

Marc van Hasselt



# A Burgundian Death

The tournament in Le Chevalier Délibéré





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Thesis written for the Research Master Medieval Studies, University of Utrecht

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Title page illustration: The first miniature of Jan Pertcheval's translation of *Le Chevalier Délibéré: Den Camp vander Doot*, featuring the *Chevalier* fighting Death.



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## Introduction

The Medieval tournament is an evocative image. The glint of armour and weapons, the bright colours of banners and coats, the clash of horses and knights: all of these elements made the tournament a lasting memory to anyone who witnessed one. They still fascinate us today, as can be seen in such popular media as Hollywood movies.<sup>1</sup> In the late Medieval period, this was no different. The literature and art of the time often used the tournament as a theme, as a sort of shorthand for what it meant to be chivalrous. One text in particular has caught my attention: Olivier de la Marche's *Le Chevalier Délibéré*. The main theme, the tournament of death, first enticed me to read it. I was struck by the layers of meaning and the complex allegories in the poem. The descriptions of the tournament itself were evocative, but also the descriptions of the miniatures that were meant to accompany the text fascinated me. I was left with many questions, of which I chose one to delve into.

## Research question

The central subject of this thesis is *Le Chevalier Délibéré*. However, since there are a great many aspects of this text which may be researched – the literary themes, the iconography, the roll of the dead, the *Ars Moriendi*, its use as a mirror for princes – choices have to be made. One central theme of the text is the tournament, or more specifically the joust. This is the aspect I have chosen to research for this thesis; how does Olivier de la

<sup>1</sup> One example is "A Knight's Tale" (2001), loosely based on Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales*, which attempts to translate the Medieval sport into a format that would appeal to modern audiences.

Marche use the tournament as an allegory for life and death in *Le Chevalier Délibéré*? In answering this question, some of the other elements of the text, literary, historical and art-historical, cannot be excluded. However, I shall attempt to limit my research to this central question.

Moving from the general to the specific, I shall sketch out the development of the Burgundian *Pas d'Armes* to start with. I shall attempt to relate some of the historical developments of the tournament and their representation in the literature of the time through some examples. For the fifteenth century and the life of Olivier de la Marche, I shall concentrate on a small number of examples from his own writing.

Olivier de la Marche, in his role as court chronicler, described a number of these events in his *Mémoires*, which cover the period of 1435-1488. He began writing them in 1473 and continued until his death in 1502. There have been a number of publications on the subject of these *Mémoires*.<sup>2</sup> Especially the *Pas de l'Arbre d'Or* (Pas of the Golden Tree, 1468) features heavily in his writing, as he played a significant role in organizing the event. By describing this tournament, which lasted over a week, I hope to relay some of the imagery of the late Medieval tournament.

By describing the life of the author and the way the *Pas* fits into it, I hope to give some insights into his motivation for using the tournament as a theme in his literary work. After analyzing the life and works of the author and describing the text of *Le Chevalier Délibéré* (LCD) itself, I will take some time to analyze the use of allegory in the text, as well as some aspects of its literary motives and elements.

Moving from the text to the text-carrier, I will delve into the manuscript tradition of LCD, taking into account the codicological context in which the text functioned in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. I have chosen to delve further into the Dutch translations and adaptations of the text, as it reflects on the spread of LCD to the Burgundian Netherlands. From the specifics of the codices, I will necessarily fan out into the reception history of the text, on which I have to be brief. Not only the *Nachleben* of the text must be considered, but also what came before: the influence exerted by other texts, specifically the *Le Pas de la Mort* by Amé de Montgesoie.<sup>3</sup>

2 Catherine Emerson, *Olivier de la Marche and the rhetoric of fifteenth-century historiography* (Woodbridge 2004). A. Millar, *Olivier de la Marche and the court of Burgundy, c. 1425-1502* (Edinburgh 1996) 102-131.

3 Probably written in Brussels circa 1457, though there is some uncertainty. See: P.



## 1. The Medieval tournament in history and literature

The tournament was more than a literary device; it was part and parcel of the life of the Burgundian court. Several tournaments were organised each year, not only by the court itself, but also by such tournament companies as the *Orde van de Witte Beer* (Order of the White Bear) in Bruges.<sup>4</sup> The origins of the late medieval tournament and its development, specifically into the joust and the popular *pas d'armes* will be followed by a description of the conventions and rules which were used at these events during the life of de la Marche. Several examples of jousts, such as the famous *pas* of the Golden Tree held in 1468 as part of the celebrations surrounding the marriage between Charles the Bold and Margaret of York, will serve to illustrate the spectacle de la Marche would have been familiar with. His own role in these celebrations in organising the *entremets*, the entertainments in between the courses of the banquet, could possibly be linked to his literary work as well. The literary context in which the tournament appears and the similarities and differences between the way de la Marche used it and other authors employed it, may provide more insights into his intentions.

The tournament as it existed in the late fifteenth century is a different beast

de Keyser, *Colijn Caillieu's Dal Sonder Wederkeren of Pas der Doot* (Antwerpen 1936) 33-39.

4 Andries van den Abeele, *Het ridderlijk gezelschap van de Witte Beer. Steekspelen in Brugge in de late Middeleeuwen* (Brugge 2000). See for instance the fifth appendix, which lists all the tournaments held by the order in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.



from the first recorded instances of the tournaments in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. It had developed from training for war, fought between large groups of mounted men who identified themselves as knights, to an elaborate sport practiced by the nobility. The joust, whereby two men faced off against each other to see who was more honorable and chivalrous, as well as who possessed the greatest skill, came to dominate the late-medieval tournaments. Although tournaments existed throughout Europe, I shall focus on developments in England, France and the Low Countries, as these are the stomping grounds of the Burgundian court and Olivier de la Marche. In the course of the later Middle Ages, changing concepts of what it meant to be chivalrous and knightly changed the nature of the game, as well as the way it was perceived by those who played it. This is reflected in the literature of the time.

## The early tournament

The first written sources that mention the tournament as a sport date from the early twelfth century. Charles the Good of Flanders attended numerous tournaments between 1119 and 1127.<sup>5</sup> Although it is likely that nobles practiced *hastiludum* (games with spears) before this time, no records of them survive. The word tournament apparently comes from the French *torner*, referring to the turning of the knights after the initial charge with the lance.<sup>6</sup> One of the earliest references is from 1137, in a Latin text; *Gesta Pontificum Cameracensium*, on the lives of the bishops of Cambrai.<sup>7</sup> It mentions the death of one Gilius de Cinnio: “mortuus est in tornio.” However, at this stage the term could also refer to actual combat instead of a game or sport. Much of the vocabulary surrounding the tournament can be traced back to military maneuvers or exercises. Although much of the terminology encountered in the texts is confusing, as words appear to be largely interchangeable depending on the writer’s preference, three terms can be identified: tournament, *mêlée* and joust. In the last quarter of the twelfth century, the term *tornoi*, *turnai* or any number of variant spellings came to refer to the hastiludes played by the noble elite.<sup>8</sup> The *mêlée*

(literally: mixture) refers to a mass battle between (groups of) knights. Usually these would be fought with both lance and sword, or other weapons with which to strike an opponent. The joust referred to a form of individual combat between two knights, usually on horseback with the lance.

The tournaments attended by knights in the twelfth century took the form of a *mêlée*, and were generally held in an open field, sometimes featuring woods or small towns. There were closed-off places where the knights could recuperate and re-arm, referred to as *lices* (lists). The *mêlée* closely resembles an actual battle, wherein teams of knights attempt to capture and ransom their opponents.<sup>9</sup> The equipment of the time consisted of little more than a mail hauberk (shirt), usually knee-length, with a type of helmet that covered the face over a mail coif (hood). Under this the knight would wear padded clothing, referred to as an *aketon* or *gambeson*. A shield, made of wood planks and covered with leather and cloth, would provide much of the needed protection against lances, swords, axes, clubs and other weaponry. In a tournament, which was a peacetime activity, the weapons would be blunted or even made of wood. However, accidents did happen and there are numerous accounts of men being injured and killed.

The church was thus strongly opposed to these “war-games” and attempted to ban them on several occasions. As early as 1130, a decree denied those killed in tournaments ecclesiastical burial, effectively condemning their souls to damnation.<sup>10</sup> In 1179, at the third Lateran council, the prohibition was further explicated, as the original decree contained a reference to “detestable markets or fairs at which knights are accustomed to meet to show off their strength and their boldness”,<sup>11</sup> which proved to be too vague for practical use. Apparently, the term “tournament” had in 1130, not yet spread so far as to be commonplace in clerical decrees. But, some fifty years later, the tournament had spread so far as to not only need another reminder of its wickedness, but also a clarification of which knightly activity in particular was being denounced.

One of the most well-known examples of the early tournament is the career of William Marshall (1147-1219), which was recorded in *L’Histoire de Guillaume le Maréchal*.<sup>12</sup> This twelfth-century knight attended a great

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5 D. Crouch, *Tournament* (London 2005) 2-3; R. Barber and J. Barker, *Tournaments. Jousts, chivalry and pageants in the Middle Ages* (Woodbridge 1989) 16-17.

6 For this and the following, see: M.A. Santine, *The tournament and literature. Literary representations of the Medieval Tournament in Old French works, 1150-1226* (New York 1999) 11-20.

7 Santine, *The tournament*, 7-8.

8 Ibidem.

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9 Barber and Barker, *Tournaments*, 6-11.

10 Ibidem, 17.

11 Ibidem.

12 Paul Meyer (ed.), *L’Histoire de Guillaume le Maréchal*, 3 vols. (Paris 1891). It was commissioned by his eldest son and would have been completed shortly after his

number of tournaments (*L'Histoire* mentions some sixteen in total) and made it from being a relatively unknown and penniless son of a minor noble to regent of England.<sup>13</sup> His performance on the tournament field played a large part in securing his position among the most powerful men in England and France. Touring the fields of France with Henry the Young King (1155-1183) in the service of Henry II (1154-1189), he secured not only funds for his own equipment and that of his *mesnie* (household) but also the required fame to win him a place at court. The twelfth-century tournament knight was largely dependent on both the winnings from the field, but also the financial support of a sponsor, such as a prince. Henry II complained bitterly the costs incurred by the Young King and his company of knights. The history of William Marshall is also the source for many anecdotes on the business of tournaments. William is known to have lost a prisoner on the way back to his own side, as the prisoner –one Simon of Neauphle– managed to hoist himself off the back of the Marshall's horse onto an overhead beam.<sup>14</sup> Another famous episode has William disappear after winning the tournament, only to be traced to the local forge with his head on the anvil, the blacksmith attempting to beat his helmet back into shape so that it may be removed.<sup>15</sup> These anecdotes may give some insight into the early tournament, but the reason that they survived may be because they were the exception rather than the norm. William Marshall was, after all, an exceptional knight.<sup>16</sup>

Unfortunately for William, his star rose too high for some, who subsequently accused him of hubris –due to his followers crying “God for the Marshall!” on the field– and even adultery with the queen.<sup>17</sup> Nonetheless, he went on to serve such great princes as Richard the Lionheart, King John and Henry III. The tournament field was rife with politics, both within the different teams and between nations. Malcolm Vale claims the early tournaments were more like private wars than sport. At the very least, they were an effective

- 
- death, perhaps around 1226.
- 13 See, for instance: D. Crouch, *William Marshall. Court, career and chivalry in the Angevin empire 1147-1219* (Harlow 1990). Or: G. Duby, *Guillaume le Maréchal ou Le meilleur chevalier du monde* (Paris 1984).
- 14 Duby, *Guillaume le Maréchal*, 110. Crouch has a different version of the tale, where Simon ‘escapes’ by being knocked off the horse by the beam. D. Crouch, *William Marshall*, 177-178.
- 15 Barber and Barker, *Tournaments*, 23.
- 16 Also, the *Historie* was written under the patronage of his son and is therefore not an unbiased source.
- 17 D. Crouch, *William Marshall*, 42-45.

training for war, which meant they were also extremely dangerous to the participants.<sup>18</sup> The descriptions of the tournaments themselves in the *Life of William Marshall* are, by and large, rather perfunctory:<sup>19</sup> the two teams line up, one orderly and disciplined, the other an unorganized mess. Their leaders vie for the privilege of striking the first blow, after which both teams charge. The more disciplined team then wins the day. It is clearly about the discipline and organization of groups of knights, more than individual skill.

The first tournaments, then, do not resemble the orderly pageantry of the later Burgundian jousts. The origins of the joust can be traced back to these early events though, in the form of the *commençailles* (literally: beginnings). As a tournament would usually last several days, the participants would arrive early to set up camp and prepare. In the twelfth century, the custom was for young knights to attempt to prove themselves on the field before the beginning of the actual tournament. During these *commençailles*, they would issue personal challenges and face off one-on-one. Also, during the days of the tournament, a knight may opt to ride out in front of the rest and issue a similar challenge, to be answered by a single knight from the opposing team. In this manner, the young (and often brash) knights would seek to prove their personal honor, worth, and prowess. This would be referred to as jousting, which was to become a sport in its own right.

In an attempt to regulate the rather violent and destructive world of tournaments, Richard I introduced a decree in 1194 which designated five sites where tourneying was allowed. By also effectively taxing the organization of and participation in tournaments, he managed to both regulate and profit from the tournaments held in his kingdom. This had far-reaching effects on the politics surrounding the events as well: on the continent, no system was in place for the licensing of tournaments. In fact, French kings continued to issue bans on tournaments alongside bans on private wars well into the fourteenth century.<sup>20</sup> The relation of the English kings to the tournament allowed them to participate personally in licensed tournaments, increasing their chivalric reputation and international renown. By the end of the twelfth century, the tournament was well and truly established as a sport in Western Europe. This is equally clear from the use of the tournament in literature from the period.

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- 18 M. Vale, *War and Chivalry* (London 1981) 68-71.
- 19 Barber and Barker, *Tournaments*, 23.
- 20 Ibidem, 25-26.



## The early tournament in literature

Although *L'Histoire de Guillaume le Maréchal* could be interpreted as literature, since it is a biographical work I would be more inclined to place it alongside the *Mémoires* of Olivier de la Marche, than for instance LCD. Although the descriptions of the tournaments in *L'Histoire* are most useful, they are of a nature that is different from those in such works as Geoffrey of Monmouth's *History of the Kings of Britain* or Chrétien de Troyes' *Erec et Enide*. It is the Romances and *Chanson de Geste* that I will turn to now, which provide a different view of the tournament.

One of the earliest descriptions of tournaments in Medieval literature comes from Monmouth's *History*, which he completed around 1136. In book IX, chapter XIV, King Arthur holds court at Whitsun:<sup>21</sup>

*Refecti tandem epulis, diversi  
diversos ludos composituri campos  
extra civitatem adeunt. Mox  
milites simulacrum praelii ciendo,  
equestrem ludum componunt:  
mulieros in edito murorum  
aspicientes, in curiales amoris  
flammas amore joci irritant.*

*When the banquets were over, they  
went into the fields outside the city to  
divert themselves with various games.  
The knights composed a kind of game  
in imitation of a battle, on horseback.  
The women, placed on top of the walls  
as spectators, coyly shot amorous  
glances at the courtiers, to excite the  
flames of love.*

Significant is the mention of *ludos* – games or diversions. It is presented as an improvised event by the knights, not an elaborate arrangement under the auspices of the king. Notable is also the role of the ladies; these are all but absent in *L'Histoire de Guillaume le Maréchal*,<sup>22</sup> whereas Monmouth has them play a role in spurring the men on. While they seem, in this short episode, to function as passive spectators, other authors gave them diverse and complex roles to play in conjunction with the tournament.<sup>23</sup> Still, in the twelfth and early thirteenth century Old French texts, they mostly function as spectators and commentators, occasionally playing a role in inspiring the organization of one. The focus is largely on the action between the knights, with the women playing ancillary roles. It remains an isolated and rather short episode in Monmouth's history, though. As an early reference

in a work intended to be historiographical, the passage is of some historical interest, but it can't have been of great influence to the development of the tournament in literature on the whole.

One of the great developments in courtly literature, then, is usually placed at the feet of Chrétien de Troyes.<sup>24</sup> In his Romances about King Arthur's court, he clearly outlined what was expected of a knight when it came to these early tournaments. In his *Erec et Enide* (completed c. 1170), the author describes how Erec wins and marries his love, Enide. A tournament is held by King Arthur to honor the newlyweds. All the familiar elements are present: tokens of love are bestowed upon worthy knights, helmets of all colours are laced on, hauberks and shields are prepared and horses mounted. The combat itself is fierce;<sup>25</sup>

*An l'estor lieve li escrois,  
des lances est mout granz li frois;  
lances brisent et escuz troent,  
li hauberc faussent et descloent,  
seles vident, chevalier tument;  
li cheval suent et escument.  
La traient les espees tuit  
sor cez qui chieent a grant bruit;  
li un corent por les foiz prandre  
et li autre por l'estor randre.*

*A roar rises from the fight, the shock of  
the lances is very great. Lances break  
and shields are riddled, the hauberks  
receive bumps and are torn asunder,  
saddles go empty and horsemen  
ramble, while the horses sweat and  
foam. Swords are quickly drawn on  
those who tumble noisily, and some  
run to receive the promise of a ransom,  
others to stave off this disgrace.*

Erec continues on, to joust with three separate knights and defeat them all. Chrétien notes that he did not do this to collect their ransoms, but to distinguish himself as a knight, to show his *proesce* – prowess. He is second only to Gawain, the best knight of the court, and wins the tournament the next day. Immediately after, he weds Enide and, for all intents and purposes, retires.<sup>26</sup>

21 Geoffrey of Monmouth, *Historia Regum Britanniae*, A. Schulz (ed.) (Halle 1854) 134. Translation by the author.

22 Santine, *The tournament*, 91.

23 Ibidem, 91-108. Also: Barber and Barker, *Tournaments*, 17-18.

24 See, for instance: L.T. Topsfield, *Chrétien* (Cambridge 1981).

25 Chrétien de Troyes, *Erec et Enide* vv. 2107-2116, translated in prose with the help of the Gutenberg project translation: [http://www.gutenberg.org/files/831/831-h/831-h.htm#2H\\_4\\_0003](http://www.gutenberg.org/files/831/831-h/831-h.htm#2H_4_0003), last visited 6-11-2010.

26 Chrétien de Troyes, *Erec et Enide* vv. 2430-2438.

Mes tant l'ama Erec d'amors,  
que d'armes mes ne li chaloit,  
ne a tornoiemant n'aloit.  
N'avoit mes soing de tornoier:  
a sa fame volt dosnoier,  
si an fist s'amie et sa drue;  
en li a mise s'antendue,  
en acoler et an beisier;  
ne se quierent d'el aiesier.

But Erec loved her with such a tender  
love that he cared no more for arms, nor  
did he go to tournaments, nor have any  
desire to tourney; but he spent his time  
in cherishing his wife. He made of her his  
mistress and his sweetheart. He devoted  
all his heart and mind to fondling and  
kissing her, and sought no delight in other  
pastime.

Although Erec provides for his knights and sends them off to tournaments with costly gifts of equipment and horses, they bemoan the fact that he does not compete himself. This greatly upsets his wife, who then chastises him. This spurs the knight into action and they set off on a journey in the second part of the text, which gives Erec the chance to prove that he can still swing a sword and wield a lance. The natural order is restored as Erec returns to the field, taking up his responsibilities as knight and husband.<sup>27</sup>

As is the case in many Romances, the protagonist suffers a loss of face and has to go on a series of quest to restore his good name. What is striking about the case of Erec is that his shame is directly linked to his disinterest in the tournament. Apparently, it was considered unbecoming for a knight *not* to take part in tournaments if given half a chance – at least in literature. As a reflection of the mentality of knights in the twelfth century, it provides an image of the concept of chivalry and how the tournament fits into it. The practice of tourneying was, for the twelfth century fictitious knight, ingrained into his identity as a chivalric persona. And while Chrétien wrote in the twelfth century, his work was copied extensively, well into the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.<sup>28</sup> By this time, the tournament itself had changed in a number of ways.

## The tournament in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries

One form of tournament that gained in popularity in the early thirteenth century is that of the *béhourd*. It featured many of the same characteristics of the tournament, but employed lighter armour and weapons: a knight could, for instance, take the field in a padded jack,

perhaps with some leather armor, armed with a light lance or a sword made from whalebone.<sup>29</sup> This made for an altogether less dangerous event. Also, in 1232 Henry III of England (1207-1272) forbade a tournament called a 'round table', referring to a type of tourney in which the knights took on the roles of characters from the Romances. It seems that literature and the tournament became intertwined early on in its development. Unsurprisingly, given the popularity of this type of literature at the courts of Europe at the time.

In England at least, the popularity of tournaments in general was largely dependent on the disposition of the king, on whom the nobles relied for patronage of the sport. In France, this was not the case, as the French kings appear to be largely unconcerned with jousting. No French king even entered the lists that we know of, until the middle of the fourteenth century. In Flanders, as well as Brabant and Hainault, the local counts were largely responsible for financing tournaments. As these areas were comparatively urban in nature, many of the jousts in the thirteenth century are held on marketplaces of such cities as Brussels, Bruges or Ghent. It wouldn't be until the fourteenth century when such an urban setting was to be used in England or France.<sup>30</sup>

Another round table, such as the one forbidden by Henry in 1232, was held in 1235 at Hesdin, in Flanders. It was used as a forum where the crusades could be preached and because of the large number of knights in attendance, both local and foreign, many took up the cross. The exact theme and presentation of the jousting is unknown, though there are sources from a little later in the thirteenth century; Baudouin de Condé, who was writing in Hainault between 1240 and 1280, wrote on the subject of the tournament, clearly indicating its formalized nature.<sup>31</sup> Heralds were in attendance to make the necessary proclamations and the action took place within enclosed lists. It seems that early on, there were yearly jousts being organized by the cities in the region, such as at Douai in 1284, when a conflict between the city and their rivals from Lille erupted over a perceived slight. There were also the occasional jousts such as at Bar-sur-Aube in 1294, to celebrate the marriage of the duke of Bar to the daughter of Edward I of England. Unfortunately, John, duke of Brabant, a well-

29 Barber and Barker, *Tournaments*, 29-32.

30 See, for instance: Abeele, *De Witte Beer*, 5-8. Van den Abeele makes a distinction between courtly tournaments and urban tournaments which is, in my opinion, confusing and unnecessary. Unfortunately, I lack the time to go into this matter fully.

31 Barber and Barker, *Tournaments*, 45.

27 Barber and Barker, *Tournaments*, 22-23; Santina, *The tournament*, 71-72.

28 Terry Nixon, 'Catalogue of Manuscripts', in: Keith Busby (ed.), *Les Manuscrits de Chrétien de Troyes 2* (Amsterdam 1993) 1-86.

known and proficient jouster, was killed in the first run of the tournament.<sup>32</sup> While precautions had been taken and this was a joust of peace, it was impossible to ever totally eliminate the danger inherent in the sport.

The development of the tournament followed much the same lines in England as well as France, with tournaments moving from large-scale affairs to individual jousting. However, the political significance of the tournament is quite different. In England the king was the patron of (legitimate) tournaments, while in France it was the barons who organized and financed the events. One example of such a lavish affair is the tournament held at Le Hem in Picardy, in 1278. It is one of the best-documented tournaments held in France and is of particular interest because of its use of allegorical and literary figures.<sup>33</sup> The tournament was begun by a *Dame Courtoisie* and presided over by Queen Guinevere. The Knight of the Lyon, preceded by seven knights who he had bested in combat and accompanied by a real lion, entered the lists triumphantly. All the knights present had to provide their own damsels as well. All of those present played a part in the spectacle, including the ladies and the spectators. It was a literary affair, with a great many references to Arthurian Romance, including a dull-witted Sir Kay.

While these tournaments proved popular, they were politically dangerous, even more so in France than in England. The French kings attempted to ban the sport, or at least limit its practice, on several occasions. Philip the Fair (1268-1314) issued a decree in 1296 banning all sorts of tournaments, jousts, duels or private wars during war-time, effectively prohibiting any gathering of armed men except when fighting in his wars.<sup>34</sup> He also ordered, in 1304, the arrest of all nobles attending tournament despite his decree, including the seizing of their horses, arms and armor. The fact that this prohibition required repeating in 1305 and 1312 indicates that he did not manage to stop all tournament activity.

Although Henry III of England took no personal interest in the sport, he allowed several tournaments to take place. Unfortunately, his indifference allowed his opponents to seize control of the political hive that the tournament field was by nature. His successor, Edward I (1239-1307) was a

keen jouster and as such, organized and participated in many tournaments. He was largely responsible for the rise of the Round Table as the dominant type of tournament in England.<sup>35</sup> He also used the tournament as an effective means of winning over the nobles to his side. His son, Edward II (1284-1327), attempted to do the same with little success. After the king's favorite, Piers Gaveston, was murdered in 1312 by the earls who had organized themselves at several tournaments, Edward II began forbidding all types of hastiludes.

Certainly in the Low Countries, tournaments continued unabated. The cities were quite fond of hosting their own yearly civic festivals, which would often include a joust of some sort. In 1300 in Bruges, for instance, a joust was organized in front of the Guildhall in honor of Philip, attended by both the king and the queen as well as many knights from both England and France. The queen of France jested that she was surrounded by a thousand queens, as all the ladies present appeared to represent some literary queen or another. This indicates again the heavy reliance on literary inspiration for the theme of such an event. From civic records from the fourteenth century, this seems to become the norm; the citizens of a town are involved in the pageantry of a tournament more often than not, with elaborate care taken for the procession towards the lists as much as the action in the lists themselves. Chroniclers leave elaborate descriptions of such events, which indicate again the importance of the Romances and allegorical representations. In 1326, nine burghers from Hainault jousted as the Nine Worthies. In 1330, thirty-one burghers of Tournai held a round table, each of them bearing the arms of one of the thirty-one knights from the Arthurian Romances. In 1331, the citizens of Valenciennes held their own joust in this style. On their way to the marketplace where it was to be held, led by a golden thread held by their ladies, they were preceded by a representation of the Palace of Love, on top of which stood the God of Love himself. It moved apparently by itself, "by ingenious ways".<sup>36</sup> Another company of jousters at the same tournament also had a castle, which had a hermit, seven fairies and a device which released live birds.

In England, it was Edward III (1312-1377) who became one of the foremost

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32 It was remarkable that he should be killed in this manner, as he had taken part in over seventy tournaments all over Europe. Fortunately this popular figure is immortalized in the Dutch beer brand *Hertog Jan*.

33 Barber and Barker, *Tournaments*, 38-39.

34 Ibidem, 40.

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35 Ibidem, 31. There were such tournaments at Kenilworth and Warwick in 1279, Warwick in 1281, Nefyn in 1284 and Falkirk in 1302.

36 R.S. Loomis, 'Chivalric and dramatic imitations of Arthurian Romance', in: *Medieval Studies in Memory of A.K. Porter I* (Cambridge 1939) 87.



promoters of the tournament.<sup>37</sup> In 1316, Pope John XXII came to the papal throne. He lifted the nearly two-hundred year-old ban on *hastiludes*, under which those attending tournaments were threatened with excommunication and refused a Christian burial should they die while taking part. Edward was thus free to organize tournaments with the blessing of the church, which he did with some abandon. A fine example is his marriage to Philippa of Hainault in 1328, which was accompanied by three week long festival of jousting, *béhourds* and other festivities. Accompanied by her ladies, she became a regular spectator of the tournaments organized and attended by her husband. It is likely that this influenced the development of the sport, as the tournaments came to emphasize the pageantry of the occasion more and more; the colorful costumes, processions, themes such as the *table ronde* and play-acting became part of the tournament as an event.<sup>38</sup> This also meant that the joust became the favored type of tournament, with the old *mêlée* style disappearing from the records in the second half of the fourteenth century. Another development as the tournaments became more organized and thereby safer, was the rise of the joust à outrance (literally: to excess); jousts of war. While these featured the same rules of conduct of the tournaments of peace (à plaisance), including even the awarding of prizes to the best knight, they often resulted in many casualties on both sides.

The start of the Hundred Years' War with France in 1337 allowed for a greater number of these jousts of war between French and English knights. One famous example is the so-called Combat of the Thirty. At Ploermel in Brittany, in 1351, thirty French and thirty English knights fought each other 'to excess', resulting in the deaths of six French and nine English knights. More would die from their injuries. However, the combat was all on foot and the participants were mercenaries, making this a problematic example of a tournament. However, it inspired similar challenges in Gascony in 1352 and at Rennes in 1382. On both occasions there was great loss of life on both sides.<sup>39</sup> More common than these mass combats were the individual challenges, which seem to have occurred frequently, especially during sieges. In Rennes for instance, Bertrand du Guesclin fought an English squire called Nicholas Dagworth. They ran three courses with the lance, three with the axe and three with the dagger. Neither was seriously harmed

and the action was watched by both armies to their enjoyment.<sup>40</sup>

Costumed jousts, usually in the form of a *table ronde*, were used by the king to celebrate great victories and commemorate notable events. There was a nightly, torch-lit tournament in Bristol in 1354; and a very significant *table ronde* at Windsor in 1344. While it was a large tournament in its own right, with over three hundred knights and ladies in attendance, it also featured the creation of something straight from the Romances; Edward's very own order of chivalry, complete with a round table to be housed in Windsor Castle. It served to increase the king's reputation and chivalric honor.<sup>41</sup> Then in 1348, he founded the Order of the Garter, which was primarily a tournament fraternity at the time.<sup>42</sup> Companies such as these, like the Order of the Golden Fleece founded by Philip the Good in 1430, served to increase the honor and prestige of those who became members. They were also a way for the prince to bind certain nobles to him, and to create a political entity on which he could rely. Tournaments served a very similar purpose.

Edward III's successor, Richard II (1367-1400) managed to maintain the high standards set by his predecessor. Even though his reign was marked by political upheaval, resulting in his eventual overthrow and death, he remained a great patron of tournaments throughout his reign. One of the most memorable of the tournaments held by the king were the October jousts of 1390. Richard, along with twenty knights and sixteen esquires, held the field at Smithfield against all comers. Several attendants came from overseas, such as the duke of Guelders. Another attempt at such a lavish tournament eight years later proved a failure, as increasing hostility between Richard and the nobles meant few of them elected to attend. After all, attending a tournament could be as much of a political statement as a feat of arms.

In France, similar effort were undertaken by the nobility. In 1390, three French knights, Boucicat, de Roye and de Sempy, proclaimed a joust on the marches at Calais, at St. Inglevert. They pledged to hold the field for thirty days against all comers and sent out letters outlining their intent. Thirty-nine knights from England, including Piers Courtenay on behalf of the king, took up their challenge. Between 21 and 24 May they jousted against

37 Ibidem, 31-32.

38 Ibidem, 32.

39 William Harrison Ainsworth, *The combat of the thirty: from a Breton lay of the fourteenth century* (London 1859).

40 Robert Garnier, *Du Guesclin* (Paris 1994) 160.

41 Julian Munby, Richard Barker and Richard Brown, *Edward III's Round Table at Windsor* (Woodbridge 2007).

42 Barber and Barker, *Tournaments*, 32.



the three French knights. They had the option of touching a shield of war or of peace, to indicate which type of lance they wished to use. Although the jousting was hard and fierce, with unhorsed knights, flying helmets and broken lances, there were no serious injuries. And although no new challengers arrived after the English had left, the three Frenchmen stayed on the field until June, as they had promised. They returned to France and were received with great dignity, having earned glory and honor in the lists.<sup>43</sup>

One year earlier at St. Denis, Charles VI (1368-1422) had sponsored a joust with a great number of participants. There were three days of jousting, with thirty defenders –including the king– and as many challengers. The accounts of Philip the Bold (1342-1404), the first of the Valois Dukes of Burgundy, detail the extraordinarily expensive clothing and jewelry commissioned for the occasion. The gold taken off the duke's doublets alone fetched a thousand francs when it was sold after the tournament. He also had twenty-six sets of jousting armor made, decorated with the royal devise of a blazing sun. The pageantry was completed by the presence of the ladies, who led the royal company of defenders onto the field, all dressed in green.<sup>44</sup> By this time the role of the king, who in this case led the defenders in keeping the field, was as significant for the spread and development of the tournament as it was in England. However, this dependence on royal support was a double-edged sword, of course.

After Richard's death in 1400, there is a decline in the sport of jousting in England. Under the reign of Henry IV and Henry V, there are few tournaments in favor of more serious warfare with France. Although there are some jousts à outrance between the English and the Scots, the king frowned upon any activity that would distract his knights from the serious business of warfare. In 1420, Henry V declined an invitation by the French to host a tournament to celebrate his marriage to Catherine of France. He commented that if the knights wished to joust, they should lay siege to Sens, where they could find enough diversion in a just cause.<sup>45</sup> The joust had thereby clearly gone from being training and preparation for war, to a game played for the entertainment of nobles.<sup>46</sup> The king, as the prime

sponsor of such events, was a great influence in determining when and where a tournament could take place.

Again, in the Low Countries, the civic festivals took pride of place. As they were not so dependent on royal or even noble patronage, they continued almost uninterrupted until the end of the fifteenth century. In Lille, the *Roys de l'Espinette* (King of the Thorn), or *L'Epervier d'Or* (The Golden Sparrow hawk) was held since at least 1278. From fourteenth-century records, it appears that the winner of the tournament could call himself King of the Thorn for a year, and presided over the tournament as such the next year. The feast was sometimes also referred to as the 'Festival of the Lord of Joy', a direct reference to *Erec et Enide*.<sup>47</sup> Even in this urban environment, the influence of the Romances on the tournaments is quite clear.<sup>48</sup>

One example of a city which was a regular host to tournaments is Bruges. The town had its own tournament company; the *Order van de Witte Beer* (Order of the White Bear). The accounts for the city of Bruges have been preserved from 1281 onwards. There are records of tournaments held in the city from 1285 onwards, with almost two hundred tournaments on record between 1285 and 1494. These are organized by the city, the Order, the Burgundian court or private people. Compared to other towns in the region, this is quite a lot, making Bruges quite the tournament town.<sup>49</sup> The order itself was most likely founded around 1380, although an earlier date of 1320 has also been suggested.<sup>50</sup> It was active until 1489, when the order was officially dissolved. The records are sparse, but it is clear that the political climate had turned against those that supported Maximilian of Austria.

The last of the *forestieren*, the forest-masters, was beheaded by the townsfolk in April 1489. The name of the order goes back to the legend of Boudewijn, who married a daughter of Charles the Bald (823-877) and was made count of Flanders. He had inherited the title of *forestier* and was the eighth to carry the title. According to legend, he had bested a large bear in

43 Maurice Keen, *Nobles, knights and men-at-arms in the Middle Ages* (London 1996) 96-97.

44 Barber and Bakers, *Tournaments*, 36.

45 Ibidem, 36-37.

46 In referring to the tournament as a "game" or "sport", I wish to underline the changes apparent in the organization of such events, as well as the advent of rules

and regulations concerning them. The mentality of the time, in which rulers like Henry V would complain about the "diversions" of the tournament, reflect the concept of the tournament as a game, something taken seriously by its participants, but not necessarily seen as an appropriate pursuit by the world at large.

47 Ibidem, 46-47.

48 Which is not surprising, considering the presence of nobility in the urban environment, certainly in the Low Countries.

49 A. van den Abeele, *Het ridderlijk gezelschap van de Witte Beer* (Brugge 2000) 3.

50 Ibidem, 8-11.

single combat one night in the woods. The image of the (white) bear and the forester was carried into the lists and turned into reality, much as the image of Arthur and his knights was used in the round tables abroad. One direct link between the tournament and literature can be found in the manuscript called the *Gruuthusehandschrift*, currently in the Royal Library in The Hague (79 K 10).<sup>51</sup> It is named for the earliest known owner, Lodewijk van Gruuthuse (1422-1492), who lived in Bruges and was one of the most powerful men of his time. In the third part of the manuscript, dated around 1407, there are a number of poems. The fourteenth poem, called *De zeven poorten van Brugge* (the seven gates of Bruges) is dedicated to the 'King of the White Bear'. The allegorical poem is told by a hermit, who has brought a model of the city for the king. Using it, he shows the different gates of Bruges, each gate represented by a letter which spell out the name of the city: BRVCGHE. Each letter then represents two virtues. Van den Abeele theorises that the poem may have been performed for the benefit of the order, perhaps in the *poortersloge*, the house owned by the order and used for frequent gatherings.<sup>52</sup>

## The Medieval tournament in literature

Having established that in the course of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, the joust had become the dominant form of tournament, as well as the influence of the Romances on the proceedings, I will briefly turn to the joust in the literature of the time. Naturally, much of the literature from the twelfth century and earlier continued to influence the mentality of those involved with tournaments. The texts continued to be copied and spread across Western Europe. For the sake of brevity, I shall only give a few examples of literature written in the fourteenth century.

