this has not been corroborated.

<sup>132</sup> [Juan de la Roja]. Jean de La Roche: no further information is available about him but three members of the La Roche family (Mathieu, Bertrand, Henri) and a 'sieur de La Roche' are all mentioned in financial accounts for Normandy. CAA, vol. 1, pp. 291, 292, 293, 343, respectively. LCRF, vol. 1, p. 381, and vol. 5, p. 319, also mention Jean de La Roche as bailiff of Mâcon.

<sup>133</sup> [Juan Janu/Genu]. A Jean Chenu is mentioned in a list of wages paid to members of the king's guard (1483–84). HCRF, p. 396. This may be either Jean Chenu, lord of Montchevreuil, who obtained this title from his wife, Nicole de Guiry, and ceded it in 1539 to his cousin, Pierre de Mornay, or, more likely, Jean Chenu (d. 1503), lord of Le Bellay-en-Vexin. For the former, see HMF, vol. 6, p. 284, para. C; for the latter, see *ibid.*, vol. 7, p. 434, para. B. LCRF, vol. 3, p. 376 and vol. 5, p. 306, both mention Jean Chenu as a captain of men-at-arms.

<sup>134</sup> This would have been Friday 23 July.

<sup>135</sup> [Glaoda de Santinan]. Claude de Saint-Aignan, who is twice referred to later in the text as Guillaume de Saint-Aignan (see below, p. 29): no further information is available about either of these two people, but Saint-Aignan-sur-Cher (nowadays a commune in dép. Loir-et-Cher) was an important barony in the province of Berry that passed into the house of Beauvillier in 1496. Saint-Aignan is also close to Châteauevieux, another commune in the same area, the lordship of which belonged to a family from which another competitor hailed: this is Guy de Châteauevieux (see above, n. 61), who competed at the *Pas* of Paris that preceded the one at which Claude/Guillaume fought.

in letters of silver. On the Thursday, on the twenty-ninth day of the said month,<sup>136</sup> came Jacques Martin,<sup>137</sup> who had his shield hung up and his name written down in letters of silver; Jean de La Haye,<sup>138</sup> who had his shield hung up and his name written down in letters of silver; Tristan de Lavedan,<sup>139</sup> who had his shield hung up and his name written down in letters of silver; Pierre Topin,<sup>140</sup> who had his shield hung up and his name written down in letters of silver; Jacques de La Croix,<sup>141</sup> who had his shield hung up and his name written down in letters of silver; François de Coignac,<sup>142</sup> who had his shield hung up and his name written down in letters of silver; and Jeannot de Casault,<sup>143</sup> who had his shield hung up and his name written down in letters of silver. The following Friday<sup>144</sup> came Jean d’Ancienville,<sup>145</sup> who had his shield hung up and his name written down in letters of silver; Charles Foucard,<sup>146</sup> who had his shield hung up and his name written down in letters of silver; Michel de Montgilbert,<sup>147</sup> who had his shield hung up and his name written down in letters of silver; and Jean Chicot,<sup>148</sup> who had his shield hung up and his name written down in letters of silver. On the last day of the said month<sup>149</sup> came Jean de La Tour, lord of Glatinor,<sup>150</sup> who had his shield hung up and his name written down in letters of silver;

<sup>136</sup> The date is incorrectly noted in the text as the twentieth day of July, which did not fall on a Thursday, hence this has been corrected here.

<sup>137</sup> [Jaques Min]. Jacques Martin: this is the likely expanded form of his name, given that the editors of the El Escorial manuscript appear not to have recognised ‘Min’ as having contained an abbreviation (see also below, n. 185, on ‘Min Dureta’). No further information is available about him.

<sup>138</sup> [Juan del Aje/del Ana]. This could be either Jean II de La Haye (d. 1496), lord of La Haye, Le Vieux-Bus à Flers and Le Flesnoy, or his brother, Jean de La Haye, lord of Le Fresnoy; this family was from Flanders and two members of it by this name served in the household of Philip the Good and Charles the Bold, respectively. PCB, nos 999, 3480; <[http://racineshistoire.free.fr/LGN/PDF/de\\_La\\_Haye.pdf](http://racineshistoire.free.fr/LGN/PDF/de_La_Haye.pdf)>.

<sup>139</sup> [Tristan de Labadan]. Tristan de Lavedan: no further information is available about him but a Bernardine de Lavedan, who would have been contemporary with him, was married to Jean de Biron-Montferrant and had a daughter, Marguerite, who was married to Pons de Gontaut, baron of Biron, in 1499. HMF, vol. 4, p. 303, para. D and p. 353, para. E.

<sup>140</sup> [Pierres Topin]. Pierre Topin: no further information is available about him.

<sup>141</sup> [Jaques de la Cruz]. Jacques de La Croix: no further information is available about him. He is referred to twice later in the text as Antoine de La Croix (see below, p. 33), about whom there is also no further information.

<sup>142</sup> See above, n. 36, for his role in the *Pas* of Paris, as organised by the duke of Orléans.

<sup>143</sup> [Janot de Casaos]. Jeannot de Casault was a squire of the stables of the duke of Orléans, as attested in a household account regarding payment to him for a saddle for the dowager duchess of Orléans’s mule in 1484, which may well be the one she used at the *pas* itself (see below, p. 31). CAA, vol. 1, p. 109. See also a later payment to Casault for having had the duke’s war harness gilded in 1485. *Ibid.*, vol. 1, p. 101.

<sup>144</sup> This would have been Friday 30 July.

<sup>145</sup> [Juan de Danibella]. This may be Jean d’Ancienville, lord of Avreuil, who was a *maître d’hôtel* of Francis I (1520s). CdF, no. 3740.

<sup>146</sup> [Xarles Fucar]. Charles Foucard: no further information is available about him.

<sup>147</sup> [Miguel de Mongiberti]. Michel de Montgilbert: no further information is available about him but a lord of Montgilbert (Bernard Aycelin) is attested bringing a court case in 1370. HMF, vol. 6, p. 304, para. B.

<sup>148</sup> [Juan Xico]. Jean Chicot: no further information is available about him.

<sup>149</sup> This would have been Saturday 31 July.

<sup>150</sup> [Juan de la Tur señor de Glatinor]. See above, n. 72. The mention in the text of the lordship of Glatinor has not been corroborated but this place seems to be an early name for a stream located in



Guillaume Pantin,<sup>151</sup> who had his shield hung up and his name written down in letters of silver; Raymond de Pardiac,<sup>152</sup> who had his shield hung up and his name written down in letters of silver; Raymond de Grancey,<sup>153</sup> who had his shield hung up and his name written down in letters of silver; Foucault de Pierre-Buffière,<sup>154</sup> who had his shield hung up and his name written down in letters of silver; and René d'Anglure,<sup>155</sup> who had his shield hung up and his name written down in letters of silver. On Sunday, the first day of August,<sup>156</sup> came Louis de Saint-Simon,<sup>157</sup> who had his shield hung up and his name written down in letters of silver; Waleran Goujat,<sup>158</sup> who had his shield hung up and his name written down in letters of silver; and Jean d'Anglade,<sup>159</sup> who had his shield hung up and his name written down in letters of silver.