One text, written around 1320 as part of the Middle-Dutch Lancelot compilation, is called the *Roman van den Ridder metter Mouwen* (Romance of the Knight with the Sleeve). As it is difficult to date the text itself, the story may in fact be older.<sup>53</sup> The story itself follows a well-known pattern; On the road to the funeral of Tristram and Ysaude, King Arthur and his knights encounter a *knape* (youth or squire) who wishes to become a knight. He

sends him on to Kardoel, his castle, to deal with him there. As the squire arrives, Guinevere witnesses a knight in red assaulting a woman. As the only knight still at court is Keye, who has fallen ill, she asks him for advice. Keye tells her to knight the youth so he may defend the lady's honor. In a most peculiar scene of role-reversal, the *knape* is quickly made a *riddere* not by the king, but by the queen. Not only that, but Sir Gawains niece Clarette gives him a white sleeve on this occasion, which gives him his name and initiates the courtly love between the two. The role she takes on in this passage, as instigator of the romance, was traditionally reserved for men. From the start, the author appears to play with the expectations of the audience, by manipulating the expected elements of the story.

The Knight with the Sleeve has a number of adventures and his renown grows. Arthur decides to organize a tournament with Clarette as the prize, to entice the Knight back to court. But since the Knight has entered a monastery to recover from his wounds, he must ask the abbot for permission to leave. The following exchange ensues:<sup>54</sup>

*Dabt seide: "Waendi deilen ende kisen?  
Gi moet ember u ordine verlisen,  
Oft u cledere van hier binnen  
Houden tot dat gise moget gewinnen."  
"Soe willic mijn cledere ende min abijt  
Ane houden tote dier tijt  
Ende mine scoen gebonden ter stede,  
Totdat icse hebben gewonnen mede."*

*The abbot said: "Do you think you can do what you wish?  
You must surely lose your office,  
Or the clothes of inside here [monks habit]  
Keep until you may win it."  
"So I will keep my clothes and habit  
On until that time  
And my shoes tied until that time,  
Until I have won them too."*

It seems the abbot did not get the reply he was hoping for: the Knight with the Sleeve is true to his word and, still dressed in his monk's robes and sandals, wins the tournament and Clarette. Again, the authors turns a well-known medieval literary motive upside-down, where the knight enters a monastery at the end of a long and illustrious career. Instead, the protagonist dons the monk's habit halfway through the story and manages to work his way around this problem by taking the symbolic meaning of the monk's robes literally, and wearing them together with his armour and weapons. Traditionally at this stage of the story, the knight would come to such a tournament as an unknown knight, such as the Black Knight or the

51 I am indebted to Alice Spruit, who allowed me to read an unpublished version of a paper on the subject of this poem; A. Spruit, *Kritische teksteditie van gedicht 14 uit het Gruuthuse Handschrift* (Utrecht 2008).

52 Van den Abeele, *De Witte Beer*, 39-41.

53 B.C. Damsteegt (ed.), *Roman van der riddere metter mouwen* (Utrecht 1983) 9-10. All citations are from this edition.

54 lines 1890-1897.

Knight with the White Shield.<sup>55</sup> Instead, the author has him dressed as a monk, playing the same role. Although it seems to be meant as a humorous interlude, it is clear from other sources that it would not have been uncommon for a knight to appear in the lists in some sort of peculiar dress. This romance appears to reflect that in its use of the tournament.

Turning to another example from the Low Countries, and one of the most well-known of the Dutch *Chanson de Geste*, *Karel ende Elegast* features the tournament in a different way. It is a relatively short text, which is difficult to date.<sup>56</sup> The earliest manuscripts which feature the story, or reference it in some way, are from the fourteenth century. An example is *Der Leken Spiegel*, written by Jan van Boendale and completed circa 1325. In this work, he references a story in which Charlemagne goes out stealing, which he immediately dismisses as a fantasy: “Men leest dat Karle voer stelen: Ic segdu, al sonder helen, dat Karle noyet en stal” (One reads that Charles went stealing: I tell you, without embellishment, that Charles never stole.)<sup>57</sup> There are even earlier examples of references to Charlemagne exposing a conspiracy against him, but since this theme is not unique to *Karel ende Elegast*, it is impossible to determine if they concern this specific story. As is typical of the Dutch *chansons de geste*, there is only a fragmentary record of the story until it was printed in the late fifteenth century.

The story goes as follows: One night Charlemagne is awakened by an angel, who commands him to go out and steal, to save his own life. Charlemagne is doubtful at first, but after two more admonitions by the angel to leave immediately, he does so. He dresses himself in his fine garments, buckles on his gilded and bejeweled sword and heads out on his best horse. Once out of the castle, Charles encounters a black knight on the road, who notices the king’s fine sword and stops him in order to obtain it. After they fight and the mysterious knight breaks his sword, Charles forces him to reveal his identity. It turns out he is Elegast, a knight who was banished by the king and who he was thinking about as he was riding through the forest. Elegast was forced to the life of a thief

by his banishment and is ideally suited to help the king in his mission. Charlemagne claims to be a thief himself, called Adelbrecht, and suggest they go and steal from the king – himself. Elegast refuses as he is still loyal to the king and suggest they should instead steal from Eggeric, Charlemagne’s no-good brother-in-law.

Once at the castle, Elegast uses trickery and even magic to rob Eggeric. As Charlemagne/Adelbrecht prepares to leave, Elegast wishes to obtain one more prize; he makes his way to Eggeric’s bedroom, where he plans to steal his finest saddle. He is forced to hide under the bed as the couple wake and begin to argue: Eggeric is nervous because he is planning to assassinate the king the next day. His wife, Charlemagne’s sister, is understandably upset. Eggeric then hits her, causing blood to flow from her nose and mouth. Elegast, still under the bed, catches some of the blood in his glove. After sneaking back out of the castle, he tells Charlemagne/Adelbrecht of the plot on the king’s life, who immediately realizes that this is why God had sent him out stealing. They return to Charlemagne’s castle and the next day, Eggeric and his cronies are accused by the king, with Elegast as a witness. The bloodied glove is used as proof of their intentions. Eggeric denies the accusations and Elegast then challenges him to a duel.

This duel takes the form of a joust à outrance, on a field cordoned off by rope barriers; “Men sloech coerden opt velt” (line 1274). After a brief prayer, Elegast asks God to bless his arms and armour, as well as his horse, to carry him to victory. Taking up shield and spear, he faces Eggeric –who had not asked for any blessing- and both men charge at one another:<sup>58</sup>

<i>Hi sloech met sporen vaste</i>	<i>He struck his spurs strongly</i>
<i>Ende reet op Elegaste</i>	<i>And rode at Elegast</i>
<i>Ende Elegast op hem weder,</i>	<i>And Elegast at him,</i>
<i>Die Eggeric stac doer tleder</i>	<i>Who stabbed Eggeric through the leather</i>
<i>Vander curien mit geweld,</i>	<i>Of the hardened leather with force,</i>
<i>Datti neder viel opt velt,</i>	<i>So that he fell on the field,</i>
<i>Vanden orsse op daerde.</i>	<i>Off his horse to the earth.</i>

The reference to leather armour is interesting, it indicates a style of *béhourd* combat. However, this would be an odd combination with the joust à outrance, as both men are fighting for their lives. Perhaps the author had

55 The name used by Fergus (Middle-Dutch: Ferguut), the protagonist from the Arthurian Romance of the same name: Willem Kuiper (ed), *Ferguut of de Ridder met het Witte Schild* (Amsterdam 2002) 101-109.

56 G. Claassens (ed.), *Karel ende Elegast* (Amsterdam, 2<sup>nd</sup> pr. 2005).

57 Tom Hage, “‘Vraie historie ende al waer.’ Middeleeuwse noties over de Kareloman als historisch verhaal”, in: Evert van den Berg en Bert Besamusca (eds.), *De epische wereld. Middelnederlandse Karelromans in wisselend perspectief* (Muiderberg 1992) 114.

58 Lines 1322-1328. Translations by the author. Curien goes back to the French cuir. In tournaments it was not uncommon to use hardened leather armour, called cuir boillie – boiled leather.



seen jousting done in the *béhourd* style and simply adopted the terminology and imagery for a type of joust he is unlikely to have witnessed – to the death. In any case, Elegast declines Eggeric’s invitation to fight on foot and allows him to remount his horse.<sup>59</sup>

<i>En wil u niet te voete slaen;</i>	<i>I do not wish to strike you on foot;</i>
<i>Ic wil prijs an u begaen,</i>	<i>I want to win honor from you,</i>
<i>Al souts mi sijn te wors.</i>	<i>Even if it means the worse for me.</i>
<i>Nu sit weder op u ors;</i>	<i>Now sit you back on your horse;</i>
<i>Laet ons vechten ridder wise.</i>	<i>Let us fight in the way of knights.</i>
<i>Ic heb liever datmen mi prise,</i>	<i>I had rather that I am praised,</i>
<i>Dan ic u sloeghe bi rampe,</i>	<i>Than that I struck you with shame,</i>
<i>Al soudic bliven inden campe.</i>	<i>Even if I am to die in the fight.</i>

Elegast here emphasizes the importance of fighting honorably, “in the way of knights”, which means on horseback. It is more dangerous to allow his opponent the advantage of a level playing field, but also more chivalrous, adding to his prestige. The ensuing combat is so fierce that the king of France, also in attendance, prays to God to end it “na redene ende na rechte” (according to reason and justice). Elegast then lifts the fine sword Charlemagne had given him and gives a mighty blow “bider hulp van onsen Heere” (with the Lord’s help), which cuts off most of Eggeric’s head. Charlemagne gives thanks to God and as Eggeric and his co-conspirators are dragged off, gives Elegast his sister’s hand in marriage as well. All ends well for the once-banished knight, who has won his rightful place through the tournament field.

The tournament is used in this particular text as an ordeal; a single combat in which God is asked to intervene on behalf of one of the combatants.<sup>60</sup> The victor is then the one who God favored and thus, the one who had “reason and justice” on his side. The use of the ordeal in Medieval Europe is a complex subject which I shall not go into here. Suffice to say that the prayers uttered by Elegast (and explicitly not by Eggeric), as well as the spectators can largely be traced to this Medieval legal custom. What I find interesting is the emphasis placed on horseback combat as the accepted method of combat for two knights. Apparently when *Karel ende Elegast* was written, it was considered unfit for a knight to dismount to fight. This, of course, works both ways, as the knights who were exposed to this

type of literature would have adopted the idea that their combat should, rightly, be on horseback.

## The fifteenth century: Pas d’Armes

In the fifteenth century, especially in Burgundy, the *Pas d’Armes* became the tournament of choice for fashionable knights. They were, however, rare and rather expensive events. Barber and Barker describe eleven held in Burgundy, from 1443 to the end of the fifteenth century: The *Pas de l’arbre de Charlemagne* (1443), the marriage of Margaret of Anjou (1445), *Emprise de la gueule de dragon* (1446), *Pas de la joyeuse garde* (1446), *Pas d’armes de la bergiere* (1446), the *Pas de la Fontaine de Pleurs* (1449), *Pas du pin aux pommes d’or* (1455), *Pas du Perron Fée* (1463), the *Pas d’armes de l’Arbre d’Or* (1468), the *Pas d’armes de la dame sauvage* (1477) and a last one at Sandricourt (1493).<sup>61</sup>

The word *Pas* refers to the concept behind the tournament; a single knight, or group of knights, vows to defend a passage –the *pas*- against any knight who would seek to pass. This passage may be symbolized by an object, such as a pillar, tree, or fountain. Usually the defenders will determine the chapters, or rules, of the combat that is to take place there. This would include such things as the weapons used, the number of passes (runs), as well as the amount of time they will spend defending the pass. There would be multiple days of jousting, usually ending with a *mêlée* in the traditional style. The knights would take on certain roles during the tournament, either from literature or allegorical in nature. The defenders would hang their shields from a tree or pillar, with the challengers indicating their desire to joust against them by touching them. Often, the shield would also indicate what type of combat the challenger wanted to take up, for instance with the lance or with the polearm.<sup>62</sup>

I have chosen two examples from the second half of the fifteenth century.

61 Barber and Barker, *Tournaments. Jousts, chivalry and pageants in the Middle Ages* (Woodbridge 1989) 110-125.

62 As an aside, much secondary literature refers to an “axe” when describing this type of combat. The French term, *hache*, would seem to indicate this. However, such Medieval fighting manuals such as the *Jeu de la Hache* (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Manuscrit Français 1996) clearly show that the word refers to a type of pole-weapon more like a halberd or pole-ax. Using the term “axe” would also give the impression of knights hacking away at each other with a medieval version of a fireman’s axe, when in reality, they used highly developed pole-weapons with some skill, employing strikes as well as locks and throws. I have adapted my terminology accordingly.

59 Lines 1344-1351.

60 P. Leeson, *Ordeals* (Chicago 2010); <http://www.peterleeson.com/ordeals.pdf>; Robert Bartlett, *Trial by Fire and Water: The Medieval Judicial Ordeal* (New York 1986).



The first, the Feast of the Pheasant (1454), cannot rightly be called a *Pas d'Armes* according to Barber and Barker. I disagree, as it has all of the elements of one, with the Knight of the Swan as the defender, a challenge and a literary backdrop against which the action plays out. As Olivier de la Marche played some part in it, I have opted to include it. The second is probably the most well-known of the Burgundian *Pas d'Armes*: the *Pas de l'Arbre d'Or* (Pas of the Golden Tree, 1468), held to celebrate the marriage between Charles the Bold and Margaret of York. De la Marche's elaborate descriptions of the event reflect both his personal involvement in its organization and its splendor and pageantry. I have chosen not to delve into the fifteenth-century literature which feature the *Pas d'Armes*, as it seems more closely related to the earlier literature which feature the tournament, such as the works by Chrétien de Troyes and others. Also, I shall expand on the subject when I return to the text of LCD and its precursor, Amé de Montgesoie's *Pas de la Mort*.

### Feast of the Pheasant

On 17 February 1454, the Feast of the Pheasant was held in Lille.<sup>63</sup> Philip the Good desired to drum up support for his planned crusade against the Turks, by hosting a sumptuous banquet and extravagant tournament. I will not dwell on the political circumstances, suffice to say that the duke sought the aid of the most powerful men of Christendom and needed to impress them with the need to fight the Turks. Olivier de la Marche played a key role in its organisation and leaves a detailed description of the event in his *Mémoires*. It appears that he assisted the organising committee, headed by Jean de Lannoy and Jean Boudault, with certain 'cerimonies' and 'misteres'. Most likely this refers to the ceremonies surrounding the banquet and *entremets* (entertainments between the courses of a banquet), with the 'mysteries' perhaps referring to the play, performed during the banquet, depicting Jason's conquest of the Golden Fleece.<sup>64</sup>

There is one possible problem with de la Marche's account of the Feast of the Pheasant: since it is most likely based on another source, it does

not necessarily reflect his personal experience of the event. This becomes apparent when we compare different accounts of the feast with de la Marche's version. For one, he copies only some of the vows taken by the participants, excluding even his own. This is based on another account of the feast by Mathieu d'Escouchy, which is virtually identical to de la Marche's account in his *Mémoires*. d'Escouchy copies 93 vows to de la Marche's 22.<sup>65</sup> The reason for the apparent incomplete nature of de la Marche's account is unknown; perhaps when he wrote his *Mémoires* years later, he used an incomplete account. Perhaps he used his own, incomplete, notes. Still, de la Marche chose to copy the account of the Feast of the Pheasant into his *Mémoires*, giving it a certain status in his own experience and memory.

Although the tournament itself was apparently a splendid affair,<sup>66</sup> de la Marche doesn't dwell on the jousting itself. He quickly moves on to the banquet and the *entremets*. To give an impression of how much text he devotes to the joust; it takes up about a page and a half (from the moment the Knight of the Swan arrives in the lists until the last pass has been ridden) out of over forty in the modern edition.<sup>67</sup> Little work appears to have been done on the symbolism and iconography of the feast, though Millar describes some of the *entremets* and offers some possible interpretations.<sup>68</sup>

The feast was announced in Lille some eighteen days before the event itself, during a banquet organised by Adolph de Cleves, Lord of Ravenstein (1425-1492). This son of Adolph I de Cleves and Marie of Burgundy had been married to the niece of Isabel of Portugal, the wife of Philip the Good, less than a year earlier. Such unions cemented the relations between Burgundy and Cleves, which meant Adolph was a respected guest of the Valois Dukes. Most likely, this feast was a precursor to the Feast of the Pheasant, with most attendants being present at both occasions. During this banquet, the Knight of the Swan announced his intention to take on all comers on the day of the feast. The literary reference to the legend of the Swan Knight linked the *Pas d'Armes* strongly

63 For useful summaries of the event, see: Richard Vaughan, *Philip the Good* (London 1970, ed. Woodbridge 2002) 143-145; Doutrepont, *La littérature française a la cour des ducs de Bourgogne* (Paris 1909) 106-117; M.T. Caron, *Les vœux du faisan, noblesse en fête, esprit de croisade* (Turnhout 2003); G. Orgelfinger, 'The vows of the pheasant and the late chivalric ritual', in: Chickering and Seiler (eds.), *The study of chivalry* (Kalamazoo 1988) 213-262;

64 For the plays, see: Olivier de la Marche, *Mémoires* II, Henri Beaune and J. d'Arbaumont (eds.), (Paris 1883) 357-361.

65 See: Millar, *Olivier de la Marche*, 66-67.

66 Barber and Barker, *Tournaments*, 110-125.

67 In *Court and civic society*, Brown and Small leave out the joust itself entirely, most of the rest of *Mémoires*, II, XXIX is largely translated; Andrew Brown and Graeme Small, *Court and civic society in the Burgundian Low Countries c. 1420-1520* (Manchester 2008) 40-53. Millar also remarks on the lack of political background and focus on the pageantry in the *Mémoires*; *Olivier de la Marche*, 53-54.

68 Millar, *Olivier de la Marche*, 77-78.

to the crusading theme of the feast. The first variants of the story as they appeared in *chansons de geste* were linked to the family of Godfried of Bouillon, the first Christian king of the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem.<sup>69</sup>

De la Marche describes the banquet and its attendants in great detail, giving plenty of attention to their appearance, clothing, entourage and conduct. While I would like to focus on the *Pas d'Armes*, the *entremets* are interesting subject for study in their own right. I will limit myself to the one which featured Olivier de la Marche himself, functioning as one of the major entertainments during the banquet. De la Marche, dressed as *Sainte Église*, was brought into the hall on the back of an elephant, led by a giant dressed as a Saracen. She was thereby represented as a prisoner of the heathens and proceeded to make an elaborate lament of her state (performed by de la Marche himself in a falsetto voice), as she was led before the table of the duke:

*Helas! Helas! Moy doloureuse,  
Triste, déplaisante, ennuyeuse,  
Desolée, las, pue-heureuse  
La plus qui soit.  
Chacun me regarde et me voyt:  
Mais ame ne me reconnoît,  
Et me laisse on sur cest endroit  
En tell' langueur, [...]*

This complaint went on for some time, finishing with a plea:

*Dont en amour de Dieu premièrement,  
Et en faveur de nom et de noblesse,  
Je te requier a certes fermement,  
Mon aimé fils, pour mon recouvrement:  
Et vous, signeurs, pour toute gentillesse.  
Par tout m'en vois: car a l'oeuvre me presse  
Mon faict piteux. Hélas! qu'on ne l'oublie.  
Sous tel espoir, Dieu vous doint bonne vie!*<sup>70</sup>

After this spectacular display, a live pheasant was brought in, over which those present could give their vows. Many of those present subsequently

did so, a custom not entirely uncommon in this period.<sup>71</sup>

Returning to the *Pas d'Armes*; the lead-up to the joust is given more space in his *Mémoires* than the actual feats of arms themselves.<sup>72</sup> To be fair, the manner of the Knight of the Swan's entrance into the lists and his presentation to the ladies is quite something: a large swan was led into the main banqueting hall, "marvellously and skilfully made", with a crown around its neck from which hung, by a golden chain, a shield with the arms of Cleves. This swan was flanked by two centaurs and followed by the Knight of the Swan himself; a role played by Adolph de Cleves, lord of Ravestein. He was flanked by three young children dressed in white and accompanied by his brother, the Duke of Cleves, as well as many knights also dressed in white, "carrying lances in fine array".<sup>73</sup> Besides the link to the crusades, the Legend of the Swan also had a strong connection to Cleves. Legend had it that a swan led a knight from Cleves along the Rhine, where he met a princess. They married and from them the Duchy of Cleves was descendant. Also, this image of the swan -with a crown around its neck from which hung a golden chain- is immediately reminiscent of the Dunstable Swan Jewel, now in the British Museum,<sup>74</sup> and similar references to the legend of the Knight of the Swan. The Medieval audience, whether from Cleves, Burgundy, or England, would thus immediately recognise the iconography.

The centaurs, which appeared to guard the swan and made to shoot at anyone approaching it, are creatures from ancient myths. Most likely they represented Burgundian horsemanship, as this is the characteristic of the centaur described by Isidore of Seville in his *Etymologies*,<sup>75</sup> which forms part of the basis for late medieval bestiaries. These in turn inspired the literary depictions of such creatures, in written form or, as here, in pageantry. The three small children in white, "dressed in the manner of angels", and seated on white coursers also in white, symbolise the divine blessing and protection of the knight, as well as the undertaking he

71 M. Keen, *Chivalry* (Yale 1984) 213-214.

72 Something which is common in Medieval literature as well, apparently. See: Santina, *The tournament and literature*, 25-36

73 Brown and Small, *Court and civic society*, 40-42.

74 For the Jewel, see: John Cherry, "The Dunstable Swan Jewel", in: *Journal of the British Archaeological Association* XXXII (1969) 38-62; Vivienne Evans (ed.), *The Dunstable Swan Jewel* (London 1982). For the connection with the legend, see: A.R. Wagner, 'the Swan Badge and the Swan Knight', in: *Archaeologia or, miscellaneous tracts relating to antiquity* 97 (1959) 127-152.

75 Isidore of Seville, *Etymologies*, Book 11, 3:37.

69 On the legend of the Swan Knight, see: Robert Jaffray, *The two knights of the swan, Lohengrin and Helyas* (Putnam 1910); Berthault de Villebresmes, *La geste du Chevalier au Cygne; the Old French Crusade cycle* (Tuscaloosa 1989).

70 Olivier de la Marche, *Mémoires* II, 179-181

represents.

The joust itself is glossed over by de la Marche, pausing in his description of all the lords' fine robes and jewels only to remark on one or two events of note: the first knight to challenge the Knight of the Swan, Gerard de Rossillon, did not last long - the Knight broke his shield on the very first pass.<sup>76</sup> After descriptions of all the contestants and their appearance, de la Marche describes the violence of the contest between the Knight of the Swan and Louis du Chevalaut, who managed to knock each other out of the saddle. Most of his narrative, however, is devoted to the spectacle of the event; the colours and heraldic arms worn by those present; the yards of silk, brocade, velvet and cloth-of-gold; the chivalry of the combatants is reflected as much in their appearance as it is in their feats of arms.<sup>77</sup>

What is striking about this *Pas d'Armes*, as it is the case with many others, is the strong literary background against which they were performed. While the joust itself is a sport with winners and losers, the context in which the action was placed was undeniably literary in nature; the legend of the Knight of the Swan is basically recreated by the participants in their own way. To those unfamiliar with the legend, the feats of arms and pageantry of the participants may in their own right be entertaining and impressive. But those who had knowledge of the literary basis for the display had a deeper understanding of the meaning behind every gesture, act or spoken word. By the performance of its actors, the Burgundian theatre state comes to life in the lists.

## The marriage of Charles the Bold, 1468

The feasts surrounding the marriage of Charles the Bold to Margaret of York have been the subject of quite a bit of study.<sup>78</sup> I will focus on the

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76 Olivier de la Marche, *Mémoires*, 166-167.

77 This indicates that la Marche based his account, at least partly, on those documents left by the heralds and kings of arms. These accounts would focus heavily on the heraldic significance of each color worn by a given knight. See also: M. Pastoureaux, *Traité d'Héraldique* (Paris 1979, ed. 1997) 100-121.

78 Most of the secondary literature is based, at least in part, on the account left by Olivier de la Marche in his *Mémoires*, treating it as not only an excellent first-hand account, but as de la Marche played a large hand in organizing the feast, a look behind the scenes of such a spectacle as well. The following is based on Olivier de la Marche, *Mémoires* II, 301-390. See also the descriptions in Millar, *Olivier de la Marche*, 79-94; Brown & Small, *Court and civic society*, 58-85; Barber & Barker, *Tournaments*, 121-124. As Millar observes, de la Marche apparently produced two

*Pas d'Armes* itself, though I am obliged to make some reference to the *entremets* which were put on during the banquets, as the feast as a whole is a fascinating tapestry of allegorical and iconographical symbolism.

Olivier de la Marche clearly bases his account of the feast partly on the reports of heralds. This is especially obvious in the descriptions of the jousts, wherein he makes sure to include the colours that each knight and his entourage appear in, as well as those of their horse-coverings and shields. Naturally, all these colours have a symbolic significance, but de la Marche assumes this is obvious in itself.

## Entrance and beginnings

On Sunday 3 July 1468, Charles the Bold and Margaret of York were married at Damme, just outside Bruges. While a politically significant event, it is best remembered for the elaborate festivities that followed it. Until 14 July, the city of Bruges plays host to the Burgundian court, with six grand banquets and ten days of jousting.<sup>79</sup> The *pas* was organised by Charles' half-brother, Anthony the Grand Bastard. The lists were set up in the marketplace of Bruges, for which the city itself provided the necessary materials such as stands, fences, sand, scaffolding and even heralds. In his *Mémoires* and unlike the case of the Feast of the Pheasant, de la Marche describes the jousts with as much relish as he does the banquets and *entremets*. There are a slew of literary references, the description of the *pas* itself reads as an elaborate intermingling of classical and courtly literature.

True to form, de la Marche devotes ample time to describing the progression into Bruges, omitting none of the attendants of note. The order in which they entered the city, as well as their apparel and that of their attendants, all reflect their nobility and (chivalric) worth. Among those present were the Knights of the Golden Fleece, as well as Anthony Woodville, Lord Scales; ambassadors from Venice, Florence, Genoa, Germany and Aragon. The progression passed by a number of *tableaux vivantes* organized by the city, as well as the famed fountains that ran with wine and hippocras. I will pass over de la Marche's description of the banquet halls, as they are even more elaborate. Fortunately, he is as

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version of the account, with the second version (*Mémoires* IV, 95-143) placing much more emphasis on the jousts. The reason for these two versions is unclear.

79 There are numerous accounts besides those included by de la Marche in his *Mémoires*: Jean de Haynin, Anthonis de Roovere and an anonymous English herald all left their own (apparently first-hand) accounts of the festivities. See: Richard Vaughan, *Charles the Bold* (London 1973, ed. 2002) 49, n. 1.



thorough when it comes to describing the jousting field and the feats of arms that occurred within.

The jousting field was closed off on all sides except one, though on the first day Adolph de Cleves had arranged for a second entrance near the place where he armed himself. At the entrance was a large gate in the shape of a golden tree, with a golden hammer attached to it. This hammer was used by the knights' heralds to announce their intention to joust, using it to knock on the gate. The *pas* began with a dwarf leading a giant in chains, who took their place alongside Golden Tree -who served as a herald to the Bastard of Burgundy- near a *perron*<sup>80</sup> which had been placed on the field. Next to this *perron* there was a pine tree which had been covered with gold except for the leaves. Next to them was a platform which housed the judges. One of their prime responsibilities, besides the orderly conduct of the joust, was that all the lances were properly tipped and measured. This was to create as level a playing field as possible. The goal of the joust was after all not just to break lances, but to break them well; extra points were awarded for lances that broke up to a certain length, as this required more skill and determination.

The first joust was between two knights that Olivier de la Marche knew well: Anthony, Grand Bastard of Burgundy, who had declared the *pas* and was defending the gate of the Golden Tree; and Adolph de Cleves, who had performed so admirably fourteen years earlier at the Feast of the Pheasant. After his pursuivant had knocked on the gate and was met by Golden Tree and a number of archers from the Bastard's retinue, the challenge was accepted. Golden Tree wrote the knight's name on a tablet hanging from the gate, after which the challenging knight's blazon was taken past the judges and then hung from the golden tree. Adolph de Cleves then entered in a litter, flanked by four knights and followed by a footman and a packhorse carrying two baskets of armour, between which sat a jester. Emerson, in her work on the *Mémoires*, remarks on the similarity between this scene and one de la Marche describes at the beginning of his *Mémoires*, describing the entry of Jacques de Bourbon into Pontarlier. She argues that de la Marche used this similarity to emphasise the pomp and circumstance of the scene, as well as the wealth and *largesse* shown by Ravestein.<sup>81</sup> Adolf presented himself as an ancient knight: "Il [...] tenoit toute manière de chevalier ancien, foulé et debilité des armes porter." (he was around 43 years old at the time). Arriving before

the ladies, he claims he had been roused by news of the *pas* and could not resist competing. His speech, as recorded by de la Marche, is of some interest:

"Treshaute et trespuissante princesse, ma tresdoutee et souveraine dame; et vous autres nobles princesses, dames et demoiselles, voyex cy un ancien chevalier qui des long temps a frequenté et exercé les armes: lequel vous fait treshumble reverence. Si est ainsi que par longue vie il est venu a ses anciens jours, es quels il se trouve fort debilité de sa personne: tellement qu'il ne peut plus, ne pourroit, les armes suyvre ne porter: et a ceste cause a desja longuement delaissé le mestier, et n'est pas deliberé de plus porter armes. Mais toutesvoies, pource qu'il a sceu ceste grande et solennelle feste du noble pas et emprise du chevalier a l'Arbre d'or, et la tresbelle et noble assemblee de dames d'icelle noble compagnie, il ne s'est peu tenir, pour sa derniere main, de venir faire son devoir."<sup>82</sup>

It seems clear that the lord of Ravestein is appealing to the literary horizon of the audience, referencing the literary theme of the ancient knight returning to do battle one last time, a theme further explored by de la Marche in LCD. After asking for permission to compete, despite his "antiquité et debilitation", he is welcomed by the ladies. Returning to his litter, the ancient knight completed his circuit of the list and left to prepare himself. Suddenly a yellow pavilion appeared, carried by six pages, embroidered with golden trees and topped by a golden apple with the arms of the Bastard of Burgundy.

Accompanied by six other knights, the lord of Ravenstein returned and received a lance. Another lance was presented to Anthony, who had emerged from the pavilion carrying a green shield. The competition was ruled over by the dwarf, who had taken his place on the *perron*. He used a *horologe* (an hourglass) which took around half an hour to run, during which time both knights ran as much passes as they could. This is an extraordinary feat of arms in its own rights; usually in the context of a *pas*, the number of lances is announced beforehand. Running around twenty lances in one half-hour period is exhausting for both rider and horse, which helps explain why the Bastard changed horses after each course. In this first instance, the Bastard broke more lances than his challenger and was declared the victor, winning a golden baton. De la Marche remarks that this is in part because the horse of the lord of Ravenstein became more difficult to handle as the competition progressed: "Et eust encores mieux esté, si ne

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80 A type of platform or column.

81 Emerson, *Olivier de la Marche*, 189-192.

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82 Olivier de la Marche, *Mémoires* II, 322-323.



fust esté le cheval de mondict seigneur de Ravastain, qui sur la fin ne voulut si-bien aler qu'il avoit commencé."<sup>83</sup> After running a final time with "gros planchons blanc", it was too late to continue, so they both retired for the day. These *planchons* are used during the rest of the jousts as well, as are the *bourdons* mentioned elsewhere by de la Marche. They appear to be a specific kind of lance used after the regular courses have been run.<sup>84</sup>

De la Marche returns to descriptions of the banquet and *entremets* which followed. The descriptions provided by de la Marche paint a picture of a spectacular series of events, with each entertainment attempting to out-do the last. Life-sized reproductions of various animals performed for the Duke and Duchess, such as a leopard; a lion made of gold, "d'aussi grande grandeur que le plus-grand destrier du monde" which sang a song for the duchess; and a dromedary dressed as a Saracen. There are layers of meaning in each *entremet*, most of which refer to the union of the Charles and Margaret.<sup>85</sup> It was three in the morning before the newly-weds retired for the night.

## Jousting

On Monday, the second day of the feast, more jousts followed. Like the first joust the day before, the challenging knights knock on the door and challenge the Knight of the Golden Tree – the Bastard of Burgundy. As his challengers appear one after the other, the Bastard takes the time to change horses and equally, as noted by de la Marche, the color of their *caparisons*.<sup>86</sup> Unlike Adolph de Cleves, though, they appear not to have selected a specific role to play, allegorical or otherwise. The first blazon to be hung from the Golden Tree was that of the lord of Chateau Guion.

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83 Ibidem, 325. The refusal of a horse to run was a common problem in the lists. It is interesting to note that de la Marche advises against relying on such a 'dumb animal' in part five of LCD (see below).

84 Beaune and Arbaumont give the definitions of *planchon* as "piques ou batons de défense" (p. 326) and of *bourdon* as "batons a grosse tete" (p. 334). In the Middle-Dutch account of the feast, he uses the words "plan(t)soen" and "bordoien". Since these words seem to be used interchangeably in the different accounts, I assume they refer to the same sort of lance, one specifically used apart from the regular *lances* (glavien in Middle-Dutch).

85 On the symbolism and iconography of these *entremets*, see: Miller, *Olivier de la Marche*, 91-95.

86 The cloth covering the horse, usually decorated just like the robes worn by the knights or their pages. The Bastard uses several sets of different colours, such as blue, black, green or gold; decorated with small golden trees, his own or those of burgundy, occasionally a silver device not further specified in the text.

He appeared richly dressed, accompanied by two mounted pages and seven footmen. As before, the dwarf began the contest by turning over his *horologe* and sounding a horn. The first course consisted of eighteen lances and was closely run; the Knight of the Golden Tree broke ten lances to the lord of Chateau Guion's nine. But as this was the lord of Chateau Guion's first joust and he acquitted himself so admirably, he was awarded the prize of a golden rod. Next to joust was Charles of Visan, as richly bedecked in costly cloth as the other knights. The course consisted of twenty-one lances, of which Charles broke eight to the Knight of the Golden Tree's nine. As both were experienced jousts, no lance that was not broken, "quatre doigts de francs au-dessous du roquet, ou devant la grape", was accepted. The last to run that day is the lord of Fiennes, who runs twenty-two lances against the Knight, only breaking six against his twelve. After the horn sounds, they run a final time with *bourdons*.<sup>87</sup> As the lord of Fiennes has lost this joust, he pays the Knight of the Golden Tree a golden rod. After these three courses, the attendants retire for the banquet.

## Knight of Enslavement

On Wednesday, the joust continued in a novel fashion. The first knight to challenge the Knight of the Golden Tree was Jean de Chassa, lord of Monnet. He had sent some letters to the ladies present beforehand, requesting their permission to enter the field. His letter is reproduced by de la Marche in full in his *Mémoires*.<sup>88</sup> In it, the knight presented himself as an enslaved knight born in the *royaume d'Esclavonie* (kingdom of Enslavement). He had worshipped and served a lady of Enslavement all his life, but had been refused by her and has taken up a quest to prove himself. He was led on this quest by an errant lady, sent by his love. The knight had travelled to France and now, Burgundy, as he had heard there are many chances to practice feats of arms there and hoped to be as graciously received as he had been in France. He signed the letter with *Le Chevalier Esclave*.

De Chassa's entry into the lists was, as de la Marche puts it, "tresnouvellement, [...] apres le teneur de sa lettre." He had taken every measure to appear as a knight from a far-off land, accompanied as he was by three Mores playing various instruments; a lady dressed in the manner of one travelling from abroad, who guided the knight; four knights in the

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87 See above, n. 50.