Here begin the names of those four noblemen who helped to accomplish the *pas* of the knight: Pierre de Borne,<sup>160</sup> who had his shield hung up on the *perron*; Pierre de Chandio,<sup>161</sup> who had his shield hung up, as noted above; Guyot de Dinteville,<sup>162</sup> who had his shield

what is now Clessé, a commune in dép. Saône-et-Loire. *Dictionnaire topographique de Saône-et-Loire*, p. 200: <<https://dicotopo.cths.fr/places/P40289987>>.

<sup>151</sup> [Guyloma Patin]. This may be Guillaume Pantin (d. after 1504), lord of La Hamelinière, who was in the entourage of Charles of Anjou, count of Maine. Lainé, *Archives généalogiques*, art. de Pantin, pp. 18–19.

<sup>152</sup> [Remon de Pardillaque]. Raymond de Pardiac: no further information is available about him but the counts of Pardiac were connected to various other families of which certain members were also present at this *pas*, such as Foucault de Pierre-Buffière (see below, n. 154). HMF, vol. 3, p. 818, para. D.

<sup>153</sup> [Remon Gran de Seta]. This may be Raymond de Grancey: no further information is available about him but, in the early to mid-fifteenth century, various members of this Burgundian family were connected by marriage to families such as Anglure, Buffière and Dinteville, some of whose members also competed at this same *pas* (see below, nn. 154, 155, 162). HMF, vol. 2, p. 874, para. C; vol. 4, p. 822, para. E; vol. 8, pp. 715, para. D and 719, para. B.

<sup>154</sup> [Fucaot de Puertabufiera]. Foucault de Pierre-Buffière was a pantler in the household of Charles VIII. CdF, no. 2418.

<sup>155</sup> [Rene Danglura]. René d'Anglure (d. 1529), viscount of Étoges and Blaigny, was captain of a hundred men-at-arms and fought for Francis I in the Italian wars. GDH, vol. 1, p. 451.

<sup>156</sup> This date is correct, as are all those that follow for the remainder of the event.

<sup>157</sup> [Loys de Sansimon]. Louis de Saint-Simon, son of Jean II de Rouvroy, lord of Saint-Simon, and Jeanne de La Trémoille, was a squire of the stables of Louis XI and later a pensioner of Louis XII (1502); he was also captain of two thousand foot soldiers. HMF, vol. 4, p. 399, para. B; JdA, p. 534.

<sup>158</sup> [Galaran Gujat]. Waleran Goujat: he is mentioned in a letter dated 30 July 1488 sent by Charles VIII to Louis de La Trémoille, his lieutenant-general in Brittany, as one of several men, including Louis, duke of Orléans, who were taken prisoner during the 'Guerre Folle'. LCRF, vol. 2, p. 190.

<sup>159</sup> [Juan du Angar]. This may be Jean d'Anglade who is mentioned as bearing letters from the lord of Foix (Jean de Foix, viscount of Narbonne and count of Étampes), to Charles VIII (1489). HCRF, p. 595.

<sup>160</sup> [Pierres de Borne]. Pierre de Borne: no further information is available about him.

<sup>161</sup> [Pierres de Xandio]. Pierre de Chandio is mentioned in a list of wages paid to members of the king's guard (1483–84). HCRF, p. 396. An earlier namesake of his competed at the *Pas de la Fontaine des Pleurs* and an Antoine de Chandio was an *enfant d'honneur* in the household of Charles VIII. CdF, no. 2548.

<sup>162</sup> [Gujot de Tintevila]. Guyot de Dinteville, lord of Roches-sur-Aisne and Spoy, is mentioned in a list of wages paid to members of the king's guard (1483–84). HCRF, pp. 396, 397. He was a member of the same family as Jacques de Dinteville, *grand veneur* of France, who competed at the *Pas des armes de Sandricourt*. *Casebook*, Source 13, p. 270 n. 85.

hung up and his name written down in letters of silver; and Philippe de Vaudrey, lord of Mouÿ and Saint-Phal,<sup>163</sup> who had his shield hung up and his name written down in letters of silver.

(99) On the Friday, at three o'clock on the twenty-third day of July, the king arrived with all his entourage, as he had done the previous day, and went up into his stand; so did many other people, some from Paris and some from elsewhere. The giant soon took his place as he had done the day before and then Robert de Luxe arrived at the outer fence. He was well armed and mounted on a trappered horse. The lances and swords were presented to him; those that he didn't take were given to the knight who soon emerged from the hermitage in his usual manner. He was well armed and well mounted on a rouncey<sup>164</sup> that was decked in a trapper of crimson velvet fringed with gold; on his armet was a large marigold. They couched their lances in their lance-rests<sup>165</sup> and ran fiercely at each other but without striking one another with their lances. They then set to very well with their swords such that Robert de Luxe, with the third stroke of his sword, cut the marigold off the top of the knight's armet; he was not at all displeased to be relieved of his flower. After they had fought well and delivered all their strokes, they went over to the king, embraced each other and took their leave of one another. Robert de Luxe left the field to take his armour off whilst the knight went back to his hermitage to wait for the next challenger. Not long after, Jean de Susanne, lord of Corinen, came up to the outer fence; he was well armed and well mounted. The lances and swords were soon brought over to him to make his choice and those which he had rejected were taken over to the knight in the aforesaid manner. He then came out of his hermitage as Jean de Susanne entered the field. The two of them came at each other as fast as their horses could carry them and they encountered one another in such a manner that Jean de Susanne broke his lance on the body of the knight and they then put their hands to their swords. They each dealt the other great, heavy blows in such a manner that, after five strokes had been exchanged, Jean de Susanne dealt a really hard blow on the knight's visor that broke it, leaving the knight's face exposed. Although those who were watching could see that the knight was having the worse of it, he nonetheless made a great effort to shield himself with his gauntlet and his sword, thus fighting back very fiercely until the eleven strokes had been exchanged on both sides. The men appointed to the task then stepped between them and they went over to the king, embraced each other and, with great affection, took their leave of one another; everyone [then] went off to dinner.

(100) It was not long before the king came back, accompanied as he had been before, and the knight awaited the arrival of the next challenger. His giant saw that Jean Martel

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<sup>163</sup> [Felipes de Bandre, señor de Moy e de Sanfala]. Philippe II de Vaudrey, lord of Mouÿ and Saint-Phal, was an *écuyer tranchant* of Charles the Bold, duke of Burgundy (1472–74) and later lieutenant to the bailiff of Troyes (1496). *Annuaire de la noblesse...*, 38me année (1878), 149–50; PCB, no. 1830; LCRF, vol. 5, pp. 83–5.

<sup>164</sup> A rouncey is an ordinary, all-purpose horse generally ridden by valets and squires. Contamine, 'Le cheval'.

<sup>165</sup> A lance-rest, which is used for mounted combat with lances, is a metal section fitted to the top right-hand side of the breastplate, usually attached by means of a pin and staple so that it can be removed and the breastplate worn for foot combat. Otherwise, it is riveted on with a hinged joint so that it can be folded back when a sword is being used. When the lance is couched under the arm, the grapper on the lance-shaft catches on it on impact with an opponent. This prevents the lance shooting back and damaging the arm or hand. *Casebook*, Glossary, pp. 534–5.

was approaching the outer fence and so sounded his horn, whereupon the knight had the lances and swords sent over and those that had not been chosen were brought back to him, as noted above. He then left his hermitage as Jean Martel entered the field. The two of them rode at each other as hard as their horses could carry them but without striking each other with their lances. They then put their hands to their swords and dealt one another very heavy and skilful blows. Jean Martel tried to make his opponent lose his sword, but he kept firm hold of it and the blows they exchanged were so heavy that it was said that the knight's sword was all twisted and dented. Thus they dealt all eleven strokes on each side before they were parted, at which point they went before the king, embraced each other and each graciously went his separate way, the knight returning to his hermitage.