88 Olivier de la Marche, *Mémoires*, 346-349.

colours of Enslavement and the words *Le Chevalier Esclave* in golden letters on their robes – the same words appeared engraved on the knight's armour. They were oddly and richly dressed and armed, with long spears and javelins. "Certes son entree et manière de faire fut tresplaisante", as de la Marche puts it. Unfortunately, after the knight had presented himself to the Knight of the Golden Tree and judges, he found himself "mal-armé" and requested to be excused from the joust. Apparently, his custom-made armour was unfit to joust in. The Bastard agreed and moved on to the next knight.

Jacques of Luxembourg stood ready, accompanied by an impressive entourage including, among others, the Lord Scales and Sir John Woodville, brothers of the queen of England; the lords of Roussy and Fiennes; and Jean of Luxembourg. Jacques manages to defeat the Bastard, seven lances to six. He is followed by Philippe de Poitiers, lord of La Ferté, son of the lord of Arcis. He is led into the lists by a lady, as was Jean de Chassa. This lady is referred to as *la Dame Blanche* (the White Lady), "et a la verité elle estoit belle, et valoit bien estre regardée."<sup>89</sup> This lady presents another letter to the ladies present, which is again copied by de la Marche. In it, the knight offers his service if the ladies will allow him to prove his *prouesse*. The course is hard-fought, but in the allotted half-hour, the lord of La Ferté breaks ten lances to the Bastards nine. The fourth and last knight to challenge the Knight of the Golden Tree is Claude de Vauldrey, "un jeune chevalier bourgognon." He is defeated by the more experienced knight, after which the company disperses for the evening. As it is a fast-day, there is no banquet and no *entremets*.

### Accident and allegory in the lists

As Friday is another fast-day, the dinner is served quite late, after which the guests make their way to the lists to see the day's jousting. The Grand Bastard had decided not to joust that day, as he did not wish to run against the Lord Scales, "considerant qu'ils estoyent frères-d'armes."<sup>90</sup> Most likely, he could also use the time to rest, as five straight days of heavy jousting and sumptuous banquets can take their toll. In his place, Adolph de Cleves takes up the role of Knight of the Golden Tree and defends the *pas*. The first to arrive was the aforementioned Lord Scales, accompanied by both English and Burgundian knights. In the half-hour joust that follows, the Lord Scales manages to break twelve lances. But he is no match for the lord

of Ravestein, who breaks sixteen. This victory is overshadowed, though, by an accident involving the Bastard of Burgundy, who was grievously injured by a kick from one of the horses, just above the knee. Only through the ministrations of skilled surgeons was his life saved, according to de la Marche. Because of this injury, he was unable to complete his enterprise of guarding the *pas*. However, he found a way to participate by supplying those who would guard the *pas* in his stead, such as the lord of Ravestein, with the necessary costly coverings for their person and horses. In this way he was still the guardian of the *pas* and able to complete the quest he had set for himself.

The jousting, meanwhile, continued unabatedly. Next to challenge the Knight of the Golden Tree was the count of Roussy, who was preceded by trumpets and clarions, but also "un petit nain de Constantinoble",<sup>91</sup> who had been brought to the feast by Margaret. He held a paper "en manière d'un requeste", as well as a key. The count of Roussy himself was in a large castle with four turrets and a working gate, armed and on horseback. As they completed their circuit of the lists and approached the ladies, the mystery of the dwarf and the castle is explained; he had taken the knight prisoner by the request of his lady, and sought permission to free him. His speech is another fine example of the use of allegory in the *pas d'armes*:

*"Excellentes, hautes et nobles princesses, dames et demoiselles, le chevalier, prisonnier de sa dame, vous fait treshumble reverence. Son cas est tel que Danger tient la clef de ceste prison, et l'a mis es mains de Petit-Espoir, son serviteur: et n'en sera jamais tiré ne deliveré, si ce n'est par la bonté et pitié de vous. Parquoy supplie ledict chevalier prisonnier, a vous tresexcellentes, treshautes et trespuissantes princesses, dames et damoiselles, qu'il vous plaise, de vostre grace, assembler vostre tresnoble et tresvertueux college feminin (car entre plusieurs s'en pourra trouver la voix d'une, et telle que Danger ne voudroit ne pouroit luy faire refus de la deliverance du chevalier), a celle fin qu'il soit commandé a Petit-Espoir, qui la meine, qu'il le deferme et delivre de ceste prison tant douloureuse: car autrement (s'il n'estoit a son delivre) il ne pourroyt courre a celuy noble pas, n'achever ne fournir l'aventure de l'Arbre d'or. Ce qu'il desiré de tout son cueur, et de demourer treshumble serviteur de vous, et de toutes noble dames."*<sup>92</sup>

91 Brown and Small translate this as "a small dwarf named Constantinople", which I think is erroneous, especially considering the speech delivered below, identifying the dwarf as *Petit-Espoir* (Small Hope).

92 La Marche, *Mémoires* II, 366.

89 Ibidem, 352.

90 La Marche, *Mémoires* II, 362.

After the ladies had given their permission, the dwarf Little Hope opened the castle and the knight, armed and armored, leapt forth, ready for the joust. For the rest of the day the *pas* was guarded by Charles de Visan, with little success. The count of Roussy broke eight lances, while de Visan did not manage to break any. The last knight to challenge the Knight of the Golden Tree for the day was Rosquin de Rochefay, who managed to break twelve lances to de Visan's ten. He also manages to break his *planchon*, with a "tresdure atteinte". As this day is another fast, there are no banquets. The Saturday and Sunday are uneventful and rather unsatisfying with regards to the jousting.

### Winners and the mêlée

The last day of the feast and the last day of the *pas* began, as usual, with a dinner for the guests, who then moved to their places at the lists. Anthoine of Burgundy was transported about in a litter due to his injury. He entered the list "si pompeusement et par si bel ordre", that he did not seem a Bastard of Burgundy, but "héritier d'une des plus-grandes seigneuries du monde." After his litter had been placed on a stage at one end of the lists, the king of arms of the Golden Fleece entered. He was accompanied by two members of the order; the lord of Crequy and the lord of Gruuthuse. They were followed by the duke himself, attended by a great number of knights, preceded by heralds and trumpeters. As he completed his round of the lists and took his place, a pavilion entered as it had the first day of the jousts. From it sprang Adolph de Cleves, who was guarding the *pas* for the Bastard of Burgundy. As the Knight of the Golden Tree, he accepted the challenge from Duke Charles to joust.

The description of the joust itself is brief. The half hour of jousting was hard run, with many hard hits and broken lances, not all of which were counted as they were not broken to the measure determined by the judges. In the end, the duke of Burgundy broke eight lances to the lord of Ravestein's eleven. Ravestein thereby won the joust and after the *pas* was declared over, the question was laid before the judges who should be the overall winner of the jousts held in the past eleven days. They asked the ladies, who referred the question back to the judges, according to the rules and chapters of the tournament. From the "livres et escritures" of the kings of arms and heralds, it was determined that the knight who broke the most lances within the half hour should be the winner. This was the lord of

Argueil, who had broken thirteen lances on Tuesday.<sup>93</sup> He was presented by a magnificent black *destrier*, covered in black satin and from which hung two baskets with the jousting armour of the Bastard of Burgundy. This armour was "l'un des beaux harnois de joute qu'on peust voir" and after Argeuil is presented with it and the horse, the jousts are over.

However, the fun was not over yet for the knights there present. Workmen quickly prepared the square for a *mêlée*.<sup>94</sup> The box for the judges was taken down and the square was made as uniform as possible. Soon, twenty-five blazons were presented to the Knight of the Golden Tree and his companions. In the now-empty square, they were to face off for one course of the lance and mounted combat with blunted swords. After the judges had inspected these swords to prevent unnecessary injuries, the combatants lined up for the spectacular close of the *pas d'armes*. They were a sight to behold, "estoyent armés et emplumés comme en tel cas appartient". After the twenty-five noblemen had taken their place, the gate of the Golden Tree opened to trumpets and all the knights who had jousted in the *pas* filed out. Their horses were all covered in violet velvet, embroidered with the Golden Tree. The last to enter, equally dressed in the colours of the Golden Tree, was duke Charles himself. After inspecting the line of knights, he took his place among them. Olivier de la Marche remarks that it was a sight to behold, fifty knight with "lances garnie"<sup>95</sup> on their thighs, plumes and horse-coverings fluttering in the breeze. Then the violence began.

The opening charge, like the tournaments of old,<sup>96</sup> was with the lance.

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- 93 Anthoine, who was guarding the *pas* at the time, had also broken thirteen lances against Argeuil. But presumably the guardian of the *pas* could not be declared the winner, as it was an honour and privilege in itself to take on the role of the Knight of the Golden Tree. Also, the prize was the Bastard's horse and armour, as the rules of the joust dictated.
- 94 Although the traditional *mêlée* as practiced in the twelfth century had all but disappeared, it was still a part of the *Pas d'Armes* and often used to conclude the jousting. However, it lacked the open field and general mayhem of the earlier forms, being governed by more rules and kept in check by the marshal of the field, in this case by the Duke himself.
- 95 Brown and Small refer to the lances as 'covered', though that seems peculiar. *Garnie* (from *garnir*) can also simply mean "armed (for combat)". A.J. Greimas and T.M. Keane, *Moyen Français: grand dictionnaire. La langue de la Renaissance de 1340 à 1611* (Paris 2007).
- 96 The word tournament is derived from the old French *torner*, to turn or whirl about. It refers to the action of the knights after the first pass with the lance, when they quickly turn to engage once more. Often the lance is discarded after the first pass,



In it, many lances were broken and horses brought to the ground. Some panicked and were wounded. Those knights remaining drew their swords and the fight began in earnest, moving from one end of the field to the other. It lasted so long and was fought so savagely, that the duke removed his helmet so he may be recognized and rode between the combatants, separating them by force with his sword. In doing so he spared “ne cousin, n’Anglois, ne Bourgognon.” After this, the combatants lined up again and individual duels were fought; one on one, two on two or three on three. And each time the duke would separate them as before, keeping order and discipline on the field. The *pas* was thus completed after which those present retired, the duke riding to his residence accompanied by a great entourage of knights and pages.

The last banquet of the feast, like the last joust, is designed to be a spectacular end to the festivities. The food is presented in miniature gardens with little golden trees, from which hung the names of abbeys within the Burgundian lands, such as Cluny and Citeaux. There are miniature figures of men and women among the gardens, as well as a very skillfully made fountain in front of the table of the duke and duchess.<sup>97</sup> As an *entremet*, a large whale was led into the hall by two giants. From it came two sirens who sang a song to the guests, as well as a number of knights dressed as merfolk. They danced with the sirens but quickly became jealous and began to fight among themselves, in the manner of a tournament. The giants broke up the fighting, chased the whole lot back into the whale and escorted it back out the door.<sup>98</sup>

Soon after, the tables were cleared and the dancing began. However, a winner for the tournament still had to be decided upon, which was the task of the heralds and kings-of-arms. This was a difficult task, as the combat with the sword had been so well-fought that no one knew who should be awarded the prize. The ladies wished to give the prize to the duke, but he refused. Ultimately, the honor was given to Sir John Woodville, brother of the queen of England, for three reasons: he was a foreigner, who deserved to be honored; he was young and should be commended

for his courage; and because he had fought well in the joust as well as the tournament. He was presented with his prize from the hands of a lady from England and one from Burgundy, symbolizing again the close diplomatic ties between the Duke of Burgundy and the King of England.

## One more

The lord Argeuil, winner of the jousts, had asked permission to hold a day of jousting on the Tuesday. De la Marche does not describe it in full, only mentioning that Argeuil won the insider’s joust while a young squire called Billecocq won the outsider’s.<sup>99</sup> On the Wednesday, the closing celebration and ceremonies are held, with the duke investing new pursuivants, heralds and kings-of-arms. His business then takes him to Holland, upon which de la Marche closes his account with the words: “et ne say pour le present chose digne de vous escrire, fors que je suis le vostre.”

## Pas d’Armes

It seems clear that the *Pas d’Armes* was as much a performance as it was a sporting event. The Burgundian nobility used it to display their worth, in terms of wealth, chivalric behavior towards their peers and the ladies, creative use of literary references and allegories, prowess in the lists, and more. To them, the tournament in general but the joust in particular were opportunities to demonstrate what it was that made them worthy of the title of “knight”. The *Pas d’Armes*, as the most spectacular, elaborate and challenging of the tournaments, was ideally suited to give them an arena in which to demonstrate their worth. It was the whole of chivalry condensed to one place and time, with an undercurrent of political maneuvering. For the Burgundian knights, the *Pas d’Armes* was a cross section of life.

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leaving them broken on the battlefield. The first recorded use of the word in this context dates from the twelfth century. David Crouch, *Tournament* (London 2005) 3.

97 Made by Jean Skalkin, who was involved in many of the decorations of the feast. Brown and Small, *Court and civic society*, 83-84.

98 The accounts list this *entremet* as part of the fifth banquet. Olivier de la Marche may have placed it at the last one for several reasons, perhaps because it was the most well-received or possibly as it fit with the events at the tournament; the duke had broken up the tournament much as the giants broke up the fighting between the knights of the sea. Ibidem, 84-85.

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99 Most likely this refers to the custom of holding separate jousts for knights and squires. R. Coltman Clepham, *The Medieval tournament* (New York 1995) 79-81.





## 2. The author

Olivier de la Marche was a man of no little accomplishments; he served the Valois Dukes of Burgundy and their heirs, spending all his life at what can be considered the most prestigious court of the fifteenth century. After the death of Mary of Burgundy in 1482, he served the Habsburg dynasty until his own death in 1502. In his capacity as courtier, ambassador, diplomat, chronicler, entertainer and knight, he managed to ingratiate himself with some of the most powerful men and women of the century, as well as contribute to the great renown of the Burgundian court as a place of learning, chivalry and pageantry. His contribution to the historiography about this period is significant, as he produced a number of texts on different subjects, from his well-known and oft-cited *Mémoires* to treatises on women, poems on a number of subjects and a description of the household of Charles the Bold. The subject of this thesis, *Le Chevalier Délibéré*, is considered his greatest literary accomplishment.<sup>100</sup>

Most modern historiography on de la Marche is based on the views first put forward by Auguste Molinier<sup>101</sup> and Georges Doutrepont<sup>102</sup> at the beginning of the twentieth century. In their treatments of late-medieval French literature, they placed de la Marche at the end of an age of chivalry, writing

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100 By such authors as Millar, *Olivier de la Marche*, 135-145; S. Speakman Sutch, 'La réception du *Chevalier Délibéré* d'Olivier de la Marche aux XVe et XVIe siècles', in: *Moyen Français* 57-58 (2006) 335-350; Bas Jongenelen, 'The influence of *Le Chevalier Délibéré* on Late Medieval Dutch literature', in: *Dutch Crossing – A journal of Low Countries studies* 29, nr. 2 (Winter 2006) 306-318.

101 A. Molinier, *Les sources de l'histoire de France. Le Moyen Age IV* (Paris 1904).

102 G. Doutrepont, *La littérature Française a la cour des ducs de Bourgogne* (Paris 1909).

about the by-gone times when knights were truly knights. Identifying him as an apologist for the Valois Dukes of Burgundy, Doutrepoint dismisses the *Mémoires* of de la Marche, saying they are “not to be considered as a guide to the history of the age: more than once he errs in the question of chronology; also, he lacks the necessary information to report with great accuracy about certain events of the age.”<sup>103</sup>

The question of whether what de la Marche reports is true is of central importance to these early-twentieth century authors. Similarly, Huizinga places de la Marche securely at the end of an age in his *Autumn of the Middle Ages*.<sup>104</sup> Many of the carefully orchestrated feasts and pageantry which are central to much of de la Marche’s work, both as author and as organizer, are for Huizinga merely empty ceremonies. De la Marche, as well as his contemporaries Chastellain and Molinet, are a melancholy sort, who choose as their motto such phrases as *Tant Souffrant* – he who has suffered much, de la Marche’s personal motto. For Huizinga, these are men who acutely feel the waning of their Middle Ages about them. This view has held for much of the twentieth century and has only recently come under closer scrutiny.

Some aspects of de la Marche’s literary accomplishments have been studied in the second half of the twentieth century. However, these are mostly limited to singular analyses of (parts of) his historiographical and literary works. The first comprehensive work which seeks to describe the author’s life as a whole, as well as the texts he produced during his long career, is Alistair Millar’s dissertation of 1996.<sup>105</sup> In almost three hundred pages, he describes the life and work of de la Marche, in which LCD, “his greatest literary accomplishment”, is given about ten pages.<sup>106</sup> Millar is very impressed with the poem, however, calling it “a visually striking and haunting piece of poetry, and it is perhaps unsurprising that this should be his most successful work.”<sup>107</sup> Since Millar’s comprehensive study, a colloquium by the *Centre Européen d’Etudes Bourguignonnes* has been devoted to the author, resulting in a number of articles.<sup>108</sup> Catherine

Emerson has since also published a doctoral thesis, focusing on the historiographical significance of the *Mémoires*.<sup>109</sup> De la Marche worked on them from around 1472 until shortly before his death in 1502.<sup>110</sup> In it, she argues that a work like de la Marche’s *Mémoires* should be considered as much a piece of literature as historiography. Emerson argues that the title of *Mémoires*, as well as its nature, lets modern historians place it with a clearly defined sub-genre of autobiographies.<sup>111</sup> However, since medieval readers did not have the same horizon of expectations, they would not have defined it quite as narrowly as modern readers are prone to do. One thing that the modern genre of *memoires* has in common with de la Marche’s work, is the importance of memory.<sup>112</sup> This is an aspect which clearly returns in *LCD*, where memory plays a central part and is personified in different ways: as *Pensee*, *Reliques de Jounesse*, *Souvenir*, and finally *Fresche Memoire*, who functions as a guide through much of the story.

The problematic nature of, for instance, de la Marche’s descriptions of *Pas d’Armes* is treated by comparative literary study of other contemporary authors. Thus Emerson attempts to define to what extent de la Marche wrote his own history, as opposed to simply copying the reports of others.<sup>113</sup> I am particularly interested in what de la Marche deemed as essential parts of the *pas* he chose to include in his *Mémoires*, as well as the specific rhetorical nature of his descriptions of them. These may give some clue as to his motivations for using the *Pas d’Armes* as a device in *Le Chevalier Délibéré*.

A peculiarity of his *Mémoires* is the apparent lack of political substance. As de la Marche appeared to be in the centre of the political theatre of the time, one would expect insights into the national and international politics and how they relate to the events he describes. However, often he skims over the political machinations and motivations of those involved and focuses on the outward pageantry of the events. This has lead Huizinga to condemn the Burgundian court as an empty shell with no substance in his *Autumn of the Middle Ages*.<sup>114</sup> However, it may well

103 Idem, 448.

104 Johan Huizinga, *Herfsttij der Middeleeuwen* (Leiden 1919, ed. 2006). Various translated and published.

105 Millar, *Olivier de la Marche*.

106 Ibidem, 135-145.

107 Ibidem, 145.

108 Jean-Marie Cauchies (ed.), *Rencontres de Chalon-sur-Saone (26 au 29 septembre 2002): Publications de Centre Européen d’Etudes Bourguignonnes* 43 (Turnhout

2003).

109 Emerson, *Olivier de la Marche*.

110 For the problems associated with dating the *Mémoires*, see: Emerson, *Olivier de la Marche*, 6-32.

111 Ibidem, 33-35.

112 Ibidem, 35-40.

113 Emerson, *Olivier de la Marche*, 189-194.

114 Huizinga, *Herfsttij der Middeleeuwen*, esp. 322-348.

be that de la Marche was unwilling to commentate on political events that involved himself and those he had served, even after they had passed on. More research into de la Marche as a political figure is obviously needed.

## Biographical sketch

To start to answer any question about the intentions of an author, it is helpful to outline what is known about him. It is entirely possible to analyse a text on face value, without attempting an analysis of the author, his life, or intended audience. A text produces meaning as it is read, not as it is written, according to Barthes and his followers.<sup>115</sup> However, my intention is to place the text in its socio-historical context. While many Medieval texts remain anonymous, limiting the scope of such an analysis, there is a great deal known about the author of LCD. From his own writings, as well as those around him, we can construct an image of the man that produced the text and thus come closer to understanding his motivations and considerations while writing it.

In the following biographical sketch, I shall attempt to ascertain what connection Olivier de la Marche had to the tournaments that were practised by the Burgundian nobility. Specifically, I shall attempt to answer several questions: whether he participated in their organisation and in what way; if he took part in the feats of arms himself; or if he played some other role in the tournament itself. As Millar did before me, I have selected two specific events as examples; the Feast of the Pheasant, held in Lille in 1454; and the marriage of Charles the Bold and Margaret of York, held at Bruges in 1468.<sup>116</sup> This last one, specifically, is often heralded as the high-point of de la Marche's career as a courtier and organiser. He certainly went to great lengths to produce a spectacle of unparalleled beauty and complexity, as can be read above in Chapter 1. How this influenced his later literary writings is a subject I shall return to in the next chapter, when I turn to the text of LCD itself.

## Early life

Olivier de la Marche was born in 1425 or 1426<sup>117</sup> to a minor noble family in the county of Bresse, in the southern parts of the County of Burgundy. Building on the reputations of his grandfather, Guillaume II de la Marche (d. 1404), and uncle, Anthoine de la Marche (c. 1395-1438), Olivier was almost guaranteed a place at the court of the Valois dukes of Burgundy.<sup>118</sup>

During his childhood, he enjoyed a thorough education in the house of an *écuyer* (squire), called Pierre de St. Mauris. Little is known about his early childhood, though one relevant memory is recorded in his *Mémoires*; the entrance of the Neapolitan king Jacques de Bourbon in Pontarlier in great splendour (July 22, 1435), which undoubtedly influenced de la Marche's own projects for the dukes of Burgundy. De la Marche was particularly impressed with the solemnity of the king himself, who had joined the order of *Cordeliers* – a Franciscan offshoot – and was on his way to Besançon where he would live out his life as a friar. The recollection of this experience is reflected in the tone and subject matter of *Le Chevalier Délibéré*. The long and arduous journey undertaken by the author on his way to redemption is central to the text, which I shall return to in the next chapter.

In 1439, young Olivier was introduced to Philip the Good by Anthoine de Croy, the duke's *premier chambellan*. Sponsored by Philippe de Ternant, the duke accepted de la Marche as a page, after which he began his education in earnest, at court. He learned all the skills necessary to be an effective courtier, but seemed to focus mainly on the ceremonial duties of a page. When he later described events of historical significance, most of his writing was concerned with the pageantry; clothing, jewels, ostentation, processions and rituals. A prime example of this is his account of the famous *Pas de l'Arbre Charlemagne*, which lasted forty days from the 1st of July 1443 onwards. Millar theorises that de la Marche had access to some sort of official document – now lost – describing the *pas*, and that these sorts of documents were probably produced for most tournaments by the ducal offices. The descriptions of the jousts included in his *Mémoires*, again with the same predilection towards clothing, armour, display and ostentation, certainly point to the use of heralds' reports. The repetitive

115 A summary of, and argument against the post-modern approach to literature can be found in: Sean Burke, *The death and return of the author: criticism and subjectivity in Barts, Foucault and Derrida* (Edinburgh 1992, ed. 1998).

116 Millar, *Olivier de la Marche*, 66-95.

117 There is some debate as to the exact date of his birth. See: Millar, *Olivier de la Marche*, Appendix I.

118 For this and the following, I largely rely on Millar, *Olivier de la Marche*, 1-56.



descriptions of the colours worn by the attendants seem to be copied directly from such reports.<sup>119</sup>

In 1444, after witnessing the Luxembourg campaign, de la Marche joined Philip the Good in Brussels, where he attended jousts organised by Jean de Cleves and Jacques de Lalain. In 1446, de la Marche is present at the joust between Philippe de Ternant and Galeotto Balthazar. In his *Mémoires*, he praises both combatants for their valour and chivalry in this, one of the most hard-fought and dangerous jousts he witnessed during his long career. His benefactor Ternant receives most of the praise and is compared to the Nine Worthies, a way for de la Marche to repay him for introducing him to the duke. In the following years, the young Olivier witnessed many more jousts, most of which he appears to have diligently recorded in his *Mémoires*. In 1448, he was at the *Pas de la Pelerine* at St. Omer; the next year he catches part of the *Pas de la Fontaine aux Pleurs*, organised near Chalon-sur-Saone by Jacques de Lalain; in 1452 there is the first public joust of Charles, Count of Charolais, later known as Charles the Bold. In 1454, he attends the Feast of the Pheasant and leaves an elaborate account of the proceedings. De la Marche rarely played any significant participatory role in any of these events, functioning mostly as an observer and chronicler. It is also entirely possible that the accounts preserved in the *Mémoires* are, at least in part, based upon other documents and second-hand sources. This does not invalidate them as sources for de la Marche's view of the Burgundian tournament, though.

## The diplomat and knight

De la Marche also describes some of the armed conflicts he witnessed during his years at court. In 1452-53 he was privy to much of the unrest surrounding the open hostilities between Philip the Good and the city of Ghent. Though he did not play an active role, his *Mémoires* reflect the impression this conflict made on him.<sup>120</sup> In 1456-1461 he became more and more active as a diplomat in the service of the court, finally receiving the

title of *maitre d'hôtel* in 1461. In the same year, Charles VII (r. 1422-1461) passed away, leaving his son Louis to take the throne. Philip had taken the young Louis into his household and as such, was present at his coronation as Louis XI on July 22. As the Duke's *maitre d'hôtel*, de la Marche witnessed first-hand the festivities and jousts that followed.

Although in subsequent years the relation between de la Marche and Louis XI soured somewhat, he was obviously a gifted diplomat and served the house of Burgundy well in that capacity. The Count of Charolais –Charles, later known as the Bold– employed him as an envoy on more than one occasion. In 1465, he was sent to request 100,000 écus from Philip the Good in Brussels to pay for the Burgundian contingent of an army raised against Louis XI. In this so-called War of the Public Weal, de la Marche fought on the battlefield of Montlhéry and had the honour of being knighted on the field, on the afternoon of July 16 of that same year.

Olivier's diplomatic missions became more frequent and prestigious in the following years. In 1466, he was in Normandy, discussing the terms of an alliance between the Duc de Berry and Charles. In the following year, he was in England on some secretive endeavour. He was present at the joust between Anthony, Bastard of Burgundy and Anthony Woodville, Lord Scales in London on June 11. There is some debate on the political significance of this event,<sup>121</sup> but once again de la Marche focuses mainly on the splendour of the occasion and the chivalry of the participants. He does not seem overly concerned with the background of these events, again only remarking on a few particulars. After the feat of arms between Lord Scales and the Bastard of Burgundy, three more days of jousting followed. Meanwhile, Philip the Good had fallen ill and died in Bruges, on June 15, 1467. De la Marche was most likely in Brittany during the funeral, though he does leave a second-hand account of it.<sup>122</sup> With the death of Philip and the accession of Charles as “Grand Duke of the West”, Olivier was very close to one of the most powerful men in Western Europe. He was given the honour of organising ‘le fait des ouvraiges’ for the wedding of the Duke to Margaret of York in 1468.

## The knight and soldier

In 1469, Olivier de la Marche was made governor, captain and provost of Bouillon. In the same year, Charles the Bold began a program of military

119 Ibidem, 54-56.

120 There is some debate on la Marche's treatment of the people of Ghent in his *Mémoires*. Traditionally, the conflict is seen as exemplary of the increasing tensions between the cities and nobility, with la Marche firmly on the side of the duke against the traitorous *burghers* of Ghent. However, new research into the connections between the court and civic society has shone new light on the subject, making a re-evaluation of la Marche's position equally necessary. See: Vaughan, *Philip the Good*, 303-333; Millar, *Olivier de la Marche*, 96-101; Brown and Small, *Court and civic society*, 1-35.

121 See Millar, *Olivier de la Marche*, 31-32.

122 Ibidem.

reform. In 1471, as Olivier was made captain and bailiff of Lucheux in Picardie, Charles issued the Abbeville ordinance (July 31) outlining the new shape of his standing army. In the summer of 1472 this new army marched to war, with de la Marche commanding one company of 100 lances, each lance consisting of a man-at-arms, one mounted valet, one coustillier, three mounted archers, one crossbowman, one handgunner and one pikeman. There were some 1250 of these lances in all, coming to about 10,000 men. However, the campaign was a failure, the army failed to take Beauvais and the French king retook all the lands after the army was forced to retreat to the Low Countries. De la Marche, however, seems not to have emerged all the worse for wear, being made captain of the Duke's personal guard in 1473.

De la Marche accompanied Charles on his short campaign into Guelders in the summer of 1473.<sup>123</sup> After leaving the town of Maastricht on June 5, the duke made his way from town to town with 'the troops of his ordinance', which probably constituted a small army in its own right. From June 28 to July 17, Charles laid siege to Nijmegen, the principal town of the duchy. After its capitulation, the duke received the archbishop of Cologne and the bishop of Utrecht in Zutphen. Meanwhile, his men visited the ladies of Deventer, who are 'extremely gracious, taking pleasure in entertaining strangers', according to de la Marche.<sup>124</sup> His new title as master of finances was part of large-scale reform in the duchy of Guelders. Many city notables were replaced by Burgundian officials, besides the towns being forced to pay for the cost of their own conquest, some 250,000 Rhenish florins. After the conquest of Guelders, de la Marche was named *maitre de la monnoye de Gueldres* – master of finances for the county.

On September 30, Charles met with Emperor Frederick III at Trier in an attempt to acquire a crown. The negotiations were long and ill-fated, with the emperor dragging his feet, hesitant about giving the duke quite so much power. Charles never got his crown. De la Marche was present as the captain of his personal guard, richly dressed for the occasion. In 1474 the duke travelled the southern territories and de la Marche accompanied him once again. Quite probably it was during this journey that de la Marche received another title, that of Bailiff of Amont in the County of Burgundy. That summer, the Burgundian armies were sent to the Alsace and started pushing north, into the Rhineland. Shortly thereafter, the duke laid siege to Neuss and de la Marche is listed among the besiegers on 30 July. On 4

February 1475, he leads an expedition to nearby Linz to relieve the siege by getting supplies to the inhabitants. He is successful at no small danger to himself, comparing the experience in his *Mémoires* to being in purgatory or hell. Unfortunately, the city capitulated on 17 March. The siege of Neuss was abandoned by the duke on 27 June.

In 1475, de la Marche continued to do well, even though the duke undertook several ill-fated campaigns in the following years. In June of 1476, he is in Italy to negotiate with Milan on behalf of the duke. At the end of the month, he is sent on a most delicate assignment; to capture and imprison Yolande, Duchess of Savoy and sister to Louis XI. Charles suspected her of collaborating with her brother, and seeks to lash out after his defeats. De la Marche carries out his mission, 'contre mon ceuer', which only produces outrage in Savoy, France and Milan. De la Marche survives the disaster and is next recorded as being in Burgundy arranging the transport of armaments to Lorraine. At Nancy in that same duchy, one of the most decisive battles of the late fifteenth century is fought on 5 January 1477.

## Autumn of life

In 1477, de la Marche is around 52 years old. The battle at Nancy does not go well for the Burgundians and the bedraggled army is routed. De la Marche is captured, but his master Charles the Bold is not so lucky: he is killed while attempting to escape the battle across a stream. Two days after the battle, de la Marche is called upon to identify the body of his lord, which had been left naked on the field and could only be identified based on old scars. De la Marche himself was held captive until he managed to raise the 4000 *écu's* that was his ransom. During this time, he most likely wrote *Le Debat de Cuidier et de Fortune*. He was released at Easter and quickly made his way to Flanders, where he presented himself to Mary of Burgundy, who he would serve until her death in 1482.

He spent the summer with Margaret of York and was in Cologne to greet Maximilian of Austria, where he received the title of *grand et premier maitre d'hôtel* of the household of Mary and Maximilian. He assisted at the wedding, on 18 August. He remained active as a diplomat and courtier until the mid 1480's, though his military exploits appear to come to a stop. Unsurprising, as he is in his fifties by this time. In 1479, he was married to his second wife, Isabeau Machfoing. Little is known about his first wife, Odette de Janley, who gave him two daughters and a son. This son, named Charles, fought at the battle of Guinegate in the same year. He would go on to inherit most of de la Marche's estate.

123 Vaughan, *Charles the Bold*, 112-122.

124 La Marche, *Mémoires* III, 205-206.

## Tant Souffert

In 1483, then, Olivier de la Marche writes *Le Chevalier Délibéré*. Almost sixty, he truly feels himself to be in the autumn of his life. There is less mention of him in the courtly records from about 1485 onwards, indicating a retreat from public life. His most important function is as a tutor to Philip I, the Handsome (1478-1506), to whom he dedicates a number of treatises. In 1486, he is named *premier maître d'hôtel* in the household of Philippe, a position he held until 1501.

During this period de la Marche produces many of his works, including his *Mémoires*. This correlates to one of the central themes of LCD, that idleness in later life should be avoided in favour of study. He resided in Brussels for a time, bought a house called *Den Os* in Malines (Mechelen) in 1488 and undertook the occasional diplomatic mission in the name of Philippe. He died on 1 February 1502. He was buried, according to his wishes, in the church of St.-Jacques-sur-Coudenberg, in front of the altar. The tomb does not survive, but a description of it reveals that it featured a marble plaque with the following inscription:

*Cy gist Olivier de la Marche, seigneur  
Et grand maistre d'hostel, rempli de tout honneur,  
Qui fut saige et discret, la et magnifique,  
Et qui fit maints beaux dictz en belle rhétorique;  
L'an quinze cens et ung, le premier fevrier,  
Mourut pleb de vertus. Veuillez pour lui prier.  
Dame Isabeau Machefoin mourut neuf ans apres,  
Sa compaigne et espeuse, et gist icy empres.  
Priez que paradis a elle soit ouvert.  
Et au bon chevalier lequel a tant souffert.*<sup>125</sup>

## Leliebroeder

At some point in the 1480's –the exact date cannot be ascertained– de la Marche becomes a member of one of the four *chambres de rhétorique* in Brussels, a Dutch-speaking chamber called *De Lelie* (The Lily, also referred to as *De Leliebloem* – Lily Flower or *De Leliebroeders* – Lily Brothers).<sup>126</sup> It goes well beyond the scope of this paper to discuss

125 H. Stein, 'Nouveaux documents sur Olivier de la Marche et sa famille', in: *Mémoires de l'Académie royale de Belgique* 2, ix (Brussel 1958) 96.

126 Millar, *Olivier de la Marche*, 97-98; Herman Pleij, *De sneeuwpoppen van 1511*:

the political, social and devotional aspects of the Chambers of Rhetoric which sprang up in the Low Countries during the Burgundian period. To summarize: in the course of the fifteenth century groups of people living in the cities of the southern Low Countries and Holland shared an interest in literature. They took their name *rederijkers* from the French term *rhétoriquer*: he who practises the art of rhetoric. They organised themselves in the way of a fraternity and would gather to exchange (amateur) literature, perform songs and plays and generally indulge in the art of rhetoric. As they became more prolific, the *rederijkerskamers* were often sponsored by towns or the nobility. They would also organize competitions, called *landjuwelen*, to determine which chamber could put on the best play.<sup>127</sup> One of these, on 12 May 1493, was hosted by *De Lelie*.<sup>128</sup>

Although de la Marche appears to have retreated from public life based on the courtly records, as argued by Millar,<sup>129</sup> it seems he was still active in the public life of the city of Brussels. He owned a house in Brussels in 1485-1486, as well as receiving a stipend from the town "for services rendered".<sup>130</sup> The fact that he was buried in the city also underlines his close connection to the town. *De Lelie* appears to have been founded around the same time that de la Marche begins to crop up in the city accounts; circa 1485-1486, when the first mention of *De Lelie* is made in these same accounts. However, in the sparse accounts from the chamber that do survive, de la Marche and his wife are only mentioned as members in 1498. This is after *De Lelie* put on a Dutch production on the Seven Sorrows of the Virgin in 1497, under the direction of Jan de Baertmaker alias Smecken –the chambers *factor* who is the primary writer and director

*Stadscultuur in de late Middeleeuwen* (Amsterdam 1988) 160-180; A-L. van Bruaene, *Om beters wille. Rederijkerskamers en de stedelijke cultuur in de Zuidelijke Nederlanden (1400-1650)* (Amsterdam 2008) 66. S. Speakman Sutch, 'Jan Pertcheval and the Brussels Leliebroeders (1490-1500). A model of a conformist rhetoricians chamber?', in: Bart Ramakers (ed.), *Conformisten en rebellen. Rederijkerscultuur in de Nederlanden (1400-1650)* (Amsterdam 2003) 95-106. The other chambers were called *Den Boeck*, *De Corenbloem* and *De Violette*.

127 A-L. van Bruaene, *Om beters wille*, 25-52; See also: A-L. van Bruaene, 'Sociabiliteit en competentie. De sociaal-institutionele ontwikkeling van de rederijkerskamers in de Zuidelijke Nederlanden (1400-1650)', in: Bart Ramakers (ed.), *Conformisten en rebellen*, 45-64; and A. van Dixhoorn, 'Burgers, branie en bollebozen. De sociaal-institutionele ontwikkeling van de rederijkerskamers in de Noordelijke Nederlanden (1470-1650)', in: *Ibidem*, 65-85.

128 Speakman Sutch, 'Jan Pertcheval and the Brussels Leliebroeders', 95.

129 Millar, *Olivier de la Marche*, 47-48.

130 *Ibidem*, 97.



of plays- and Jan Steemaer alias Pertcheval, the chambers *prins*.<sup>131</sup> This Pertcheval is of specific interest as he produced one of two known translations of LCD: *Het Camp vander Doot*, in 1493.<sup>132</sup> The prominence of the chamber among its peers is directly linked to the organisation of these lays on the Seven Sorrows.

By his association with Pertcheval, de la Marche again appears in the middle of a complex political situation. Millar and Emerson argue that he may simply have been providing the Dutch-speaking chamber with French literature.<sup>133</sup> It is not unlikely that his membership of the chamber was more ceremonial than actual. But although the evidence is circumstantial at best, he appears to play a central role in directing this chamber to a position of prominence in the city, allowing his lord, Philip the Fair, to exercise control over the rhetorician's chambers.<sup>134</sup> It seems that de la Marche did not retreat from public life so much as move his activities from the court to the city. After all, the division between court and city which literary historians are fond of pointing out, does not appear to be as sharp in the cities of the Low Countries.<sup>135</sup> His activities in an urban environment would not have been so different from the duties he performed for the house of Burgundy. This confirms to the sentiments he expresses in LCD, that one should not become idle in the autumn of one's life. De la Marche appears to have applied this not only to his writing, which became much more prolific when he was in his sixties, but also to his political activities.

131 For the political and social implications of this specific devotional play and the role *De Lelie* played in it, see: Van Bruaene, *Om beters wille*, 66-71.

132 Jan Pertcheval, *Den Camp vander Doot*, G. de Groote and A.J.J. Delen (eds.) (Antwerpen 1948). I shall return to Pertcheval and his translation in chapter 3.

133 Millar, *Olivier de la Marche*, 98. Emerson, *Olivier de la Marche*, 112-113.

134 For Philip the Fair's attempts to control the rhetorician's chambers, see: A-L. van Bruaene, 'Ghend nochtan dat die hooft ende boven allen den andren es binnen slants. Zelfbeeld en cultureel imago van een zelfbewuste Vlaamse stad', Paper presented at the *Vijfde Mediëvistendag*, Utrecht 22 October 1999. On the role of la Marche, see: Speakman Sutch, 'Jan Pertcheval and the Brussels Leliebroeders', 101-102. Both argue a more prominent role for la Marche than do Millar and Emerson.

135 On this division, see: Herman Pleij, *Het gevleugelde woord. Geschiedenis van de Nederlandse literatuur 1400-1560* (Amsterdam 2007) 82-84; 105-111; 719-768. On the relations between courtly and civic society, see: Brown and Small, *Court and civic society*.

## A shrouded life

It is perhaps peculiar to note that there are no accounts of de la Marche ever taking part in the *pas d'armes* that form such a large part of his *Mémoires*. According to Emerson, as someone who led men into battle, he would be expected to train for this through using the *pas* and tournaments as a sort of proving ground.<sup>136</sup> Her arguments are based on the concept that de la Marche believed courtly combat to be interlinked with other forms of combat, such as judicial duels and warfare. However, from the primary sources, especially the *Mémoires*, there is no suggestion of him taking an interest in the sport of jousting, except as an observer and chronicler. Perhaps he had broken lances with his peers at some point in his life, but if he did, he did not record it in his *Mémoires*. But it is worth taking into account the comment de la Marche places on the jousts organised by the lord Argeuil on the day after the *pas de l'Arbre d'Or*: "pource que c'est chose commune de jouter a la foule, je n'en fay autre relation."<sup>137</sup> It may be that he did not find such a common activity worth mentioning in his *Mémoires*.

On his political activities, there remains a great deal to be said. While de la Marche's role as chronicler and author seems to have been well-researched, the research on his role as a diplomat and political figure remains somewhat descriptive. There are gaps and mysteries surrounding his activities for the Valois Dukes of Burgundy, with tantalizing references to delicate missions in England and France. He is relied upon by the dukes, especially Charles the Bold, to undertake dangerous –both physically and politically- assignments, such as sneaking into the besieged town of Linz in February 1475, or the capture of the duchess of Savoy, June 1476. These experiences shaped the man that would go on to write such works as *Le Chevalier Délibéré*. I hope that there will be more research into de la Marche's activities in future.

136 Emerson, *Olivier de la Marche*, 195-196.

137 La Marche, *Mémoires* II, 389.



### 3. Le Chevalier Délibéré

#### Writing Le Chevalier Délibéré

**D**e la Marche wrote LCD with a strong mental image of the tournament and the joust. He had witnessed dozens of such events, including some of the most elaborate and iconic tournaments of the fifteenth century. From his writing, it is obvious that the pageantry and spectacle was perhaps more important than the action of the joust itself.

#### The text

**T**he poem, written in strophes of eight lines, follows a steady rhyming scheme of abaabbcc. There are 338 strophes in total, coming to a total of 2704 lines. The text is split into five parts, each part being broken up into smaller chapters. The chapters are preceded by a title in almost all the manuscripts and incunabula, which are regularly accompanied by an illustration reflecting the contents of the text. The entire text is written in the first person. For the following summary and analysis, I have relied on Carroll's excellent critical edition and translation.<sup>138</sup> I shall give a summary of every part, followed by an analysis of the structure and layers of meaning of the text.

The last part, especially, is problematic. In it, the author seeks to instruct the reader in the preparation for a good death. This type of instruction is reminiscent of the *Ars Moriendi* which had gained in popularity

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138 Olivier de la Marche, *Le Chevalier Délibéré (The Resolute Knight)*, Carleton W. Carroll (ed.) (Tempe 1999). All quotes, names and translations (including capitalization and interpunction) thereof are copied from this edition.

in the course of the fifteenth century.<sup>139</sup> It is a veritable minefield of complex allegories and symbolism, from which it is difficult to distill the intentions of de la Marche. The protagonist is identified as l'Acteur – the actor – which I have chosen to translate, as Carroll has done, as the Author. The two, as shall become apparent, are one and the same.

## Departure

*Le Chevalier Délibéré* starts with an introduction by *L'acteur*, in “l'arrière saison, tant de mes jours que de l'année” (the autumn of both my life and of the year),<sup>140</sup> he leaves his house accompanied only by *Pensee* (Thought). She espouses on truth and honour, reminding the author of his wasted youth and old age. Referencing Amé de Montgesoie's work, she tells the author to seek out the *Pas de la Mort*. This is held in the forest of *Atropos*, who represents death in this text. She is the oldest of the three Fates from Classical literature, who cut the life-thread of mortals, ending their existence in the mortal realm. Her two henchmen are *Accident* (Accident or Misfortune) and *Débile* (Debility), who never rest and are always fighting; no one can escape them. Great men such as Samson, Hercules, Solomon, Absalom and Dyomedes, all fell to Accident or Débile. Donning his armour and mounting his horse, each of which has their own allegorical meaning attached to it, the author rides off to the forest of Atropos.

## First Combat

After two days he comes across a lovely plain called *Plaisance Mondaine* (Worldly Pleasure). Even if the Author wanted to leave such a delightful place, he was stopped short by the appearance of another knight, who challenges him to a joust.<sup>141</sup> As is the custom in these encounters,<sup>142</sup> the

139 It goes beyond the scope of this paper to go into the subject of the *Ars Moriendi* in full. Some examples of literature on the subject: B. de Geus, J. van der Heijden e.a., *Een scone leeringe om salich te sterven. Een Middelnederlandse artis bene moriendi* (Utrecht 1985); Mary Catharine O'Connor, *The art of dying well: the development of the Ars Moriendi* (New York 1942); Florence Bayard, *L'art du bien mourir au XVe siècle. Étude sur les arts du bien mourir au bas Moyen Age a la lumiere d'un Ars Moriendi allemand du XVe siècle* (Paris 1999).

140 LCD, str. 1.

141 It may be significant to note that the author specifically uses the words *jouster* and *jouste* in describing this encounter. The Author is thereby challenged to a very specific type of mounted combat, instead of a general challenge to fight or duel.

142 This custom is clearly reflected in the *Pas de l'Arbre d'Or*, in which the challengers

Author would know his challengers name and the region from whence he hails. The knight answers that he is called *Hutin* (Quarreler), son of *Gourmandise* (Gluttony). The Author is somewhat disappointed that it is not Accident or Debility who challenges him, though he is of their household. Wasting no more words, both combatants ride at each other, splintering their lances on the others shield. They then drew swords and lay into one another, striking “cops de bancqués et baigneries, comme s'ilz haïssent leurs vies.” (blows for banquets and bathing parties, as if they despised their lives).<sup>143</sup>

The competition between the two knights is fierce, with Quarreler “faisoit vaillamment et me livroit forte bataille, de cops d'esteufz d'eschaufement – courir, saillir, refroidement – par son espee qui bien taille..” ([Quarreler] strove valiantly and gave me a mighty fight, giving chase hotly – running, charging, cooling – with his sword which slashes well).<sup>144</sup> The Author is convinced he is about to die when a damsel intervenes. She is called *Reliques de Jounesse* (Remnants of Youth) and catches twenty blows or more on the large shield she carries, ending the tourney.<sup>145</sup> She argues with *Hutin* and convinces him to let the Author go. As a reminder of his defeat, though, he receives “une barrecte de migraine” (a scarlet cap),<sup>146</sup> which will renew itself each month. Youth promptly leaves the Author, who then takes the road of *Aiant Pensee* (Remembering Thought) to the house of a hermit.

are obliged to name themselves before entering the lists, whereby the pursuivant Golden Tree notes down the names on a slate. It is also a common scene in *Chansons de Geste* and Arthurian literature. Another such theme is that of the nameless knight (usually the protagonist) who is on a quest to regain his name and honor. See, for instance: Willem Kuiper, *Ferguut of de ridder met het Witte Schild* (Amsterdam 2002).

143 The exact meaning of this phrase is unclear. Carroll mentions that *baigneries* refers to a social gathering in a bath house, so both words refer to the same sort of (courtly) gathering. How this relates to striking with the sword in a joust is not apparent.

144 I disagree with Carroll's translation here, who translates the passage as “[Quarreler] strove valiantly and gave me a mighty fight, with volleyed blows of heat running and leaping cold from his sword that slashes well”. He admits that the syntax puzzles him. I believe the author is referring more to the action of the mounted combatants – running after each other, charging in, one moment hot then cooling on their heels – rather than the slashing of the sword. See also his own reference to *courir apres l'esteufz* meaning “to run after a ball that is getting away”; Carroll, *Le Chevalier*, 294.

145 Here, the author writes *tourney*.

146 *Migraine* can be literally translated as ‘half head’.



## The hermit Understanding

This hermit receives the Author most graciously, giving him a cloak made by *Pourvéance* (Prudence) after which a young man called *Bonne Enfance* (Good Youth) brings water for the guest. The hermit then leads him to a small chapel where the Author says his prayers. However, the Author is cut short in his prayers by the hermit, who leads him to a place where they sit down to eat.<sup>147</sup> The hermit, “a large and handsome man [...] white of beard and head”, introduces himself with the words “Je vous cougnois assez” (I know you well enough) and names himself as *Entendement* (Understanding). After a brief conversation on the deadly nature of lord *Accident*, the hermit leads the author to his lodgings for the night.

The next morning, the Author rises late and hurries to the mass. Understanding approaches the Author after the service and takes him to a cloister called The Cloister of Remembrance, filled with relics of dead heroes. Through the imagery of these relics, the hermit Understanding gives the names and deeds of a great number of people who died at the hands of Accident. 21 relics are presented in the Cloister of Memory, most of them weapons which slew great men from both history and literature. The description is always one strophe long, generally beginning with the name of the relic, then the names of the deceased and his killer(s), almost always the manner of his death and sometimes the source from which this information may be gleaned.<sup>148</sup> After seeing only about a quarter of the contents of the cloister, Understanding leads the Author away. He wonders about the remainder of the relics and wishes to know why none of the dead were slain by Debility. The hermit promises to explain more if the Author will only return later. For now, the time has come for the Author to return to his quest. He dons his armour and after a quick lunch he bids farewell to the hermit, who has him promise to return should he survive. The first part ends with the Author preparing to leave.

## Second combat

Taking the lance of Authority, a gift from the hermit, the Author rides out into a plain, called *Temps* (Time). He spends the briefest of moments here, as

time flies “quant plaisir y est sur les rens” (when pleasure is in the lists).<sup>149</sup> In the middle of that plain, the Author meets his second challenger. Before the Author can examine his opponent further, both couch their lances and ride at each other, knocking each other to the ground. The anonymous knight charges, wielding his sword *Trop de Jours* (Surfeit of Days), while the Author uses his lance of Authority to defend himself. Although he fights valiantly, his lance splinters under the heavy blows and he is forced to take up his sword as well. They strike at each other fiercely, “froissames haubert et escu” (piercing hauberks and shields).<sup>150</sup> A lull in the fighting which both use to catch their breath gives the Author the opportunity to enquire as to his opponents name. The knight courteously identifies himself as *Eage* (Age). Those that are fortunate may face him, as only those that die young can avoid him. Age tells the Author to either fight or give himself up as a prisoner, to which the Author replies with renewed vigour, taking the fight to his opponent once again.

However, Age is too strong for the Author and after he has lost his shield *Espoir* (Hope) to the ground, the Author sees no other option but to give himself up as a prisoner. Swearing to pay ransom, Age courteously takes the Authors right gauntlet to indicate his mastery over him. He then wishes for the Author to take an oath, consisting of several parts: He may not travel to *la Terre Amoreuse* (the Land of Love), as Age is not welcome there; secondly, the *val de Mariage* (Vale of Marriage) is likewise forbidden; he may not take part in dances or reels, or attend courts of princes and lords. These are pursuits for young men, who return “par la sente de Malveillance, povres d’amis et de chevence” (by the path of Ill Will, poor in both friends and money). In the forest of *Temps Perdu* (Time Lost), the Author may no longer seek his pleasure. He must take care to put his old age to profit. Significantly, he is also forbidden from taking part in “Jousts, tournois, jeux de traveil” (Jousts, tourneys, exercises of skill) and he is ordered to “ton corps par adventure au lieu et garde l’ame pour ton Dieu” (put your body at risk instead and save your soul for God). So the Author swears to keep these vows in faith and truth.

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149 *Les rens* (the lists) refers to the enclosed space wherein jousts are held.

150 The use of the word *haubert* is peculiar here, as it usually refers to a coat of mail. In the late fifteenth century, these were rarely used by knights in lieu of so-called ‘white armour’, which is made all of plate. The *escu* refers to a small shield, usually made of wood covered in linen and painted with the arms of the knight. In his *Mémoires*, de la Marche describes an instance where an *escu* was pierced by a lance with such force that it broke in two (see chapter 1, Feast of the Pheasant, above).

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147 On the significance of the meal and the hermit in late medieval literature and LCD in particular, see: Bas Jongenelen, ‘Food and beverage in *Le Chevalier Délibéré*’, in: *Publications du centre Europeen d’études Bourguignonnes (XIVe – XVIe s.)* 47 (2007) 275-284.

148 For a complete list, see the Appendix.

## The Palace of Love and the Manor of Good Fortune

After taking the oath, the Author is set free. Age councils him to travel straight through the desert of *Viellasse* (Old Age) and gives him a gift: a grizzled beard, that will turn white as he grows older. Crossing the mountain of middle age, the Author comes upon a crossroads where he takes the wrong turn, onto the path called *Abuz* (Delusion). Forgetting his oath and seeing only the greenery of youth around him, the Author is led astray and thinks himself young again. Along the path *Pue de Prouffit* (Little Profit) he finds himself in a beautiful place, in front of a palace of gold, silver and amber. Well-dressed men and women line the windows and musicians play the sweetest music. The porter, called *Abusion* (Illusion), informs the Author that it is called *le palais d'Amours* (the palace of Love).<sup>151</sup>

At this, the author draws back, as he now remembers Love is forbidden for him. However, *Desir* (Desire) tempts him to go forward. *Souvenir* (Remembrance) intercedes, reminding the Author of his vows. Using a mirror, Remembrance shows him his white beard and tells him to be off, there is no place for such an old and wrinkled man in the Palace of Love. Bidding Desire and Love farewell, the Author takes the path of *Bon Advis* (Good Counsel), which quickly takes him to Old Age. The land is barren and foul-smelling, with nothing green or edible. While it is a terrible place, it is good for the soul to suffer through it before death. The Author, though quite melancholy from these sights, cheers himself with the memories of his own past deeds. This enables him to at last find the one place which can bring him solace; the manor of *Bonne Adventure* (Good Fortune). One can only find this place by “apprendre par toute voye, comme se morir ne devoye” (learn in every way as if one were never to die). In this way, one may approach Good Fortune through the land of Old Age. the Author, desiring entrance, approaches the door and asks to be let in. The porter quite rudely tells him to be patient and await the arrival of the princess who rules over this place, who is called *Fresche Memoire* (Fresh Memory).

She is the only solace for those trapped in Old Age, as she is forever young and beautiful. She is also a mystery, as “n'est Socrates ne Platon qui ne faillist bien a prouver dont vient de Memoire le don” (neither Socrates nor Plato succeeded in proving whence comes the gift of Memory). Though Nature has made the shell where she dwells, the soul gives it life and thus,

she comes from God. The porter, *Labeur* (Diligence) has found her and guards her: only those worthy may see her. But as the Author is obviously pitifully trapped in Old Age, the porter agrees to allow him to enter. He is immediately well received by Fresh Memory, who is clad in garments which symbolise knowledge and learning. Her library is vast, but the Author may not read from it, instead he must rely on Remembrance. At this, the Author is reminded of his quest to find the forest of Atropos and face Accident and Debility. He asks if Memory has any knowledge of these two knights which might help him in some way. Thus ends the second part of the tale.

## The Cemetery of Memory

The third part of the story begins with Fresh Memory showing the Author the vast cemetery of Memory. There the tombs of all those killed by Accident and Debility can be found; those written about in the Bible,<sup>152</sup> or mentioned by Homer, Valerius, Cicero and Orosius. Passing by these tombs from ancient times, the Author finds himself among the tombs of those who died in the past thirty-five years. Fresh Memory points out those that he knew personally and that died during his lifetime. There are 73 names in all, ranging from kings and popes to dukes, counts and knights.<sup>153</sup> The Author laments at their passing and regrets not having enough time to name them all. He passes over the women rather curtly and closes with remarks on the nature of death, how it treats all people the same whether “povres, riches, sotz et adroix” (poor, rich, simple or clever).

After returning to her house for a meal, the Author asks Fresh Memory to help him complete his adventure. She agrees and they ride off together towards the forest of Atropos. On hearing the roar of the crowd and the din of the tourney, they find a stone marker, which holds the following text in gold letters:<sup>154</sup>

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- 152 “Exceptez Enoc et Helye, qui, de la puissance infinie et pour fournir ce qui doit estre, sont mis ou paradis terrestre”(Except Enoch and Elijah who, by the infinite power and to fulfill what must be, are placed in earthly paradise). LCD, str. 161.
- 153 For a complete list, see the Appendix.
- 154 LCD, str. 216-217.

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151 This may very well be a direct reference to the Palace of Love in *Le Roman de la Rose* (see below).

Cy fine le Chemin mondain  
 Cy fine la Sente de vie;  
 Cy se fiert le pas inhumain  
 Dont Atropos, juge soudain,  
 A le pouoir et seigourie.  
 Nulz n'y entre qui ne desvie:  
 Deux champions a si tres fors  
 Qu'ilz ont tous les ancestres mors.

Here ends the worldly route.  
 Here ends the Path of Life  
 A cruel tourney is held here  
 Over which swift judge Atropos  
 Has sway and lordship.  
 No one enters there who is not lost.  
 She has two such stalwart champions  
 That they have kill all those who've  
 gone before.

Accident combat le premier;  
 Peu en actaint qui luy eschappe.  
 S'il fault, lors vient le grant murtrier  
 Debile, Prince d'Encombrier,  
 Qui tout occist et tout actrappe.  
 Riens n'y vault cuirasse ne cappe:  
 Vecy la mortelle adventure  
 Ou prent fin toute créature.

Accident does battle first;  
 Few that he touches escape him.  
 If he fails, then comes the great  
 murderer  
 Debility, Prince of Affliction,  
 Who ensnares and kills everyone.  
 Armor and helm avail naught there:  
 Here is the mortal adventure  
 Where every creature comes to an end.

The Author does not linger and quickly approaches the tourney field, where he can already see Atropos sitting on a raised platform, overseeing the contest below.

## The Tourney of Atropos

In the fourth part of the adventure, the Author has finally arrived at the Tourney of Atropos. He begins by describing the scene before him, which as the title informs us, tells of the battle between Debility and Duke Philip of Burgundy.

## Debility and Philip of Burgundy

Atropos presides over the scene in a strange costume, holding a javelin of *Deffiance* (Defiance). She has a host of figures to assist her, symbolizing all the ill qualities of man. Her herald announces Debility, making a point that “nulz, par signes bas ne hault, n'avantagast en cest assault” (no one, by signs high or low, should have advantage in this assault). This is a significant point, which returns later in the text. Apparently, the rules of the tourney are such that to give aid to either party by signs or spoken words is expressly forbidden. Debility then springs forth from his pavilion carrying

two long guisarmes.<sup>155</sup> Philip, Duke of Burgundy, in turn appears armed with shield and pole-axe. Both opponents square off against each other, sizing each other up. Debility opens the combat by throwing his lance of *Grevance* (Grievance) at the Duke, who wards it off with his shield. The javelin the Duke then throws narrowly misses Debility, whereupon the combatants seize their pole axes and the fight begins in earnest. But although Memory was optimistic about the Duke's chances, as he had done well enough against Accident, Debility's blows were full of infirmity and feebleness. The Duke is weakened from his constant attacks (upon his health), and Debility ultimately proves the master of the field. The Duke is laid low, killed by a blow from his flail. The heralds immediately take the body, cover it with a flag woven by *Gloire* (Glory) and bury it in “saint lieu de digne memoire” (a holy place of worthy memory).

## Accident and Charles of Burgundy

Barely after the body has been removed, a clamour from outside the lists attracts the Authors attention. Two groups rush in, armed and mounted, ready for combat. Accident and Charles, the next Duke of Burgundy, do not even take the time to raise pavilions, but immediately clash with couched lances.<sup>156</sup>

Three times Accident knocks down the Duke's horse, but three times the Duke recovers. Both then take up the sword to continue. Charles holds off Accident's attacks for a while, but with his cudgel *Malveullance* (Malevolence) –given to him by Fortune in order to be able to bring down those who wish to raise themselves too high- Accident delivers a blow which slays the Duke. At least, so says the Author, he died bravely, on the field of battle. The Author reminds his readers that Fortune in this way determines the fate of all men, even those that become rich and powerful. We should turn our attentions to God who, as Pliny says “qui ou secret de ses ydees se joue de nos destinees” (in the secrecy of His mind toys with our destinies). So Duke Charles, called *le Traveillant* (the Dilligent),<sup>157</sup> is killed by Accident, who awaits his next opponent.

155 A type of pole weapon which features a long blade with a hook.

156 The text uses the verb *coucher*, which has the same meaning; to grip the lance with the right hand and fix it under the right armpit, the *arret* (lance hook) being used to absorb the shock of the blow. A broken *arret* forces Jean of Luxembourg to retire in the *Pas de l'Arbre d'Or*.

157 Richard Vaughan argues that the name *le Téméraire* is a 19<sup>th</sup>-century invention and a misnomer; Charles was vain and egocentric, but not rash; Richard Vaughan, *Charles the Bold* (London 1973, ed. 2004) 167.



## Accident and Mary of Burgundy

The third and last opponent of the day is announced by music from a great number of minstrels, clarions, harps, organs, cymbals and more. A litter is borne into the lists by two unicorns. On the litter is the Duchess of Austria, who comes to fight Accident and claim vengeance for the death of Philip and Charles, her grandfather and father, respectively. She is armed and armoured and ready for combat.

Her herald, *Loyauté*, announces her as she leaps from the chariot. Accident, frightened, draws back at such strength and courage in one of only twenty-four years.<sup>158</sup> However, *Foursenez* (Madness), his counsellor, reminds him that a young tree can easily be felled by a show of strength. Ashamed of his fearfulness, Accident then leaps forward and quickly dispatches her with a single blow. The Author is dismayed at this sight:<sup>159</sup>

<i>Accident cruel et felon</i>	<i>Cruel and wicked Accident</i>
<i>Par ce murtre desordonné</i>	<i>By this wanton murder</i>
<i>A robé le Paladion,</i>	<i>Stole away the Palladium,</i>
<i>Le sort, la benediction</i>	<i>The fortune, the blessing</i>
<i>Soubz qui la Bourgogne a regné.</i>	<i>Under which Burgundy had lived.</i>
<i>Ce nom est failly et finé</i>	<i>That name is over and done</i>
<i>Au trespas de la noble dame.</i>	<i>With the death of the noble lady,</i>
<i>Je prie a Dieu qu'il en ait l'ame.</i>	<i>I pray that God may have her soul.</i>

The Author, enraged and taken by grief, then lowers his visor and prepares to jump into the fray. He no longer cares about his own life and is willing to face both Accident and Debility, “a chascun en donnay le choix, ou a tous deux en une fois” (to each I gave the choice, or to both at the same time). Fresh Memory tells him to commend himself to God if this is what he chooses to do, but the Author is beyond all reasoning. However, a small herald then appears, called *En Armes Respit* (Respite of Arms), carrying a shield of *Actente* (Postponement). He speaks to the Author, relaying a message from Atropos: “[Atropos] vous mande que vous departez jousqu’a ce que mandé serez.” ([Atropos] sends word for you to go away until you are sent for). With this, Respite, “qui n’est pas pas des plus grans” (who is not very large), makes the Author leave the tourney, to the great joy of Fresh Memory.

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- 158 Mary of Burgundy (born 13 February 1457) was in fact twenty-five when she died on 27 March 1482, after being thrown from her horse near Wijnendale Castle.
- 159 LCD, str. 263. The Palladium is the image of Pallas Athena, thought to have the power to preserve Troy.

On the road back to her dwelling, where Memory says she will send for Understanding to instruct the Author in the martial skills he will need, the Author is told of a number of prominent figures who have died since he started his adventure. Half a dozen kings and lords are added to the growing list of the dead. They quickly arrive at Memory’s dwelling where they rest. The next day Understanding arrives and begins his instruction of the Author, which comprises the fifth and final part of the text.

## Instructions from Understanding

The entire fifth part of the text consists of a dialogue between the Author and the hermit Understanding. The Author is abed, presumably on his deathbed, while Understanding instructs him in the ways he should conduct himself martially, spiritually and socially.

Firstly then, the Author should prepare himself properly for battle if he wishes to enter the lists. One should not shirk from a fight if challenged; Charles V is an excellent example of this principle.<sup>160</sup> But his battles are different from the one the Author now faces; he may be called upon to fight in *lice close* (barred lists), or in *plain jour sans closture* (a flat field without [a] barrier), in the light of day or at night, at Atropos’ whim. So the Author should be well prepared, by putting on his armour. For this he needs *Repentir* (Repentance), the armourer of *Devin Desir* (Devine Desire). On this armour vice or sin will not stick or take hold. The armour should be made of *Mesure* (Moderation), with steel of *Ferme Propos D’Amer Dieu* (Firm Intent to Love God). Each piece has its own function: the wristguards are to be from *Force* (Strength), which are called *Magnanimité* (Generosity); the gauntlets from *Charitable Voulenté* (Charitable Will); the helm made by *Dame Actrempance* (Dame Temperance); Cuisses and shorts of mail<sup>161</sup> from *Chasteté Parfaite* (Consummate Chastity); Greaves made by *Bonne Labeur* (Good Work); a pair of sollerets from *Diligence de Bien Faire* (Diligence in Doing Well). His arms he should also carry: *Foy*

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- 160 Most likely the author refers to Charles V of France (1338 – 1380), of the house of Valois, who recovered much territory for France during the Hundred Years’ War.
- 161 I believe Carroll makes an error in the translation here, rendering *cuissos* (which can be translated at thighs) as tassets and *braconniere* as vambraces. I believe the author instead refers to the protection for the upper legs and hips, consisting of the *cuissos*, which are the plates protecting the thighs down to the knees; and the *braconniere de maille*, which refers to a type of mail shorts, meant to protect the buttocks and groin. It was impractical to protect these areas with plate, as they would interfere with the flexibility of the wearer, especially on horseback.

(Faith) and *Bonnes Pensees* (Good Thoughts) quartered.

Next he should take care that his weapons are likewise well-prepared. First, the Author should decide whether to fight on horseback or on foot. But Understanding counsels him to fight on foot, rather than “fier en une beste” (rely on a dumb animal).<sup>162</sup> The rest of his weapons, whether “bastons [...], guisarmes ou maillet de fer, haches ou lances pour bouter, ou de get lances ou ferir” (clubs [...], guisarmes or iron hammer, axes or javelin for hurling or striking). This freedom of choice also signifies the freedom God has given man to choose the road to salvation or the path to damnation. And in the same way that he should not rely on a horse, no man should rely on others too much. Though he may appoint a champion to fight for him, just like a child has godparents who speak for him at the baptismal font. To complete the arsenal, a spear tipped with *Devot Desir* (Devout Desire), a staff by Memory of the death God was willing to bear and a dagger that bites with the Catholic faith. The shield should be of *Bon Exemple* (Good Example) and the sword of *Justice* (Justice). Repentance the armourer should be sent for immediately so that he may begin work on all these items.

The Author then asks Understanding what he should do while the armourer is working. This gives the hermit the opportunity to explain how the Author may physically prepare himself. A healthy body and proper training is as important as the right equipment, so says Understanding. After rising in the morning, the Author should stop up nose and mouth, run up and down mountains, eat sparingly and fast frequently, sleep only little, be chaste, avoid sinful thought and temper his tongue. When training, he should wear a haubergeon weighing thirty pounds and put lead in his shoes, so that he may be quicker in armour. He must also train with a lead-weighted club to become more agile. Training should be done with cunning and powerful people to prepare himself for the fear of battle. These things have been learned through experience and are therefore of some worth.

The meaning of these things is as follows: by stopping up the mouth and nose, one cannot smell any vanities and can thus avoid worldly pleasure. The heavy haubergeon signifies the weight of penitence, while one should

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162 The translation is the one given by Carroll. Interestingly, the use of the word *beste* is reminiscent of one of the few works which feature instructions on horsemanship and jousting from the early fifteenth century, by Dom Duarte of Portugal. He refers to a *besta* apparently when he wants to make a point about the horse being a dumb animal. See Dom Duarte, *The royal book of horsemanship, jousting and knightly combat*, Steven Muhlberger (ed.) (Highland Village 2005) 13 – note 1.

always run towards a confessor and away from sin. These exercises are not just for the body, but prepare the soul for battle against the soldiers of hell. For this you also need good counsel; scholars and doctors, who are also schooled in the good faith. In this way one may enter paradise.

Next, the Author wishes to know how to conduct himself when he must at last enter the field (that is, when he is about to die). Understanding has an third answer for him, as well: firstly, it is something he will have to face alone, no one can take his place. He must erect a pavilion with a shield of *Devocion* (Devotion), painted with the Virgin, to signify that he fights for the Creator. The Author should also have a pennon with the sign of the cross to ward off any charm, incantation, or spell. Trusting in *Foy* (Faith) and in Understanding, the Author must heed these words carefully. He will set out a chair furnished with *Satisfaire* (Satisfaction). He must swear on the Bible and the missal that he is a baptised Christian. He shall hear that Adam damned all men to death, as the son of God redeemed all mankind. On the field, from all four corners, he shall hear that no one may, by signs, coughs or by words, give any advantage to the challengers. This is as the apostles who preached that no man can be redeemed by another's hand, but should think of the weight of his own burden.

A sensible precaution is not to have the sun in your eyes when you fight. Just as one shouldn't set the sun of *Divine Essence* (Devine Essence) against oneself by offending God. In this fight, one should always rely on God. And at the moment when you are afraid or surprised on the field, you should think of the last time you saw “ton Dieu entre les mains du prestre” (your God in the hands of the priest).<sup>163</sup> Then, in the end, you cannot be defeated, as “Il n'est pas mort qui vit et regne la ou est le glorieux regne” (He is not dead who lives and reigns there in the realm of glory). So, at the beginning of the fight, tread softly but with resolve, confronting your opponent stoutly. After receiving the holy sacraments, victory is assured. As long as your weapons remain unbroken, no one can defeat you.

The Author is much strengthened by these words and wishes to know only one thing more; how will he know the day that he is to enter the tourney of Atropos? He wishes to avoid being taken by surprise, without properly preparing himself. Understanding tells him of the signs and tidings he will receive: his eyes will need spectacles (which frighten off the ladies); his ears will also fail him, which is like the calling of trumpets to the tourney; the hands and head will begin to tremble; his legs will fail in strength and he will

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163 That is, as the host during the celebration of mass.

need a staff to walk with; this, along with many maladies and ills, are the messengers of Atropos. After these words, Understanding abruptly leaves the Author.

The Author then rises quickly and writes all he had seen and heard. He makes it a gift to all who would read it and closes with two stanzas in which he names himself and the work;<sup>164</sup>

<i>En la marche de ma pensee Et ou paÿs d'Avise Toy Est ceste queste commencee. Dieu doint qu'elle soit achevee Au prouffit de tous et de moy. Ce livret j'ay nommé de soy Pour estre de tiltre paré Le Chevalier Délibéré</i>	<i>This quest was begun In the marches of my mind And in the land of Look To Yourself May God grant that it is to be accomplished To everyone's profit and to mine. This little book I have named for itself, To be furnished with the title: The Resolute Knight</i>
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<i>Ce traictié fut parfait l'an mil Quatre cens quatre vings et trois, Ainsi que sur la fin d'avril Que l'yver est en son exil Et que l'esté fait ses exploix. Au bien soit pris en tous endroix De ceulx a qui il est offert Par cellui qui tant a souffert. La Marche</i>	<i>This treatise was completed In the year 1483, At the end of April, When winter is in its exile And when summer does its work. May it be well received everywhere By those to whom it is offered By him who has suffered so much. La Marche</i>
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## Analysis

For the analysis of the text, I shall explore the allegorical significance of the tournament in LCD. For this, some general remarks on Medieval allegory and genre are needed, as is a more in-depth study of its use in this specific text.

## Structure

The structure of the text can be described as follows: The author leaves on his quest and encounters his first adversary, after which he is helped and guided by Understanding, who shows him the relics of dead heroes.

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164 LCD, str. 337-338.

After he leaves the hermit, he encounters his second adversary and –after being turned away from the Palace of Love- encounters Memory, his next guide and aide. She shows him the Cemetery of Memory, which forms the 'heart' of the text. Next, the author is guided by Memory to the Tournament of Atropos, where he witnesses the death of his greatest patrons after which Memory tells him about great men who have died in the meantime. Finally, the author returns with Memory to Understanding so that he can finish his instructions. The imagery of the poem, especially the fifth part where the author is in his bed, is very reminiscent of other Medieval poems wherein the author falls asleep and experiences an elucidating dream. The archetype for this sort of text is the *Somnium Scipionis* by Cicero. It may well be that de la Marche sought to use the familiar image of the author abed, being instructed by an allegorical or historical figure, to indicate the didactic nature of the text.