(101) Soon Jean Baucher, king of Yvetot,<sup>166</sup> came over to the outer fence, the giant sounded his horn and, not long after that, the knight sent over the lances and swords, with those that had been rejected being returned to him. He then left [his hermitage] as the king of Yvetot entered the field. They ran at each other but without striking one another, so they put their hands to their swords and went at each other very fiercely such that the knight broke the pauldron<sup>167</sup> of the king of Yvetot. Once all the blows had been exchanged, they went before the king, embraced, and very graciously took their leave of one another. The knight then said to the king: 'I can now boast that, in the presence of Your Majesty, I have fought with a king!', which made the king and all those who were with him burst out laughing, confirming that what the knight said was true. As the king of Yvetot was leaving the lists, the horse that he was riding — which was a courser belonging to the seneschal of Toulouse<sup>168</sup> that the queen of Spain<sup>169</sup> had given to the seneschal of Provence<sup>170</sup> — bit down on a rouncey ridden by one of the knight's trumpeters, causing the trumpeter and the rouncey to leap up into the air, but they could not release it from [the courser's] mouth such that everyone was amazed and the trumpeter was in quite some danger. This took a while to sort out before the knight went back to his hermitage.

(102) After this, Jean de La Roche came up to the outer fence and the giant sounded his horn. The knight sent over the lances and swords and those that had been rejected were returned to him. He then came out mounted on the same horse as that on which he had competed earlier, which suited him very well. They ran at each other without striking one another and then put their hands to their swords. They began to fight with great, fierce strokes such that the knight caused Jean de La Roche to drop his sword which he then picked up, to the displeasure of many of those who were there.<sup>171</sup> All of a sudden, some unknown people came up to the knight and took his sword off him with great shouts, at

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<sup>166</sup> The text here wrongly refers to Jean Martel as the king of Yvetot, so this has been corrected to Jean Baucher.

<sup>167</sup> A pauldron (Cast: *guardabraço*; Fr: *gardebras*) is a plate defence for the shoulder and upper arm consisting of articulated steel plates. *Casebook*, Glossary, p. 535.

<sup>168</sup> See below, n. 189.

<sup>169</sup> [la reyna d'España]. Isabella I (1451–1504), queen of Spain, was the daughter of Juan II of Castile and Isabel of Portugal; she married Ferdinand II of Aragon in 1469 (see above, n. 86).

<sup>170</sup> [seniscal de Probençia]. Aymar de Poitiers (d. 1510), lord of Saint-Vallier, was grand seneschal of Provence (1484–94). HMF, vol. 2, pp. 204–5.

<sup>171</sup> This detail about members of the audience invading the lists is highly unusual in a *pas d'armes* narrative, given that the role of the marshal of the lists and other officers in these events is to prevent such interference in the fight.

which the knight said to the king: ‘My lord, in your presence, an outrage has been done to me; my sword has been taken from me and I don’t know by whom!’ Even though another sword had already been handed to La Roche, and the knight could see that La Roche had another sword whilst he had none, he lashed out at him and grabbed him in such a way that he managed to wrestle his sword away from him. He then went over to the king and said: ‘My lord, I have been wronged by having my sword taken from me, but I see another that I am collecting from my companion’. The king then replied: ‘Knight, you have done well’, and he ordered that another sword be given to La Roche, as was done. Shortly afterwards, they began to fight again most fiercely and the seneschal of Toulouse said in a loud enough voice for everyone to hear that they should be left to fight properly, which they did. However, in the end, the knight managed to take La Roche’s sword from him a second time and so went up to the king, saying: ‘My lord, it was only a little while ago that I found myself without a sword and now I see two here, thanks be to God’; he then showed them to the king, one in each hand, making a cross with them. La Roche and those with him started to make such a great noise that, on that day, there would have been a huge ruckus if it had not been for the dukes of Orléans and Bourbon, since La Roche belonged to a large and high-ranking family who were not at all pleased with what the knight had done. Yet, the knight, who was a bold man, said to the king that if reason and justice were not done to him for the original wrong he had suffered, he would seek amends on another occasion. The king and his council replied that all justice would be done to him and the two competitors departed without either embracing or saying anything more to each other.<sup>172</sup> The knight went back to his hermitage before emerging from it once more, accompanied by a host of great lords. As they stood there, Jean Chenu arrived at the outer fence, well armed and ready for combat, so the giant sounded his horn and the knight returned to his hermitage. However, because it was late and the king wanted to have dinner, he sent word to the knight that he put it off until another day. This was done and the king and those who were with him returned to their lodgings whilst the knight disarmed himself and went back to his hermitage with his large entourage, where they were entertained in fine style. As they were eating dinner, the king sent word that he should take his pleasure and not be fearful about anybody as he would grant him everything that [the knight] might request. At this, the knight thanked the king profusely for his fine and noble promise.

(103) The following Saturday, on the twenty-fourth of July, around five o’clock in the afternoon, the king returned to his stand accompanied as he had been before, and Jean Chenu came to the outer fence. The giant sounded his horn and the knight sent over the lances and the swords, with those rejected being returned to him. The knight then came out of his hermitage well armed and well mounted on a horse that he had bought that day for 200 *écus à la couronne*<sup>173</sup> from Jean de Susanne. [The two men] ran at each other as fast as their horses could carry them. However, they did not strike one another but put

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<sup>172</sup> This detail about the two competitors failing to touch and reconcile at the end of the combat is also highly unusual in a *pas d’armes* narrative, given how important it was not to let tensions in the lists fester or to spill out into a feud outside the competition, as threatens to happen here.

<sup>173</sup> The translator here refers to this sum of money as being in ‘coronas’, a term which does not refer to the Castilian currency of the same name that came to be better known as *reales*, but rather to the French *écu à la couronne*, to distinguish it from his earlier mention of ‘escudos’ which has been rendered here as *écus* and annotated as *écus au soleil* (see above, n. 94). The *écu à la couronne* was worth 1 lb. 15 s.

their hands to their swords and very skilfully and pleasingly struck at each other without giving any quarter. Chenu dealt fifteen very well-aimed strokes and the knight seventeen, but one of Chenu's blows caused him to lose a nail in his visor and so the two opponents were separated by the judges who were appointed to this task. Afterwards, they went over to the king, embraced each other and the knight returned to his hermitage to await the arrival of other challengers.