The story has a somewhat cyclical nature, whereby the author is faced with adversity in the form of the threat of death, only to be 'rescued' by a representation of his mental faculties. Each episode then features the names of those great men (and a few women) which have fallen to death. The actual journey that the author undertakes in the first half of the poem follows a distinct geographical pattern as well. After leaving his house he crosses the plain of Worldly Pleasure where he faces his first combat. After being allowed to continue, he takes a path into the forest wherein lies the house of the hermit Understanding. After spending time with the hermit, he again leaves the forest, and travels across another plain, of Time, where he encounters his second combat. Again being allowed to continue, he mistakingly wonders down another path to a place "full of greenery and flowers"<sup>165</sup>, where he finds the Palace of Love. After being turned away, he travels across another plain, of Old Age, until he finds the enclosed Manor of Good Fortune. From here he is almost instantly transported to and back from the forest of Atropos, where the tourney is held.

Three elements are repeated; the house, which represents safety and guidance; the plain, which represents danger and adversity; and the forest, which separates the two. The journey which the author then undertakes in the second part of the text is much more spiritual in nature, he makes almost no note of the geography of the land, leaving out the fact that the tourney of Atropos is supposed to be in a forest entirely. While locales play as much of a role as personifications in parts 1-2, with

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165 This specific image is taken from the descriptions of the miniatures provided by de la Marche.



the Cemetery of Memory as the ultimate locale, in parts 3-4 they play a secondary role. With this, de la Marche seems to underline the journey of man; first physical, rife with danger; then spiritual, in preparation for the longer journey to the afterlife.

The tournament, which takes the form of a *pas*, then, is the representation of the spiritual challenges that await the author at the end of his perilous journey. The author is no longer an active participant, only a witness to those terrible events that Fresh Memory helps him come to terms with. When he then loses his composure and seeks to rush into death, Fresh Memory does not try to stop him, it is death herself who sends her herald to send him away. Death will not be rushed, appears to be the message. As the author considers these events, he allows himself to be led and instructed on his conduct. As he is determined (and destined) to meet death's henchman on the field at some point, he might as well prepare himself. For this, he is instructed to use what he already knows as a knight: arms and armour, equipment and physical preparations for the tournament. Repentance shall be his armourer and provide him with the necessary equipment. But he should also be practical and keep fit, exercising each day and keeping a watchful eye out for the signs that death is near. He should not be idle and neglect his physical or mental faculties. So he can be prepared for a good death, as he lived a good and useful life.

## Allegory

As argued by Copeland and Struck, one can only understand allegory by knowing its history.<sup>166</sup> LCD is part of a tradition of allegorical writing that goes back to Antiquity. As it goes well beyond the scope of this paper to discuss the development of the genre, I shall briefly outline the concept of allegory and its historical precedents, before turning to the relevant Medieval texts. It is difficult to give a definition of allegory which covers all the aspects of the genre, but in general it is a figurative form of rhetoric. The audience (allegory can be expressed in literature as well as drama or art) is expected to interpret the symbolic figures and actions. In literary form, it can be described as an extended metaphor.

De la Marche's chosen form can be defined as a subset of allegorical writing; personification allegory. The archetype for this form is the

*Psychomachia*, written by Prudentius in the early fifth century. In it, the virtues and vices are personified and fight out their metaphysical battles.<sup>167</sup> However, the most well-known (in the Middle Ages) early example of this form was probably Boethius' *Consolation of Philosophy* (AD 524). Philosophy is personified as a lady who comes to visit the distraught Boethius in prison, using dialectic arguments to show a philosophical perspective on the human condition. This dialectic is reminiscent of the poem *Débat de Cuidier et de Fortune* by de la Marche, which features the personifications of Will (or Intent) and Fortune. In the debate, it becomes clear that the former's achievements are constantly undone by the machinations of the latter. It is quite possible that de la Marche was inspired by another poem of Amé de Montgesoie, written in 1465: *Complainte de treshaulte et vertueuse dame madame Ysabel de Bourbon, Contesse de Charolois*. While it does not feature the dialectic structure, it is a complaint against the fickle nature of Fortune.<sup>168</sup>

Of course, one cannot write about Medieval allegorical literature without mentioning the *Roman de la Rose*. It is considered the prime example of the genre in Medieval literature, shaping the way we define it today, as well as in the fifteenth century.<sup>169</sup> De la Marche also refers to it in LCD, when the author arrives at –and is turned away from– the Palace of Love. The *Roman de la Rose*, which “involves striking new developments in the deployment of various allegorical constructs and procedures”,<sup>170</sup> is a poem written in 1225-1230 by Guillaume de Lorris and left unfinished, to be completed by Jean de Meun c. 1270-1280. Like LCD, it is written in the first person and deals with a quest undertaken by the author / *je*-person (the distinction or lack thereof is less clear than it is in LCD). The Rose from which it gets its title is the personification of Love, locked away in a palace by Jealousy. Only with the help of a host of allegorical personifications can the author enter the palace and reclaim the Rose. In LCD, this well-known poem (it survives in over 300 manuscripts) is turned on its head: when the author arrives at the Palace of Love, Desire entices the author to enter. It

167 Ibidem, 6-7.

168 De la Marche wrote this during his imprisonment after the battle of Nancy, between January and Easter 1477. Millar, *Olivier de la Marche*, 132-135. Of course, de la Marche was certainly aware of Amé's work, as his *Pas de la Mort* formed the inspiration for *Le Chevalier Délibéré*.

169 See, for instance: J.A. Burrow, *Medieval writers and their work: Middle English literature 1100-1500* (Oxford 1982, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. 2008) 9-11 and 87-107; K. Brownlee, 'Allegory in the *Roman de la Rose*', in: R. Copeland and P.T. Struck (eds.), *The Cambridge companion to allegory* (Cambridge 2010) 119-127.

170 Brownlee, 'Allegory in the *Roman de la Rose*', 119.

166 R. Copeland and P.T. Struck, 'Introduction', in: Idem, *The Cambridge companion to allegory* (Cambridge 2010) 1-14.

is Remembrance who reminds the author of his true purpose and turns him abruptly away. Later, when he arrives at the dwelling-place of Memory, he is reminded by her doorkeeper Diligence that it is she, not Love, who the author should woo.<sup>171</sup>

*Vray est que Nature le coffre  
Donn   ou Memoire se treuve  
Par l'ame qui vie luy offre  
Par portion, et s   encoffre,  
Par quoy Memoire naist et oeuvre.  
C'est dont l'ame qui la recoeuvre,  
Que Dieu fist ou Nature cesse.  
Donques Dieu a fait ma maistresse.*

*It is true that Nature provides  
The coffer wherein Memory is found  
Through the soul which gives it life  
Proportionally and stores it away,  
Whereby Memory is born and works.  
It is thus the soul which retrieves  
What God has made where Nature  
leaves off:  
Thus has God made my mistress.*

*Puis que dont ma maistresse est faite  
De Dieu, le Maistre des ouvrages,  
Sy digne chose et si parfaite  
Doit estre requise et attraitte  
Et honnoree par les sages,  
Et doit louer en ses langaises  
L'omme qu'en Viellesse se treuve  
Quant de Memoire il a recoeuvre.*

*Since, then, my mistress is made  
By God, the Lord of all works,  
Such a worthy and perfect thing  
Must be diligently sought and wooed  
And honored by the wise,  
And the man who finds himself in Old  
Age  
Must praise in his discourses  
When from Memory he has recourse.*

## Memory

The concept of memory or remembrance plays a vital role in the structure of LCD. As mentioned above, the author is assisted in his quest by different allegorical personifications of memory. Thought, Remnants of Youth, Remembrance and Fresh Memory all play a vital part in the story. This is, of course, embedded in an elaborate literary tradition, exemplified by such texts as the *P  lerinage de vie humaine* by Guillaume de Diguville, in which the author is similarly accompanied by Memory on a journey reminiscent of that of the author in LCD.<sup>172</sup> Looking at the way the tale is structured with the role of memory in mind, several things become apparent. The author is led astray when he forgets what he is supposed to be doing.

First, when he comes on to the plain of Worldly Pleasure, where he is nearly defeated by Quarreler before Remnants of Youth intervenes. As he then continues on his way, "Aiant Pensee en souvenir" (Remembering Thought), he finds the house of the hermit, Understanding. When the author applies his mind and remembers the advice of his good counselors (his own memories), he progresses on his quest towards Understanding; both the allegorical figure that can instruct him and in the literal sense. The same sequence of events is repeated more or less on the plain of Time. Here the author is distracted again; "Quant plaisir y est sur les rens, on y quert comme font les vens!" (When pleasure is in the lists, one sweeps across it [the plain] like the winds!). He loses control over his horse and finds himself suddenly face-to-face with Age.

After the author has been defeated and made to swear oaths to stay away from feasts, women and tourneys, he promptly forgets himself ("Je me suis ainsi qu'oubli  ") and wonders down the path of Delusion. Arriving at the Palace of Love, it is again Remembrance who forcibly reminds him –using a Mirror of Things Past– of the author's oaths and forces him to turn back onto the path of Good Counsel.

Time and again, the author forgets himself, loses control in some way, is faced with great (spiritual, mental) danger and only just saved by the personifications of his memory. This is expanded on at the Tourney of Atropos, the last of the great dangers the author must face. After the defeat of Philip, Charles and Mary of Burgundy, the author becomes so enraged that he wishes to charge into the lists then and there. "Car qui sent le cuer en destroit, la regle de raison tost passe." (For he who feels his heart to be distressed soon passes the bounds of reason). While the reader may expect Fresh Memory to intervene, as this would fit into the structure of the poem, it is not his advisor who saves him; Atropos herself sends Respite of Arms to send the author away. Fresh Memory, overjoyed, takes the author back to her house and sends for Understanding to counsel him.

The text constantly reminds the reader that memory is central to the story. Especially in the first half of the text, before the author arrives at the Tourney of Atropos, forgetfulness and remembrance play a central role in the author's quest. This is magnified by the long lists of names, calling upon the reader to remember the dead much in the same way that *Memoria* would in a church.<sup>173</sup> Finally then, Understanding instructs the author and simultaneously the audience on a good, spiritual, and healthy

171 Olivier de la Marche, LCD, str. 145-146.

172 The articles in this bundle make frequent mention of the text, giving a good overview of the recent research on the subject: Peter de Wilde (ed.), *Op reis met Memoria* (Hilversum 2004). See especially: Peter de Wilde, 'Op reis met Memoria: inleidende beschouwingen', in: *Ibidem*, 9-22.

173 On *Memoria*, see for instance: Truus van Bueren, *Leven na de dood. Gedenken in de late middeleeuwen* (Turnhout 1999).

life. If the reader remembers this advice, he will be able to live and die well.

## Armour

The armour worn by the knights presented in LCD is of some significance. Especially that of the author himself, as is again obvious from the structure of the poem. At the end of the first chapter, the author comments that he: “lors je prins mon harnas de guerre / comme ung chevalier errant / m’armay et montay tout errant.”<sup>174</sup> Olivier de la Marche, as someone who had participated in battles and witnessed tournaments, would be quite familiar with such “harnas de guerre”. This is especially clear in the allegorized armour that Understanding describes in the fifth part of the text. The different significant parts of the armour are all given their proper name and meaning.

A full armour would protect a knight in the late fifteenth century from head to toe. He would wear a helmet, often one specifically suited to the occasion, such as war or tourney. From the description of the armour as a “harnas de guerre” and numerous references to the helmet as a *bassinnet*, we can assume the helmet to be a type referred to as a Grand Bascinet. In the description of miniature nr. 2, de la Marche refers to a “heaulme a la façon de chevalier errant”. Apparently these types of helmet were favored by so-called knights errant. This type of helmet is also depicted on the woodcuts from the Gouda edition of LCD, fitted with a visor meant for the mêlée. The rest of the armour would be in the Burgundian (sometimes called Flemish) style, which means it was most likely an Italian-made armour, produced for the export market. It would feature some fluting and decoration, but nowhere near the amount found on so-called Gothic armours produced in the German region. This is again congruent with the depictions in the woodcuts from 1486.

The rest of the armour, then, would feature vambraces, which protect the arms and can have loose (floating) or attached elbows; pauldrons, which protect the shoulders; a cuirass to protect the torso down to above the hips; possibly tassets which overlap with the cuisses, which in turn protect the thighs and have knee-protection attached; greaves to protect the shins; sabatons to protect the feet and finally gauntlets to protect the hands. The place on the body that could not be protected by steel plates, because it was impractical or impeded movement too much, could be protected by flexible mail; a knight may opt to wear sleeves, called voiders; a throat-

guard, called a standard; and a skirt or even short pants to protect the hips and buttocks.

The parts that Understanding describes feature some of these elements of the knight’s armour, giving their allegorical significance. The *brasseletz*, or wristguards, are from *Force*, which reflects the strength of the knight’s arm, but they are called *Magnanimité*, which is puzzling. As the wristguards would overlap with the gauntlets, which are from *Charitable Voulente*, they could function together both realistically, to protect the knight; and allegorically, to make him magnanimous and charitable. The helm made by *Dame Actrempance* seems clear enough, as it is difficult, both figuratively and literally, to keep a cool head inside a helmet worn on the field of battle or tournament. Temperance is then a virtue needed by knights who have dedicated themselves to the pursuit of noble combat. The area around the groin is protected by armour from Chasteté Parfaite, which is unsurprising. The lower legs and feet are guarded by greaves from *Bonne Labeur* and sabatons (or sollerets) from *Dilligence de Bien Faire*, two elements of the armour which seem to work together much as the wristguards and gauntlets do. The combination of good work with diligence expresses the virtue of the (leg)work that is needed to prepare for the journey to Heaven.

One passage, on the donning of a heavy hauberk (mail shirt) when training, requires some extra explanation. The allegorical significance is explained by Understanding; when one wears the hauberk, one puts on the weight of penance. However, the advice in this passage is also very practical: using a heavy shirt of mail, lead in one’s shoes and a heavy club will make you stronger and more agile in combat, when your armour and weapons will most likely weigh less than the cumbersome hauberk, let alone the lead shoes and club. Advice of this sort goes back to *Speculum Regale* from the thirteenth century onwards.<sup>175</sup> Understanding is not merely giving spiritual advice; he is allegorizing what would – or should - have been daily exercises for the knights of the time.

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175 See, for instance: L.M. Larson, *The King’s Mirror (Speculum Regale – Konungs Skuggsjá)* (New York 1917) ch. XXXVII; “Go to your chambers and put on heavy armor; next look up some fellow henchmen (he may be a native or an alien) who likes to drill with you and whom you know to be well trained to fight behind a shield or a buckler. Always bring heavy armor to this exercise, either chain-mail or a thick gambison and carry a heavy sword and a weighty shield or buckler in your hand.”

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174 LCD, str. 11.



## Tournament

From de la Marche's own descriptions of *pas d'armes* in his *Mémoires*, it is clear these events have a certain allegorical significance. At the *pas de l'Arbre d'Or*, the participants sometimes act out allegorical figures. One example is Jean Chassa, who appears as the *Chevalier Esclave*, complete with letters explaining his plight and his name given on the robes of his entourage and his armour. He is enslaved and ultimately freed from his prison – presented as an actual castle in which he arrives in the lists – by more allegorical figure, such as the dwarf *Petit Espoir* (Little Hope). From these and other examples, it is clear that the Medieval audience of these events, as the audience of Medieval literature, was expected to be able to place these performances in the proper context. Their horizons of expectation were such, that an allegorical figure appearing in the lists was deemed 'novel'<sup>176</sup> but not overly strange. After all, the figure of the guardian of the *pas* could be interpreted allegorically as well; it is not explained what the meaning is (at least not by de la Marche), as the audience is expected to do this themselves. Equally, the meaning of the allegorical figures, actions and objects are expected to be either self-evident or food for thought.

When the description of the *pas* of Atropos in LCD and the *pas* of the Golden Tree as described in de la Marche's *Mémoires* are laid side-by-side, there are some similarities. For instance, the dwarf who presides over the *pas* of the Golden Tree and holds the hourglass and horn which determine the running of the joust, can be compared to Atropos' herald Respite of Arms. In LCD, after Philip the Good, Charles the Bold and Mary of Burgundy have all been slain in turn, the author wishes to fight their opponents himself. It is Respite, "who is not very large", who then informs him the jousting is done for the day, it is not yet his time and he should leave. The dwarf as a sort of tournament stage manager is an image de la Marche may well have taken away from the *pas* of the Golden Tree and re-used in LCD. The dwarf – often associated with the giant – is a figure well-known from Medieval literature, including allegorical literature.<sup>177</sup>

Moving on, the first joust of the Knight of the Golden Tree is against Adolph de Cleves, who appears as a *chevalier ancienne* – an ancient knight. He has returned from retirement because he had heard about the *pas* and wished to prove himself once more. It is quite possible some of the seeds for LCD are planted in this presentation. In the speech Cleves gives when he enters the lists, seeking permission from the ladies to compete, he admits he is *debilité* and: "et a ceste cause a desja longuement delaissé le mestier, et n'est pas delibéré de plus porter armes." But even so, he is determined to compete against the Knight of the Golden Tree. However, it is clear that the knight in question is not going to be competing against either Accident or Debility (or, if we take Amé de Montgesoie's *Pas de la Mort* as the basis for this allegory, Antiquity), but against the Knight of the Golden Tree, representation of all the virtues of Burgundian knighthood. Still, the image of the ancient knight making his way to one final *pas* to compete is embedded within the Burgundian mentality through such imagery. Some years before the *pas* of the Golden Tree, Amé de Montgesoie had already written his *Pas de la Mort*,<sup>178</sup> which de la Marche credited directly in his LCD. I shall return to this text, which inspired LCD, presently. However, it is entirely possible he was influenced as much by events he witnessed as by literature he had read. Memory makes no distinction, filing away in her coffers anything she deems of value, to be rediscovered in the autumn of life.

## Miniature Program

Although unfortunately it goes beyond the scope of this essay to analyze the miniature program with LCD, I cannot let it go unmentioned. Although there has been some attention to different aspects of these miniatures or specific versions of them, there does not seem to be one encompassing work on them. I shall not attempt to write that here, though I shall briefly outline why it is significant to a full understanding of the text.

There are fifteen miniatures in the program, as evident from the manuscripts and incunabula. These are executed in different ways in different manuscripts, but one – Paris, B.n.f., fr. 1606; Manuscript L in Carroll's edition – has elaborate descriptions of the miniatures, which are not executed.<sup>179</sup> These descriptions have been copied into two other

176 See above, under the Marriage of Charles the Bold, 1468 – The Knight of Enslavement: "tresnouvellement, [...] apres le teneur de sa lettre.", De la Marche, *Mémoires* II, 362.

177 One example is the brothers Belin (or Bilis) and Brien in Chrétien de Troyes *Erec et Enide*. Or the dwarf and the giant from the *Conte del Graal*. See: R.S. Loomis and R.E. Roberts (eds.), *Studies in Medieval literature: a memorial collection of essays* (New York 1970) 42-43.

178 The dating of the *Pas de la Mort* isn't entirely clear, but is usually placed at 1457. See: P. de Keyser, *Colijn Caillieu's Dal Sonder Wederkeren of Pas der Doot* (Antwerpen 1936) 33-39.

179 These descriptions, both in French and with an English translation, are reproduced

manuscripts as well. Examples from both manuscripts and printed editions show that artists had access to either these descriptions or miniatures based on them. Some of them are extremely accurate, down to the colours used. Unfortunately it goes well beyond the scope of this paper to discuss the literature written on these miniatures, or the specific case of the woodcuts in the Gouda edition from 1489, which are of a sublime quality.<sup>180</sup> However, no comprehensive work on this miniature program exists as yet. A comparison between the descriptions given in the manuscripts and the execution of the miniatures would seem an obvious choice, but I have been unable to locate any publications which pursued this avenue of research.

I shall limit myself to some examples. The first is from the mysterious and privately owned manuscript Z, from which Jorn Günther has kindly provided me with a small number of scans (Figure 1). It shows the author as he prepares to leave on his quest and is the second miniature in the series. In the first miniature, the author is seen in a “longue robbe noire” (long black robe), which can be seen on the ground besides him, along with his “chappeaul noir a une petite enseigne d’or” (black hat with a small gold emblem). Even his belt, staff and his “paternostres [...] estoffees de houppes et de saingnaux d’or” (paternoster [...] furnished with tassels and beads of gold) are present, as they should be according to the description. The lady on the left is Thought, “en son premier habilement” (as first dressed), with the lance Venture and “ung escu qui sera mesparty de gris et de vermeil” (a shield with one half of grey and one half of vermillion). The valets are dressed in the same colours as the shield, even the colour of the horse –gray, with black bridle decorated with gold bosses– is described and executed. The descriptions are so detailed that small deviations, such as Thought holding the lance in her left hand and the shield in her right, which is the reverse from the description, can be noted.

If we then take another example of the same miniature, the same extreme attention to detail can be noted. The second plate is from the Gouda edition of LCD, re-used in the translation by Jan Pertcheval in 1503: *Het Camp vander Doot* (Figure 2). This artist has even been so astute as to notice a discrepancy in the discription; although it mentions

the authors robe, hat, girdle, staff and paternoster, it does not mention the gold chain that is described in the first miniature. He therefore has placed it around the author’s neck. This may be significant, if we take into account that the members of the *Toison d’Or* would wear their golden chain even in tournament or battle, or pay a fine, and were obliged to pay to have it replaced when lost.<sup>181</sup> The artist, confronted with the omission of the golden chain, assumes the figure is then meant to still be wearing it.

I would like to refer to two more miniatures from the Gouda edition, that feature the combat between Philip the Good and Debility (Figure 3), as well as the entrance of Mary of Burgundy into the lists (Figure 4). They also closely follow the descriptions given in Manuscript L, but more than that, they are representations of different types of tournament combat. The first image shows Duke Philip facing off against Debility, both getting ready to throw their javelins. Both men are dressed, as is the author, in armour which was popular in Burgundy at the time. It is often referred to as “Milanese export armour”, which was made in Italy for the foreign market. It’s characterised by smooth lines with the occasional flute or ridge. Accident is obviously meant to be armoured in a more outlandish fashion, seen especially in the decorations on his sallet (helmet). The interpretation the artist has given to the “guisarmes” Accident is meant to be holding is rather liberal; they appear as a large club and flail. His surcoat follows the description of his “cotte d’armes de sablee semee d’ossemens de gens mors” (black coat of arms, covered with the bones of dead people). The artist has managed to create a compelling image of the action, with Atropos as Death in the central background while the Author and Thought look on from the foreground, their backs to the reader. The enclosed lists and audience looking on follow the conventions of the tournament at this time. The herald of Atropos appears just inside the frame on the right, announcing the combatants and admonishing the spectators.

I will pass over the next image briefly, as it is so lavishly detailed that a thorough analysis would take some time. The Author appears ready to joust in the foreground, with Thought nearby and his bridle being held by Respite. In the upper center, Mary of Burgundy arrives on a litter surrounded by allegorical figures. Atropos looks on from her platform, while Accident is being armed in the upper right corner, by “deux serviteurs [...] en maniere de Sarrazins” (two servants [...] dressed in the manner of Saracens). Again, all the details are taken from the description, including

in Carroll, *Le Chevalier Délibéré*, 329-352. All quotes are taken from his edition.

180 I return to the case of the Gouda edition below, chapter 4. Susan Speakman Sutch gives an overview of the literature on the miniatures in this edition of LCD; S. Speakman Sutch, ‘De Gouda-editie van *Le Chevalier Délibéré*. Een boek uitgegeven in eigen beheer’, in: H. Pleij and J. Reynaert (eds.), *Geschreven en gedrukt. Boekproductie van handschrift naar druk in de overgang van Middeleeuwen naar moderne tijd* (Gent 2004) 137-156; 138.

181 D.J.D. Boulton, *The knights of the crown: the monarchical orders of knighthood in later Medieval Europe (1325-1520)* (Woodbridge 1987, ed. 2000) 369-370.

the white baton held by Respite, indicating his status as an arbiter in the tournament. Accident, with only his arms and legs yet armoured, is being spoken to by an interesting figure: “Et d’emprés lui aura ung conseilher vestu de rouge et ung chapperon fouré, et sur sa robbe aura escript en lettres d’argent Forsenne” (And near him there will be a counselor dressed in red with a fur hood; and on his robe will be written in letters of silver Madness). Although this could be a representation of the proverbial bad advisor, the representation from the description and in the miniature is quite reminiscent of a member of the clergy, or possibly a lawyer of some kind. Again, it unfortunately goes beyond the scope of this paper to delve into this.

One final example is the final miniature in the program, number 15. It features the Author on his bed, with the hermit Understanding giving him instructions (Figure 5). The one obvious addition is the small creature on the foreground. At first sight, one would expect a dog in that position to complement the homely scene. However, on closer examination, it appears to be a small lion, lying at the foot of the bed. The description makes no mention of this, so it must be an conscious addition by the artist. The fact that other additions or omissions are scarce, plus the rather prominent position of the creature, would seem to indicate some significance attributed to the lion by the artist. The lion, as a heraldic device, could refer to the county of Holland, or any number of noble families. What it refers to here is unclear.

To summarize: there are many as-yet unanswered questions related to the miniature program of LCD, including the one in the Gouda edition. There are some interesting developments, for instance at the recent International Medievalists Congress in Leeds,<sup>182</sup> Bas Jongenelen suggested that the Master of the Virgo Inter Virgines may well be the artist behind these woodcuts, based on some small details present in his paintings. I sincerely hope a forthcoming paper may shed more light on this subject and others, related to the miniature program of LCD.

182 Held 12-15 July 2010, presentation on 13 July 16:30-18:00, session 817.

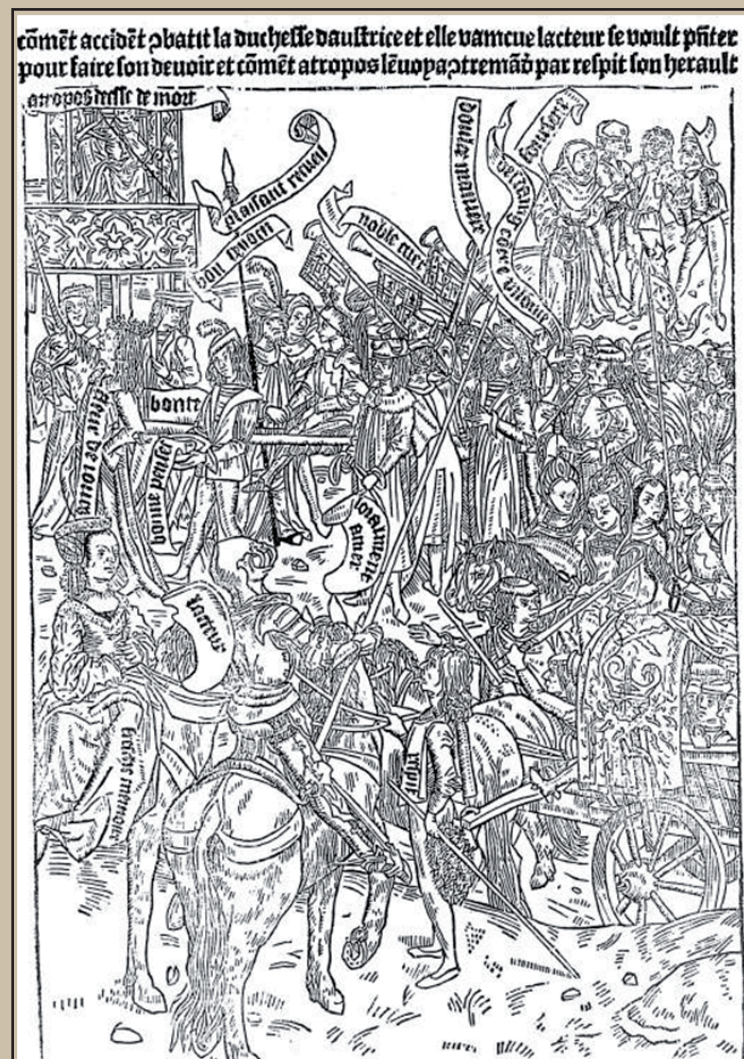


Figure 1 – Miniature 2 from Manuscript Z. Literally all aspects of this image can be found in the original descriptions from Manuscript L; the dead trees, the clothes strewn about, the basket with pieces of armor, the relative positions of the Author, Thought and the valets, the colour of their doublets. The only thing really missing are the names of the relevant persons and items.

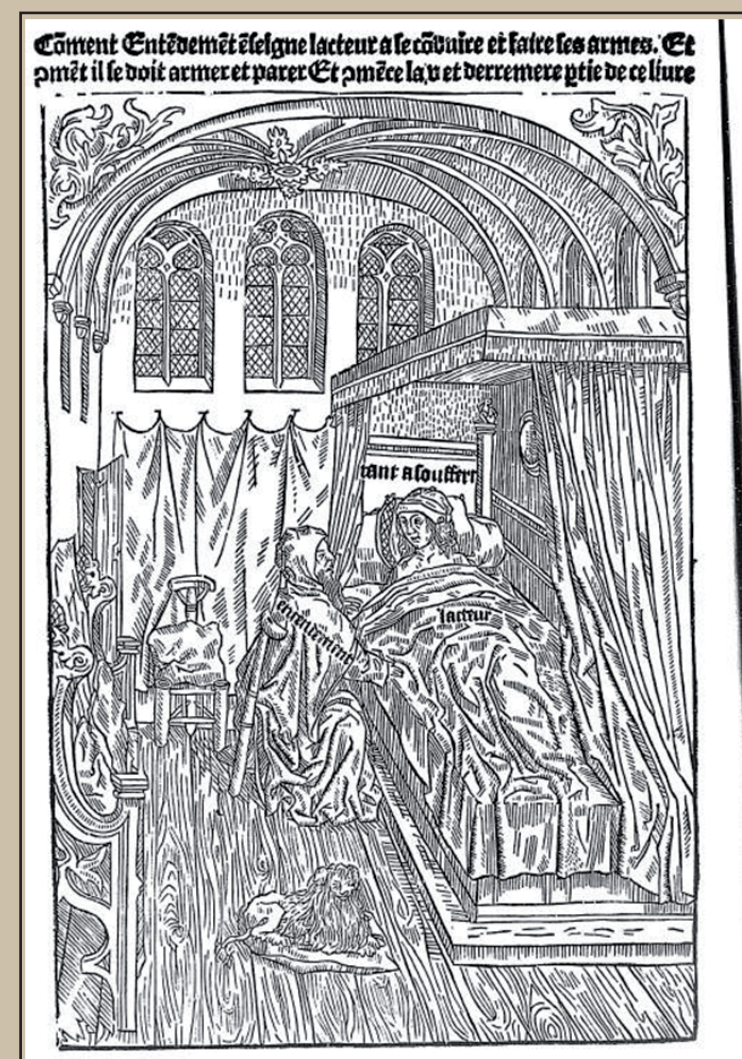








**Figure 4 – The entrance in great splendour of Mary of Burgundy.**



**Figure 5 – The Author being instructed by Understanding. Note the lion in the foreground, as well as de la Marche's motto: *Tant asouffert* on the headboard.**



## Amé de Montgesoie and Colijn Caillieu

As I already mentioned, the most direct influence for LCD is referenced by the author himself:<sup>183</sup>

<i>Dois tu oublier ou que soye</i>	<i>How can you possibly forget</i>
<i>Ce traictié qui tant point et mort</i>	<i>That pricking, mordant treatise</i>
<i>Que fist Amé de Montjesoye</i>	<i>That Amé de Montgesoie wrote</i>
<i>Plus riche que d'or ne de soye,</i>	<i>(More precious than gold or silk)</i>
<i>Du merveilleux Pas de la Mort?</i>	<i>About the monstrous Tourney of Death?</i>
<i>Savoir fault qui est le plus fort</i>	<i>You must find out which is stronger</i>
<i>De toy, Accident ou Debile:</i>	<i>Than you, Accident or Debility:</i>
<i>Chascun d'eulx en a tué mille.</i>	<i>Each of them has killed thousands.</i>

A closer look at Amé de Montgesoie's version of the dreadful *pas d'armes* hosted by death is therefore warranted. I shall also examine the translation into Middle-Dutch by Colijn Caillieu, *Het Dal sonder Wederkeren of Den Pas der Doot*. Significantly, in the Dutch translation of LCD by Jan Pertcheval, *Den Camp vander Dood* (1493), he does not mention de Montgesoie, but instead refers to Caillieu's adaptation and translation.

### Amé de Montgesoie's Pas de la Mort

Like Olivier de la Marche, Amé de Montgesoie was a member of the Burgundian court, belonging to the host of *valets de chambre* employed by the Valois Dukes and their household.<sup>184</sup> He therefore moved in the same circles as Olivier de la Marche, appearing sporadically in the ducal accounts from 1457 onwards. Though it is uncertain when the two men may have met, they both served Mary of Burgundy in the years 1477-1482. On 22 July 1478, they both assisted at the baptism of her and her husband Maximilian's son, Philippe le Beau.<sup>185</sup> This is also the last reference to de Montgesoie in the Burgundian records. Although it is certain that de Montgesoie inspired de la Marche to write LCD, as he is credited directly in the text, it is not at all clear where de Montgesoie got the idea to use the theme of a *pas* to symbolize the struggle of man against death, or

when the *Pas de la Mort* was written (most likely around 1464-1465).<sup>186</sup> Michault Taillevent may have been the first to use the *pas d'armes* - itself heavily influenced by the literature of the time - as a literary device in its own right.<sup>187</sup> His allegorical *Débat du cœur et de l'oeil* can be dated to c. 1445 and deals with much the same themes as de Montgesoie's *Pas de la Mort*.<sup>188</sup> In the *Débat*, the author has a dream about an allegorical *pas* between Heart and Eye, presided over by *Amour* (Love). The obvious difference lies in the structure and contents of the poem: the author is confronted not by his own mortality, but by a dream about the nature of love. But the theme of a *pas d'armes* as an allegorical literary device may well have inspired de Montgesoie to write the *Pas de la Mort*.

The poem itself is relatively short, consisting of 81 strophes of eight lines each. In it, the author describes the vision he has had, of a *pas d'armes*, presided over by Death in the *Val sans retour* (for which the Dutch translation is named – *Het Dal sonder Wederkeren*). In this valley, there is a fountain of tears, which was a theme used in the *pas d'armes* by the same name. De Montgesoie mentions it in strophe 7 (I have included the adaptation into Dutch by Colijn Caillieu, who uses strophes of nine lines each).<sup>189</sup>

<i>La fontaine de plours y sault</i>	<i>Die fonteyne der weeninge sprinct daer altijt</i>
<i>Au pié d'un arbre sans verdure,</i>	<i>An den voet des booms die nemmermeer en</i>
<i>Ou devant sont, a moins d'un</i>	<i>wast,</i>
<i>sault,</i>	<i>Ende ter siden so stonter ghemaect een crijt,</i>
<i>Lices closes a voir moult dure,</i>	<i>Met besloten mueren / ghemaect seer vast,</i>
<i>Pour, tant comme le monde</i>	<i>Daermen nader castumen der werelt als</i>
<i>dure,</i>	<i>tpast</i>
<i>Faire par chaleur ou froidure</i>	<i>Daghelijcx siet, sonder lange gekijf,</i>
<i>Encontre l'umaine puissance</i>	<i>Die menschelijcke crachten daer toe verlast</i>
<i>Ung fier pas d'armes a</i>	<i>Chierlijc te campene / lijf om lijf,</i>
<i>oultrance.</i>	<i>Jonck / oudt / arm / rijck / al man / en wijf.</i>

186 P. de Keyser, *Colijn Caillieu*, 34-35.

187 R. Deschaux (ed.), *Un poète bourguignon du XVe siècle: Michael Taillevent* (Geneva 1975) 94-96.

188 The theme of a debate between the heart and the eye is not uncommon in Medieval literature. One of the more well-known examples is by Jacob Maerlant in his *Wapene Martijn* (str. 51-59); E. Verwijs (ed.), *Jacob van Maerlant's strofische gedichten* (Leiden 1918) lxxxvii.

189 P. de Keyser, *Colijn Caillieu*, 62-63.

183 LCD, str. 5. Olivier de la Marche, *Le Chevalier Délibéré*, 56-59.

184 Ibidem, 33-34.

185 Millar, *Olivier de la Marche*, 44. P. de Keyser, *Colijn Caillieu*, 33.



Death is assisted by two knights, called *Accident* and *Anticque* (Old Age). Accident rides a beast with daggers for manes, bows for horns, serpents for a tail, and blooded swords for legs. He and Old Age, who appears sickly and feeble, have organized this *pas d'armes* in order to better serve Death. Old Age and Accident praise each other for the many great men – many names from the Bible follow- they have already laid low. The author adds his own names to the growing list of the dead, before lamenting how none can escape their many weapons. Old Age describes how unjust the world and the people who live in it are, and how neither wealth, power, nor wisdom can save one from Death. He praises Death for turning men to think of God and the Last Judgment, and turn away from the worldly vices. Describing how men die, he ruminates on the transient nature of life.

The Lady Nature, then, is the enemy of Death, as she continuously creates new life, causing men to worship her and forget Death. To teach men how to die, Accident and Old Age have created this *pas*. Their shields have been hung from a tree and all those that pass by must touch one of them to indicate with whom they wish to do battle. Both knights then propose the *chappitres* (chapters – rules) of the tournament to Death, who has her Herald Excess read them out and introduce her two champions. Their armour and weapons are described in detail, much in the same way de la Marche describes the different parts of armour in the last part of LCD. An example from strophe 49, describing the equipment of Old Age:<sup>190</sup>

<i>Bassinet de melancholie</i>	<i>Noch heeft hi een huyfken vol melancholien,</i>
<i>Garny de rume chathariste,</i>	<i>Ghegespt metten snoffe / die thoof doet</i>
<i>Puis braches de paralesie;</i>	<i>ruymen;</i>
<i>Et affin que mieulx y resiste,</i>	<i>Twee gardebrassen van paralesien</i>
<i>Vestu avra ung jaqués miste</i>	<i>Omdat elc by hem sou crochchen en</i>
<i>De mal de rains et fievers</i>	<i>cuymen;</i>
<i>triste,</i>	<i>Oock heeft hi een jacke na der castuymen,</i>
<i>Pourpoints de touche sans</i>	<i>Van heete corsten / en crancke linden,</i>
<i>moison</i>	<i>Ghevult met hoeste ende fluymen</i>
<i>Et de colicque passion.</i>	<i>Daermen Colica passio in pleecht te vinden.</i>
	<i>Veel rusten comt van luttel tonderwinden.</i>

As in LCD, the descriptions are rather technical and refer to different parts of the armour. Interesting is that the *Bassinet*, supposedly a form of helmet, is adapted by Caillieu into *huyfken*, which refers to the padded cloth headcovering worn under the helmet. Both it and the *jaqués* or *jacke*,

another padded garment but for the body and limbs, are filled with ill humours, a reference to Medieval medical science.<sup>191</sup>

The lady Death is seated, as she is in LCD, above the lists so she presides over the combat much as a judge would. The combatants are warned that no one may lend assistance to his friends in the *pas*, nor may they indulge in any vanities, or allow themselves to be accompanied by anyone they love. All must attend, whether they be kings, nobles, *bourgeois* or commoner. They shall all wear nothing more fancy than a shift. In short, none of the usual spectacle associated with the Burgundian *pas d'armes* is allowed in the *Pas de la Mort*.

The *pas* itself shall continue until the Last Judgment, when all shall be judged according to their performance, but also their preparation through the living of a good, virtuous life. Those that have led a wicked life shall not only be defeated (as everyone is defeated), but also cast into hell. Following this lengthy proclamation by Excess, the two challengers open the field to anyone who would pass through the valley. Excess departs to spread word of the *pas* to all corners of the world. As Death lauds her two knights, the author is taken by fear and flees from the valley. He is convinced he requires more preparation for this dreadful *pas d'armes*. Returning to his home, the desire to travel gone, the author puts to paper what he has witnessed, exhorting the need to prepare oneself for the *pas* with good deeds. He dedicates the poem to the lady of Charolais – Isabella of Bourbon –<sup>192</sup> as her servant, names the book *le Pas de la Mort* and closes with the sentence: “...et que je me puisse sommer / des bons, et pour combler ma joye / sans fin amé de moult je soye.”

As to the contents, many of the elements are familiar and return in LCD: the figures Death, Excess, Accident and Old Age (Debility in LCD); the lists with Death presiding over the *pas d'armes*; the lists of notable historical figures that have died; the author as a witness and chronicler. While many of the elements of the *Pas de la Mort* return in LCD, some are changed significantly. Firstly, in de Montgesoie's work, the journey undertaken by the author is insignificant; while in LCD, the journey constitutes over half the text. Also, the list of the dead is much shorter in the *Pas*, consisting only of a list of names without further explanation. Old

191 A recent publication on the humours in the Middle Ages is: J.G. Siebelink, *De hu morenleer. Over de geneeskunst van de late Middeleeuwen in de Lage Landen* (Zoetermeer 2010).

192 Isabella of Bourbon (1436-1465) was the second wife of Charles the Bold. They were married 30 October, 1454 in Lille.

190 Ibidem, 112-113.

Age is replaced by Debility in LCD, while the herald Excess plays a much larger role in announcing the *pas*. This, then, is also the largest difference between the two texts: while in the *Pas de la Mort*, the tournament is announced and prepared by Accident and Old Age, in LCD it is already underway, as it always has been and always will be.

De Montgesoie spends a lot of time explaining how the rules of this specific *pas d'armes* make it the opposite of what one would expect from such a spectacle: all is grey and bleak, combatants must appear in their simplest garments; they may not bring companions or loved ones; they may not assist one another. The reason for the *pas* is also explained as a scheme by Accident and Old Age to assist them in helping Death, while in LCD the *pas* appears as the established manner in which the two knights bring down all men, high and low. De la Marche wastes little time establishing the *chapitres* or rules of his tournament of Atropos, instead launching straight into the descriptions of the combatants. The only reference to the rules of the *pas* is in the line uttered by Excess: “nulz, par signes bas ne hault, n'avantagast en cest assault”. This same sentiment is present in the chapters as outlined in the *Pas de la Mort*: “Oultre plus, nul ne doit aidier / son compaignon, quoy qu'il adviengne”.

Considering the rather direct reference in LCD to the *Pas de la Mort*, it may be that de la Marche considered his text to be a continuation of de Montgesoie's work. In the *Pas de la Mort*, the *pas* is laid out and prepared, the chapters are announced and the two knights introduced. In LCD, Accident and Old Age (changed to Debility by de la Marche, it is his text after all) have been fighting since time began, as is evident from the large number of victims they have put in the Cemetery of Memory. When the author then arrives at the *pas* of Atropos, the chapters are passed over, as anyone can read them in the *Pas de la Mort*. This may not have been de la Marche's intent, but it is peculiar that what was commonplace in the *pas d'armes* he had witnessed – the announcing of the combatants – is left out, sometimes explicitly, in LCD. When Charles the Bold faces Accident, they charge headlong into the list, without any words being spoken by either. Although both combatants are described by the author, there is little role to play for the heralds who are so explicitly present in the *Pas de la Mort*.

When looking at the two poems as a whole, there is a sense that Amé de Montgesoie wished to comment on the public spectacle of the Burgundians. Using one of the prime examples of pageantry as practiced by the court, the *pas d'armes*, he cautions his audience to be humble, their clothing should be simple and their conduct pious. Especially the comments on clothing strike a chord when compared to the expenses and descriptions

of clothing at a typical (if there is such a thing) *pas d'armes*. Could de Montgesoie have been critical of such spending? After the *Pas de l'Arbre d'Or*, there was some debate on the expenses made by the Valois Dukes. De la Marche dismissed these criticisms in his *Mémoires*.<sup>193</sup> It seems that in LCD, he also puts aside de Montgesoie's criticism of the lavish spectacle that was the Burgundian *pas d'armes*. Although he still instructs and cautions, he uses the imagery associated with the *pas d'armes* in a radically different way. A good example of this is the way both authors use the image of armour; while in de Montgesoie's work the different parts of armour as worn by Accident serve to underline his wicked nature, in de la Marche text the armour is used as an allegory for defense *against* vice. While de Montgesoie turns the image of the *pas d'armes* on its head, de la Marche retains the spectacle of it and employs the different elements as a means to allegorize and instruct.

### Colijn Caillieu's Dal sonder Wederkeren of Pas der Doot

Colijn Caillieu was part of the same literary circle in Brussels as Jan Pertcheval and Jan Smeken. Caillieu and Smeken, along with Anthonis de Roovere, can be listed among the most prominent *rhétoriquers* of the fifteenth century. They received regular benefits from the city of Brussels for their work as authors, organizing plays for such significant occasions as a royal entry into the city.<sup>194</sup> From 1474 until 1485 Caillieu received a yearly stipend from the city, after which this passed to Jan Smeken.<sup>195</sup> Caillieu was commissioned by the city to write a play for the baptism of Maximilian's daughter Margareta (1480-1530), *Die geboorte van vrou Margriete*. This held some political significance as the city was at the time divided between the patricians and revolutionaries, both attempting to curry favour with the arch-duke. It is entirely possible that Caillieu's disappearance from the public stage some time after 1481 was related to this political upheaval and

193 De la Marche, *Mémoires* II, 389-391.

194 S. Mareel, *Voor vorst en stad. Rederijkersliteratuur in Vlaanderen en Brabant (1432-1561)* (Amsterdam 2010) 145-146.

195 P. de Keyser assumed this was because Caillieu had died and passed on his function and the associated stipend to Smeken. However, it seems he survived until 1503 and was registered as part of the Brussels *Broederschap der Zeven Weeën* in 1498. P. de Keyser, *Colijn Caillieu*, 28-29; S. Mareel, *Voor vorst en stad*, 156-165. See also: P. de Keyser, 'Nieuwe gegevens omtrent Colijn Caillieu (Coellin), Jan de Baertmaker (Smeken), Jan Steemaer (Pertcheval) en Jan van Dale', in: *Tijdschrift voor Nederlandse Taal- en letterkunde* 53, 4 (1934) 269-279.

his involvement in the revolutionary movement.<sup>196</sup>

Returning to the *Pas der Doot*, which is the only other piece of Caillieu's writing that survives,<sup>197</sup> which survives in a single copy from an edition made in 1528 by Jan van Doesborch in Antwerp. The translation itself is quite close to the original French text, with some additions by Caillieu. Most of these seem to be to accommodate his rather flowery rhetoric, though there are some additions such as the first strophe. This seems to function as a sort of prologue, detailing some of the translators personal thoughts;

*Die veranderinge des werelts lijen  
En dongestadicheyt der smenschen sinnen  
Baren in gedachte menige fantasien,  
Bi dagen, bi nachte, buten en binnen;  
Elc mach dit in hemselven kinnen,  
Dien zijn selfs gerte is niet onbekent;  
Mer wat mi eens dochte uut exces van sinnen,  
Dat sal ic nu uuten voor elcken present:  
Het sal hem salich sijn diet wel int herte prent.*

It serves much the same function as Pertcheval's prologue to *Den Camp vander Doot*: to instruct the reader to take the following to heart and learn from it. Herman Pleij saw in it a new sort of language from the *rhétoriquers* who are writing in their mother tongue and from their own experiences, indicating a rise of Humanism in the urban literary milieu.<sup>198</sup> This may be part of the function, but it is also reminiscent of the very first line of *Den Camp vander Doot*, placed above a woodcut of the resolute knight fighting death: "Dit boeck is ghenoeft den Camp vander doot / Studeert hier inne want het is u noot", which communicates the same messages more succinctly. Caillieu also includes a number of strophes of his own devising at the end of the poem, wherein he underlines the importance of a virtuous life in preparation for death. To me, this appears more formulaic than personal.

While Caillieu may indeed have been moved to translate a treatise on a good death by personal experience, he may well have simply been paid to translate a popular work so that it may be printed, and sold.

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- 196 S. Maureel, *Voor vorst en stad*, 164-165. More generally on the disturbances in the southern Low Countries at this time, see: R. van Uytven, 'Politiek en economie: de crisis der late XVe eeuw in de Nederlanden', in: *Revue belge de philologie et d'histoire* 53 (1975) 1097-1149. I shall refrain from delving further into the troubled history of Brussels in the last quarter of the fifteenth century.
- 197 While P. de Keyser argues that he may have written the play on the Seven Sorrows of Mary, there is no direct evidence for this supposition.
- 198 Herman Pleij, 'De laat-middeleeuwse rederijersliteratuur als vroeg-humanistische overtuigingskunst', in: *Liefde en Fortuna in de Nederlandse letteren van de late Middeleeuwen*. *De Fonteyne* 34 (Gent 1984) 65-95.





## 4. Codicology

From the analysis of the text from a modern edition I would like to turn to the form the text actually survives in; the individual manuscripts and prints from the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. This means that I will be turning from the inception of the text to the reception of it, and from the author to the copyists, compilers and printers that chose to spread it further. The reason for this is that I wish to take a historical approach to the text, which means studying the historical context it was created and copied in. I also believe that to understand a text fully, one should not only look at how it reacts to literary criticism or modern readers, but also how it was read and received when it was fresh from the author's desk. I shall move away from digging in de la Marche's personal, social and political history and instead focus on the *Nachleben* of the text.

### Variance

The study of not only the text, but the transmitter of that text –the codex– has in recent years developed under the name of “New Codicology”. According to Keith Busby, who wrote extensively on the subject, it isn't really new, but rediscovered.<sup>199</sup> Codicology, in short, is the study of the material aspects of medieval manuscripts. The underlying theory is that,

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<sup>199</sup> Keith Busby (ed.), *Towards a Synthesis? Essays on the New Philology* (Amsterdam 1993); Idem, 'Traditions in the editing of Old French texts: the lessons of the past and uncertainty of the future' (unpublished conference paper, May 1999); Idem, 'Fabliaux and the New Codicology', in: Kathryn Karczewska and Tom Conley (eds.), *The world and its rival: essays on literary imagination in honor of Per Nykrog* (Amsterdam 1999) 137-160; Idem, *Codex and context: reading old French verse narrative in manuscript*, 2 vols. (Amsterdam 2002).

by studying the physical artifacts in conjunction with the texts that they transmit, we can come to a deeper understanding of both. Busby was in fact largely reacting to a work by Bernard Cerquiglini, who wrote *Éloge de la variante: histoire critique de la philologie*.<sup>200</sup> (1989). In this seminal work, Cerquiglini argues that traditional Philology, as he sees it, removes the researcher from the physicality and inherent variance of the source material. He describes the history of philology, as it applies to the editing of literature, specifically medieval literature in the vernacular. For about one hundred and fifty years, philologists have been editing medieval texts and in doing so, have moved further and further away from what makes these texts 'medieval': the "joyful excess"<sup>201</sup> of variance that exists in the surviving manuscripts.

Modern concepts of authorship, text and language had determined the way in which editors such as Karl Lachmann, Gaston Paris and Joseph Bédier had studied Medieval literature, using stemmatics –the creation of a sort of textual geneology through textual criticism. These veritable giants of the world of text-editing, each standing on the shoulders of his predecessors, had basically formed the basis for all editions made in the last century-and-a-half. They created methods which could be used to remove all the later mistakes and variants to return to the original text as it was conceived by the original author. But the reality was that medieval texts were constantly being rewritten as they were copied and transcribed.

As Cerquiglini delves into the philological traditions of Lachmann, Paris and Bédier, he shows how variations were referred to as 'corruptions' or 'mistakes'. Cerquiglini argues, however, that these variants are in fact the reality of medieval writing. In the final chapter, he concludes that there is no text (except that of the Bible, which is inviolate), there are only variants: "Medieval writing does not produce variants, it *is* variance."<sup>202</sup> An edition can therefore never fully reflect the text as it existed in any period, as there is always the interpretation and intention of the editor to take into account.

If we then look at Carroll's edition, it is quite clear what his intention was; he wanted to make a text he believes to be underappreciated available to a wider audience. The introduction and analysis of the text as such is rather brief, with much attention spent on the somewhat compulsory

description of the different manuscripts that the editor used for his edition. There are 17 manuscripts which he employs, with two more which he did not have the time or inclination to study. I have found one more manuscript via a German antiquarian, which makes 20 codices in total. This also explains why Carroll thought it important to make this text available for study; for a literary work in the vernacular, this is a rather large amount of surviving manuscripts. Considering that there are also a significant number of printed editions in French, with translations in Dutch, Spanish and English, this means the poem enjoyed some popularity in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. The popularity of this text is expanded upon in a number of articles, it is of some significance to the history of late Medieval literature.<sup>203</sup>

There is a lively debate on the subject of Medieval literature. At its core, it is about the way we wish to study these texts; as a historical source or as a work of art. In 2003, John Burrow lamented the way Medieval Literature seemed to have passed completely out of the realm of literary criticism and into that of philology. He mostly blames those centers of research that "leave Medieval literature to the medievalists", as opposed, presumably, to the literary critics.<sup>204</sup> In a rebuttal written one year later, Derek Pearsall goes into Medieval literature and historical enquiry, refuting most of Burrow's claims that these institutions were to blame.<sup>205</sup> Instead, he says, the change in focus came about due to a major epistemological shift started by such scholars as Heidegger and Gadamer, which shed some doubt on the very concept of medieval literary criticism as it had been practiced up to the second half of the twentieth century. Questions on objectivity and subjectivity and the role of women as both authors and audience came into play. Pearsall concludes that both historians and literary historians have a lot to learn from one another.

With this in mind, I cannot pass over the codicological aspects of the text and in fact, would like to study them in greater detail than has been done until now. While I consider de la Marche's poem to be a work of (literary) art, it is also a historical object which functions within a specific

200 Bernard Cerquiglini, *Éloge de la variante: histoire critique de la philologie* (Paris 1989). I have used the following translation: Betsy Wing (trans.), *In praise of the Variant. A critical history of philology* (London 1999).

201 The title of his third chapter.

202 Ibidem, 77-78.

203 S. Speakman Sutch, 'La réception du *Chevalier Délibéré* d'Olivier de la Marche aux XVe et XVIe siècles', in: *Moyen Français* 57-58 (2006) 335-350. B. Jongenelen, 'The influence of *Le Chevalier Délibéré* on Late Medieval Dutch literature', in: *Dutch Crossing – A journal of Low Countries studies* 29, nr. 2 (Winter 2006) 306-318.

204 J.A. Burrow, 'Should we leave Medieval Literature to the Medievalists?', in: *Essays in criticism* 53 3 (2003) 278-283.

205 Derek Pearsall, 'Medieval literature and historical enquiry', in: *The modern language review* 99 (2004) 1-12.

material context. This context is literary, but also physical in nature. This last aspect will be the subject of this chapter.

## Codices

In his edition, Carroll describes the 17 manuscripts he uses, noting the decorations and the presence of any lacunae in the text.<sup>206</sup> Also, he generally mentions which other texts are copied in the codex. I would like to take a closer look at this aspect of the text, to see if the copyist may have consciously decided to place *Le Chevalier Délibéré* next to other specific texts. This may reveal how they viewed the text and in which context it could have been read. For simplicity's sake, I have adopted Carroll's method of naming the codices, ranging from A – W (with one addition by me: Z). Unfortunately, Carroll's codicological descriptions often leave something to be desired. In many cases, he doesn't specify the other texts in a codex beyond general notes on their nature or contents. And while he notes the number of leaves in a manuscript, he doesn't specify the structure of the quires. This is to be expected, however, as the editors intent was never to provide detailed information for codicologists. Where possible, I have attempted to reconstruct the make-up of several manuscripts in order to better be able to determine their genesis and history. After all, there is quite a difference between a codex which was made for one patron, or in one 'work-flow'; or a codex which was later collated from different manuscripts (a convolute).

Of the 19 manuscripts mentioned by Carroll, one is apparently a late-nineteenth century reproduction, one was lost in a fire in 1904, while another was badly damaged in the same fire.<sup>207</sup> Of the remaining seventeen, nine contain only *LCD* (ACEFLNPQS)<sup>208</sup> and two combine the text solely with *Le Pas de la Mort* by Amé de Montgesoie (B and V). Which leaves six manuscripts which combine *LCD* with other texts. I will briefly describe these six before delving deeper into the significance of the choices made by the copyists of these codices. For further reference, for instance the basis for the dating of these manuscripts, I refer to the pertinent section in

Carroll's edition.<sup>209</sup>

- G** Paris, Société des Manuscrits des Assureurs Français (S.M.A.F.), ms. 80-11  
1r-39r Guillebert de Lannoy, L'instruction d'un jeune prince  
39v-100v Olivier de la Marche, *Le Chevalier Délibéré*  
1 + 100 + 1 leaves, parchment. 15<sup>th</sup> century.

This manuscript is richly decorated, with rubrics, initials and a full program of fifteen miniatures. The decorative elements are almost identical to those in Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, MS. 166 (Manuscript F).<sup>210</sup> The texts are preceded by a "lettre envoyée avec le present traictie par Bernard de Bearn, bastart de Comynge, a hault et puissant prince, monseigneur le prince de Navarre."<sup>211</sup> It seems that at least the first text by Lannoy was intended for the young cousin of Bernard de Béarn, François Phoebus (1467-1483), king of Navarre from 1481 until his death on 23 January 1483. De la Marche does indeed mention the death of the young prince in str. 277:

*Febus, jone roy de Navare  
Que chascun si fort extimoit,  
Accident, qui trop volt conquerre,  
A rompu comme ung petit verre  
Sa vie qui tant flourissoit.  
L'un deffie, l'autre deçoit,  
Et a le dard si tres a destre  
Que nulz ne scet ou seur puist  
estre.*

*Phoebus, the young king of Navarre  
Whom everyone esteemed so highly,  
Accident, who wished greatly to prevail,  
Snapped as if it were a tiny glass  
His life which was so flourishing.  
He defeats one, another thwarts,  
And with such a skillful shaft  
That no one knows where he can be  
safe.*

It's extraordinary that de la Marche would include Phoebus in his text, as it was completed at most three months after his death. The mention of Accident and the 'dard' (meaning dart or sting) may be significant: Phoebus was supposedly killed with a poisoned flute.<sup>212</sup>

209 Ibidem, 14-27.

210 Carroll, *LCD*, 18-19. Speakman Sutch, 'Réception du *Chevalier Délibéré*', 340-341.

211 Ibidem.

212 Unfortunately there seem to be only eighteenth- to twentieth-century references to the young king dying of a "violent poison" applied to a flute, which he was fond of playing. I cannot verify from any Medieval sources that this was the way he died, his epitaph makes no mention of it.

206 Carroll, *LCD*, 14-27.

207 Carroll, *LCD*, 26. Since Carroll decided not to pursue further research into these manuscripts, neither will I.

208 I have included L, as it only contains one short text after *LCD*: an untitled eight-line poem beginning with *Tant a souffert mon Dieu de mon ordure*.



The *Instruction*, a *Speculum Regale* (Mirror for Princes) on the instruction of a young prince by Ghillebert de Lannoy (1386-1462), was another popular and distinctly Burgundian text.<sup>213</sup> Like Olivier de la Marche, de Lannoy was a prolific writer who served several of the Valois dukes, namely John the Fearless and Philip the Good. The text survives in twelve manuscripts and at least one edition. Van Leeuwen argues that it was for the young prince Charles that the *instruction* was written, between 1435 and 1442.<sup>214</sup> It was apparently meant to not only instruct the young Charles, but also to reprimand Philip, whose policies had caused de Lannoy to turn his back on the court for a time. This text was the authors way of returning to the Duke's good graces, which he appears to have done successfully.

The text itself consists of three parts. The first part deals with the position of the prince in society and his duties to his subjects. The chivalric ideals are paired with the cardinal virtues, underlining the prince's position as mandated by God. However, the rewards of a good life are not only the reward of heaven, but also worldly honour and prestige. This is again reflected in the second part of the text, which deals with the mentality and appointing of courtly dignitaries. De Lannoy believes that the best candidates are those from old noble families, not the upstart *homines novi*, who may be more likely to forget their place and succumb to corruption and strife. The third and last part of the text deals with some of the problems faced by the prince in ruling his lands, namely war and finances. De Lannoy's advice is mostly aimed at a return to the old values of chivalry, which he feels are in decline. When applied to the conduct of war and courtly finances, the prince shall be successful in this life and the next.

It appears that the text of LCD was added some time later. This can be seen in the miniatures, as the artist has attempted to replicate the style of the decorations in *L'instruction d'un jeune prince*, but there are noticeable differences.<sup>215</sup> Also, as Speakman Sutch has argued, the fact that the text so closely matches that of Manuscript F as to be called a facsimile, it must post-date it. Manuscript F can be dated to 1490, which would

indicate the codex remained unfinished for some years.<sup>216</sup> Coupled as it is with LCD, this appears to be a didactic and moralistic volume, meant to instruct a noble or even prince on both a good life and a good death. The juxtaposition of instructions for a young prince and an allegorical journey by a knight in the autumn of life is striking and would be effective in communicating the moral lessons included in both. The message of the codex as a whole appears to be clear: apply yourself virtuously and chivalrously and you needn't fear death. The pragmatic advice given in both the *Instruction* and LCD can help realise this rather abstract lesson. It seems that the intended recipient, François Phoebus, did not live to receive the instruction from the first text, which prompted a patron –possible Béarn– to have LCD added to the manuscript. It could then be used as a warning to any young prince that may read it; even the young are not safe from death and should live well and prepare for death while they can.<sup>217</sup>

**M** Paris, B.N.F., fr. 1667  
1r-294v [epigrams and relatively short pieces, both prose and verse, by diverse hands]  
295r-347r Georges Chastellain [*sic*], *Le Chevalier Délibéré*  
347v-366v [miscellaneous short pieces]  
II + 366 + II leaves, paper. 16<sup>th</sup> century.

The *Catalogue* identifies seven sorts of text in this manuscript, of which LCD (attributed to Georges Chastellain) is one.<sup>218</sup> The others are: a dozen Greek and Latin epigrams with French translations by Jacques Thiboust; two prayers on the cross and God; a short text on the conduct of courtiers; short texts in verse and prose, some thirty in number and by diverse hands. There appears to be no rhyme or reason in the inclusion of these texts in the codex, also as there are so many different hands at work. As it is impossible to determine without examining the codex how it came together and what the intertextual relations may be, I must conclude from the description in the *Catalogue* that it is a convolute, wherein different texts have come together without any unifying vision by a single compiler. Furthermore, the text of LCD is a direct copy of a printed edition made in

213 For an edition with commentary of the *instruction d'une jeune prince*, see: Cornelis Gerrit van Leeuwen, *Denkbeelden van een vliesridder. de Instruction d'un jeune prince van Lannoy* (Amsterdam 1975). For its definition as a Mirror for Princes, see: Ibidem, 201-210.

214 Ibidem, XXVII-XXIX and 211-212.

215 Speakman Sutch, 'Réception du *Chevalier Délibéré*', 340-341. See also: S. Speakman Sutch, 'La production d'un manuscrit du poème intitulé *Le Chevalier Délibéré* d'Olivier de la Marche', in: G.H.M. Claassens, W. Verbeke (eds.) *Medieval manuscripts in transition: tradition and creative recycling* (Leuven 2006) 241-260.

216 Ibidem, 251-253.

217 As an aside, str. 276 mentions Edward, King of England, who died "d'un fievre soudain" (from a swift fever). Edward IV died, presumably from some illness, on 9 April 1483.

218 Bibliothèque Nationale, *Catalogue général des manuscrits français, Ancien fonds* Tome premier (1-3130) (Paris 1853) 284.

1540 by Pierre Sergents.<sup>219</sup> Although the printed versions of this text are equally important to the interpretation of its reception, this particular copy is of little interest when dealing with the manuscript tradition.

- O** Paris, B.N.F., fr. 4907  
 1r-100v Olivier de la Marche, *Mémoires* (incomplete)  
 101r-103r Cest le triste reuel de Messire Oliuyer de La marche en son temps cheuallier dhonneur de madame marie duchesse de Bourgoingne dit le chevalier delibere.  
 103v-104v blank  
 105r-120v [short works by diverse hands]  
 V + 120 + V leaves, paper. 16<sup>th</sup> century.

This manuscript contains only a fragment of *LCD*, specifically of stanzas 167-182, 182a, 183-205, 207-210, 216 and 336. This corresponds to the list of the dead included in part III of the text. The copyist apparently thought it fitting to include this list at the end of de la Marche's *Mémoires*. After two blank pages, possibly indicating a codicological as well as textual break, several more texts have been included. There are parts of Burgundian chronicles, descriptions of heraldic arms, epitaphs for Philip the Good and Maximilian of Austria, questions on theology in Latin and more short fragments.<sup>220</sup> These are in diverse hands, making it difficult to determine when and why they were included in the codex. However, as is evident from other manuscripts, more than once a compiler has opted to include epitaphs alongside *LCD*, most likely due to the lengthy descriptions of the dead included in de la Marche's text. This appears to be a collection of such epitaphs, colluded as much for their historical significance as their literary worth.

- R** Paris, B.N.F., Rothschild 2797 (IV.1.14)  
 1r-15v Amé de Montgesoie, *Le Pas de la Mort*  
 16 blank  
 17r-77v Olivier de la Marche, *Le Chevalier Délibéré*  
 78 blank  
 79r-231r *Bien advisé et mal advisé*

- 219 S. Speakman Sutch, 'De Gouda-editie van Le Chevalier Délibéré. Een boek uitgegeven in eigen beheer', in: H. Pleij and J. Reynaert (eds.), *Geschreven en gedrukt. Boekproductie van handschrift naar druk in de overgang van Middeleeuwen naar moderne tijd* (Gent 2004) 137-156.  
 220 Bibliotheque Nationale, *Catalogue général des manuscrits français, Ancien fonds Tome quatrieme* (4587-5525) (Paris 1853) 430-431.

III + 231 + III leaves, paper. 15<sup>th</sup> century.

As with Manuscripts B and V, this richly executed manuscript has *LCD* coupled with *Le Pas de la Mort*, but also with the allegorical morality play *Bien Advisé et Mal Advisé*. This morality play, which also uses allegorical characters, has much in common with both *Le Pas de la Mort* and *LCD*. Its title refers to the protagonists, who represent the dual nature of man, together forming a kind of Everyman.<sup>221</sup> The play begins with both characters at a crossroads, with the roads leading up to heaven or down to hell. They are accompanied by *Franche Voulenté* (Free Will), through whom they must travel either one way or the other. In the play, they do not physically move, instead the different stages along the road to either salvation or damnation are described in great detail. Interesting is that both characters, although they seem to be predestined to be saved (in the case of *Bien-Advisé*) or damned (in the case of *Mal-Advisé*), the moral seems that they still have free choice, they have to consciously choose which path to follow at each moral junction.<sup>222</sup>

Interestingly, the codex features the arms of Josse de Lalain (c. 1441-1483).<sup>223</sup> This burgundian nobleman was made bailliff of Flanders in 1468 by Charles the Bold. He was captured, as was Olivier de la Marche, at the battle of Nancy in 1477, where he was also grievously wounded. Afterwards he offered his services to Mary of Burgundy and was made a *valet de chambre* to her household. In 1478 he was made a member of the *Toison d'Or*. And finally, governor of Holland, Zeeland and Frisia, from 1480-1483, a position granted him by Maximilian.<sup>224</sup>

If he actually received this codex, he did not enjoy it for long; he was killed during the siege of Utrecht on 5 August 1483, while de la Marche states in the closing stanza that *LCD* was completed in April 1483. This indicates just how quickly the text spread through the literary community of Burgundian nobility. But there is another reason this particular manuscript is an interesting one, besides it possibly being a very early copy. There is a

221 A.E. Knight, *Aspects of genre in late Medieval French drama* (Manchester 1983) 27-29.

222 Ibidem, 63-69.

223 S. Speakman Sutch, 'Reception du Chevalier Délibéré', 339. Speakman Sutch notes that while the manuscript most likely belonged to Charles de Lalain, its first owner and patron would have been Josse de Lalain.

224 M. Damen, 'Linking Court and Counties. The Governors and Stadholders of Holland and Zeeland in the Fifteenth Century', *Francia* 29 (2002) 257-268.

small mistake in str. 37, when Understanding is expanding on the Author's name and intent, he says: "Or t'ay de ton nom devisé / Ce que j'en veulx maintenant dire", which is given in this manuscript as "Or t'ay de *mon* nom devisé" (emphasis mine).<sup>225</sup> This is the only manuscript wherein this mistake is made, although it is copied in the printed versions of LCD, both from Gouda and Schiedam. It is also copied into the translations into Dutch.

Now, considering the process of writing, the placement of this mistake is most significant. It follows a strophe wherein Understanding is addressing the Author directly and plays on his name.<sup>226</sup>

<i>Ton nom, ton cas et ton emprise</i>	<i>Your name, circumstances, and</i>
<i>J'ay par memoire clos en marche.</i>	<i>undertaking</i>
<i>Riens ne vault que l'on se</i>	<i>I have close filed in memory.</i>
<i>desguise,</i>	<i>There's no use of anyone dissembling,</i>
<i>Je voy et sçay tout quant g'y vise,</i>	<i>I see and know everything when I focus</i>
<i>Ou que l'on tyre ne qu'on marche:</i>	<i>on it,</i>
<i>Du païs es et de la marche</i>	<i>Whether coming or going:</i>
<i>Our Fortune, Douleur et Rage</i>	<i>You are from the country and of the</i>
<i>Ont entrepris de faire rage.</i>	<i>marches</i>
	<i>Where Chance, Misery and Rage</i>
	<i>Have set about to wreak havoc.</i>

The first line that follows is the *mon nom* one. De la Marche obviously plays on his own name here, indicating that he is both the author of the text and the Author that is being addressed by Understanding. But why would a copyist make a mistake here? The strophe preceding it is clearly of Understanding addressing the Author, beginning with "Ton nom", even in this manuscript. However, if the author *himself* was writing this, it would make perfect sense for him to expand on his name, then start the next strophe with a line with how he has said all he is willing to say on his own name. Later copyists would have corrected this rather obvious mistake. Which makes it even more puzzling that the printed versions of the work all seem to copy it, even going so far as to include it in the Dutch translations. I will return to the question of the printed editions and translations below, but I contend that this manuscript was written or dictated by de la Marche

225 This has been noted by both Speakman Sutch, 'De Gouda editie'; and Bas Jongenelen, 'Jan Pertcheval's translation of *Le Chevalier Délibéré: Den Camp vander Doot*. Source, translation and public', in: *Publications du Centre Européen d'études Bourguignonnes* 43 (2003) 199-212.

226 LCD, str. 36.

himself, which makes it most significant for both the intent and spread of the text.

Assuming then that this manuscript was produced by de la Marche, the presence of the arms of Josse de Lalain becomes even more relevant. The contents of the manuscript, with allegorical texts on the nature of a good life and a good death, make it unlikely to be a copy made on the occasion of his death. Simply put, it would have been too late to be of any use to him. Of course, it is still possible that it was made for one of his children, perhaps Antoine or Charles de Lalain, his two sons. However, since the text of LCD mentions his brother, Jacques de Lalain (1421-1453), as lying in the cemetery of memory (str. 181), but not Josse himself, I find it unlikely that the copy was made after his death. Assuming then, also, that the manuscript was produced directly for Josse de Lalain, and that de la Marche had a personal hand in it, it is not at all unlikely that de la Marche wrote his LCD for Josse de Lalain. However, one of the most jarring problems with this theory is that it is not immediately obvious from the text of LCD or even this one manuscript. It seems highly unlikely that de la Marche would write such a high-quality poem as LCD for a patron and not dedicate it to him explicitly. Obviously, more research into this matter is warranted.

**W** Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 3391

As the list of texts included in this manuscript is extensive, I merely reproduce those that have been written by Olivier de la Marche.