(104) Next came to the outer fence, by order of the king, Guillaume de Saint-Aignan,<sup>174</sup> who was fully prepared for combat so the giant sounded his horn and the knight sent over the lances and swords in the customary manner, with those rejected being returned to him. The knight then left the hermitage and soon the two opponents were running at each other as fast as their horses could carry them. They did not strike each other with their lances but they soon took up their swords and started fighting very fiercely such that the eleven strokes on each side were quickly accomplished. As they were separating, Guillaume de Saint-Aignan struck a backhanded blow against the neck of the knight's horse. As soon as it realised it was wounded, the horse started to retreat such that the knight found it impossible to make it go forward. In his efforts to do so, the horse fell to the ground but it soon started to get up again, with the knight still holding his sword in his hand. In this manner, he went over to the king and said: 'My lord, I did not lose my sword!' Everybody said that his honour was not impugned in any way, and this for two reasons: first, because the eleven blows on each side had already been completed; and second, because the knight had held onto his sword the whole time. Thus they embraced and trumpets began to sound as the king came down from his stand with my lady of Beaujeu his sister, my lady the wife of the admiral,<sup>175</sup> and other knights and notables of the kingdom. They went over to the hermitage of the knight and asked him if his horse's fall had caused him any injury or damage to his body, for which the knight most humbly thanked the king and the ladies for taking the trouble to come over to the hermitage. He [explained] that he felt as fresh and ready to do combat as he had done on the first day. The king and everyone else then went back to Paris whilst the knight took off his armour and returned to his lodgings.

(105) On the Sunday, the twenty-fifth day of July, the king came to the stand with all his entourage as he had done before and then François Baraton<sup>176</sup> arrived, armed and ready for combat. The giant sounded his horn, the knight sent over the lances and the swords, with those rejected being sent back to him. Without delay, the knight left the hermitage; he was mounted on a very gentle horse that wore a trapper of white damask with very costly embroidery. Baraton made his way into the field and the two men came at each other in such a manner that the knight's lance shattered into pieces. They soon put their hands to their swords and began to fight fiercely but without either of them suffering any harm.

*livres tournois* in 1488 (i.e. slightly less than the *écu au soleil*), so this means that 200 *écus* of this type are worth 350 *livres tournois*. Spufford, *Handbook of Medieval Exchange*, p. 193.

<sup>174</sup> [Guilloma de Santiaña]. See above, n. 135.

<sup>175</sup> [madama la muger del almirante]. Marie de Lescun was married to Odet d'Aydie (d. 1498), lord of Lescun and count of Cominges, admiral of France, who was a councillor-chamberlain of Louis XI. HMF, vol. 7, p. 858.

<sup>176</sup> Neither of these two competitors, François and Guillaume Baraton, who fought Claude de Vaudrey on this day, is mentioned as having presented his shield beforehand; the former had already competed at the earlier *pas* of the duke of Orléans.

The eleven blows were exchanged on both sides so they were separated and embraced each other most graciously before the king. The knight went back to his hermitage and the other man left the field. It was not long before another knight, named Guillaume Baraton,<sup>177</sup> arrived at the outer fence ready for combat. The giant sounded his horn and the knight sent over the lances and swords, with those rejected being returned to him. The knight then left the hermitage and soon the two knights were running at each other as fast as their horses could carry them. The knight struck his lance on Guillaume Baraton's body and broke it into three pieces, such that the lance-head pierced the pauldron and the iron tip and a piece of the shaft went into his arm. Baraton pulled the lance-head out of his arm with his [other] hand, which caused a great outpouring of blood. The knight, who had not seen the blood, went up to Baraton again and dealt him a great blow on the sallet,<sup>178</sup> causing him to try and use his sword to defend himself but nearly fainting from the pain of the wound. His sword then fell from his hand and, seeing himself in this state, Baraton threw himself at the knight and hit him on the armet with his gauntlet. The knight began to laugh and asked him if he wished to fight with his fists.<sup>179</sup> At this, those who were appointed to the task separated the two, given that so much blood had been lost, and they went before the king and embraced. Baraton went off to have his arm seen to and the king left for his lodgings, where he sent word to Baraton and told two of his surgeons to go and look after him with great care.

(106) The next day, the following Monday, the king came to his stand in his accustomed manner and then Louis de Selans<sup>180</sup> turned up at the outer fence. He was well armed and ready for combat, so the giant sounded his horn and the knight sent over the lances and swords, with those rejected being returned to him. He left shortly afterwards and the two of them ran at each other without breaking any lances. They then took up their swords and dealt each other such heavy blows that Louis de Selans dropped his sword. The knight threw his sword on the ground and Louis de Selans attempted to defend himself with his fists. However, they were soon separated by the judges appointed to this task and were taken over to the king, where they embraced. Selans then left the field whilst the knight returned to his hermitage to await the next challengers.

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<sup>177</sup> [Guilloma (de) Baraton]. Guillaume Baraton: no further information is available about him, but a Gabriel-Olivier Baraton, eldest son of François Baraton (see above, n. 55), lord of Montgauger and Rivarenes, may have been of an age to compete at the *pas*. HMF, vol. 8, p. 584.

<sup>178</sup> A sallet (Cast. *celada*) was the most common helmet-type borne by the fifteenth-century fighting man: usually of a single piece, it provides protection to the back of the head and neck by means of its protruding 'tail' whilst the forehead and face are protected either by the helmet skull (main bowl) being extended over the face with chiselled-out aperture or apertures (now known as 'sights') or by fitting a visor. It is usually paired with the bevor, a plate defence for the chin and throat. *Casebook*, Glossary, p. 536.

<sup>179</sup> Although the use of fists was a legitimate fighting technique when not specifically prohibited in the chapters of arms/articles, it was not deemed to be a very manly or honourable form of combat: for example, in the *Pas de la Fontaine des Pleurs*, Jacques de Lalaing criticises his opponent, Jean Pitois, for hitting him in the face with his gauntlet, claiming that this is how women fight with each other. *Casebook*, Source 7, p. 181.

<sup>180</sup> [Loys de Selans]. Louis de Selans: no further information is available about him, but a lordship of Selans was ceded to the duchy of Burgundy in 1302. HMF, vol. 7, p. 706, para. B. He is also not mentioned as having presented his shield beforehand.

(107) Soon Modon de Caillac<sup>181</sup> came up to the outer fence fully armed, so the giant sounded his horn and the knight sent over the lances and the swords, with those rejected being returned to him. He then left [the hermitage] in his usual manner. They ran at each other, but without striking, and then rained heavy blows down on one another with their swords. Once all this had been accomplished, they were taken before the king, embraced as before, and the knight returned to his hermitage.

(108) It was not long before Messire Gabriel de Montfaucon,<sup>182</sup> a well-armed knight, came to the outer fence, causing the giant to sound his horn and the knight to send over the lances and swords. Those rejected were sent back to him and he left the hermitage. The two opponents soon ran at each other, their lances in their lance-rests, but didn't strike one another. They put their hands to their swords and dealt each other such hard and heavy blows that, eventually, the horse of the knight of Montfaucon retreated up to the outer fence in front of the king whilst the Knight of the Marigold was still landing blows [on him]. They were separated, went over to the king, and embraced each other with great affection before they took their leave of one another and the knight returned to his hermitage.

(109) From there the king went off to the Bois de Vincennes for dinner, with a good company. My lady of Orléans came to the hermitage riding on the back of a mule<sup>183</sup> and in the saddle was François de Monsures.<sup>184</sup> When they arrived at the hermitage, the knight came out to greet them in full armour and she said to him: 'It would be fitting for you to kiss me', but the knight replied: 'It is not for such a poor knight as myself to kiss such a noble lady as yourself on the mouth, but rather it is only proper that I kiss your foot'. So saying, he caught hold of her foot and kissed it. However, she let herself drop onto him, took him by the neck and kissed him on the mouth as if she would eat him up, saying that she could not kiss a more valiant and industrious knight than him. The knight thanked her profusely and commended himself to her, giving her to understand that he had been disinherited for having served the duke of Burgundy and that she might make his case before the king so as to have his lands returned to him; this she said she would gladly do. After more conversation between them, she went off and he stayed in his hermitage.

(110) The following Tuesday, on the twenty-seventh of July, the knight did not fight because it was the will of the king who told him that he should be patient from that day until Thursday, the twenty-ninth of the month. [On that day], the king came from the Bois de Vincennes at three o'clock in the afternoon and went up into his stand as was his custom. Not long after, Martin Duretal<sup>185</sup> arrived at the outer fence mounted on the

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<sup>181</sup> [Modon de Cayllaque]. Modon de Caillac (or possibly Gaillac): no further information is available about him. He is also not mentioned as having presented his shield beforehand.

<sup>182</sup> [Gabriel de Monfaoron/Monfaocon]. Gabriel de Montfaucon, captain of the great tower of Aigues-Mortes, is mentioned in a list of wages paid to members of the king's guard (1483–84). HCRF, p. 396. He was later lieutenant of one hundred gentlemen in the household of Louis XII. JdA, vol. 4, p. 507. He is also not mentioned as having presented his shield beforehand.

<sup>183</sup> See above, n. 143.

<sup>184</sup> [François Monsyur]. François de Monsures: no further information is available about him but the Monsures were an old family from Picardy; the lord of Monsures competed as a challenger at the *Pas des armes de Sandricourt* and the lady of Monsures was host to the team on which he competed for the duration of the event. *Casebook*, Source 13, p. 266 n. 41 (lord), p. 280 n. 117 (lady).

<sup>185</sup> [Min Dureta]. Martin Duretal: this is the likely expanded form of his first name from 'Min' which the editors of the El Escorial manuscript appear not to have recognised as containing an abbreviation. No further information is available about him but a François de La Jaille (d. 1508), baron of Duretal,

seneschal of Toulouse's horse: both he and the horse were well armed. The giant then sounded his horn and the knight sent over the lances and swords, with those rejected being sent back to him. The knight came out and the two of them did not strike each other with their lances but fought well with their swords until the hilt of the knight's sword became stuck to his hand and the blade fell to the ground. The audacious knight then grabbed hold of his opponent's sword and they were separated. They went over to the king, embraced very graciously, and took their leave of one another, with the knight returning to his hermitage.

(111) Next up to the outer fence came the duke of Orléans who had two of his squires with him, both of whom were well armed. The giant sounded his horn and the knight sent over the lances and swords, with those rejected being sent back to him. The knight came out of his hermitage and they ran at each other but achieved nothing with their lances. They then fought until the twelve strokes with lance and sword had been completed but with neither of them harming the other. They went over to the king and took their leave of one another very graciously and nobly, with the knight then returning to his hermitage.

(112) The giant soon came back to sound his horn and the knight sent over the lances and swords, with those rejected being sent back to him. The knight came out of his hermitage and they ran against each other but without striking one another with their lances before they put their hands to their swords and fought hard. They battled away in such a manner that the eleven blows were accomplished and they then went before the king, embraced and separated most graciously, with the knight returning to his hermitage.

(113) No sooner had the one [challenger] left the field than another arrived at the outer fence: this man of arms ready for combat was called Bazoges.<sup>186</sup> The giant sounded his horn and the knight sent over the lances and swords, with those rejected being sent back to him. The knight came out of his hermitage and the two of them ran at each other in such a manner that the knight broke his lance on Bazoges's [body]. They then put their hands to their swords and harried each other well, each of them doing his loyal duty. When the blows had been exchanged on both sides, they were separated, went before the king, embraced, and the knight went back to his hermitage.

(114) No sooner had the knight gone inside his hermitage than Jean de La Haye arrived at the outer fence. The giant sounded his horn and the knight sent over the lances and swords, with those rejected being sent back to him. The knight came out of his hermitage and they ran at each other. They failed to break any lances but put their hands to their swords and fought very well, such that after two strokes, as the knight thought to land another blow on La Haye, his sword dropped out of his fist. Seeing this, he turned his horse by the bridle in order to go over to the king, with everyone murmuring that he had embarrassed his lord. La Haye then ran after him and landed two good strokes on his armet. Very calmly, the knight turned round and wrapped his arms around La Haye with the result that he lifted him right out of his saddle such that, in order to keep himself [on his horse], he had to surrender his sword. The knight then

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served Louis XII in his Italian campaign in 1503. JdA, vol. 3, p. 208; *ibid.*, vol. 4, p. 465. Martin Duretal is also not mentioned as having presented his shield beforehand.

<sup>186</sup> [Buxor]. This may be Mathurin Richart, known as Bazoges; he later became a *fourrier* (quartermaster) of Charles VIII. JdA, vol. 4, p. 367; LCRF, vol. 4, pp. 249, 290, 294, 309. He is also not mentioned as having presented his shield beforehand.



took it and gave him three good blows with it, before going over to the king and saying: ‘I lost my own sword but I am claiming this one as mine’. The king replied: ‘Knight, you have done very well’. [He and Jean de La Haye] then embraced each other, with the latter taking his leave and the former going back to his hermitage, carrying the sword that he had won on his shoulder; everyone said that he was the most audacious man in the world! Not long after, Antoine de La Croix<sup>187</sup> arrived at the outer fence, fully armed and ready for combat. The giant soon came back to sound his horn and the knight sent over the lances and swords, with those rejected being returned to him. The knight came out of his hermitage and they ran against each other but without striking one another with their lances. They then put their hands to their swords and fought very well with them, to the extent that their weapons were all dented by the time the eleven blows had been exchanged. They went before the king and touched each other’s [hands]. Antoine de La Croix went off to disarm himself and the knight went back to his hermitage. The king then went to dinner whilst my lady of Orléans came down from her stand and went over to the knight’s hermitage. The knight came out and spoke to her, saying: ‘My lady, what is your pleasure? Do you wish to kiss me a second time?’, to which she replied: ‘Certainly, for that is why I am here; each time I kiss you it seems to me that I am ten years younger than I [actually] am...’. The knight then kissed her and took his leave of her; many of the notables who knew of this whispered about the two of them, saying that this might come to something.

(115) On neither the Saturday, the last day of July, nor the Sunday, the first day of August, which was the day that the knight’s *pas* was [due] to end, nor on the Monday or the Tuesday, the third of August, did the knight perform any feats of arms, as this was what the king had willed. For some reason, his council did not wish him to leave his chamber during that time. Rather, by order of the king and by stipulation of his council, the *pas* was to come to an end close by the king’s residence in a garden in Angoulême.<sup>188</sup> There the knight soon had everything set up just as well as it had been at his hermitage. Because the knight still had a number of knights to fight, the king commanded him to arm the four men who had been named in his articles in order that the next day, either in the morning or in the evening, his *pas* could be brought to a close. The knight had this done very properly and he instructed his four knights on how they were to conduct themselves.

(116) On Wednesday, the fourth of August, after the knight and his four companions had made themselves ready in his lodgings, Gaston du Lyon,<sup>189</sup> seneschal of Toulouse,

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<sup>187</sup> [Anton de la Cruz]. See above, n. 141.