5r-10r	Doctrine et loz pour Madame Alienor d'Austrice [aka Les Cinq Sens]
77r-79v	Lettre(s) enuoyee avecques le present traictie [Le Triomphe des dames] a la ... princesse la contesse de Charolais ...
80r-81r	Presentation faite du present traictie [Le Triomphe des dames] au duc de Bourgogne et de Brabant
81v-89r	Le Debat de Cuidier et de Fortune
142r-191r	Le Chevalier Délibéré
200r-200v	Ces vers furent donnez par La Marche a mon seigneur l'archiduc pour sa nouvelle escolle
201r-204v	Ces vers nommez les vers dorez donna La Marche a son maistre en l'eage de xv ans
205r-206v	Ces vers furent faiz a la requeste de Monseigneur de Rauestein et donnez par La Marche a son maistre



207r-209r	larchiduc en l'eage de xvij ans Ces vers et petit traictie fu fait a la requeste de Madame Margueritte
561r-567r	Complainte sur la mort de Madame Marie de Bourgongne
567v-578r	Predestination des sept fees et leurs dons a l'empereur Charles III + 584 leaves, paper. 15 <sup>th</sup> century.

This is obviously one of the more complex manuscripts included in this list. It has nearly six hundred leaves covered in text, all apparently in the same hand. The copyist appears to have collected a large amount of texts with diverse subjects, though a clear preference for courtly material is apparent. The script itself ranges from a rather sloppy *bastarda* (see for instance ff. 11r-12r or 559r-560v) to a very neat *textualis* (ff. 13r-15v; 357rv; 374rv; 507r; 519rv; 561r-581v). It is very clearly a late 15th century script and the hand, though the script differs (also through the use of different quills and inks), appears to be the same (based on the use of different letters such as the e, g, h, a and s).

The binding is wood covered with leather and does not appear to be original. The quires are fairly regular, consisting of between seven and nine bifolia. There are some quire signatures in roman numerals on the first page of each quire. Around quire xxij (22), these are completely or partly cut off. There are 38 quires in total. The quires 33 and 34 seem to have been put together rather sloppily, consisting of five and four bifolia respectively and showing significant problems in the order of the text. It is likely these formed one whole quire and were rebound at some point after the manuscripts initial conception.

The genesis of this manuscript would require a fair amount of study. However, based on the layout of the texts and the construction of the quires, it appears to be what Jos Biemans refers to as a "growing manuscript".<sup>227</sup> The copyist did not lay out the design of the manuscript and then produce it in one work-flow. Instead, he would add those texts that interested him as he went along, growing the manuscript over time. This is supported by the fact that in more than one case, the form of the texts confirms to the form of the quire. There are textual and codicological breaks

227 Jos Biemans, 'Het chirurgijnsboek van Jan van Aalter. Over schaalvergroting en nieuwe toepassingen bij de productie en vormgeving van het handgeschreven boek in de veertiende eeuw', in: *Jaarboek voor Nederlandse Boekgeschiedenis* 6 (1999) 67-86.

at the end of quires 1, 2, 8, 11, 12 and possibly 31. It therefore seems that we are dealing with some seven codicological units, though all were apparently produced by the same scribe around the same period. The first two are very small, consisting of only one quire each, then a collection of texts spread over six quires is included. The third codicological unit, quires 9-11, hold the complete text of *Le Chevalier Délibéré*. After another single quire, the rest of the manuscript consists of a large amalgam of diverse texts on various subjects, from epitaphs and letters to ballads and tracts on life or death.

There are several interesting choices by the copyist in the texts he chose to include. One is the *Enseignement de la vraye Noblesse*, which bears remarkable similarities –often including whole passages word for word– with the *Instruction d'un jeune Prince* by Ghillebert de Lannoy. This text is paired with LCD in Manuscript G. Leeuwen argues that the *Enseignement*, which remains anonymous, may well have been written by the same author as the *Instruction*. Both texts fall into the category of instructive works, aimed at an audience concerned with the concept of nobility and chivalry. In this specific manuscript, there are a host of such texts.

Also interesting to note is that the copyist has included the descriptions of the miniatures that are meant to go with the text of LCD. These appear to be copied directly from the source-material, without regard for the mise-en-page of the text. Or to put it another way: they were obviously not meant to be replaced by miniatures at some future date. This is supported by the fact that the entire manuscript does not feature any rubrication or illumination, nor are there any signs that this was intended. The copyist, then, assumed the text describing the illuminations was just as important to copy as the text of the poem itself. Possibly he intended to use his copy of LCD as the source for a more expensive version, including the illuminations and such, or for a printed version of the text.

- Z** Jörn Günther, *Catalogue* 8 (Hamburg 2006), manuscript nr. 32.  
 1-31v: Olivier de la Marche, *Le chevalier délibéré*: Stanzas 1-199 (stanza 144 missing); stanzas 208, 222, ending up to stanza 338 missing.  
 32-33v: Anonymous, *Les Douze Travaux d'Hercule*, first 8 labours missing  
 34-35v: Flemish translation, complete  
 36v-39v: Anonymous, *Les neuf Preuses*, complete  
 40v-43: Jean Molinet, *La ressource du petit peuple*, incomplete.  
 Conseil (stanzas 1-2). 43 leaves, 15<sup>th</sup> century (dated to c. 1484).

This is a manuscript which was sold into private hands by Dr. Jörn Günther, antiquarian in Hamburg, Germany. It has remained unpublished as far as I am aware, though Dr. Günther has graciously allowed me to study several scans of the manuscript for research purposes. Likely a copy of L, as there are variant readings that only these two manuscripts share. The text itself is incomplete, consisting of most of the text up to str. 199, and then only 208 and 222 follow. As noted by Günther, notes by one of the previous owners, Philippe Chifflet (1597-1663), attest to its incomplete condition already in the seventeenth century. In addition to the text, the manuscript has a total of 25 miniatures. The ones that accompany the text of LCD seem to closely follow the descriptions found in manuscript L. As theorised by Günther, it may be that this manuscript was meant to be used as an example for a more costly version.

What is interesting is the combination of *LCD* with *Les Douze Travaux d'Hercule*. Not only because of the translation into Middle-Dutch (Günther refers to it as Flemish) which accompanies the French text, but also because Olivier de la Marche had something of a special relationship with the legend of Hercules. Late in life, he would contend that the house of Burgundy was descended from the great mythological hero and wrote extensively on the subject.<sup>228</sup> During the festivities surrounding the marriage of Charles the Bold and Margaret of York, he organised the play depicting twelve scenes from the life of Hercules, who was embedded in the Burgundian consciousness as an example of chivalry and prowess.

One of the *entremets* at the banquets surrounding the *Pas de l'Arbre d'Or* is of particular interest, as it consisted of a play depicting scenes from the life of Hercules. De la Marche's description, unlike the one by de Roovere, is quite detailed. This makes sense, as he was closely involved in their conception. De la Marche most likely wrote the scenes himself, merely copying the content and morals from his own notes.<sup>229</sup> He included the description of the moral of each scene, which was presented to the audience on a linen placard after the curtains had closed. The scenes themselves were based on the version of 'Burgundian Hercules' produced by Raoul Lefevre in his *Recueil des histoires de Troyes*, written for Philip the Good in 1464.<sup>230</sup> This chivalric version of Hercules, who was adapted to the courtly literature of the time, became the role-model for

the ideal Burgundian knight. For instance, at the Feast of the Pheasant a large tapestry decorated one side of the banquet hall, showing the life of Hercules. Another such tapestry currently on display in Glasgow, shows Hercules (who bears a striking resemblance to Philip the Good) initiating the Olympic Games, which take the form of a *mêlée*. It was quite possibly woven to commemorate Charles' first joust in Brussels, in 1451.<sup>231</sup> It is clear that the figure of Hercules was one firmly seated within the self-image of the Burgundian court.

There were twelve scenes in total, performed at intervals during the days of the feast. They were not of the twelve labours, instead showing scenes from the life of the mythological hero. Their content was taken directly from Lefevre's work, I refer to Millar for a comprehensive list and analysis of each scene.<sup>232</sup> To summarize, de la Marche emphasized that virtue is the first step to victory and that devotion to God is needed to ensure it. Also, Hercules is shown fighting injustice and sharing his wealth (in the form of the Golden Fleece) with the people of Greece, just as a lord should seek out and fight injustice in his own lands, as well as supporting his subjects in other (financial) ways. The play was therefore highly didactic and moralistic, seeking to instruct the audience on good governance and chivalric conduct.

The final two plays are slightly more obscure: they depicted Hercules in a desert attacked by arrows from all sides; and planting his famous pillars. The arrows were identified in the moral which followed as '*faulses langues qui contre luy mesdirent*'. Millar theorizes that these false words may have a deeper political meaning, referring to the tense diplomatic relations between Burgundy and France and criticism against the Anglo-Burgundian alliance. However, the metaphor of arrows as false words had been used before, for instance by Jean de Lannoy in his moralistic letters to his son. In the chapter on *bien parler*, de Lannoy remarks: "*Et certex les parolles sont comme les flesches, que l'en peut*

231 Millar, *Olivier de la Marche*, 83-84. The tapestry is identified as "Tapestry depicting Hercules initiating the Olympic Games on Mount Olympus", Glasgow Museum, Burrell Collection. Millar mistakenly describes the scene as a joust, but the 'blunted lance' that the figure which may represent Charles hefts, is a sort of club commonly used in the *melee* in this period. It is a peculiar image in many ways, not the least of which is that there are several ladies present who all appear to be armed like the men, plus very few of those present appear prepared for a *melee*; none are wearing helmets. Then again, these are gods that are being depicted, it is entirely possible the artist decided gods don't need helmets. See also: W. Wells, 'An Unknown Hercules Tapestry in the Burrell Collection' in: *Scottish Art Review* VIII, 3 (1962) 13-20 & 30.

232 Millar, *Olivier de la Marche*, 85-91.

228 Millar, *Olivier de la Marche*,

229 See again: Millar, *Olivier de la Marche*, 257-261.

230 Ibidem.

légèrement traire, mais non les retraire.”<sup>233</sup> Once said, false words –like arrows- cannot be taken back. De Lannoy, instead of using this metaphor to teach prudence in diplomacy, wished to underline the importance of careful rhetoric within the court itself. It is directed at the internal structure of the court and the importance of personal reputation, not at the political rhetoric between nations. This better fits in with the theme of the Hercules play as a didactic aimed at the individual, more than subtle criticism of international politics aimed at the duke, de la Marche’s patron.<sup>234</sup>

The final play seems to be more straightforward, using the pillars of Hercules as a mnemonic device, as emphasized by de la Marche: “Les fais et advenues louables ne se doivent des bons souffrir extaindre, mais collegier et mettre par escript, affin de perpetuelle memoire...” This play, therefore, fixed in the memory of all that witnessed it or would later read about it, what it meant to be a Burgundian knight. Much the same is accomplished by the copyist of this particular manuscript, who appears to have combined several texts which deal with the history of Burgundy.

This is reflected in the other two texts, of which one a list of the Nine Worthies<sup>235</sup> and the other an incomplete version of *La ressource du petit peuple*, written in 1481 by Jean Moulinet (1435-1507), who was another author active at the Burgundian court in the late fifteenth century. This text can be placed in the context of the *Speculum Regale*, or Mirror for Princes.<sup>236</sup> In it, Moulinet describes the sorry state of the “little people” of Burgundy and warns any prince that neglecting the common people will result in disaster. Coupled with the other texts, the manuscript appears to be about remembrance; of the dead described in LCD, as well as the

233 B. de Lannoy and G. Dansaert, *Jean de Lannoy, le batisseur 1410-1492* (Paris 1937) 128.

234 Bernhard Sterchi, ‘The importance of reputation in the theory and practice of Burgundian chivalry: Jean de Lannoy, the Croys, and the Order of the Golden Fleece’, in: D.A.J.D. Boulton and J.R. Veenstra, *The ideology of Burgundy. The promotion of a national consciousness 1364-1565* (Leiden 2006) 99-116.

235 Nine men who in the later Middle Ages represented the ideals of chivalry: Hector, Alexander the Great, Julius Caesar; Joshua, David, Judas Maccabeus; King Arthur, Charlemagne and Godfrey of Bouillon. See, for instance, W. van Anrooij, *Helden van weleer. De Negen Besten in de Nederlanden (1300-1700)* (Amsterdam 1997). Also: Huizinga, *Herfsttij der Middeleeuwen*, 90-101.

236 M. Randall, *The gargantuan polity. On the individual and the community in the French Renaissance* (Toronto 2008) 84-120. A. Armstrong, ‘The practice of textual transmission: Jean Molinet’s ressource du petit peuple’, in: *Forum Modern Language Studies* 33, nr. 3 (1997) 270-282. A.L. Gordon, ‘La ressource du petit peuple (1481): essai de pleine rhétorique’, in: *Travaux de littérature* 2 (1989) 55-67.

great heroes on which the Burgundian chivalric ideal was modeled. It begins and ends with a warning: death waits for all men, high and low; and rulers should heed their subjects to avoid their downfall. It fits in with a Burgundian world-view, of a great history lost due to *hubris*. Especially Moulinet, whose later *L’Arbre de Bourgogne* (1486) details the state of Burgundy after Charles the Bold’s military *hubris* and his subsequent downfall. This manuscript appears to be intended to teach, and to offer the warnings that can be gleaned from history.

## Incunabula

Alongside the manuscript tradition, there were several editions printed in the years following the poems completion. The earliest of which the date can be verified is the edition printed by Antoine Vérard in Paris, in 1488.<sup>237</sup> The last known print is made in 1540 by Pierre Sergents, which survives in a handwritten copy (Manuscript M, above).<sup>238</sup> One of the most fascinating and researched editions was made in 1489 in Gouda by the *Collatiebroeders* and, as argued by Susan Speakman Sutch, financed by Jan van Cats. I shall delve into this specific edition a little further, as the work that has been done on it allows me to focus on aspects pertinent to my research.

## The Gouda edition

The interest in the Gouda edition comes from two areas of research: book history and art history. In the development of print in the Low Countries, Gouda provides an excellent case-study of a place where the printing of books flourished. Between 1477 and 1500, some 115 texts were produced by printers in the city. However, most of these are of a religious nature and only a few can be classified as literary. LCD is the only French text among these, the others were largely in Latin (when religious) or in Middle-Dutch (when literary). Two other works produced in this period in the town include the *Historie van hertoghe Godevaert van Boloen* and the popular *Historie van de vier Heemskinderen*, of which only one folio survives. Most likely, these literary works were produced for private patrons

237 Carroll, *Le Chevalier Délibéré*, 26-27. See also the facsimile edition: Washinton: Library of Congress, 1946.

238 Speakman Sutch, ‘De Gouda-editie’, 137-138. The copyist of this particular manuscript mentions both the author and the printer of the original he used. The following is based largely on this excellent article.



in or around Gouda. In fact, the same patron's mark (an elephant with a castle on its back) was used for both LCD and the *Historie van hertoghe Godevaert van Boloen*; while the fragment of the *Historie van de vier Heemskinderen* shows that the same typeset was used on both LCD and this edition. Therefore it is quite likely they came from one and the same printing press and may have been produced for the same patron (at least in the case of LCD and the *Historie*): Jan van Cats. As Speakman Sutch argues, they were probably produced as part of a political, pro-Burgundian agenda.<sup>239</sup> Jan van Cats and his brother-in-law were part of the faction within their respective cities that supported the Burgundian-Habsburg line.

It is interesting to note that there is a direct link between de la Marche's role at the Feast of the Pheasant and the patron's mark that identifies the person who financed both LCD and the *Historie van hertoghe Godevaert van Boloen*. The mark shows an elephant carrying a castle on its back, from which two flags jut; one bears the arms of Gouda while the other apparently shows the heraldry of Maximilian, Olivier's patron.<sup>240</sup> The castle is flanked by the letters G and D. In the past hundred years or so, there have been a number of theories concerning this mark,<sup>241</sup> of which the one presented by Speakman Sutch goes as follows: the elephant with a castle on its back refers to *Sainte Eglise*, the militant church, with the letters referring to either the town of Gouda (the name of an elephant-saddle, howda, could be another such reference) or *Grace Dieu*. The role of this allegorical representation of the church was played by de la Marche himself at the Feast of the Pheasant. Whoever made the mark had also apparently seen an elephant up-close, as the representation is striking. It is mentioned in the *Divisiekronek* of 1517, printed by Jan Seversz in Leiden, that an elephant toured through the county of Holland in 1484, which would explain the artist's familiarity with the animal.

In any case, taking that the patron's mark in LCD and the *Historie* refers to Jan van Cats, it becomes necessary to analyze his motivations. The

large castle in the mark could refer to his role as master of the castle and garrison of Gouda. As one of the foremost leaders of the Cod faction in the Hook and Cod wars, his role within the city was controversial at best. Although he was given command of the garrison in 1477 by Mary of Burgundy, he was unable to fulfill his role due to the opposition generated by the Hook faction within the city. It wasn't until 1482 that Jan van Cats was able to take on the role of bailliff, sherrieff and master of the garrison. Apparently van Cats then attempted to consolidate his position within the town by financing a printing program of pro-Burgundian, or pro-Habsburg literature. As argued by Speakman Sutch, there are indications that this is part of a wider development in the late fifteenth century: private persons financing literature that supports their personal or political views. Another example is the *Vita Lidwinae de Schiedam* by Johannes Brugman, printed by Otgier Nachtegaele in 1498.<sup>242</sup> There are only a few known texts printed by Otgier Nachtegaele, one of which I will turn to now: Jan Pertcheval's translation of LCD, called *Den Camp vander Doot*.

239 Speakman Sutch, 'De Gouda-editie', 141.

240 The same heraldry appears on the printer's mark of Gerard Leuu, which features a castle with two flags. One flag is the double-headed eagle of the Habsburgs, while the other is the same as the one in the Gouda print. Speakman Sutch argues that the castle featured in the mark in LCD is larger and more likely to refer to an actual castle. Personally I see little difference in the two artistic depictions and believe they may go back to a common artistic tradition. However, this is not relevant to the question at hand, that of Jan van Cats as the patron of the 1486 print of LCD.

241 For an overview, see: Ibidem, 141-149. The following is largely based on this article.

242 Ibidem, 150-151.

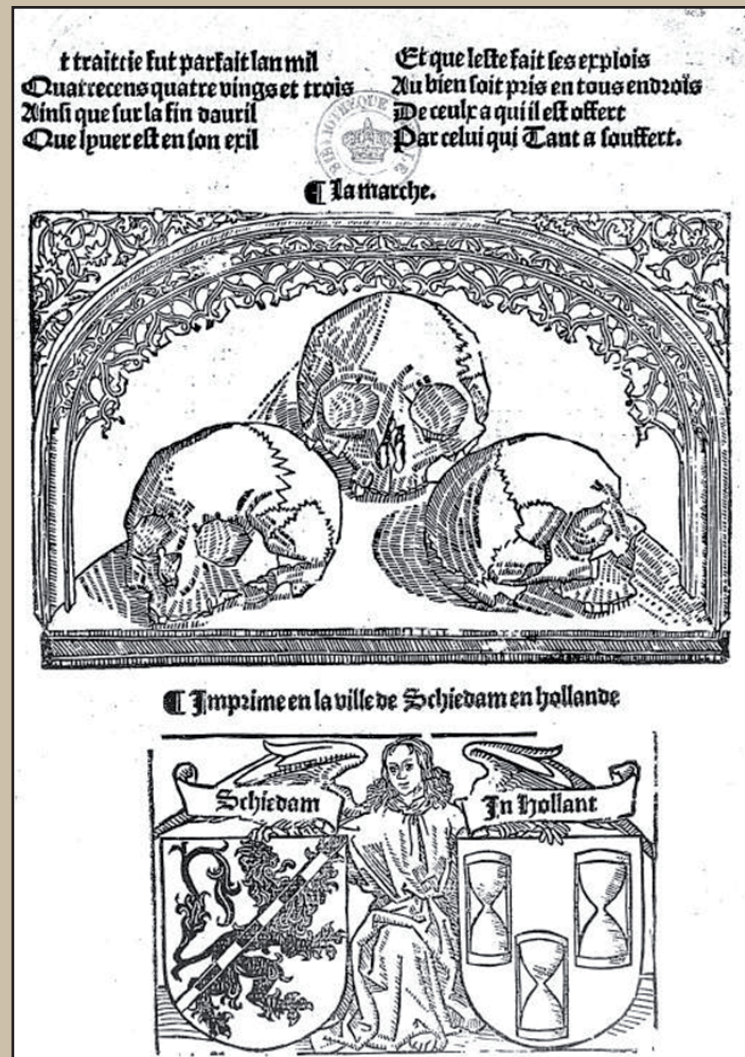


Figure 6 – The final miniature of the Schiedam print, which also features in the Gouda edition and the Dutch translation by Pertcheval.

## Translations

There have been a number of translations of this text, mostly in print. A translation of any text, but certainly one in verse, is a complicated matter. It may be better, then, to refer to these translations as adaptations, as certain changes have to be made by the translator. However, since it is quite clear that these adaptation were made with LCD not just as an inspiration, but with the intention to transmit the entirety of the text, I shall refer to them as translations.

There is a Spanish translation in a number of different versions, supposedly by the hand of Charles V himself.<sup>243</sup> This translation also forms the basis for the English version of the text: *The Resolved Gentleman*.<sup>244</sup> There are two known translations into Dutch: Jan Pertcheval's *Den Camp vander Doot* and Pieter Willemszoon's *Vanden Ridder Welghemoet*. I would like to focus on these two translations, as well as briefly outlining Colijn Caillieu's translation of Amé de Montgesoie's *Pas de la Mort*: the *Dal sonder wederkeren*, also called the *Pas der Doot*. The reason for this is Olivier de la Marche's direct involvement in the Dutch-speaking *rederijkerskamer* or *chambre de rhétorique* known as the *Leliebloem*, in Brussels. As a member of this chamber, he undoubtedly had some contact with its *prince*, Jan Steemaer, also called Pertcheval.<sup>245</sup>

### Den Camp vander Doot

This Dutch translation by Jan Pertcheval was written, according to the text, in 1493. It survives in a single printed edition from 1503, produced in Schiedam by one 'Otgier nachtegaels priester'.<sup>246</sup> He was most likely the first printer to work in Schiedam, though little is known of him apart from the editions that survive.<sup>247</sup> Besides *Den Camp vander Doot*, he produced

- 243 Carlos Clavería, *Le Chevalier délibéré de Olivier de la Marche y sus versiones españolas del siglo XVI* (Zaragoza 1950).
- 244 S. Speakman Sutch and Anne Lake Prescott, 'Translation as transformation: Oliver de la Marche's *Le Chevalier Délibéré* and its Hapsburg and Elizabethan Permutations', in: *Comparative Literature Studies* 25, nr. 4 (1988) 281-317.
- 245 See above, Ch. 1, under *Leliebroeder*.
- 246 The single surviving incunabula is currently in the city library of Hamburg. There is an excellent facsimile-edition: Jan Pertcheval, *Den Camp vander Doot*, G. de-Groote and A.J.J. Delen (eds.) (Antwerpen 1948).
- 247 F.C. Noordegraaf, 'Otgier Pieterszoon Nachtegael, eerste drukker van Schiedam', in: *Scyedam* (Maart 1990). See: <http://scyedam.delinea.nl/kaleida/pagina.php?id=117> (last visited 24-10-2010).

the already mentioned *Vita Lydwine de Schiedam* by Joannes Brugman in 1498, a hagiographical work completed in 1456. Though the printer is not named in the work itself, the woodcuts point to the same artist who worked on the woodcuts in *Den Camp vander Doot*, especially the final woodcut depicting an angel holding two shields emblazoned with the arms of Schiedam. This image can also be found in *Tleven van Liedwy*, printed in 1505, which is another hagiographical work on Liduina (1380-1433, canonized in 1890), who the council of the church of St. John sought to have sanctified. The books were most likely produced to gain support for this cause. It is very likely this Otgier Nachtegael also produced the 1500 edition of LCD, as it was printed in Schiedam and used the same woodcuts as the Dutch translation.

The translation is very true to the French original, in that it translates de la Marche's work strophe by strophe. It has the same number of strophes and lines, even featuring a full miniature program. The contents, therefore, are practically the same.<sup>248</sup> It is unknown what version of the text was used by Pertcheval for his translation, though Bas Jongenelen makes a convincing case that the same source was used for the Schiedam edition of LCD. This is largely based on a scribal error in str. 37: "Or t'ay de ton nom devisé", which is written as "Or t'ay de mon nom devisé" in both the Gouda and Schiedam editions, as well as the translation by Pertcheval, who writes: "Dus heb di mijns naems verstant gecregen".<sup>249</sup> Carroll gives the only manuscript to have this variant: manuscript R. Since this manuscript features the arms of Josse de Lalain, it is likely to be a very early copy, either made for him before his death, or on account of his demise on the battlefield in August 1483. Whether this manuscript (or one based off it) formed the direct basis for the later printed editions requires further study.

Unfortunately, there seems to be one page missing from the one surviving copy of *Den Camp vander Doot*, consisting of five strophes and one miniature. These correspond to strophes 20-25 and miniature 3 in LCD.<sup>250</sup> I intend to look at the linguistic treatment of the tournament; the specific terms and words used to describe the individual combats and tournament. I would expect Pertcheval to adjust the text to his target

audience, or at least use those terms he would expect them to be familiar with.<sup>251</sup> Since he was part of the Dutch-speaking middle class in a major town in the southern Low Countries, it stands to reason he would adjust the language of the text to the urban audience from his own surroundings. This is assuming, too, that he wrote the translation intending for it to be published, printed and sold on the open market, as opposed to producing it to spread it among the other members of *De Lelie*. As the *prince* of this, one of the foremost Chambers of Rhetoric in Brussels, it is entirely likely that he intended his work to spread beyond the confines of the Chamber itself, to the urban environment and an urban audience.<sup>252</sup> Whether this influenced the language of his translation remains to be seen.

One significant change is the addition of a prologue, most likely by the hand of the translator:

¶ Hier beghint een bouch oft een tractaet.  
Dwelc van elc waer goet gheuzeert  
Daer af den tijtel dus gescreuen staet  
Deerste vanden Ridder gedelibereert

¶ Hier begint dat prologus vanden boeck  
Gehieten den Camp vander doot  
Want gelijc die propheet  
Job seijt Dat leuen des  
menschen is als een strijt  
opter aerden ende de mens-  
che niet sekere en heeft dan  
de doot niet onsekere dan  
de vredes doots Daer om sellen allen sterf-  
lijke menschen dit boeck dat gehieten is den  
Camp vander doot. dicwijls ouer lesen ende  
mitter herten overdencken ende speculeren want  
het vol is van geestelijke verstandnisse vol  
van scrifturen ende figuren vol van exempelen der  
poeten ende nae die conste vande rethorijc zeer  
constelijc geset is toenende demanire van  
eenen princelijke gewapende ridder lerende  
dat elck mensche mit geestlijke wapenen  
dat is mit duegden enen doot camp vechten

248 This is based on a comparison of both modern editions. See also: Bas Jongenelen, 'Jan Pertcheval's translation of *Le Chevalier Délibéré: Den Camp vander Doot*. Source, translation and public', in: *Publications du Centre Européen d'études Bourguignonnes* 43 (2003) 199-212. Speakman Sutch and Prescott, 'Translation as transformation', 281-292.

249 Jongenelen, 'Pertcheval's translation', 201-202. See also above, manuscript R.

250 Using the numbering from Carroll's edition.

251 Jongenelen, 'Pertcheval's translation', 203-208.

252 For the interplay between Olivier de la Marche and the urban environment, see above, Ch. 1, especially under the heading *Leliebroeder*.



moet om te strijden tegens den tijtlijken  
doot. waer mede elck aenbeuochten wort  
van Atropos die godinne des doots welc  
ken niemant ontgaen mach mer den tijt wel  
verlengen mach mit goet regiment mit wijslic  
ende deuglijc te leuen Waer bij dat hij den e-  
wigen doot sel mogen ontgaen ende inder  
ewicheit leuen sonder eynde Amen  
¶ Men sel weten dat die bedudenisse van  
somige walsche namen staende inde figu-  
eren voer elc capittel die salmen vinden int  
eynde van deesen boeck<sup>253</sup>

The prologue reads like an advert for the book itself. Since it was probably the first thing a potential customer would read, this would be a sensible way to begin the (printed) translation. Also, in case this hypothetical customer could not read the ‘walsche namen’ (French names) on the woodcuts, a reference to the list of translations in the back of the book is included.

Several interesting concepts pop up in this prologue. First of all, the central concept of life as a battle is explained. For this, Pertcheval uses terminology well-known from the *Ars Moriendi*: he refers to the *tijtlijken doot* (temporary death) and the *ewigen doot* (eternal death). If one gives in to temptation without arming oneself with the *geestelijke wapenen* (weapons of faith), namely the virtues, one will die the eternal death of the soul. The fight against the temporary death of the body is one that everyone must face. But by studying this book: ‘dicwijls over lesen ende mitter herten overdencken ende speculeren, want het is vol van geestelijke verstandnisse, vol van scrifturen ende figuren, vol van exempelen der poeten ende nae die conste vande rethorijs zeer constelijc geset’ (reading is many times and pondering and questioning it with the heart, as it is filled with spiritual wisdom, filled with scripture and figures, filled with *exempla* by the poets and very well made after the art of rhetoric).

Turning then to the translations of combat and tournament in *Den Camp vander Doot*, part of the first combat has been lost in the missing strophes, including the intervention of Remnants of Youth in the combat between the author and Quarreler (called *Aenstoot* in the translation). What remains, up to the point where both combatants have broken their lances and take up their swords, offers some insights into how the translator

adapted the French original to his intended audience. The initial challenge which Quarreler utters in the French text is: “Qui m’escriva de me garder / Et qu’il me convenoit jouter”. In Dutch, this becomes “Wacht u wilt u stellen te were / Des ic my behelpen woude mit mynen spere.” While the intention is the same, for the two to clash with lances, the terminology used by Pertcheval appears to be more generic. However, in the next strophe, Pertcheval uses the verb *steec* for *jouste*, which carries the same connotation of the joust as a knightly sport. The next two strophes describe (part of) the combat that follows:

Lors baisse sa lance ferree D’un fer qu’on nomme Peu de Sens Et fiert en ma targe doree Tel coup et de telle boutee Qu’encores certes je m’en sens! Et moy de mon meilleur assens Couchay mon glave si appoint Que nulz de nous ne faillit point.	Mit dien liet hij zijn spere sincken Luttel sins hiet daer af dat yser verstaelt Hi stac op myn taerge recht om verminken Sulcken steec ic moeder nock om dincken En ic heb myn lance ooc gedaelt Geen van ons beyden en heeft gefaelt Want wij staken om prijs zo my dochte Doen elc den anderen meesterlijc gerochte
La furent nos lances brisees Mais nous gardasmes les arsons Et misme les mains aux espees, Toutes de folies trempées. Donnans terribles horions, La frapoient les champions Cops de bancqués et baigneries Comme s’ilz haïssent leurs vies.	Daer waren ons lances beide gebroken Mer wy bewaerden onse sadelen daer En hebben terstont in ons handen beloken Ons swerrden sonder veel woerden gesproken Getempert mit dwaesheit openbaer Slach om slach slogen wy vromelic daer Ja menig slach die swaerlic vatede naer Recht oft elc onweert zijn leuen haettede

Interestingly, the problematic wording of the French text; “Cops de bancqués et baigneries” is changed in the Dutch translation so that there is no mention of “banquets and bathing parties”. Instead blows are *vromelic* – pious. It may be that this is a now-lost French saying that gave Pertcheval and his Dutch-speaking public as much trouble as it would modern readers. Other than that, it seems that Pertcheval trusted his audience to know what is meant when the knight ‘liet [...] zijn spere sincken’ (lowered his spear), that it would naturally be tipped with iron and that both would be wearing a *taerge* (shield). After both lances have been broken, the knights retain their seat and take up their swords. As unhorsing a knight in the joust was

253 Pertcheval, *Den Camp vander Doot*, 4-5. Transliteration from the facsimile by the author.

rare,<sup>254</sup> this would make sense to anyone who had witnessed a tournament. However, to an audience that was only familiar with jousting through literature, this may be puzzling; in Arthurian romance and the *Chansons de Geste*, most knights appear to succeed in unhorsing their opponents on the first pass. To summarize, from this one example it seems Pertcheval assumed his audience to be at least somewhat familiar with tournaments, jousting, weapons and armour.

There are numerous instances where the translator chose certain terms to identify different parts of armour, a point made by Bas Jongenelen in his article on the translation. For instance in strophe 11, where de la Marche's 'harnas de guerre' is translated as 'speer, schilt ende sweerde'. Or in strophe 92, where the 'gantelet dextre' is made into a 'gewapende hantscoen'. Unfortunately, these terms seem to be chosen as much to complete a rhyme as they are meant to 'rationalize' (as Jongenelen puts it) the terms to an audience unfamiliar with fifteenth-century armour.<sup>255</sup> Others appear more to have to do more with French colloquialisms and the problems of translating these into Dutch, which is admittedly a problem faced by any translator. However, these have much more to do with the actual translation than the shift from a courtly to an urban audience.

Thus, the tournament of Atropos itself does not require much explanation. For instance, the term *lijste* (list), which is part of the terminology surrounding the tournament, is not expanded on by Pertcheval, even though it could refer to any border, even the hem of a garment. Even if we assume the audience to be familiar with some of the terms, such as *glavie* – lance and *taerge / taergie* – shield, there are some which are more obscure. Some examples are the weapon used by Debility to fell Duke Phillip, called a *flumen* by Pertcheval. In LCD, this weapon is called *quasterre*, which Carroll translates as flail. The same goes for many others terms related to the combat, such as the *gysarmen* (guisarmes, a type of

pole-weapon) wielded by Debility; the *cudse* (mace) slung from Accident's *sadelboom* (saddle tree); or the *haetse* (*hache* – another type of pole weapon) held by Duke Phillip.<sup>256</sup> This term is re-used by Pertcheval in strophe 230, whereas de la Marche opts to use another term to denote the same weapon; *bec de faucon*, which is *ravenbek* (raven's beak) in Middle-Dutch, referring to the odd shape of the weapon. As it is used in a rhyme in strophe 230, it seems to have been chosen more for that reason than any explicatory motivations on the translator's part.

In the complex fifth part of the text, where the components of medieval armour are used as allegorical symbols to confer to the audience the ways in which one may safeguard their eternal soul, we find equally few explication on Pertcheval's part. In strophes 287-299, Understanding explains the significance of armour and weapons to the author. Looking at the translation provided by Pertcheval, he again seems confident his audience will recognize the terms. He translates: *gardebrassen* for *brasseletz* (wristguards or vambraces); *hantscoens* (without the prefix *wapen-*) for *ganteletz* (gauntlets); *huyfken* for *bassinnet* (bascinet, a form of helmet); *blanckaerts* for *cuissos* (cuisses, armour for the thigh); *stalen broec* for *braconniere de maille* (maille shorts)<sup>257</sup>; *Scheen pijpen* for *greves* (greaves, for the shins); *schoens* for *sollerés* (sollerets, for the feet). Although it seems that many terms are 'dumbed down' from the French, the terminology for armour that developed in French seems not to have developed in Dutch at all. A gauntlet is simply an 'armored glove'; greaves are 'shin pipes' and sollerets are 'shoes'.

In short, nowhere do we see any indication that this text was altered significantly to accommodate an audience unfamiliar with the terminology surrounding mounted combat and tournaments. Pertcheval does indeed make some necessary alterations to specific terms used by de la Marche, because they did not exist in Dutch. But I believe that these few examples show that he wrote for an –admittedly urban– audience that he assumed was well familiar with knightly conduct, sport, combat and weaponry. This is not at all surprising, as tournaments were not an uncommon occurrence in the region at this time. Yearly jousts such as those organized in Brugge by *De Witte Beer*, or the *Espinette* in Rijsel,<sup>258</sup> meant that Pertcheval could assume his audience had at some point in their life witnessed a joust and

254 The much-perpetuated myth that the goal of a joust was to unhorse the opponent does not hold up to scrutiny. While it did indeed happen, the practise of it is most difficult due to the nature of the equipment used. The saddles, as can be seen in artwork and surviving examples, were constructed to keep the rider in the saddle. The fact that it is mentioned in the sources at all was that it was a rare event.