<sup>188</sup> [Angulema]. This reference is not to Angoulême itself — which is 450 km from Paris and thus impossible to reach in the time available for relocating the infrastructure of Claude’s tournament — but rather to the Hôtel d’Angoulême in Paris. This was a part of the Hôtel des Tournelles that had been given over in the mid-fifteenth century to the counts of Angoulême who were a younger branch of the Orléans family. The large garden attached to the whole collection of buildings was separated into two different areas to go with the two different residences, hence it is highly likely that this garden of the Hôtel d’Angoulême was the venue for the final day of Claude’s event. Viallon, ‘Les tournois’, vol. 1, pp. 241–2; Weiss, *La demeure*, p. 20. For an illustration of these two residences and their position in relation to the Rue Saint-Antoine, see Viallon, ‘Les tournois’, vol. 2, Annexes, p. 73, fig. 137.

<sup>189</sup> [Gastomete de Leon]. Gaston du Lyon was first chamberlain to the dauphin Louis, the future Louis XI, and was made seneschal of Saintonge (1461), seneschal of Guyenne (1468), and then seneschal

and many other notables of the kingdom arrived. The knight had everything very well organised in the afore-mentioned garden and they left his lodgings on foot with a great fanfare of trumpets. With them went the knight's four bears on the same number of mules; each of them held a trumpet in its paws and was accompanied by a little Moor on foot who held the mules by the reins. Behind them came two heralds of arms and, after them, the two hermits. One of them carried the knight's banner and the other his standard. Next came one of the knight's men on foot who was carrying a great deal of treasure on him and was also pulling behind him a very gentle courser that was richly decked out in an expensive trapper of crimson brocade with a white silk fringe. After him came the knight who was in full armour that left nothing to be desired; behind him came the four knights who were very well mounted [on] horses that were trapped in a livery of yellow coutil<sup>190</sup> with a violet silk fringe. Behind them came a very large company in the form and manner [described] above. When they arrived at the king's residence, the knight made his horse execute a great pirouette before going over to the lady of Orléans who was at the window. She held her hand out to him, saying: 'I pray to God, gentle knight, that He guide you and show you favour today in order that you might do something that makes you happy and brings honour to both you and your four knights'. The knight replied: 'Thanks to your kind and gracious words, no harm can come to us'. With that, he left her and went off to the garden where his hermitage was located. He and his four knights went inside, waiting for [any] challengers to make their appearance. The king, in a state of great elation, came with the others to watch the conclusion of the knight's *pas*.

(117) Next, up to the outer fence came the smaller of the [two] hermits, Villebresme.<sup>191</sup> He went near to the window where the king and all the ladies were and began to preach a little [sermon] in a manner similar to this: 'In the name of all those lovers who have helped the knight to fulfil his own love,<sup>192</sup> for which he deems himself most lucky and happy, he thanks the ladies. (118) We come to the matter of this *ultima die, domenica* of what remains [of his event]; that is to say that Sunday [was to be] the last day of his *emprise* to fight with arms free of sleeves — no matter who might resent him [for it] — since he has taken on this burden in order to uphold a certain promise that he has made.<sup>193</sup> For my part, I esteem him for having brought his [task] to completion; however, to come to the most important part of what I have to say to you, he has fulfilled his *pas* without either bringing about ruin or provoking anger and no one can say otherwise'.

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of Toulouse (1469). HCRF, p. 27; Letter from Louis XI, countersigned by his secretary Olivier Le Roux, addressed to Galeazzo-Maria Sforza, duke of Milan, Orléans, 27 March (n.d): <<https://drouot.com/en/1/13604558--louis-xi-lettre-signee--loys->>.

<sup>190</sup> Coutil (Cast. *ceoty*), is a tightly-woven cloth. DMF.

<sup>191</sup> [Vradobram]. This is probably Guillaume de Villebresme, a secretary of Charles VII and then Louis XI. PPR, p. 1282. A 'G. de Villebresme' is also mentioned as being a secretary of the duchess of Orléans in a household account of the dukes of Orléans in 1464. CAA, vol. 1, p. 86. As a clerical, probably elderly figure by the time of Claude's *pas* in 1484, the part of a venerable 'hermit-knight' that he plays here would have been very suitable for him.

<sup>192</sup> See above, n. 96, on this rather generic reference to Claude's supposed lady-love.

<sup>193</sup> This part of the hermit-knight's speech is very hard to follow in the original text: it mixes a phrase in Latin — as befits his supposedly 'preaching' here, hence this has been retained in the translation — with multiple Gallicisms.

(119) Up to the outer fence came Christophe de Tournon,<sup>194</sup> who was well armed and ready for combat. The giant sounded his horn and the knight sent over the lances and swords, with those rejected being sent back to him. The knight came out of his hermitage and they ran at each other. They did not break any lances but they put their hands to their swords and fought very fiercely, with the knight landing such a heavy blow on Christophe's helm that his sword broke off half a hand above the hilt. When he saw this piece of the sword fall off, Christophe thought that the knight had dropped his own weapon. He therefore immediately let fall his own sword and went over to the king. The knight said to the king: 'My lord, I did not lose my whole sword for I have this left in my hand'. On seeing this, Christophe was very ashamed and the king had the piece of the sword brought over and it was acknowledged that the sword had been broken with great force. At this, they embraced and the knight went back to his hermitage.

(120) Soon, up to the outer fence came Jacques Martin, who was well armed. The giant then sounded his horn and the knight sent over the lances and swords, with those rejected being returned to him. The knight came out without delay. They did not strike one another with their lances but fought very well with their swords before the knight dealt such a great blow on Jacques Martin with his sword that he caused him to drop his own weapon from his hand. The knight went over to the king, the [two men] embraced, and he went back to his hermitage.

(121) Next came Tristan de Lavedan, who was well armed. The giant sounded his horn and the knight sent over the lances and swords, with those rejected being returned to him. The knight soon came out and they fought very well with their lances, for both of them were broken. They then put their hands to their swords and fought fiercely until the eleven strokes [were done]. They went over to the king, embraced, and the knight went back to his hermitage.

(122) Soon came Pierre Topin, who was well armed and ready for combat. The giant sounded his horn and the knight sent over the lances and swords, with those rejected being sent back to Pierre de Borne, one of the four knights. He came out of the hermitage but they did not strike each other with their lances. However, they fought very well with their swords such that, on the eleventh stroke, Topin dropped his sword, whereupon they went over to the king, embraced, and Borne went back to the hermitage.

(123) Thus did the four knights fight against twelve [challengers] from outside, each of them performing his eleven strokes without any of the four being dishonoured in any kind of way; rather, they all did extremely well, for which the knight gave great thanks to God.

(124) Next up to the outer fence came Louis de Saint-Simon, who was ready for combat. The giant sounded his horn and the knight sent over the lances and swords, with those rejected being returned to him. The knight came out and Louis de Saint-Simon broke his lance on his [body]. They then fought with swords with the result that, on the seventh stroke, Louis de Saint-Simon lost his sword, letting it fall from more than an arm's length above his head. Straightaway, the knight dropped his sword to the ground and the [two of them] went before the king where they graciously took leave of one another and the knight went back to his hermitage.

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<sup>194</sup> [Cristopha de Tesans]. This may be Christophe de Tournon who was an *enfant d'honneur* (1490) then a cupbearer (1496) of Charles VIII. CdF, nos 2537 and 2440. He is also not mentioned as having presented his shield beforehand.

(125) Next, by order of the king, came Waleran Goujat who was well armed and ready for combat. The giant sounded his horn and the knight sent over the lances and swords, with those rejected being returned to him. The knight soon came out but they did not strike each other with their lances. However, they fought very well with their swords which they wielded so equally that no one could have said who had won out. At this point, the knight, who was striving to do his very best, dealt a stroke that disarmed Waleran of his pauldron-reinforce<sup>195</sup> and attacked him so fiercely that Waleran could not hold out. He turned his back away from him, at which point [the knight] landed further blows that cut off his other pauldron. On seeing this, Waleran's courage returned to him and he dealt three or four good strokes on the knight and was determined to take his sword off him. When he realised that he wasn't able to do so, he grabbed hold of him and put his spurs to his horse in an attempt to drag him off his saddle. However, the knight blocked this manoeuvre with the hilt of his sword and grabbed hold of the rein of Goujat's horse. With his left hand, [the knight] hit him with the rondel<sup>196</sup> on the bevor<sup>197</sup> so hard that he was a little stunned, so he backed off. They then set too again as they had done at the beginning, dealing each other more than fifty blows. However, because Waleran had lost some of his armour, they were not allowed to continue fighting, even though the knight would not have attacked him for anything in the world if he was disarmed. This is how the knight brought his *pas* to a close. They went up before the king, thanked each other for the fine blows that they had dealt one another, and embraced.

(126) The knight thanked the king most graciously for the honour that he had done him, and then [thanked] the ladies. The king said to him: 'Knight, you have done me such honour during my Entry into Paris that, by way of remuneration, I order all the lands that my father King Louis,<sup>198</sup> of glorious memory, took from you to be returned to you.<sup>199</sup> Furthermore, I tell you, if it pleased you to join my household, I would grant you wealth and rewards'. The knight thanked him for this most humbly; as for joining his household, he neither accepted nor refused.<sup>200</sup> (127) This book was translated from French into Castilian in Paris; this was done by Sancho de la Forca, commander of the concession

<sup>195</sup> A pauldron-reinforce (Cast. *grand guardabrazo*; Fr. *grand gardebras*) is a secondary plate that can be affixed to the front of the pauldron by means of a pin and staple to offer extra protection, especially in mounted combat. *Casebook*, Glossary, p. 535.

<sup>196</sup> A rondel (Cast. *manopla*; Fr. *rondelle*) is a disc-shaped hand guard affixed to a sword or, more commonly, a dagger. *Casebook*, Glossary, p. 536.

<sup>197</sup> A bevor (Cast. *barva*; Fr. *bevor, bavière*) is a plate chin and throat defence most commonly borne with the sallet. *Casebook*, Glossary, p. 532.

<sup>198</sup> [el rey Loys]. Louis XI (b. 1423), was king of France (1461–83).

<sup>199</sup> See above, n. 84. It is not known if the dowager duchess of Orléans really did play a decisive role in having Claude's lands returned to him, as the narrative would have it, but they were indeed given back to him following the end of his *pas*. Dijon, Archives Départementales de la Côte-d'Or, B1068.

<sup>200</sup> This sentence suggests that Claude's loyalties between Burgundy and France remained divided and he shows himself to be a careful diplomat here in not aligning himself exclusively with the French king's household, even though he had become his subject since the treaty of Arras in 1482 that brought hostilities between the two territories to an end. Bischoff, 'Claude de Vaudrey', p. 256. However, a letter written by Charles VIII in 1497 demanding that Claude be granted the lordship of Pontallier-sur-Saône suggests that he continued to enjoy the king's favour long after his *pas* had ended. LCRF, vol. 5, p. 136.

of Étampes,<sup>201</sup> who was to bring it to give to the most magnificent and most illustrious lord, my lord the count of Benavente.<sup>202</sup> It was completed on Friday, the twenty-fifth day of November in the year of Our Lord, 1484.

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<sup>201</sup> In Étampes, there was a territorial concession to the military order of Santiago, which explains Sancho de la Forca's presence in France and how he was able to obtain copies of French sources for the two Parisian *pas* as well as for the account of the king's coronation and Royal Entry. CRC, Nota introductoria: <<https://books.openedition.org/esb/908>>.

<sup>202</sup> [el señor conde de Benabente]. Rodrigo Alfonso de Pimentel (1441–99), fourth count and first duke of Benavente. *Diccionario biográfico electrónico* of the Real Academia de la Historia: <<https://dbe.rah.es/>>, lemma 'Pimentel'.

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## APPENDIX

TABLE 1. COMPETITORS AT THE *PAS DU CHEVALIER AU SOUCI*

<b>Name of challenger (in order of mention in text)</b>	<b>Name of defender, if specified</b>	<b>Date of combat, if specified</b>	<b>Date of presenta- tion of shield, if specified</b>
Louis, duke of Orléans	Claude de Vaudrey	Thursday 22 July	Wednesday 21 July
Robert de Luxe	Claude de Vaudrey	Friday 23 July	Wednesday 21 July
Jean de Susanne	Claude de Vaudrey	Friday 23 July	Wednesday 21 July
Jean Martel	Claude de Vaudrey	Friday 23 July	Wednesday 21 July
Jean Baucher, king of Yvetot	Claude de Vaudrey	Friday 23 July	Wednesday 21 July
Jean de La Roche	Claude de Vaudrey	Friday 23 July	Wednesday 21 July
Jean Chenu	Claude de Vaudrey	Saturday 24 July	Wednesday 21 July
Claude/Guillaume de Saint-Aignan	Claude de Vaudrey	Saturday 24 July	Friday 23 July
François Baraton	Claude de Vaudrey	Sunday 25 July	-
Guillaume Baraton	Claude de Vaudrey	Sunday 25 July	-
Louis de Selans	Claude de Vaudrey	Monday 26 July	-
Modon de Caillac	Claude de Vaudrey	Monday 26 July	-
Gabriel de Montfaucon	Claude de Vaudrey	Monday 26 July	-
Martin Duretal	Claude de Vaudrey	Thursday 29 July	Thursday 29 July
Two unnamed squires of the duke of Orléans	Claude de Vaudrey	Thursday 29 July	-
Bazoges	Claude de Vaudrey	Thursday 29 July	-
Jean de La Haye	Claude de Vaudrey	Thursday 29 July	Thursday 29 July
Jean de La Croix	Claude de Vaudrey	Thursday 29 July	Thursday 29 July
Christophe de Tournon	Claude de Vaudrey	Wednesday 4 August	-
Jacques Martin	Claude de Vaudrey	Wednesday 4 August	Thursday 29 July
Tristan de Lavedan	Claude de Vaudrey	Wednesday 4 August	Thursday 29 July
Pierre Topin	Philippe de Borne	Wednesday 4 August	Thursday 29 July