255 Jongenelen makes a point of the right glove being explicitly mentioned, as a noble audience would know that the right hand requires more protection. This is, however, not a supposition supported by fifteenth-century armour technology, which tended to actually place the heavier and more rigid glove on the left hand, which held the reins of the horse in a joust and was more likely to be struck by the lance of an opponent. Jongenelen also mentions both the problem of translating into rhyme as well as translating sayings and colloquialisms.

256 Olivier de la Marche, *Le Chevalier Délibéré*, str. 219-225.

257 See also above, n. 109.

258 J. Oosterman, 'Tussen twee wateren zwem ik. Anthonis de Roovere tussen rede-rijkers en rhétoriciens', in: *Jaarboek De Fonteyne* 49-50 (1999-2000) 26-27.



retained some image of it.

One final detail is of some significance; where Olivier de la Marche credits Amé de Montgesoie for inspiring the theme of LCD, Pertcheval has substituted the name for another: that of one *Colijn Caellui*, properly identified by M.E. Kronenberg as Colijn Caillieu.<sup>259</sup> He wrote the translation of *Le Pas de la Mort* by de Montgesoie, called the *Dal sonder wederkeren of Pas der Doot*, which survives in a single printed edition of 1528.<sup>260</sup> As he was part of the same literary circle as Pertcheval and, by association, de la Marche, this is not surprising. But it is significant to note that Pertcheval obviously intended his audience to be as well-informed as de la Marche's when it came to his sources. As he was writing for a Dutch-speaking audience, he referred them back to a Dutch translation. The implication, however, for a translation intended to be spread to a wider audience – as I assume this was – is that Pertcheval expected his audience to be able to access Caillieu's text as well. Most likely it was available in print when Pertcheval wrote his translation in 1493.

It seems that Otgier Nachtegael's work reflects the preference of early printers to produce hagiographical and courtly literature, besides the large amounts of liturgical material they produced. These guaranteed them the sales they needed, reflecting the shift caused by the advent of printed books. Whereas manuscripts would mostly be written for – and dedicated to – certain patrons, printed books would have to be produced with a prospective audience in mind, who would produce the needed compensation for the printers' work. It seems to make sense that a writer, who wished to see his work in print, would keep this in mind when writing or translating. However, the text of LCD and its translation by Pertcheval do not seem to have been changed to accommodate different target audiences. Instead, they seem to fit in quite well both at court and in the chambers of rhetoric in the cities of the southern Low Countries.

259 M.E. Kronenberg, 'Naamsverandering gevraagd voor de Brusselsche dichter Colijn Coellin', in: *Het boek. Nieuwe reeks* XXI, 2 (...) 160.

260 See above, chapter 2.

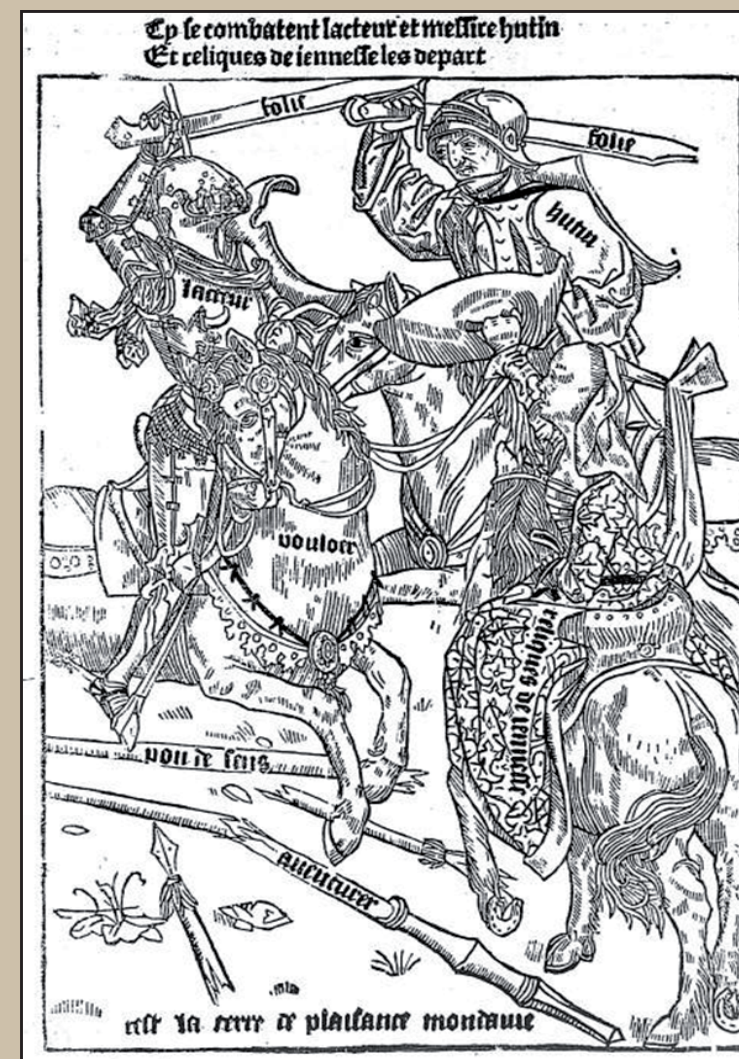


Figure 7 – *l'Acteur* faces *Hutin*, while *Reliques de Jeunesse* intervenes. From the 1489 edition of LCD.



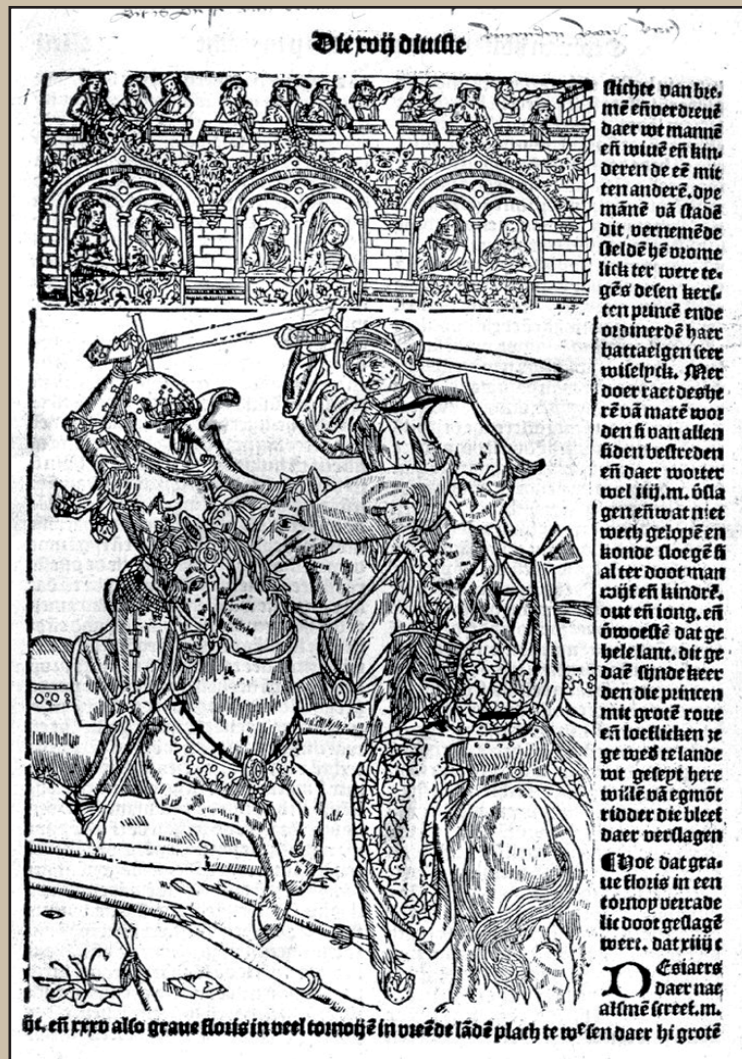


Figure 8 – The death of Floris IV, from *De Devisiekroniek*. Note the white spots (and even the scratchmarks) where the names were originally. The top part comes from miniature 8, depicting the Palace of Love.

## Vanden Ridder Welghemoet

The other known translation into Dutch is by the hand of Pieter Willemszoon, completed in 1498 and printed c. 1508 in Leiden by Jan Seversz. It was presumed lost, apart from fragments which were themselves lost in 1944, until Herman Pleij discovered a surviving copy in the Vienna library.<sup>261</sup> Unfortunately, there is no edition of the text by Willemszoon as yet, although Bas Jongenelen has compared the text with that of LCD. As Jongenelen points out, Willemszoon translated the first line of LCD's strophe 37 as "Dus heb ik di hier van mijn name geseyt", placing it within the same family as the printed version from Gouda and Schiedam, Pertcheval's translation and manuscript R. Although the evidence remains circumstantial, Jongenelen makes a good case for the 1489 Gouda edition to be the original on which Willemszoon based his translation. Also, the title page of the edition is miniature nr. 3 from the Gouda edition, which is the one missing from the surviving edition of *Den Camp vander Doot*.<sup>262</sup> As an aside, the same miniature –and a number of others from both LCD and the *Historie van hertoghe Godevaert van Boloen-* can be found in *Die cronycke van Hollandt, Zeelandt ende Vrieslant, beghinnende van Adams tiden tot die geboorte ons here Ihesu*, also known as the *Divisiekronek*. It is a printed history of Holland and Utrecht from 1517, also printed by Jan Severz in Leiden.<sup>263</sup> An image which accompanies the death of Floris IV is made up of miniatures nr. 3 and 9. As this is a work of some historical significance, I shall briefly outline its significance and relation to the contents of LCD and *Vanden ridder Welghemoet*.

This translation, then, is of a different sort than the one by Pertcheval. First of all, *Vanden ridder Welghemoet* has 365 strophes, compared to LCD's 338. Throughout the text, there are additional strophes, most of which appear to have been added to aid in translating the text. Most of these extra strophes, however, can be placed in the fourth part of the text. There the translator has added nineteen strophes between

261 H. Pleij, 'Ridder welghemoet in Wenen', in: *Literatuur* 2 (1987) 97-98. See also: Bas Jongenelen, 'Pieter Willemsz' vertaling van *Le Chevalier Délibéré: Vanden ridder welghemoet*' – Dichter tussen bron en lezers', in: *Jaarboek De Fonteyne* (Gent 2008) 233-251.

262 It features the combat between *Hutin* (Quarreler) and the Author, specifically the intervention of Relics of Youth.

263 K. Tilmans, *De Divisiekronek van 1517. Uitgave van het Bourgondische-Habsburgse deel (divisie 29-32)* (Amsterdam 2003) 4-9. See also: <http://bc.ub.leidenuniv.nl/bc/goedgezien/objectbeschrijvingen/object111.html> (last visited 1-11-2010).

strophes 278 and 279<sup>264</sup>, in which Memory tells the author of recent notable deaths, on their way back from the tournament. These detail the deaths of more notables who had died recently (though not necessarily after the completion of LCD in 1483). Many notable figures from de la Marche's own circle are mentioned, such as Josse de Lalain and Antoine de la Roche, Grand Bastard of Burgundy. Willemszoon does appear to have added a number of notables from the Low Countries, but whether this is to make the text more amenable to his Dutch-speaking audience is another question I will not delve into here.<sup>265</sup> Mostly, Willemszoon remained quite true to the French original, deviating only in the amount of explication he uses to clarify the text. He seems to need a lot more text than Pertcheval, which explains the added strophes, needed to accommodate his rather flowery rhetoric.

The first combat, between the author and Quarreler, is therefore slightly longer than in de la Marche's text. Where in LCD *Hutin* is introduced in the passive form as a "chevalier [...] qui m'escriva de me garder et qu'il me convenoit jouter", in *Vanden ridder Welghemoet* the knight *Aenstoot* addresses the author directly: "Ic moet u spreken. Wacht van mi. Ghi moet teghen mi steken." Here Willemszoon uses the same translation for *jouter* as Pertcheval, though it is a common enough term that nothing can be concluded from its use. Much the same throughout the text, Willemszoon continues to explicate and ruminate, expanding on the original text without adding significantly to the contents. Based on such changes made to the French original, Jongenelen concludes that it was most likely written for the Dutch-speaking nobility. This seems contrary to the notion that printed books were, by their nature, made to appeal to a wider audience. In fact, we know that *Vanden ridder Welghemoet* was financed by a man called Claes van Ruyven.<sup>266</sup> Willemsz directly credits him in the last strophe of his translation: "God wese der sielen Claes van Ruyven gedachtich / Die deerlic zijn leven hier cort na liet / Want om sinen wille is desen arbeit geschiet / Ic bidde god dat hi doer den onnoselen doot / Sijn siele

264 According to the numbering of *Vanden ridder welghemoet*.

265 Jongenelen argues that these additions are made to appeal to the Dutch-speaking audience, who may be more familiar with local nobles. There is some merit in his arguments, but I believe the additions have much more to do with the translator's wish to 'update' the text, correcting what he would see as omissions. Based merely on the numbers, one could as easily argue Willemszoon intended his translation for the clergy, as he included a number of popes and bishops. Jongenelen, 'Willemsz' vertaling', 237-243.

266 Jongenelen, 'Willemsz' vertaling', 236. See also: Speakman Sutch, 'De Gouda-editie', 140-141.

logere in abrahams schoot."<sup>267</sup> He was a well-known patron of printed literature, sponsoring such texts as the *Historie van Jason* (1484-1485), the *Vergaderinge der historien van Troyen* (1485) and *Het Doctrinael des tyts* (1486), all printed by Jacob Bellaert, a well-known printer from the era.<sup>268</sup> All of these are translations of distinctly Burgundian texts, written during the reign of Phillip the Good. Van Ruyven, who held a number of prominent positions in the town of Haarlem such as baillif and taxmaster, was killed in a rebellion, 4 May 1492. It is likely that his untimely death delayed the printing of Willemsz' translation until 1508.

As Speakman Sutch and Jongenelen point out, van Ruyven was the brother-in-law of Jan van Cats, who financed the 1489 print of LCD in Gouda.<sup>269</sup> Besides the familial relation, these two men also seem to have shared a certain political conviction. It seems clear that Claes van Ruyven decided to have LCD translated, based on the experiences of Jan van Cats with the original French text. Their considerations were not merely financial in nature, the printing of these texts was part of a propaganda-effort by both men, to consolidate their rather unstable position. The fact that the same woodcuts were re-used for Willemszoon's translation that were used for the Gouda edition and Pertcheval's translation shows that they also expected these to help in the sale of books and the spread of their ideas.<sup>270</sup> The role of the printer in this appears to be, as Speakman Sutch claims, to be that of the businessman looking for a profit.<sup>271</sup> The men that paid for the books were, as pointed out by Arjan van Dixhoorn, part of a network of clerks with strong connections to the Habsburg and Burgundian nobility.<sup>272</sup>

However, there is the case of Jan Seversz, which shows a different sort of businessman entirely. He was an active printer, publisher and parchmentmaker who is first mentioned in the archives in 1500.<sup>273</sup>

267 r. 2865-2872. Quoted in: Speakman Sutch, 'De Gouda editie', 150.

268 W. Keesman, 'Jacob Bellaert en Haarlem', in: E.K. Grootes (ed.), *Haarlems Helicon. Literatuur en toneel te Haarlem voor 1800* (Hilversum 1993) 27-48. See also: Speakman Sutch, 'De Gouda editie', 140-141.

269 Speakman Sutch, 'De Gouda-editie', 137-155.

270 The title leaf of *Vanden ridder Welghemoet* is miniature nr. 3 from the Gouda edition (which is missing from the one edition we have of Pertcheval's translation).

271 Speakman Sutch, 'de Gouda editie', 140-141.

272 A. van Dixhoorn, *Lustige geesten: rederijders in de Noordelijke Nederlanden (1480-1650)* (Amsterdam 2009) 100-101.

273 Maria Elizabeth Kronenberg, *Lotgevallen van Jan Seversz: boekdrukker te Leiden (c. 1502-1524) en te Antwerpen (c. 1527-1530)* (Den Haag 1924) 12-13.



There is some confusion as to his life and work, as there was another Jan Seversz active in Amsterdam and Utrecht at the time. What can be ascertained is that the Jan Seversz from Leiden is banished in 1524 for spreading heretical writings, specifically a second edition of the *Summa der godliker scrifturen* by Hendrik van Bommel (first printed in 1523). The book was banned and Seversz fled Leiden. Where he went afterwards is the subject of some debate.<sup>274</sup> There is mention of a printer called Jan Seversz in Antwerp, who died some time before 1534. He seems the most likely candidate, as we know the Leiden printer had contact with printers in Antwerp before 1524. He most likely provided Jan van Doesborch with the unbound *Divisiechroniek*, as well as having dealings with another printer called Willem Vorsterman. It is in 1528, then, that Doesborch decides to print *Het dal sonder wederkeren* by Colijn Caillieu. While there is no direct link between Seversz' presence in Antwerp at the time and Doesborch's decision to print another Dutch translation of a Burgundian text closely linked to LCD, it would be prudent to further examine the spread and reception of both texts. For now, I shall leave this to another researcher.

## Olivier de la Marche and the Dutch Language

It is quite interesting to note how Olivier de la Marche and his text operate within the urban *milieu* of the late fifteenth century. He was familiar with Amé de Montgesoie, who provided him with the inspiration for LCD; he knew Jan Pertcheval, who translated the text into Dutch; he would have been equally familiar with Colijn Caillieu, who Pertcheval credited in his translation where de la Marche mentions de Montgesoie. The printers of these texts and their patrons are also often part of the same literary *milieu*. During de la Marche's life two translations into Dutch are produced of his text, as well as him joining a Dutch-speaking chamber of rhetoric. The question arises; did de la Marche speak (some) Dutch? Of course, de la Marche is not unique in this respect. The problem of multi-lingualism, especially among the princes of Europe, is well-known.<sup>275</sup>

Emerson argues that he must have.<sup>276</sup> Not only because of his membership of *De Lelie*, but as part of a more general tendency of

Burgundian writers to speak and occasionally write in Dutch. However, his role in *De Lelie* may have been to simply provide them with French literature. His name in the 1498 accounts of the chamber appears in French as "Messire Olivier de la Marche; Ysabeau Machefoing, sa femme", perhaps indicating that he was primarily French-speaking.<sup>277</sup> However, in his *Mémoires*, de la Marche occasionally uses Dutch terms and translates them into French. In describing the leader of a rebellion in Audenarde, he names him as: "Lievin Bonne, qui estoit autant a dire en françois Lievin Feve"<sup>278</sup>, translating *Bonne* (bean) into the French *Feve*. There are a number of such examples strewn through his *Mémoires*.<sup>279</sup> His residence in Brussels and, for instance, membership of a Dutch-speaking congregation<sup>280</sup> all point to him having some knowledge of and affinity with the language.

What is clear is that some of de la Marche's text were eagerly translated and spread in the Dutch-speaking regions of the Low Countries. Not only LCD, but also his *Le Parement des Dames* (written in 1493-1494), which was translated into Dutch by Thomas van der Noot in 1514 under the title *Den triumphe ende palleersel van den vrouwen*.<sup>281</sup> De la Marche's poems struck a chord with his Dutch-speaking relations, who assisted him in spreading them in both French and Dutch.

## Reception

The reception history of LCD is quite a complex story, which ranged from the *chambres des rhétorique* in the southern Low Countries to printers and their patrons in the county of Holland. The text spread among notables, with a copy present in the ducal library at the end of the fifteenth century, most likely read by Margaret of Austria and Charles V.<sup>282</sup> The translation of LCD into Spanish, by Hernando de Acuna in 1552-1553, was dedicated to Charles V and most likely made at his instigation. Another copy was in the hands of Philippe de Cleves, lord of Ravenstein. The inventory made of

277 Ibidem, 113.

278 La Marche, *Mémoires* II, 228.

279 See: Emerson, *Olivier de la Marche*, 113-115.

280 Ibidem.

281 For more information on this translation as well as la Marche's text, see: S. Raue (ed.), *Een nauwsluitend keurs: aard en betekenis van Den triumphe ende 't palleersel van den vrouwen (1514)* (s.l. 1996). See also Millar, *Olivier de la Marche*, 147-148.

282 Millar, *Olivier de la Marche*, 136-137.

274 Ibidem, 36-38.

275 Hanno Wijsman, 'Las Filips de Goede wel eens Nederlands? 'Kleine talen' in de Bourgondische librije', in: Mario Damen and Louis Sicking (eds.), *Bourgondië voor bij. De Nederlanden 1250-1650* (Hilversum 2010) 69-84. George Holmes (ed.), *The Oxford illustrated history of Medieval Europe* (Oxford 1988, ed. 2001) 350-351.

276 Emerson, *Olivier de la Marche*, 108-115.



his possessions after his death in 1528 mention no less than four works by Olivier de la Marche, including his *Mémoires* and a tantalizing reference to “ung livre pour faire tournoi”.<sup>283</sup> And then there is the copy which bears the arms of Josse de Lalain. While it is certainly presumptuous to assume that, due to the nature of this manuscript, de la Marche wrote LCD under the patronage of the Lalain family, it is obvious that de la Marche’s text enjoyed popularity among the higher echelons of the Burgundian-Habsburg nobility.

The other aspect of the reception history is the printed copies made for private persons like Jan van Cats and Claes van Ruyven. The reasons they had to financing the spread of these texts –both the French original and the Dutch translations- point to political motivations, linked to the prominent positions they held in Gouda and Haarlem, respectively. In the case of the printer Jan Seversz, religious conviction seems to have played a role as well. It seems unlikely that Olivier de la Marche intended any of this when he first wrote LCD. He appears to have written a text for a Burgundian noble of some renown, expressing ideas developed in the long years of service to the Valois Dukes of Burgundy. These ideas, naturally, fit in perfectly with those men who sought to model themselves after the Burgundian nobility. Men such as Jan van Cats and Claes van Ruyven, who sought to spread their ideas to the people they governed. To give an image of the Burgundian ideal they strove to imitate and emulate, they spread the ideas of men such as de la Marche. LCD, with its moralistic and didactic contents, coupled with those historical figures they so admired, was an ideal example of Burgundian excellence. After all, no one could argue with the message of salvation from Eternal Death at the end of the text, which could be used by anyone to lead a virtuous life. The fact that the image that people were left with was that of the *pas d’armes* further strengthened the image of Burgundian nobility that these men wished to impart on those around them: men of action and contemplation, fierce in battle but civilized and courtly all at once. The tournament was the stage on which these knights could act out their ideal of the resolved gentleman. This ideal was spread throughout the Low Countries, both in French and Dutch, so that all could strive emulate it.

283 Ibidem, 128 and 137-138.



## Conclusions

*Le Chevalier Délibéré* is a fascinating text, which functions on the margins (for as far as these exist): between court and city; history and fantasy; romantic and didactic; visual art and literature; old and new; life and death. It has something for everyone, which helps explain its relative success. Even now, it is clear that there is a lot we can learn about life and death in fifteenth-century North-western Europe from this one text.

The fifteenth-century tournament is relatively well-documented. From historical, literary and art-historical sources we can reconstruct a mental image of the event. I have tried to do this for Olivier de la Marche. Although I have by no means been exhaustive, I hope I have explained what de la Marche understood a tournament to be in his own historical context. As part of the Burgundian nobility, he had taken the Burgundian identity to heart and expressed this in his writing. The great literary achievement that is LCD is a result of that expression. The use of the tournament as the central theme or image is evocative. De la Marche showed that the tournament described by Montgesoie in his *Pas de la Mort* waits for us all; noble or common, rich or poor, cleric or laity, king or pauper. No man can escape Accident or Debility and would do well to face them well-prepared. Like the *Chevalier d’Esclavement* he described as taking part in the *Pas de l’Arbre d’Or*, it will not do to show up in great splendor only to find yourself “mal-armé”. If you arm yourself with Virtues, you will find not only salvation, but honor and glory as only a Burgundian can. As Philip the Good after being bested by Debility, you too will be buried in a place of holy Memory. You will be remembered among the great, the chivalrous, the Burgundian. You can die a Burgundian death.

This message proved most popular among those who wished to partake of the Burgundian identity, through their inheritors, the Habsburgs. Although de la Marche described a world bereft of the house of Burgundy, their legacy was not lost, instead passing on to Maximilian of Austria. His

supporters in the cities of the Low Countries made sure LCD was spread among noble and common alike. Printing presses in Schiedam and Gouda produced beautifully-made copies, while the chambers of Rhetoric in the south produced translations into Dutch, making the work available to an even wider audience. The manuscripts that were produced were of varying quality, some appearing to be for personal use while others were lavishly decorated, but many were indeed produced. The poem appears to have appealed to a wide range of people, although its political significance as a Burgundian text, especially in such a turbulent time, could have contributed greatly to its success. The very personal experience of mortality fits in well with the growing popularity of the *Artes Moriendi*, as well as religious trends in the late fifteenth century, especially in the Low Countries.

But why, in the end, did Olivier de la Marche choose to use the tournament as the device for telling his story? The tournament plays a central role in the concept of Burgundian chivalry. It was the world in miniature, the whole of chivalry – a concept which mixed reality and literature, especially in the *pas d'armes* – contained within the lists. It had everything a knight could desire, including adventure, danger, ladies, political maneuvering, personal honor, glory, prizes, the appreciation of his peers and more. The tournament was, for all intents and purposes, life. Olivier de la Marche showed that it could also be death. In familiar terms he instructed his audience how to interpret the inevitability of death in the same manner as a tournament. The attention to detail that both knights and audience experienced at the tournament could be used to prepare oneself for death. The familiar elements of a *pas d'armes* or the pieces of a suit of armor could be used to memorize those steps one could take to die a virtuous death, one worthy of a Burgundian knight.

## Further Research

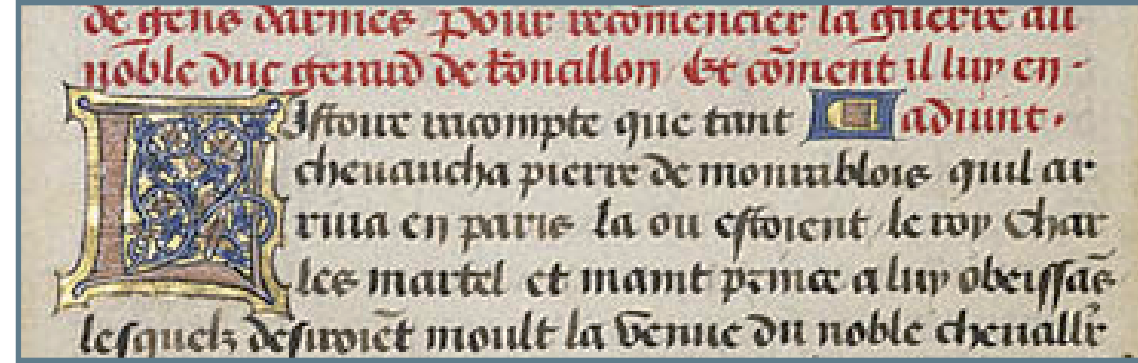
The tournament, my subject of choice, is one of the more obvious elements in the poem, but by no means the only one. The life of the author is reflected in his work, but much is still unknown about Olivier de la Marche. His life as a diplomat is relatively well-documented, but there are significant gaps which need filling. His work for the Valois dukes, especially for Charles the Bold, was conducted both on the battlefield and in the highest echelons of power. Yet still there are unknowns in his personal and professional history. He is in England just before the death of Philip the Good, on secretive business. Often he accompanies Charles on military campaigns, but he is just as often busying himself with diplomatic affairs. However, in his *Mémoires*, the political situation is often described

succinctly, even glossed over. There is still much about de la Marche that we do not know.

Furthermore, on the subject of the tournament, I have sketched the historical development and literary references, but in no means have I been exhaustive. The relation between the rules of the Tournament laid out in such works as René d'Anjou's *Livre de Tournoi*, and the rules presented in LCD can be further analyzed. Amé de Montgesoie is quite clear on the rules of the joust, while de la Marche glosses over these. But what rules are in play? Do they even apply? Besides, the use of tournaments in other fifteenth-century literature remains unexplored. Even for the fourteenth century, I have only given a couple of examples.

Although I have mentioned the *Artes Moriendi* a number of times, I have not delved into it. Especially the use of specific miniatures is strikingly similar to the *Ars Moriendi* as they were produced in the Low Countries in the early sixteenth century. While an art-historical analysis of the similarities (or lack thereof) could be illuminating, a socio-historical analysis of the use of such imagery in literature would be even more tempting. Alas, I must leave this to another researcher. I also hope to see an exhaustive comparison of the surviving examples of miniatures to the descriptions given in some of the manuscripts. It is a fascinating puzzle and a tantalizing example of the relation between text and image. From a gender studies point of view, the use of male and female allegorical characters may be interesting to study. For instance: Thought, Relics of Youth, Fresh Memory – all female. Understanding is male, as is the protagonist. Death is female, while Accident and Debility are both male. For an author who wrote on the virtue of women, it is unlikely that he would make such choices randomly.

The lists of the dead in the text, which I have included in the appendix, are also a fascinating study waiting to happen. The historical characters from the Bible and antiquity are interesting in their own right, but the denizens of the Cemetery of Memory are just waiting for someone to dig them up and figure out what they're doing there. Why did de la Marche include them, or disregard others? What order did he place them in and why? Why the second list of deceased, added as "latest news" by Fresh Memory? Although de la Marche himself writes that his poem was completed in April 1483, might this not be a literary device? He does mention both Phoebus, king of Navarre (died 23 January 1483) and in the next strophe: Edward, king of England, "struck down by a sudden fever". This can only be Edward IV of England, who died 9 April 1483, presumably of a fever. The (lack of) names in LCD make it a veritable puzzle of dates and political affiliations. There is much work still to do here.



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## Chapter image fragments

### Introduction

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### 1. The Medieval tournament in history and literature

Roman de toute chevalerie, par Eustache ou Thomas de Kent.  
Bibliothèque nationale de France, Département des manuscrits, Français 24364, f. 8r. Gallica

### 2. The Author

Charles the Bold and Saint George  
Los, Angeles, J. Paul Getty Museum, Ms. 37, fol. 1v Prayer Book of Charles the Bold Artist: Lieven van Lathem

### 3. Le Chevalier Délibéré

Horae ad usum Parisiensem [Heures de René d'Anjou, roi de Sicile (1434-1480)].  
Latin 1156 A, F 100r Gallica

### 4. Codicology

Horae ad usum Parisiensem [Heures de René d'Anjou, roi de Sicile (1434-1480)].  
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### Conclusions

Philip the Good  
presented with book by Bertrandon de la Broquière at the Siege of Mussy  
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### Bibliography

The Armies of France and Burgundy with Martel in Prayer  
Loyset Liédet, illuminator; Pol Fruit, illuminator Flemish, Bruges, 1467 - 1472

### Appendix

Horae ad usum Parisiensem [Heures de René d'Anjou, roi de Sicile (1434-1480)].  
Latin 1156 A, F 113r Gallica



## Appendix

### Deaths in LCD

Part #1		52-71		
Strophe	Killed	By	Relic	Source mentioned
52	Abel	Cain	Plowshare	Bible
53	Samson	Samsom	Pillar	Bible
54	Hercules	Deianira	Burned shirt	la Nativité des dieux (La Genealogie des dieux, Bocaccio)
55	Caesar	friends	Styluses	histoires romaines
56	Alexander	Antipater	Box of poison	
57	Hector of Troy	Achilles	lance	Troye la destruction
58	Achilles	Paris	bow and arrows	
59	Pompey	king of Egypt	sword	
60	Hannibal	Hannibal	ring of poison	
61	Tristan	King Mark of Cornwall	sword	l'istoire
62	Agamemnon	wife	pike	
63	Arthur	Mordred	two-handed sword	
	Gawain	Mordred	two-handed sword	
64	Holofernes	Judith	scimitar	
65	Sisera	Jael	nail and hammer	le livre des Juges (Bible)
66	Eteocles	Polynices	two swords	Les escriptures ... de Thebes en d'Athaines

	Polynices	Eteocles	two swords	Les escriptures ... de Thebes en d'Athaines
67	Fromont	Remondin	spear	l'Avenement Melusine
68	Adonis	boar	boar	selon les poettes
69	Amasa	Joab	dagger	livre des Rois (Bible)
70	Goliath	David	stone and sling	
71	Haman	Esther	halter	
Part #3 168 - 205				
Strophe	Killed	By	Titles	Remarks
168	Anonymous	Debility	Lord of Saint George	
169	Sigismond	Debility	King of Bohemia	
170	Luxembourg	Debility	Count of Ligny	
171	Portugese prince	Accident	Duke of Coimbra	
172	Louis de Bueil	Accident		
173	Felix	Debility	Pope	Felix and Eugene are under one tomb
	Eugene	Debility	Pope	Felix and Eugene are under one tomb
174	Talbot	Accident	English captain	
	Scales	Accident	English captain	
175	Giles of Brittany	Accident		
	Duke Arthur	Debility	Constable of France	
176	Jacques of Bourbon	Debility	King of Naples	Became a <i>Cordelier</i> (Observant Friar)
177	La Hire	Debility		Under one (brass) tomb
	Poton	Debility		Under one (brass) tomb
178	Duke Albert of Austria	Accident		
179	King Ladislas of Hungary	Accident		
180	Lord of Varenbon	Debility		

	Jacques de Chaland	Accident	Lord of Aymeville
181	Jacques de Lalain	Accident	of Hainault
182	Cornile	Accident	Bastard of Burgundy
183	Brézé	Accident	Lord of Varenne, grand senechal of Normandy
184	Filippo Maria	Debility	Duke of Milan
	Francesco Sforza	Debility	Duke of Milan
185	Thibault of Neufchatel	Debility	Marshal of Burgundy
186	Count of Fribourg	Debility	
	Three brothers of Toulangeon	Debility	
	Three brothers of Toulangeon	Debility	
	Three brothers of Toulangeon	Debility	
	Ternant	Debility	It isn't clear whether this knight is one of the three brothers or the count of Fribourg.
187	Chancellor Rolin	Debility	
188	Charles	Debility	Duke of Orléans
	Lord of Dunois	Debility	
189	Croy, Count of Porcien	Debility	Grand Chamberlain of the good duke
	Jehan, Count of Chimay	Debility	
190	King Alphonso	Debility	
191	Santes		TdO
	Charny		TdO
	Hautbordin		TdO
	La Vere		TdO
	Créquy		TdO
	Brimeu		TdO



	Molembais		TdO
	Auxy		TdO
	Simon de Lalain		TdO
192	Cosimo de Medici	Debility	
	Jacques Coeur	Debility	
193	Saint Pol	Accident	constables
	Alvaro de La Luna	Accident	constables
194	Waleran, Lord of Moreuil	Debility	
	Lord of Saveuses	Debility	
195	Warwick	Accident	
	Duke of Clarence	Accident	
	Douglas, Earl of Glasgow	Accident	
196	Vergy		Mentioned along with people of Prussia and Rhodes, knights, Calatravans and Templars
	Conches		Mentioned along with people of Prussia and Rhodes, knights, Calatravans and Templars
	Brederode		Mentioned along with people of Prussia and Rhodes, knights, Calatravans and Templars
197	Le Blanc de La Valaquoie	Debility	Fought against the Turks
198	Louis of Bourbon	Debility	
	heir of Beaujeu	Accident	Son of Louis of Bourbon
	Jacques	Accident	Son of Louis of Bourbon
199	Prince of Antioch	Accident	inheritance of Cyprus
	Louis, prince of Orange	Debility	
200	Count of Armagnac	Accident	

	Duke of Nemours	Accident		
201	King of Sicily	Debility		
	Duke of Calabria	Accident		Son of the King of Sicily
	Duke of Calabria	Accident		Son of the King of Sicily
202	Henry, King of England	Accident		"Not a man of war, nor a prince of great mettle"
203	Charles VII, King of France	Debility		
204	Duke of Guienne	Accident		
	Duke of Savoie	Accident		Nephew of the Duke of Guienne
	Duke Jehan of Cleves	Debility		
205	Sultan Amurat	Debility	the Turk	
Part #4		273-278		
Strophe	Killed	By	Titles	Remarks
273	Louis, Bishop of Liege	Accident	Count of Loz, Duke of Buillon	Duke of Bourbon's son
274	Count of Chimay	Accident		
275	Count Pierre of Luxembourg	Accident and Debility	six times a count	
276	King Edward of England	Accident		
277	King Phoebus of Navarre	Accident		
278	Michel de Berghes	Accident	Knight of Brabant	26 years old