<b>Name of challenger (in order of mention in text)</b>	<b>Name of defender, if specified</b>	<b>Date of combat, if specified</b>	<b>Date of presenta- tion of shield, if specified</b>
Louis de Saint-Simon	Claude de Vaudrey	Wednesday 4 August	Sunday 1 August
Waleran Goujat	Claude de Vaudrey	Wednesday 4 August	Sunday 1 August
François de Coignac	-	-	Thursday 29 July
Jeannot Casault	-	-	Thursday 29 July
Guy d'Ancienville	-	-	Friday 30 July
Charles Foucard	-	-	Friday 30 July
Michel de Montgilbert	-	-	Friday 30 July
Jean Chicot	-	-	Friday 30 July
Jean de La Tour	-	-	Saturday 31 July
Guillaume Pantin	-	-	Saturday 31 July
Raymond de Pardiac	-	-	Saturday 31 July
Raymond de Grancey	-	-	Saturday 31 July
Foucault de Pierre-Buffière	-	-	Saturday 31 July
René d'Anglure	-	-	Saturday 31 July
Jean d'Anglade	-	-	Sunday 1 August





**Figure 1.** Setting of the *Pas du Chevalier au Souci*, showing (clockwise from top left): the palissaded lists where the *entrepreneur*, Claude de Vaudrey, with a marigold (*souci*) on his helm, is jousting against Louis, duke of Orléans; four ‘bears’ playing trumpets on a platform; a stepped *perron* with a pillar bedecked with the two competitors’ shields and a larger green shield that was used to write down the names of those who had requested permission to compete; a statue on top of this pillar of a naked damsel holding a marigold in her right hand and an eagle on a gold chain in her left hand; an orientalisised giant blowing a large horn to signify the approach of a challenger; and two ‘hermit-knights’ dressed in clerical robes and bearing two standards in front of a large stand. *Coronación del rey Carlos VIII de Francia y fiestas que se hicieron*, El Escorial, Real Biblioteca del Monasterio de San Lorenzo, e-IV-5, fols 58v–59r. Photo: Real Biblioteca del Monasterio de San Lorenzo.



**Figure 2.** Coats of arms of competitors at the *Pas du Chevalier au Souci*: (left, from top) arms of Louis of Orléans, Jean Baucher, king of Yvetot, and Jean Martel; (right, from top) arms of Robert de Luxe, Jean de Susanne, Jean de La Roche and Jean Chenu. *Coronación del rey Carlos VIII de Francia y fiestas que se hicieron*, El Escorial, Real Biblioteca del Monasterio de San Lorenzo, e-IV-5, fols 59v–60r. Photo: Real Biblioteca del Monasterio de San Lorenzo.



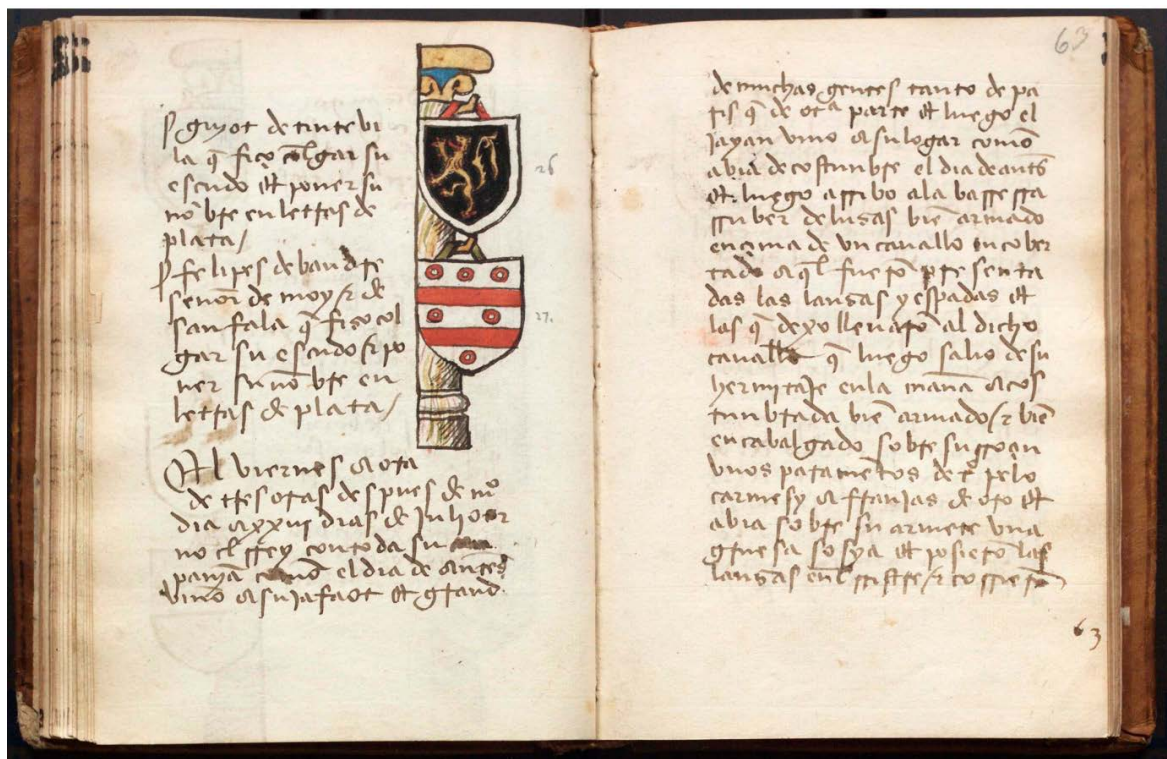
**Figure 3.** Coats of arms of competitors at the *Pas du Chevalier au Souci*: (left from top) arms of Claude/Guillaume de Saint-Aignan, Jacques Martin, Jean de La Haye and Tristan de Lavedan; (right from top) arms of Pierre Topin, Jean de La Croix, François de Coignac and Jeannot Casault. *Coronación del rey Carlos VIII de Francia y fiestas que se hicieron*, El Escorial, Real Biblioteca del Monasterio de San Lorenzo, e-IV-5, fols 60v–61r. Photo: Real Biblioteca del Monasterio de San Lorenzo.



**Figure 4.** Coats of arms of competitors at the *Pas du Chevalier au Souci*: (left from top) arms of Jean d'Ancienville, Charles Foucard, Michel de Montgilbert and Jean Chicot; (right from top) these should be the arms of Jean de La Tour, Guillaume Pantin, Raymond de Pardiack and Raymond de Grancey, but only three shields are actually shown. *Coronación del rey Carlos VIII de Francia y fiestas que se hicieron*, El Escorial, Real Biblioteca del Monasterio de San Lorenzo, e-IV-5, fols 61v–62r. Photo: Real Biblioteca del Monasterio de San Lorenzo.



**Figure 5.** Coats of arms of competitors at the *Pas du Chevalier au Souci*: (left from top) arms of Foucault de Pierre-Buffière, René d’Anglure, Louis de Saint-Simon and Waleran Goujat; (right from top) arms of Jean d’Anglade, Pierre de Borne and Pierre de Chandio. *Coronación del rey Carlos VIII de Francia y fiestas que se hicieron*, El Escorial, Real Biblioteca del Monasterio de San Lorenzo, e-IV-5, fols 62v–62bisr. Photo: Real Biblioteca del Monasterio de San Lorenzo.



**Figure 6.** Coats of arms of competitors at the *Pas du Chevalier au Souci*: (left from top) arms of Guyot de Dinteville and Philippe de Vaudrey. *Coronación del rey Carlos VIII de Francia y fiestas que se hicieron*, El Escorial, Real Biblioteca del Monasterio de San Lorenzo, e-IV-5, fols 62<sup>bisv</sup>–63r. Photo: Real Biblioteca del Monasterio de San Lorenzo.